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Leonora Duarte (1610–1678): Converso Composer in Antwerp

Elizabeth A. Weinfield

*The Graduate Center, City University of New York*

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LEONORA DUARTE (1610–1678): CONVERSO COMPOSER IN ANTWERP

by

Elizabeth A. Weinfield

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Elizabeth A. Weinfield

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
ABSTRACT

Leonora Duarte (1610–1678): Converso Composer in Antwerp

by

Elizabeth A. Weinfield

Advisor: Emily Wilbourne

Leonora Duarte (1610–1678), a converso of Jewish descent living in Antwerp, is the author of seven five-part Sinfonias for viol consort — the only known seventeenth-century viol music written by a woman. This music is testament to a formidable talent for composition, yet very little is known about the life and times in which Duarte produced her work. Her family were merchants and art collectors of Jewish descent who immigrated from Portugal in the early sixteenth century to escape the Inquisition; in exile in Antwerp, they achieved enormous success and provided the means with which to educate their children and integrate them into certain aspects of their business world. Duarte’s musical education reveals knowledge of many instruments as well as lessons in composition and it is manifested in the prominence her music played in her internationally-known family.

Examining Duarte’s life presents a remarkable opportunity to consider performance within the early modern domestic sphere — this is a project that intersects with embodiment and display, as well as issues of gender and race. This dissertation considers Duarte and her music as
products of diverse influences within the landscape of post-Inquisition Antwerp, as evidence of complex and symbiotic relationships with contemporaries, and as vital testimony to the cultural accomplishments of women conversos in early modern Europe, about which almost nothing is known. It draws upon musical analysis, critical theory, art history, Jewish studies, and my own performances and recording of her music. What emerges is a narrative in which the experience of domestic musical performance allowed Duarte to navigate the waters of social diplomacy within the broader context of cultural exchange in Antwerp.
For Walter and Jude
Acknowledgments

Many people helped me to complete this dissertation, but there are a few individuals I want to personally thank here. Thank you to my advisor, Emily Wilbourne, who worked tirelessly with me to get the job done; she met me where I was from the beginning, and this made everything possible. My husband, Jude Ziliak, provided both moral and intellectual support throughout the entire process — and took on the lion’s share of household duties as I worked. Walter’s emergence as the document grew was the very comfort I needed, at every turn.

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Introduction

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Leonora Duarte (1610–1678), a converso living in Antwerp, wrote seven five-part Sinfonias for viol consort. This is the only known seventeenth-century viol music written by a woman and testament to a formidable talent for composition. Born in Antwerp to a prominent family of merchants and art collectors who had immigrated from Portugal in the sixteenth century, Duarte very likely received a superb musical education that included instruction on harpsichord, lute, and viol, as well as lessons in counterpoint.1 Her musical evenings with her siblings quickly made her home a well-known port of call for traveling diplomats and literati, among them Constantijn Huygens, William and Margaret Cavendish, the composer Nicholas Lanier, the Dutch poet Anna Roemers Visscher, the singer Anne de la Barre, and many others.

Ethnically Jewish and female, Duarte received no commissions from church or court, and thus the existence of the Sinfonias presents a remarkable opportunity to engage with a marginalized voice and its relationship to the musical canon. This dissertation will consider Duarte and her music as products of diverse influences within the landscape of post-Inquisition Antwerp, as evidence of complex and symbiotic relationships with male contemporaries, and as vital testimony to the cultural accomplishments of women conversos in early modern Europe. It will draw upon musical analysis, critical theory, issues of gender, and my own recording of the works as musical examples (Sonnambula; Centaur Records, 2019).

By excavating little-known repertoire by a female composer, this dissertation engages in the kind of historical work that Suzanne Cusick argues becomes possible once women’s music, and by extension the music making of minority figures in general, is taken into account. By uprooting a heretofore obscure composer from a point of inferiority and relative powerlessness to a position of visibility, my feminist investigation provides insight into a multi-voiced and interdisciplinary history. This is the sort of work that can be done because it is shouldered by many thinkers before me who demanded anti-positivist approaches to music history and who opened the doors to new, non-German-centered, non-masculine-centered methods of reading sound. Many of these scholars I do not mention at all in the body of this dissertation, yet their crucial work lives with me as I write and think, like a machine humming in the background. Their work resetting boundaries for the scope of investigative musicology changed what it means to be a musicologist and has crafted how I am a musicologist. Susan McClary’s invitation to open our discipline to alternate strains of inquiry means that musical change can now be read as equal to social change. This is as enormous an idea as it is simple, yet if McClary was the Big Bang, then the explosive universe of New Musicology’s various subgenres — many of which speak to one another in the following pages — are its constellations and resonating chambers, reminding us that as scholars we must continue to open doors for alternate approaches to our discipline as they are demanded of us.

In 1980 — the year I was born — Joseph Kerman published “How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get Out,” the now-famous essay that critiqued musicology as a formalist and

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positivist discipline.\textsuperscript{4} Kerman’s essay opened up a field that until then had defined the musical work by the score and the surrounding orbit of archival material related to it. McClary, originally a scholar of madrigals,\textsuperscript{5} took Kerman’s work as an invitation to bring musicology into conversation with gender: her book \textit{Feminine Endings} (1991) broke sub-disciplinary barriers and paved the way for further investigations into power and gender in musicology.\textsuperscript{6} Similarly, Wayne Koestenbaum’s work on opera and diva culture predicated (and legitimized) autobiography as a deeply personal path into music history.\textsuperscript{7} So, too, Elisabeth Le Guin put forth the performer’s perspective as another toolkit for engaging with the past, and for unlocking further clues about music by embodying the experience of performing it.\textsuperscript{8} Emily Wilbourne has found that not only does the voice emerge with this kind of deeply personal study, but that voices are resonating all around us, all the time: some are locked behind unjust historical ignorance, some are forgotten amidst the shifting priorities of professional musicology, and still others are there but rendered silent by gendered language.\textsuperscript{9}

It is on these shoulders that I approach the story of Leonora Duarte, a musician about whom little scholarly literature exists and who as a woman, a converso, and a composer would seem to inhabit a musicological black hole. Ironically, what we do have left to us of Duarte is her music — the score: seven five-part Sinfonias remain, diverse in nature, ripe with influence and

\textsuperscript{5}Susan McClary, “The Transition from Modal to Tonal Organization in the Works of Monteverdi” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1976).
\textsuperscript{6}McClary, \textit{Feminine Endings}.
potential for those they may have influenced, and filled with beauty and scope for performance. I have performed and recorded all of them in the process of writing this dissertation (I include my recordings with this document) and have developed deeply personal relationships with each.¹⁰ Yet, rather than use the works, or my experience with them, as the way into Duarte’s world, I have decided to assemble a hornet’s nest of evidence around her life — using testimony about her abilities as a musician and knowledge of the troubled world she inhabited — then position this in direct conversation with my own experience as a viol player engaging with the music she wrote and probably performed herself.

Who was this woman whose music-making was compared to that of Monteverdi? Who was this Belgian with a Portuguese name, this Catholic daughter of a man given a Mass at his death, this epistolary companion of Margaret Cavendish — this Jewess?¹¹ We cannot ever know. But what this dissertation hopes to show is that she existed within a rich nexus of diverse influences amidst the complicated landscape of seventeenth-century Antwerp — a city that had banned the practice of Judaism and in which Judeo-Portuguese immigrants like Duarte and her family were forced to live as converted Christians, and in a time in which a deeply engrained culture of anti-Semitism positioned conversion, identity blending, and “passing” as de rigueur. These complexities resonate with my own, at times tangled, identity as a somewhat secular New Yorker with Jewish roots, replete with identity baggage that silently informs everything about my musicianship, from choosing repertoire to the way I perform it. To give all of this due voice, my methodology accordingly integrates archival research and analysis with perspectives gained from sociology, anthropology, and performance studies, resulting in what I hope will be a

richly descriptive cultural history of music from a deeply historical perspective. By engaging in formal musical analysis in the context of issues of embodiment in musical performance, I shall show that while Duarte’s music provides evidence of complex and symbiotic relationships with her surroundings, it inevitably stands as exceptional and vital testimony to the cultural accomplishments of women conversos in early modern Europe, a subject about which almost nothing is known.

* * *

Leonora Duarte is mentioned in passing by a number of sources connected to her family, and in particular in scholarship on the substantial art collection of Dutch and Italian masters held by the Duarte family; her father, Gaspar, and her brother Diego, are both well-known to art collectors and art historians and they are both referenced in a number of art catalogues. Owing to the family’s importance in the art world, most existing secondary literature on the Duarte family focuses on Gaspar, Diego, their art collection, and their role as jewel merchants whose clients included Charles I of England. Scholarship by Edgar Samuel, and more recently by Michael Zell and Walter Liedtke considers the social and cultural networks forged by the Duartes in which business and high culture commingled, but the role of music in this narrative has yet to be examined.\(^\text{12}\) Volker Manuth has suggested that Jewish art collectors might have been partial to Old Testament scenes in the art they collected, but I have found no such correlation in the Duarte

collection and agree with Zell, whose archival work reveals that many Sephardic art collectors had vast and varied tastes.\textsuperscript{13} The visual hermeneutics that Zell establishes between Rembrandt’s late biblical paintings and the ambivalent relations between Protestants and Jews in seventeenth-century Low Countries sets up an interesting counternarrative with issues of Jewish identity.\textsuperscript{14}

Occasionally, an art catalogue will venture into the interdisciplinary realm to mention the Duartes’ music making, typically motivated by a masculine narrative, as in the case of Nora de Poorter and Ben van Beneden’s \textit{Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648–1660}, which approaches music via William Cavendish’s interest in instruments and the composer Nicholas Lanier’s sideline as an art dealer and draftsman. The musicologist Lynn Hulse contributed substantially to this 2006 publication (which covers an exhibition at the Rubenshuis in Antwerp), but we do not learn anything new about Leonora not already covered in the masterful work done by the two scholars thus far closest to the musical whereabouts of the family, Timothy De Paepe and Rudolf Rasch. Rasch began work on the Duarte family in the 1990s and De Paepe a decade later; both have combed the Antwerp and Amsterdam archives for letters, accounting books, and other items directly connected to the Duarte story. Rasch’s work on the Messaus-Bull Codex (British Library MS Add. 23623) begins to make some serious suggestions about the music and tutelage to which Duarte and her siblings may have been exposed, based on his analysis of the manuscript’s handwriting and dedication (I discuss this further in Chapter One).\textsuperscript{15} De Paepe grapples in many instances with the difficult issues of converso identity and digs into Antwerp’s troubled history.\textsuperscript{16} I, too, unpack these

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[14] Zell, \textit{Reframing Rembrandt}.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
themes in Chapter One, but from the perspective of a converso who was also a woman. De Paepe is a curator at the Vleeshuismeuseum in the city of Dendermonde, about an hour to the west of Antwerp, and has curated numerous exhibitions that discuss the Duarte family, including an exhibit currently installed at the Snijders Rockoxhuis Museum in Antwerp. He recently served as the music historian for a recording by the ensemble Transports Publics that includes all of Leonora’s Sinfonias. The album, The Duarte Circle, Antwerp, 1640, was released in 2018\textsuperscript{17} but recorded two years after my own, Leonora Duarte (1610–1678): The Complete Works (recorded 2016; released 2019). Like my dissertation, my recording specifically uses Duarte as the entryway into the larger world inhabited by her family, and as such lies at the intersections of both music and gender and race and ethnicity. Transports Publics’ album includes a contemporary piece in Sephardic style as its final track, inspired by the (as yet unidentifiable) cantus firmus of one of Duarte’s Sinfonias: the group attributes the work to “Traditional / Leonora Duarte,” assuming a connection to a certain version of Jewish heritage that I consider as problematic as it is fictionalized. We do not know how connected any of the Duarte family felt to their Jewishness or Sephardic roots — and as I make clear in chapters to come, answering this question should not be our goal for the simple reason that we will never know, unless Duarte’s diaries or personal memoires are discovered.\textsuperscript{18}

This “curious” (to borrow a term from art history connoting otherness) track is but one point of entry into the larger and more complex discussion of Jewishness and race that inevitably

\textsuperscript{17} Thomas Baeté, The Duarte Circle - Antwerp 1640. Transports Publics. Musica Ficta MF 8028, 2018, compact disc.

\textsuperscript{18} There is one female Jewish diarist from the seventeenth century whose memoirs are known to exist, Glückel of Hameln (1646–1724). Her writings detail the events of her life in the ghetto of the German city of Hameln in Lower Saxony; a widow with fourteen children, she was in a very different situation from Duarte, yet there are similarities in some of the subjects that concerned them both, such as the hysteria of the false messiah Sabbatay Sevi, something which the Duartes were undoubtedly aware (see Chapter Four). See The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln, trans. Marvin Lowenthal (New York: Schocken Books, 1977).
underlies any study of Duarte, a converso. As a converted Catholic, is Duarte, after all, a “Jewish composer?” If we define “Jewish composer” in the early modern period as someone writing music for the synagogue, then the answer is no. One such composer with whom Duarte is sometimes compared is Salamone Rossi (1570–1630). De Paepe writes in his program note to the Transports Publics disc that the program “includes a nod in the direction of the Duartes’ Sephardic roots with music by Salamone Rossi and the Sephardic song El paso del mar rojo.”

Reporting on Duarte for the *Journal of Synagogue Music*, Victor Tunkel remarked on a separate occasion that,

> At a recent concert in London, an item by Salamone Rossi was introduced as by “the first Jewish composer since King David.” By that criterion we may say that the first Jewish woman composer since Miriam and Deborah was Leonora Duarte.

Duarte was not writing for the synagogue for two reasons: she was a woman, and her Jewishness was illegal in her home city and throughout her lifetime. As intriguing as the allusions to Rossi are, they reveal a circumscribed understanding of Jewishness here applied to the musical realm. Duarte’s complicated, and in many ways unidentifiable, relationship with Judaism does not fit into the same category that music history has carved out for Rossi, innovative and crucial though Rossi was in his revitalization of Hebraic song (and mastery of melody!). Deemed ethnically Jewish by Antwerp’s authorities, and, as shall be seen, part of a community of conversos whose identity congealed in the face of double-edged persecution, Duarte rather expands the notion of what it means to be a “Jewish composer” in the early modern world — writing for the domestic

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19 Timothy De Paepe, “Notes,” in Baeté, *The Duarte Circle*.
21 One recent antithesis to this version of Rossi reception is Joshua Jacobson’s recent study of Rossi, which calls Rossi “bicultural” in his ability to succeed at the Mantuan court alongside Monteverdi and while simultaneously introducing polyphonic motets with Hebrew liturgical lyrics to the synagogue. See Joshua R. Jacobson, *Salamone Rossi: Renaissance Man of Jewish Music* (Teetz: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2016).
space, inspired by knowledge of a wealth of instruments she played proficiently, and defying prescribed notions of what it meant to be an educated woman in her day. I hope to show that Duarte’s Jewishness lives on through her music insofar as her corpus exists as a legacy of her own very complex history.

* * *

Despite the crucial archival work already performed on the Duarte family, no work of scholarship exists that focuses on Duarte’s music or which considers her family’s complex story from Duarte’s perspective. In fact, there have been very few monographs devoted to early-modern female composers. Ellen Rosand was the first to treat Barbara Strozzi (1619–1677) in a comprehensive manner; Rosand’s trailblazing work from the late 1970s and early 1980s took into account the context in which Strozzi lived and worked.22 Her work on the “composer’s voice” uncovers how the female performer negotiated the physicality of the body while writing and performing music, and in many ways foreshadows work in later years in which the “voice” and the body of the female musician are understood as integrated, hermeneutic entities. Suzanne Cusick’s more recent work on Francesca Caccini (c. 1587–after 1641) argues that Caccini’s success as a composer and performer was contingent on her ruling over the minds and bodies of her audiences.23 She inverts the notion of the performer’s body as expressive vessel and argues that although Caccini was a subject, she was also a sovereign while singing.24 Other female

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23 Cusick, Francesca Caccini.
24 The Italian composer and nun, Isabella Leonarda (1620–1704), has been the subject of a dissertation in Polish and a conference with published proceedings. See Domenico Carboni, In Honor of the Nun Isabella Leonarda (1620–1704): The Unheard Voices of Women (Rome: Colombo, 2006).
composers in the early modern world are mentioned in compendiums; beyond that, literature focusing on female composers in the early-modern world is scant, and in the Low Countries it does not exist at all.

Some scholars in the last decade have begun to work on women performers in the early modern period. Among them are Linda Austern, who has written on the mythic female musician in the early-modern period, arguing that early modern thinkers allegorized music in a feminine sense, as nurturing and maternal — even as Venus, herself.25 These images, Austern contends, provided a powerful model for men in their depictions and understanding of the female musician. Bonnie Gordon has written about some of the women who first performed in Monteverdi’s operas, arguing that Monteverdi’s music allowed them to offer empowered performances at a time when women were not encouraged to sing.26 Emily Wilbourne uses the specific case of the commedia dell’arte performer, Virginia Ramponi Andreini (1583–1630/1), to complicate distinctions in the early modern period between “high” and “low” culture.27 Wilbourne’s work reveals that performance in the seventeenth century was fluid and improvisatory, and calls for a similarly adaptable historiographical approach.

Even more recently, some scholars have turned to studies of Jewish women, though converso-ism and culture-sharing are only rarely part of the female narrative — and none are musicological. Daniel Swetschinski’s discussion of the changes that Sephardic émigrés from Spain and Portugal were forced to make upon arrival in northern Europe juxtaposes the

difference between Amsterdam, where Jews could live openly, and Antwerp, where they had to live as conversos. As such, the discussion would seem ripe for exploration of the domestic sphere, but women are not at all a part of the narrative.28 Much has been written on both the anti-Semitism (contra Jews) and anti-Judaism (contra the Jewish religion) that plagued Antwerp in the wake of the Inquisition in the seventeenth century — and which must have shaped Leonora’s experience within her community. Cecil Roth’s work of 1959 assesses the contributions made by Jews to intellectual life in European urban centers — including those made by women — though he mentions neither Leonora nor any other members of the Duarte family.29 One of the scholars who uses cultural historical work to inform us about the whereabouts of women in this historical context is Erith Jaffe-Berg, who is currently working on Gracia Mendes Nasi (1510–1569), a Portuguese converso (sometimes referred to by her Christian name, Beatrice de Luna) whose family emigrated from Spain after being forced to convert, and who eventually settled in Antwerp.30 In Antwerp, Nasi became deeply involved in her family’s business, though unlike Duarte, she did so from a purely business standpoint, trading goods and arranging monetary transactions; never was music-making, or culture sharing generally, part of her brand of network building. In this sense, the Venetian converso Sarra Copia Sulam (c. 1592–1641) is an interesting counterpart to both Nasi and Duarte: she was a poet who held a salon in her home, publishing numerous poems, letters, and a manifesto — yet, unlike de Luna and Duarte, Sulam emigrated

with her family to Venice, where they could live openly as Jews.31 Sulam’s case is, however, also similar to that of the Antwerp conversos in that Jews where ghettoized in Venice and enclosed, as Dana Katz has described it, in order to be put on display.32

Unfortunately, no comprehensive inventory exists of the Duarte library or of the items contained in their home on the Meir but there is some archival material that survives from the Duarte household which references their lives.33 There are also about a dozen reports from travelers and visitors to the family home that describe the Duartes’ superb abilities as performing musicians. These eyewitnesses include the English diarist John Evelyn, in 1641,34 and William Swann, an English captain in the Dutch army, in 1648.35 These accounts are discussed throughout the dissertation and included in a comprehensive list presented as Table 1.1.

Correspondence between Gaspar and Diego Duarte and the Dutch diplomat, poet, and composer Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) frequently references the family’s busy musical life. Their letters appear in Dutch, English, and French and are transcribed (and sometimes translated into English) by De Paepe36 and Rasch.37 The first correspondence between Huygens and Gaspar Duarte dates from 1640 and contains mutual requests for guidance on the purchase of

33 An inventory of their art collection exists, however, and is located in the Royal Library in Brussels (MS 1194). It was originally published by Frederik Muller in 1870 as “Catalogus der Schilderijen van Diego Duarte, te Amsterdam in 1682, Met de Prijzen van Aankoop en Taxatie,” Do Oude Tijd (1870), 397–402.
36 De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience.”
a jewel by Duarte from Huygens’s employer, stadholder Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange.\textsuperscript{38} During his lifetime, Gaspar’s oldest son, Diego, also kept up correspondence with Huygens: five letters from Diego to Huygens survive (1673, 1683–1687) and two survive from Huygens to Diego (1656, 1687): these letters were found in a copybook inventoried by a cousin in Amsterdam, Manuel Levy Duarte (1631–1713), and are currently held in the Amsterdam City Archives.\textsuperscript{39} Various members of the Duarte family are mentioned in letters by Huygens’s sons, Constantijn Jr. and Christiaan; Huygens’s daughter, Susanna; musician Utricia Ogle and her husband William Swann; Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle;\textsuperscript{40} and Béatrix de Cusance, the Duchess of Lorraine — all of these individuals were frequent visitors to the Duarte home in Antwerp and would have heard Leonora and her siblings play.\textsuperscript{41} Diego Duarte is also mentioned in conjunction with several of his own musical compositions, as discussed in Chapter One (none of Diego’s compositions survive).\textsuperscript{42}

I discuss these letters at various points over the course of the dissertation; they attest that the Duartes were serious musical patrons and practitioners as well as art collectors, and that music, instruments, and performance played as central a role in their social lives as did painting.

\textsuperscript{38} Rasch, “Musical Patrons,” 420.
\textsuperscript{39} Archive 334 (Portuguese Jewish Community), no. 682. Rasch reports that it is heavily damaged either by fire or water or both and can only be partly read. See Rasch, “Musical Patrons,” 420.
\textsuperscript{40} Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letters CCII and CCVI,” \textit{CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle}, Early English Books Online, accessed April 20, 2019: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.206?rgn=div2;view=fulltext.
\textsuperscript{41} Rasch, “Musical Patrons,” 421.
Both De Paepe and Rasch have used the letters to study the family’s musical patronage, but neither scholar discusses Duarte, specifically, as part of the cultural web of the family’s influence, even though through their crucial work we learn that potential clients were impressed with Duarte’s playing and singing when visiting the family home. In this dissertation many letters between Gaspar and Diego Duarte and Constantijn Huygens, or letters referencing the Duarte family, are translated into English for the first time and are used to uncover clues about our protagonist. Although Rasch stated in 1994 that none of Gaspar Duarte’s letters to Huygens survive,\textsuperscript{43} thirteen letters were subsequently uncovered, by both Rasch and others. Many of Huygens’s surviving letters, including those to Gaspar and Diego, were edited and published in an early twentieth-century edition by J. A. Worp in 1911–1917 as \textit{De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687)}.\textsuperscript{44} Rasch’s transcriptions and summaries of Huygens’ letters includes transcriptions and summaries in Dutch, French, and at times English; this was published in 2007\textsuperscript{45} and is also available online.\textsuperscript{46} The publication and easy availability of the letters has proven invaluable to a researcher in New York (most of the originals are in archives in Belgium and The Netherlands);\textsuperscript{47} despite their availability, they have not been used to craft any secondary literature about female composers in the early modern Low Countries until now. Although Leonora is not physically present in every document, she inhabits the collective world they paint.

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\textsuperscript{43} Rasch, “Musical Patrons,” 420.

\textsuperscript{44} J. A. Worp, \textit{De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687)} (Nijhoff: ‘s-Gravenhage, 1911–1917).


\textsuperscript{47} A complete list of references to the Duarte family in letters is presented at the end of Chapter One as Table 1.1.
In my first chapter, I develop a perspective on Duarte’s world and its musical landscape by outlining the music that the family knew in juxtaposition with laudatory testimony about their musical abilities. Letters reveal just how extended the musical circles were in which the Duartes traveled; the Duartes’s social relationships were forged by the continental networks that Gaspar and Diego cultivated through their jewel trade, by their connections to England, and by Duarte and her siblings in the domestic space of their home. While it is not known what manuscripts of music the Duartes owned, the presence of music books in the Duarte household is confirmed by letters. Stephen Rose and others have argued that the circulation of music manuscripts (socially and via commerce) set limits on the accessibility of new music to the consumers who owned them. In this chapter I lay the groundwork for the place of music in Duarte’s world and consider how Antwerp was as a contested site for different identity groups — converso residents, Protestants, English royalists in exile, Catholics, etc. — all of whom asserted competing claims to either exclusivity and authority, or submission and compliance. The Duartes were exposed to English music by the Cavendishes and by composers such as Nicholas Lanier — who spent a period of time living in the Duarte home while in exile from England — and most likely John Bull, who was appointed music director to Antwerp Cathedral in 1615. French airs de cour and Italian madrigals were known to them via Huygens and others. Their networks drew them to

51 Rasch, “Musical Patrons.”
52 Rasch, “Musical Patrons.”
luthery, to contemporary music written in their local parish church, and eventually to the English court “at a time,” writes Lisa Jardine, “when it was easier for a Londoner to travel to Amsterdam than to Lincolnshire.”

Chapter One also addresses the complicated issue of identity within Antwerp amidst the city’s sordid history of anti-Semitism, the effects of which directly affected members of the Duarte family. One such was Abraham Athias, the father of a close business associate of the Duartes: his death in Cordoba in 1665 by burning at the stake occurred nearly a century after Cullen Murphy and other Inquisition scholars have generally placed this form of torture in the current understanding of Inquisition persecution. Existing literature on the converso experience in Antwerp, amidst this and other threats, has looked at shared empathy among converso merchants in the city, and some scholars have suggested that the converso community was comprised of strangers united not only by shared language and family history, but also by a shared sense of living in exile. Whether the Duartes were close with the “sister” converso community of London, and what their interactions were like with professional Jewish musicians living and working in England, is not widely documented. This chapter unravels how the Duarte family’s (constructions of) social status informed — and was informed by — their experience as conversos within this complex and poly-voiced environment. Amidst this soundscape, I briefly consider Leonora’s musical education within the context of education manuals prescribing varying versions of the ideal educated woman. My reading places Duarte’s Antwerp as a cultural (and multicultural) metropolis where thoughts on women’s education evolved in a symbiotic

dance with — and away from — religious education and in which the domestic chamber opened doors that allowed women to study and to acquire erudition in various domains.

Chapter Two considers music’s use in business transactions by the Duarte family and Leonora’s role in these negotiations. My overarching perspective is that music, in its capacity as a conversation tool and shared social activity, served as a salve for business dealings, and that Leonora not only participated in but stimulated these transactions. Letters reveal that conversation about music frequently occurred in conjunction with business dealings in the Duarte enterprise. Gaspar’s letters to Constantijn Huygens in advance of an important jewel sale begin with anecdotes about playing music, the purchase of new music, or extended commentaries on music.56 Insofar as the Duarte household was a port of call for traveling businessmen who would be treated to a performance by Leonora and her siblings while passing through the city, the business deals discussed were primed by Duarte’s abilities to draw visitors in.57 No scholarship on the family has yet touched on the particular importance of Leonora’s role as a composer or excavated specifically how her talents overlapped with the family’s network-building, despite the fact that her musical skills are repeatedly mentioned, almost as an aside, in conjunction with the family’s professional enterprise.

Chapter Three extends Chapter Two’s argument that music-making enhanced business dealings by examining Duarte’s performing in the context of the family’s Kunstkammer. Inspired by Amy Brosius’ contention that the Kunstkammer can provide critical insight into the education, social standing, or aspirations of its owners,58 I read the Duarte Kunstkammer as a

57 Katie Whitaker, Mad Madge: The Extraordinary Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, the First Woman to Live by Her Pen (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 119.
testament to the family’s investment in empirical observation and the specific connections between observation and social status that are particularly encouraged by this semi-public space. Ariane Suchtelen and Ben van Beneden have shown that the owners of Kunstkammern in Antwerp were mostly merchants, and that many of them were conversos.\textsuperscript{59} Koenraad Jonckheere’s research reveals that Diego Duarte kept detailed notes on the provenance of the family’s possessions, which was a practice that lent an air of professionalism to his art dealership and established him as an authority on the subject of master paintings and music at a time when many gentlemen owners of Kunstkammern collected as amateurs.\textsuperscript{60} De Paepe has suggested that the Duartes used their patronage of art and music to forge neutral territory between Jews and non-Jews,\textsuperscript{61} a theory that can be enriched and complicated when Leonora’s musical abilities are taken into account.

My thesis, however, is that musical performance leveraged power within the family home and helped to determine professional success, just as it did in their letters. In this chapter I argue that a portrait of the Duarte family — painted by Gonzales Coques in the 1650s, a work in which Leonora is prominently featured as a musician\textsuperscript{62} — is encoded with information about how her family prized Leonora’s musicianship. Its resemblance to an Antwerp-based genre of paintings that depicts Kunstkammern further solidifies my theory that Duarte, herself, was a crucial object of display. This idea is also reflected in works the family owned. One such painting, The

\textsuperscript{59} Ariane Suchtelen and Ben van Beneden, \textit{Willem van Haecht: Room for Art in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp} (Antwerp: Rubenshuis, 2009).
\textsuperscript{61} De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 182.
\textsuperscript{62} Today the painting is in the collection of the Szépmüvészeti Múzeum, Budapest, under the title “Family Portrait.” De Paepe identifies the sitters as the Duarte family which can be confirmed by comparing their likenesses with other known portraits of Gaspar and Diego II.
Serenade, by Frans van Mieris the Elder of 1678–80 (reproduced as Figure 3.1) depicts a woman engaged in music-making in which numerous elements are juxtaposed. Similarly, when performing, Duarte was inevitably juxtaposed with works in her family’s collection, a fact that sheds light on the pride of place that high culture, musical performance, and she herself held in the family, and that thus complicates our knowledge about the early modern practice of collecting and display.

In this Chapter I analyze Sinfonia No. 3 as a musical Kunstkammer: building on the work of Rebecca Cypess and others, I reveal how points of difference are displayed in ways that resemble the multiculturalism of the collector’s cabinet. Duarte juxtaposes homophony with imitation to create space in her work from which to observe surroundings and which set the other elements in relief. Coupled with a performative analysis, I investigate how “the sight of sound” moves from the musical score to Duarte’s body.

Chapter Four centers around one of two surviving letters addressed to Leonora Duarte by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, a lengthy discourse on alchemy. Given how closely the intellectual, scientific, and cultural worlds of Britain and The Netherlands overlapped in the seventeenth century, Cavendish’s lengthy missive is evidence for the intellectual camaraderie shared by two women in the salon. Neither of Cavendish’s letters to Duarte have been discussed primarily in reference to the composer, but the alchemical letter has been used in a discussion about Judaism and Kabbalah by a scholar who has forged links between the letter

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63 Rebecca Cypess, “‘Die Natur und Kunst zu Betrachten’: Carlo Farina’s Capriccio Stravagante (1627) and the Cultures of Collecting at the Court of Saxony,” The Musical Quarterly 95 (Spring 2012): 139–92.
65 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letter CCVI,” CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, Early English Books Online, accessed April 20, 2019: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.202?rgn=div2;view=fulltext
and Jewish mysticism, again relegating Duarte to a particular brand of Jewish identity that she may or may not have embodied. I focus on the second of these two letters and re-contextualize it alongside seventeenth-century writings about mysticism, natural magic, and chemistry as a means of linking Duarte to a tradition of musical intellectualism. I cast a wide net around the co-mingled histories of music and science to reveal that alchemy need not stand in as an indicator of scientific (il)legitimacy or racial distinction. Of interest to early modern men and women of letters alike, alchemy was a topic discussed in the salon. Here I turn to Sinfonia No. 4 — a work that rapidly transmutates between styles — and consider Leonora’s place in the discourse surrounding music’s alchemical abilities to move the emotions in the seventeenth century.

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In 1678, at the age of 68, Duarte died, along with her sisters Catharina and Francisca, most likely of the plague. Neither Duarte nor any of her siblings married or had children; Gaspar II would die in 1685, leaving Diego all alone in the house with a coachman and two maids.67 Leonora Duarte’s situation — and her success — in seventeenth-century Antwerp, converso, and a music-making woman is an exception within her circumstances. The survival of her music and accounts of her music making demonstrate the uses and the networks of music at a much wider and fundamental level in early modern European contexts, and in ways that make evident a role and place for music that is neither the church nor the state, but instead an investment in a bourgeois identity that in many ways foreshadows the use of music in later centuries. Bringing this to light in its many historical contexts recalls a sentiment from Huygens, in one of the last

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letters he was to write: “I greatly appreciate finding myself so deeply involved with the succession of musical products with which the noble house of Duarte has delighted and honored the world at all times.”

68 Constantijn Huygens to Diego Duarte, The Hague, January 20, 1687; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 49–3, 1131–1132. Huygens is touched by Diego’s decision to dedicate his Godeau settings to him. Huygens also mentions that he had taken care of a new binding for Diego’s manuscript. Translated and quoted by Rudolf A. Rasch in Rasch, “The Antwerp Duarte Family as Musical Patrons,” in Orlandus Lassus and His Time, Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerp, August 24–26, 1994 (Peer: Alamire, 1995), 423; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/7251. “Nu het, door UE. onverdiende gunst anders is uitgevallen, ben ick gehouden te erkennen, sulx ick van herten doe bij desen, dat ick hooghlijck estimeere mij soo diep te vinden in de successie van de musieckele productiën, daer mede het edele huys Duarte van allen tijden de wereld heeft verheught, ende vereert; ende derve vertrouwen, indien mijn goede vriend en heer Uw vader saliger opsien moghte, dat hij mij dit geluck niet en soude willen misgunnen.”
Chapter One

On July 13, 1648, William Swann (1619–1678), an English captain in the Dutch army, spent an evening at the Antwerp home of Gaspar Duarte (1584–1653), a converted Catholic (or converso) of Portuguese Jewish descent, a successful jewel merchant, art collector, and appraiser. Swann wrote home to their mutual friend, the poet and diplomat Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687):

For Monsieur de Warty [sic] and his daughters I have heard to the fulle. Indeed they make a fyne consort and harmony for luts, viols, virginals and voyces. I doubt not but you will fynde great contentment by hearing them.¹

Swann was not alone in his admiration. Moved by the beauty of the city of Antwerp, John Evelyn (1620–1706) recorded in his diary on October 5, 1641,

But there was nothing about this city which more ravished me than those delicious shades and walks of stately trees, which render the fortified works of the town one of the sweetest places in Europe; nor did I ever observe a more quiet, clean, elegantly built, and civil place, than this magnificent and famous city of Antwerp. In the evening, I was invited to Signor Duerte’s [sic], a Portuguese by nation, an exceeding rich merchant, whose palace I found to be furnished like a prince’s. His three daughters entertained us with rare music, vocal and instrumental, which was finished with a handsome collation. I took leave of the ladies and of sweet Antwerp, as late as it was, embarking for Brussels on the Scheldt in a vessel, which delivered us to a second boat (in another river) drawn or towed by horses.²

Over a dozen surviving letters attest to the fact that listening to Duarte’s musically talented daughters perform at their palatial home on Antwerp’s Meir was a widely celebrated activity for travelers. Following the English Civil War many of the Duarte’s visitors were English, many of whom were Protestant royalists in exile. For the Duartes, these connections were in large part facilitated by Gaspar’s position as jeweler and jewel agent to Charles I; Gaspar relocated his business to Antwerp after the execution of the king, but kept up with many English clients, some of whom had also, like him, converted to Catholicism. Some letters to and about the family come from English royalists in exile in Antwerp during the Commonwealth such as Margaret Cavendish (1623–1673), who published two letters addressed to Leonora (discussed in depth in Chapters One and Four) and her husband William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle (1592–1676), an avid viol player. Various members of the Duarte family are mentioned in letters by Huygens’s children; by Swann’s wife, musician Utricia Ogle Swann (1611–1674), a distant cousin of William Cavendish; and by the Duchess of Lorraine, Béatrix de Cusance (1614–1663), another close friend of Huygens. Documented visitors to the home also include the English musician and composer Nicholas Lanier (1588–1666), the Dutch poet Anna Roemers Visscher

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4 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letters CCII and CCVI,” CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, Early English Books Online, accessed October 20, 2017: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.206?rgn=div2;view=fulltext.
6 Constantijn Huygens, Jr. (1628–1697), Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695), Lodewijk Huygens (1631–1699), and Susanna Huygens (1637–1725).
7 By 1626, Lanier was named Master of the King’s Music. After the English Civil War, he spent 15 years in exile on the Continent, then upon the Restoration came back to England, where he took up his prior position under Charles II. He continued to give concerts until shortly before his death. See Tim Crawford, “Constantijn Huygens and the ‘Engelsche Viool’,” *Chelys* 18 (1989): 43–44. See also Stijn Alsteens and Adam Eaker, *Van Dyck: The Anatomy of Portraiture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 104.
(1584–1651), and the singer Anne de la Barre (1628–1688). All of these individuals would have heard the Duarte siblings play; many were moved to the point of leaving testimony. A complete list of primary sources documenting the music making in the Duarte home can be found in Appendix 1.

There was an exceptional quality to the family gatherings that Italian traveler Guillelmo Calandrini (fl. 1638) noticed when he, too, visited the home sometime in 1638. Afterward, in a striking letter dated September 25, 1638, he wrote to Huygens that he longed to hear the Duartes perform again. He wrote that upon returning to England after six years on the Continent, he hoped to find “music with which to renew the music making at the home of the Duarte in Antwerp, only comparable to what [he] had experienced in Venice under the guidance of Monteverdi.” The letter, reproduced below as Appendix 3, is significant not only for Calandrini’s comparison of the Duartes to Monteverdi, a composer whose music had a specific public and political function, but in its singling out of quality, “very worthy and deserving in

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8 Anna Roemers Visscher was also the daughter of a merchant. She was highly educated and well-known for her talents in glass engraving and left, amongst other works, a diamond-cut glass engraved with a poem by Constantijn Huygens. Today this is located in the Rijksmuseum.

9 A daughter of Pierre Chabanceau de La Barre (1592–1656), organist of the chapelle royale at Notre-Dame, Anne de la Barre was a renowned musician in her own right and sang in several of Lully’s comédie-ballets. She was named was named fille ordinaire de la musique de la Chambre du Roi in 1661 by Louis XIV.


12 Calandrini to Huygens, September 25, 1638. See Appendix 3.
every aspect.” If we take Calandrini at his word, the same level of performance is found — and talked about — in the living room of a converso merchant in seventeenth-century Antwerp as in the most important church in Venice.

Gaspar’s parents Diego Duarte I (c. 1544–1626) and Leonora Rodrigues (c. 1565–1632) likely came to Antwerp from Lisbon shortly before 1571,13 joining a wave of Jews who left Portugal in order to escape the Portuguese Inquisition, which had begun in the early sixteenth century. It was illegal to practice Judaism openly in Antwerp, but rather than move to Amsterdam where they could have lived openly as Jews, many, especially merchants like the Duartes, came to the busy port city seeking business and lived as New Christians, or conversos.14 Of Gaspar’s six children — Leonora (1610–1678), Diego II (1612–1691; hereafter “Diego”), Catharina (1614–1678), Gaspar II (1616–c. 1685), Francisca (1619–1678), and finally Isabella (1620–?) — all but two are known to have sung and played instruments; only Leonora and Diego are known to have composed, though none of Diego’s compositions survive. It is likely that all of Gaspar’s children played instruments and sang. Sara Mendelson writes that Leonora’s sister, Francisca, was often singled out for her beautiful singing voice, and was nicknamed the “rossignol anversois” (Antwerp nightingale), though without stating by whom and with no reference.15 Further research shows it was another Francisca Duarte, Leonora’s aunt, Francisca (ca. 1595–1646), who was so nicknamed: this Francisca was a celebrated singer who performed in front of Marie de Medici16 — she moved to the Netherlands where she became part of the

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“Muiderkring,” a salon centered around the poet Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581–1647), who dedicated a poem to Francisca (“Frankje, nu neem jck het sen…”).\(^{17}\) She is referred to as the “nightingale” in Constantijn Huygens’ journals and scholars such as Evert Robles have suggested that the nickname originates from Huygens.\(^{18}\) Gaspar, too, was very musical; he sang, and played the lute and harpsichord. A poem\(^ {19}\) by Anna Roemer Visscher, who had heard him in 1640 with his daughters in Antwerp, attests to his competence.\(^ {20}\) Her poem, “To Mr. Duarte, on having heard him sing with his daughters,” compares Gaspar to Orpheus and Amphion, the two greatest musicians of Classical Antiquity. She writes, “When Duarte and / His daughters delight / They accomplish much bigger things…”\(^ {21}\) The work is reproduced below as Appendix 4.

Sometime in the middle of the century, Gaspar’s oldest child, Leonora, wrote seven five-part Sinfonias for viol consort — this is currently the only seventeenth-century viol music known to have been written by a woman and proof of what was likely superb instruction on harpsichord, lute, viol, and in counterpoint.\(^ {22}\) The fact of the work’s composition is in many ways an anomaly: we know next to nothing about the cultural practices of conversos in the seventeenth century, let alone in Antwerp. Leaving aside the traditional body of early music sources as a means of access to Renaissance or early Baroque repertoires, the few material traces of Leonora’s life testify to a larger domestic music-making practice amongst conversos that has been largely lost to history,

\(^ {17}\) Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Gedichten van P. Cz. Hooft: eerste volledige uitgave gedeeltelijk naar des dichters eigen handschrift, P.N. van Kampen, 1871, 329.

\(^ {18}\) Robles, “Diego Duarte (1544–1628).”

\(^ {19}\) Anna Visscher’s father, Roemer Visscher, published a collection of poems called “Sinnepoppen” (Meaningful Images) in 1614, later editions of which contained a number of short poems and emblems by Anna. This was the first time that a Dutch woman’s name appeared on the title page of a printed book. See Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen, *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters* (London: Routledge, 2016).


\(^ {21}\) Anna Roemers Visscher, *Alle de Gedichten van Anna Roemers Visscher 2* (Utrecht: J. L. Beijers, 1881), 249. “It’s not I / When it is the Duarte ghijs / Met u Dochters lust te singen / doet ghijs vrij al grooter dingen…” The poem is reproduced in full in Appendix 4.

\(^ {22}\) Rasch, “Musical Patrons.”
despite its role in allowing mercantile families like hers to sustain associations with non-Jewish upper classes. The tremendous upward mobility that education, access to instruments, and networking granted her family disguised the business aspects in which both the Duartes and their clients were engaged. In Chapter Two I discuss the extent to which Leonora and her siblings enhanced the social networks that encouraged the family business. In this chapter, I outline the circumstances surrounding the works’ composition, the music and instruments Leonora may have known, and parse out the complex issues of converso identity. By nearly all measures, Leonora Duarte is an extraordinary figure. Studying her and the context in which she lived and wrote illuminates numerous intersections between performer and composer, converso and woman, and someone who simultaneously inhabits both domestic and, as the letters cited above attest, very public spaces.

I. The Duarte Family

Gaspar and his family were registered as Catholics — like many Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, they either converted by force or by choice during the Inquisition. Indeed, most of the Portuguese population in Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were newly-converted Catholics — referred to during the Inquisition as New Christians or conversos, to distinguish them from Old Christians, or descendants of conversos whose families had immigrated and converted before them. Timothy De Paepe searched through sixteenth- and seventeenth-century church registers in Antwerp and reports that many of the city’s parishes were comprised primarily of Portuguese and Spanish names.\(^{23}\) It is unclear when the Duarte family converted, but all six of Gaspar’s children were baptized and many members of the family

are buried in the cemetery of their local parish church, St. James’ Church (Sint-Jacobskerk), an institution that the Duarte family also supported as patrons, at one point helping to build stonework decoration on one of the church porches. Other members of the Duarte family are buried in the Beth Haim cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel (The Netherlands) and, as De Paepe has written, it is from graves there that we learn of the Duarte family’s coat of arms and of their original Hebrew surname, Abolais.

Suspicion surrounded the legitimacy of conversos as Christians and followed them throughout exile; such suspicions are an inseparable factor in studying their history. Mendelson, in a study of Margaret Cavendish’s interactions with the Duartes, makes the claim that Gaspar’s wife, Catharina Rodrigues (1584–1644), appears to have avoided baptism. According to Jewish law, this meant that her children would have been recognized as Jews — from the contemporary Christian viewpoint, this would have rendered their status ambiguous or even suspect. I have not found any evidence for whether or not Catharina avoided baptism, but the issue it raises is substantial. Many conversos in the early modern period tried to avoid any circumstances that would lead to the forbidden worship of images as they practiced Catholicism in exile; there is evidence of even those forced to convert attempting to lessen the power and significance of the baptismal act. This recalls the testimony of the Mexican converso Clara de Rivera, who in 1646

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25 De Paepe, “A Conoso’s Experience,” 169. De Paepe also cites the research of Hans Pohl for this claim, but Pohl is now quite dated. See Hans Pohl, Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567–1648): Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit (Wiesbaden, 1977). The name is found on the coat of arms on Diego Duarte I’s tombstone as well as on several tombs in the Beth Haim cemetery in the Ouderkerk aan de Amstel (The Netherlands).
“refused to enter churches so that she would not have to bow to the saints because that was the worst sin that Judaizers could commit.”  

It also evokes the story of converso João de Victoria, whose confession was recorded in 1587 by the Inquisitors of Lisbon. João’s sister married a converso from Antwerp named Alvaro Rodrigues, and when visiting them both there, asked where he might go to hear mass. This apparently caused Rodrigues to “laugh at him... and to induce him to become a Jew.” Even if Leonora’s mother avoided baptism in a figurative sense — like Alvaro Rodrigues and many others like him — the possibility sheds light on an ambiguity that many in Leonora’s position in Antwerp as a member of a converso family would have had to endure.

Lisa Jardine has researched the Duarte’s arrival in Antwerp as part of a study of Dutch mercantile and diplomatic relations with England but does not discuss the issue of avoided baptism. Based on research carried out at the Joods Historische Museum of Amsterdam, she concludes that Gaspar’s parents, Diego Duarte I and Leonora Rodrigues, arrived in Antwerp from Lisbon in 1591, during a wave of Jewish immigration from the Iberian Peninsula to the Low Countries in the wake of the Portuguese Inquisition. De Paepe, has written in earlier work that Diego I’s father (Leonora’s great grandfather), Francisco Fernandes, came to Antwerp, and sometime before 1570, at a time when Antwerp was one of the richest cities in Europe. This is based on Israel Révah’s work of 1963 that cites the entry “Francisco Fernandes con familia” on a

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29 Rehusaba entrar en los templos por no arrodillarse a los santos, por se el mayor percado que dicen los judaizantes se puede cometer (Garcia, 1910, 91); quoted in Gitlitz, Secrecy and Deceit, 173, n. 83.
30 Gitlitz, Secrecy and Deceit, 233.
31 Tendo estudado latim no collegio de Santa Antão, uma sua irma casou com um Alvaro Rodrigues, christão novo de Anvers, a quem acompanhava para essa terra. Ahi perguntou ao seu cunhado a ao irmão d’ella, Antonia Carvalho, onde se deveria ir à missa, de que elles se riram. Comerçaram no depois a induzir para ser judeu (Baiao, 1921, 225); quoted in Gitlitz, Secrecy and Deceit, 241–242, n. 63.
32 Jardine, Going Dutch, 177.
list of New Christians entering Antwerp in 1571. If so, this would have been during the second of two periods of immigration following the Inquisition; Jews had begun to leave Portugal for the Low Countries as early as the 1560s, though the number of immigrants substantially increased in 1580 when Portugal unified with Spain. Few Jews are mentioned in Antwerp before the fifteenth century and the first substantial community was established with the arrival of immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula, many of whom were merchants who specifically contributed to the economic prosperity of the city. The fact of their presence in Antwerp can thus directly link the Duarte family to the fact that in the sixteenth century, Antwerp was one of the richest cities in Europe.

Diego I, like many Jews from Spain and Portugal, became involved in the jewel industry; his son, Gaspar, continued the family business, building it and gaining success by trading in gems and designing jewelry. In 1609 Gaspar married the aforementioned Christina Rodriguez, also of Judeo-Portuguese descent, and in 1610, their first child, Leonora, was born. Shortly thereafter came the other children, Diego in 1612, Catharina in 1614, Gaspar II in 1616, Francisca in 1619, and finally Isabella in 1620. A family tree is located below as Appendix 6. By 1615, Gaspar had moved the family into the house on Antwerp’s fashionable Meir, between Veniusstraat and Kolveniersstraat, a stately building that was originally built in 1561 for the wealthy Antwerp magistrate, Bernardino de Succo. On January 22, 1656, Duchess of Lorraine, Béatrix de Cusance (1614–1663) wrote a letter to Constantijn Huygens in which she remarked,

“I am staying in the nicest house in Antwerp, namely that of the Duartes.”40 Huygens replied a few days later that he was jealous of his friend and that he wished that he, too, were in “the house of harmony.”41 Sadly, the house that Evelyn had remarked was “furnished like a prince’s” was torn down in the early twentieth century,42 but can be seen in the nineteenth-century photograph reproduced below as Figure 1.1.

As his business flourished, Gaspar spent time collecting, trading, and commissioning art.

In 1683, an inventory by Diego of the family’s art collection included over 200 works.43 After Diego’s death, the collection passed into the hands of a cousin in Amsterdam — Manuel Levy Duarte (1631–1713), a practicing Jew married to one of Gaspar’s nieces, Constancia (c. 1631–1707) — and it was quickly sold and dispersed around the world (I discuss the collection in greater detail in Chapter Three). While business thrived, the Duartes also acquired numerous musical instruments and spent time cultivating the technical prowess in musical performance and composition which made their home — and Gaspar’s children — famous. As Jardine has written, “Gaspar Duarte and his family’s musical virtuosity made of their house and its circle a genuine


42 De Paepe, “Networking in High Society.”

‘salon’, … an elaborate system of interdependencies among the individuals and families involved.” Antwerp was an international and cultural metropolis in the seventeenth century, and the Duarte salon (also discussed in further detail in Chapter Three), contributed to cross-cultural convergences within the city and its many networks.

Fig. 1.1 The Duarte residence on the Meir in Antwerp. Picture taken in 1898 shortly before its demolition. Image: Antwerp City Archives.

Antwerp had been a central player in the Golden Age of the sixteenth century, which resulted in tremendous artistic and scientific flourishing, though scholars disagree about the city’s economic strength shortly thereafter. De Paepe has argued that Antwerp began to decline economically after 1585 due to the fact that during this perilous time over half of the city’s

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44 Jardine, Going Dutch, 178.
population, including many Portuguese conversos, began to move north to the Protestant Northern Netherlands, mostly to Amsterdam, where Judaism was tolerated. Some extended members of the Duarte family, including Manuel Levy Duarte, moved to Amsterdam at this time, likely motivated, as many were, by the possibilities of religious freedom. The conversos were repeatedly threatened with expulsion from Antwerp from the 16th century onwards — but ultimately permitted to stay when it was realized that the loss of the conversos would mean the near eradication of Antwerp’s mercantile class. In opposition to De Paepe’s claim of economic downfall, Jardine has argued that the city was not “as poor as all that.” In her estimate, the riddertol of 1648 (a shipping tax on the Scheldt estuary used for the importing and exporting of goods), led to increased activity in the harbor, something from which art dealers and jewelers ultimately benefitted well into the 1680s. The Peace of Westphalia following the end of the Eighty Years War, also in 1648, made it possible for some conversos to return to Antwerp.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, when Leonora Duarte was writing her Sinfonias, Antwerp was a place where many opposing influences came together with regards to how both Judaism and the education of women were construed in a public sense. One of the most prominent publishing houses to print and sell Hebrew books in the early modern period was located in Antwerp from the middle of the of the sixteenth century onward, that of Christophe Plantin (1520–1589), whose firm continued to issue books well into the seventeenth century. In

47 Roth, Marranos, 237.
48 Jardine, Going Dutch, 177. See also De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 172.
49 Ibid, 175.
50 Ibid, 176.
the same entry in which he records being entertained by “Signor Duerte’s three daughters,”
Evelyn remarks, that, earlier on that same day, he had returned to “the shop of Plantine,” where
he “bought some books, for the namesake only of that famous printer.” 52 Miriam Bodian has argued that one of the major audiences for Plantin’s publications were leaders of the Portuguese-
Jewish diaspora, educated figures who adopted Sephardic surnames upon arrival in the Low
Countries — much like the Duartes — as a means of establishing ties with the “old” Sephardim,
and to “reclaim the Sephardic legacy as émigrés, both Jews and conversos alike,” 53 through
literature and other culturally-affirming phenomena. Such readers would have been an ideal
audience for the works of Maimonides, for example, newly printed in Spanish and Portuguese
translations by Plantin’s firm, readable by immigrants to the city.

Levy Duarte’s business partner, Joseph ben Abraham Athias (1635–1700), was a rabbi who also became a book publisher of great renown in Amsterdam. He set up a combined Dutch-
Hebrew publishing firm that published many notable works in both languages, among them
Maimonides’ Mishneh Torah, in Hebrew, in 1702. 54 The first publication of this work in
Amsterdam and considered one of the most elegant products in the history of the Hebrew press,
it was begun by Athias and carried out after his death in 1700 by his son, Immanuel. 55

It is not known whether the Duartes knew Hebrew — none of their letters or other surviving records exist in that language — though it is likely that Duarte could have studied
Hebrew in the context of her general, as opposed to religious, education. Importantly, female

52 Evelyn, The Diary, 35.
54 De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 176. The Mishneh Torah was compiled between 1170 and 1180 (4930–4940), while Maimonides was living in Egypt.
scholars of Hebrew did exist in the seventeenth century, and their instruction took place in the salon. Margaret Godewijck (1627–1677) and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) were two salonières in the Low Counties who learned Hebrew from the scholar Gisbert Voëtius (1589–1676), an orthodox Calvinist and pedagogue. Van Schurman’s salon was frequented by Huygens, Utricia Ogle, and Ogle’s husband, William Swann, and recent scholarship by Anne R. Larsen has revealed that Francisca Duarte, Leonora’s younger sister, was invited to “entertain the company with her striking musical abilities” at these salons, as well. It is therefore very likely that Leonora also knew of these women, and possibly knew them personally.

Yet economic and humanistic trajectories were not in alignment. The Index of Antwerp, published in 1571, threatened Plantin’s success, calling for the censorship of all Hebrew books and books in other languages that contained any references to Jewish texts. Shortly before these restrictions, Plantin’s press had been raided after a Calvinist pamphlet was discovered somewhere in the building, but it is also most likely that the firm’s association with Hebrew printing is what deemed the printer heretical. Plantin was able to return to Antwerp from Paris once restrictions were lifted — restrictions that, Bodian has argued, threatened to erode Jewish knowledge and the morale alongside it even though the borders were never “hermetically sealed.” It is perhaps no surprise that Voëtius, scholar and teacher of Hebrew, was considered an “obscurest” for his interest in what was construed as a rare phenomenon. The Duartes were

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57 Pal, “Anna Maria van Schurman,” 335. 
60 https://www.museumplantinmoretus.be/en/page/who-was-christophe-plantin 
61 Bodian (2008), 67. 
exposed to Hebrew through this gentile world of salons and their female hosts, but there was also a familial tie to the more orthodox, albeit scholarly, environment in which Hebrew circulated and was studied in Amsterdam.

II. Converso Identity

Antwerp was a hotbed of ideas, but it was not, as I have already intimated, particularly tolerant of Jews. A plea by some residents to set up a small Sephardic synagogue on the outskirts of Antwerp was initially granted in 1653, with the intention of welcoming returning Jews in peacetime. Construction began — Jonathan Israel argues that the initial plan reflected the hopes of the authorities to attract more Jewish merchants to the city — but Pope Innocent X and King Philip IV of Spain ultimately halted construction a year later.\(^6^3\) Officially, Jews did not exist in Antwerp, and indeed, their presence in the city had been contentious for centuries prior to the Inquisition. De Paepe has written that “the last Jews” had been burned at the stake in Brussels in 1370, as a mean of contextualizing the fear instilled in the Judeo-Portuguese population during the Portuguese Inquisition.\(^6^4\) However, Daniel Swetschinski and others have uncovered that a Jew by the name of Abraham Athias — in fact the father of Manuel Levy Duarte’s business partner, the printer Joseph ben Abraham Athias — was burned at the stake in Cordoba as late as 1667.\(^6^5\) Athias’s death was well-documented at the time: it was very widely covered in the press,

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and commemorated in Amsterdam in a play by the Spanish converso Daniel Levi de Barrios (1635–1701) who had settled in Amsterdam, joining the Jewish community there; his work, “There is no Force that can Withstand the Truth” (Contra la verdad no hay fuerza), circulated in the Portuguese Jewish diaspora after it was published in Amsterdam in 1667. Athias’s publishing firm also included an acknowledgment of the fact that Athias’s father was burned as a “Marrano” at an auto-da-fé at Cordoba on July 9, 1667 at the end of their 1702 edition of Maimonides’ Mishneh Torah.

Despite their business successes and social connections, the Duartes could not have been unaware of this event, or immune from the fear that came with this very contemporary anti-Semitic history. Paris-based art collector and painter Jean-Michel Picart (1600–1682) wrote in a letter to another Antwerp dealer, Matthijs Musson (1598–1678), that he wished “to do no more business with the Jews” in Antwerp. Conversion might have otherwise been a means of averting this, yet stories of conversion also represent, to quote to Eric R. Dursteler, “an exceptional normal,” or “a much wider reality than just the slender details of their own admittedly engaging lives.” In short, while the memory of the Inquisition was still alive in the minds of seventeenth-century Jews and conversos in the Low Countries, conversion did not help them eschew ethnic racism.

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Conversos in Antwerp were thought of as ethnically Jewish, categorized as a race of people in accordance to their ethnic background, and thus figuratively ghettoized. On March 30, 1526, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V issued a ruling of general safe-conduct to the Portuguese conversos in Antwerp, and numerous people were able to settle there and engage in business. The Portuguese Inquisition then ordered by the Pope in 1536 stimulated the major emigration of conversos. At first, all New Christians who continued to practice Judaism openly were strictly forbidden. Antwerp was conquered by the Spanish in 1585 and this triggered another mass migration of conversos to Italy, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire. Many moved to the Italian city-states at this point, because of the welcome hand Italian magistrates extended to them as a means of infusing their city-states with money and culture; one notable example of this is Duke Ercole Este (1508–1559) who invited conversos and Jews to come and practice openly in Ferrara. Erith Jaffe-Berg argues that these Judeo-Portuguese conversos who made their way to the Italian city-states did so of their own volition so that they could live openly as Jews. In this sense, the Venetian converso Sarra Copia Sulam (c. 1592–1641) is an interesting counterpart to Leonora Duarte, a poet who held a salon in her home in the Venetian ghetto, and whom Lynn Westwater contends claimed her Jewish identity, publishing numerous poems, letters, and a manifesto while living openly as a Jew. Dana Katz has argued that the (physical) ghettoization

71 Schwarzfuchs, “Antwerp.”
72 Roth, Marranos, 237.
of Jews in Venice beginning in 1515 put Jews on display and fostered an observation of the periphery of the city’s population: while the ghetto objectified these Jews, on the one hand, it also defined an enclosure within which Jews were able to foster a sense of communal belonging. De Paepe has referred to Antwerp’s converso community at this time as an “imaginary community,” one without formal organization, but in which everyone knew who belonged. The terminology evokes a kind of constructed ghetto and harkens back to the work of Benedict Anderson who originally used the phrase to critique the notion of nationalism as a socially constructed phenomenon. Conversos in Antwerp in the seventeenth century were collectively thought of as “the Portuguese nation.” The nation was responsible for organizing the import of spices, diamonds, pearls, and goods from Portugal’s colonies to Northern Europe — a network within a larger population — and in the years 1641 and 1646 Gaspar would be named its Consul in Antwerp. Francesca Trivellato has studied the Sephardic Jews of Livorno, Tuscany, who she reports congregated under the aegis of a nation within a larger population. Using archival work and economic analysis, she argues that in order to trade across religious and ethnic boundaries, these merchants needed to have an understanding of each other’s culture to thrive and that community granted this; this understanding in turn fostered social networks within the otherwise exclusionary structures of legal institutions. I unpack the term “nation” as a metonym for embassy and belonging in Chapter Two, but it is imperative to mention now that

82 Trivellato, The Familiarity of Strangers.
the phraseology connotes a categorization of people by their race, and in the case of the Duartes, ethnic stereotyping of conversos results in persecution contingent on assumed cultural practice — hardly only the figurative ghetto built on self-identification alluded to by De Paepe.

Terminology used to refer to the recently-converted Christians in the Iberian diaspora during the Inquisition changed at the end of the sixteenth century to reflect what Bodian calls an emphasis on “the conversos’ purported ethnic or racial traits” at a time when “religious suspicions merged with the general configuration of anticonverso thinking, which pointed to the conversos’ tainted blood as the source of their many evils.” Terms such as gente del linaje, esta gente, esta generacion, esta raza (“those of this lineage,” “this people,” “this lineage,” “this race”) were employed, as well as los de la nación (“those of the nation”) to refer to the ethnically Jewish. Population records indicate that the Portuguese nation in Antwerp in 1571 (around the time Leonora’s ancestors likely arrived) comprised 85 families and 17 individuals, 47 families and 20 widows in 1591, 46 names are mentioned in 1619, and 38 men and 27 women in 1666. The Duartes and other conversos were not, however, considered in these tallies. Those with what Bodian calls even the most “profound Catholic beliefs” (recall the Duartes’ patronage of their local church), were themselves faced with statutes to exclude them from various institutions, such as military and religious orders, municipal councils, and confraternities. Socially speaking, the conversos were subject to this segregationist thinking throughout the seventeenth century.

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83 Mariam Bodian, Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997), 11.
84 Bodian, Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation, 11.
85 Schwarzfuchs, “Antwerp.”
86 Bodian, Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation, 11–12. Bodian remarks that this was first the case with conversos in Castille but that this thinking quickly spread throughout the Judeo-Iberian diaspora.
87 Bodian, Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation, 11–12.
Neither recognized as fully Catholic or as Jewish, the conversos were therefore living in a kind of bifurcated exile. De Paepe refers to it as a “double identity,” and an intrinsic part of the converso experience in general.\textsuperscript{88} The threat of expulsion must have also been a genuine concern of the conversos of seventeenth-century Antwerp, whose recent ancestors were subject to a mass baptism at the end of the fifteenth century, then given both promises of safety and subsequent orders to leave by the Portuguese king.\textsuperscript{89} Though they were legally permitted to stay as Catholics, legislative assurance of the conversos’ right to remain in Antwerp into the seventeenth century was tenuous at best; as seen, conversos were a group marked as different, as a population apart. The otherness of the conversos in Antwerp is evident even amongst friends. In a somewhat disparaging letter of November 20, 1658, Béatrix de Cusance wrote to Constantijn Huygens that

\begin{quote}

The Duarte ladies are safe and sound in their beautiful Antwerp, but I fear that in one the tongue still trembles and in the other her hands, the latter being the amiable Francisca. We haven’t heard any other music here but that of uproar and complaints, even worse than that of Jeremiah, but in peaceful circumstances the joy of the past will return.\textsuperscript{90}
\end{quote}

The mention in the very short letter is the only reference to the Duartes in the document; too early for the plague, and with no surviving response to further contextualize it, it leads one to wonder if life outside of music and business was not always so easy for the family, especially so

\textsuperscript{88} De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 170.
\textsuperscript{89} Mass baptism occurred in 1497. See Bodian (2008), 66.
shortly after the death of Gaspar, who had taken such pride in his daughter’s musical abilities. Referring jocularly to a Sarabande that Diego Duarte wrote for the Christian holy day of the Annunciation, his Protestant friend, Constantijn Huygens’s daughter, Susanna, remarked upon in a letter as “a devotional [Catholic] song on a Flemish text set by a Jew.”\footnote{Letter is undated. Rasch, “Musical Patrons,” 423. Transcribed by De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 190, n. 61, “[une] Piece de Devotion avec des Paroles Flamendes compose [sic] d’un Juif.” Elisabeth Keesing transcribed the letter in “De kinderen onderling: een hechte familetrouw” in Leven en leren op Hofwijck, ed. Victor Freijser (Delft, 1988), 78–79.} Even as a convert, setting sacred music, his identity — and presumably Leonora’s as well — was still understood by others as Jewish — an exception to the rule — his religious fervor suspect.

Converso identity in seventeenth-century Antwerp was a complex phenomenon and that of the Duartes was no exception. Some Jews who converted to Catholicism did so on threat of death before exile, while others chose to do so for economic or social reasons. De Paepe has argued that Diego’s Jewishness was merely “a distillate of his family background,”\footnote{De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 171. De Paepe cites a letter to Diego from Susana Huygens.} but it is difficult to parse out which people continued to practice in secret and which did not — which conversos were crypto-Jewish in terms of religion, which were in terms of identity, or to whom neither of those categories could be applied. Yirmiyahu Yovel argues that the assimilation and preservation of Jewish identity were often compatible in reality and sometimes existed in the same family, even in the same person. This produced some of the complex — and more interesting — forms of duality which marked the lives of almost all the Conversos.\footnote{Yirmiyahu Yovel, The Other Within: The Marranos: Split Identity and Emerging Modernity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 78.}

There has been a shift in recent literature on early modern conversion to not attach a value judgment to reasons or sincerity of conversion. Renee Levine Malammed has countered Yovel’s sentiment by noting that “[early modern] society at large had to determine what to do with [the
recently converted].”\textsuperscript{94} In theory, conversion saved people, Malammed writes, but the antagonism against Jews was so pronounced that even upon conversion the ethnically Jewish were still considered suspicious, no matter how successfully they assimilated. In other words, where it is difficult to quantify how conversos identified as such it is easier to witness how others thought about them.

The suspicion over conversos in Antwerp emphasizes the curious distinction in the early modern sources between conversos and crypto-Jews, or between those who were assimilated — who passed as Christians — and between those who converted and were suspected of practicing in secret. The term crypto-Jewish refers to those people who did continue to uphold their religious traditions and customs despite edicts to the contrary, and in the face of the fear of being discovered, which could lead to public death. Simon R. Schwarzfuchs has written on the sixteenth-century expulsions of Iberian Jews from Antwerp, conversos who had arrived in the city before 1543; the thought behind this municipal order, he argues, was that the older generations of immigrants were more closely tied to their culture than the youth and thus more likely to “Judaize.”\textsuperscript{95} In 1549 an edict was issued to expel all New Christians who had entered the Low Counties in the last five years, for fear that these communities were secretly maintaining Jewish identity.\textsuperscript{96} When this was overruled in 1550, a new regulation was made that stated that these elders, as well as those with Spanish origin, were allowed to stay in Antwerp, on the assumption that they were less attached to Jewish traditions.\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{94} Melammed, \textit{A Question of Identity}.  
\textsuperscript{95} Schwarzfuchs, “Antwerp.”  
\textsuperscript{96} Melammed (2002), 18.  
\textsuperscript{97} Roth, \textit{Marranos}, 237.
Conversos, and what Schwarzfuchs calls the “anomaly of [their] existence under Catholic rule,” were not only subject to anti-Semitic persecution; there were also suspected of aiding in Reformation agitation. Their mobility, he writes, “enhanced and encouraged religious liminality and was a crucial factor in their collective ethnic and religious experiences.” Schwarzfuchs uses the historic term “marrano” to refer to the expelled. Other scholars in the 1970s do the same, one of whom is Cecil Roth in his History of the Marranos of 1974. So do some more recent scholars; for example Lynn Hulse in 2006 writes that Gaspar was “of Portuguese Marrano descent (Jews forced to convert to Roman Catholicism).” The term, derived from the Spanish word for “pig,” was used in the seventeenth century to mean both converso and crypto-Jew, with the connotation that one was both Judaizing and ethnically Jewish; through modern scholarship it has grown to mean the forcibly converted, if not only the exiled. The term “marrano” does, indeed, evoke the herding and shuffling of individuals from one place to another. It is not, however, a term that need be continued in modern parlance, thus is omitted from this dissertation except to explain its origins and use by others.

The negative connotation associated with conversos did not end with Jews. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word “renegade” as “a person who renounces his or her faith; an apostate,” and in its earliest seventeenth-century use, “a Christian who converts to Islam.”

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98 Schwarzfuchs, “Antwerp.”
100 Roth, Marranos.
101 Hulse, Royalist Refugees, 85.
Renegades challenge constructs of national identity by, in the words of Laurie Ellinghausen, “demonstrating [the converso’s] enduring connection to the land and its people, a bond expressed through languages of social class” and, crucially, not contingent on place of residence.\textsuperscript{103} David L. Graizbord has appropriately linked the movement of conversos to a desire for stability and notes that many conversos understood this as “a yearning” for stability that was “ultimately concerned with life on Earth… with emotional and physical well-being in the here and now, and not with the abstract validity of any theological formula or system of beliefs.”\textsuperscript{104} The term renegade when applied to the converso underlines the suspicious reception of conversion, of shifting allegiances, and what was likely complex personal identity within a region at war with both the world and its people. It was within this atmosphere that Duarte learned, played, and composed music.

\textbf{III. Education and Instruments}

In 1567, twenty years after his relocation to Antwerp, the Florentine merchant and writer Lodovico Guicciardini wrote a widely disseminated study of the Low Countries.\textsuperscript{105} He noted that,

\begin{quote}
Belgians are indeed true masters…of music; they have studied it to perfection, having men and women sing…with a real instinct for tone and measure, they also use instruments of all sorts which everyone understands and knows.\textsuperscript{106}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{103} Laurie Ellinghausen, Pirates, Traitors, and Apostates: Renegade Identities in Early Modern English Writing (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 4.
\textsuperscript{104} Graizbord, Souls in Dispute, 7.
\textsuperscript{106} Lodovico Guicciardini, Description of the Low Countries (Antwerp, 1567; London, 1593, etc.).
Guicciardini’s account accords with testimony from visitors to the Duarte household, testimony which has led De Paepe and others to conclude that the Duartes had a number of first-rate tutors. We know from inventories and correspondence between merchants and musicians in seventeenth-century Antwerp that Antwerp merchants regularly hired personal tutors for their children. Nothing documenting the Duarte children’s education survives, but some scholars have made suggestions about who might have taught the talented siblings. Rudolf Rasch suggests that Guilielmus Munninckx (1593–1652), composer and organist of St Andrew’s Church in Antwerp may have been a music teacher to the Duarte children; Munninckx was married to a Portuguese woman by the name of Anna Lopes, which supports the possibility that the families may have known one another. Godelieve Spiessens additionally suggests that Munninckx was a music tutor to the Duarte children on account of the fact that he was one of the leading composers in the first half of the seventeenth century, a position suitable to the notable family. Another suggestion is the English composer John Bull (1562/3–1628), Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and musician to Henry, Prince of Wales, who lived in exile in the Low Countries along with many other royalists. Bull took up a position at Antwerp Cathedral in 1615, and Rasch posits that the handwriting of index entries in the Messaus-Bull Codex belongs to a member of the Duarte family. The Codex, a hefty manuscript compiled in 1628–

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107 De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 182
108 Forney, “A Proper Musical Education.”
111 Rasch, “Messaus-Bull Codex.”
112 Rasch, “Messaus-Bull Codex.”
1629 mostly containing harpsichord music by Bull, was commissioned around 1628, likely by

Teaching manuals associated with the city, however, unveil music pedagogy as a
carefully-prescribed undertaking wrapped up in debates about the behavior and principles of
century.\footnote{Vives, \textit{The Education of a Christian Woman}, ch. 13, 144.} In it he professes that the sexes have equal ability to learn — yet his work is tinged
with warnings against the lustful grasp of men:

\begin{quote}
From meetings and conversation with men, love affairs arise. . .
Poor young girl, if you emerge from these encounters a captive
prey! How much better it would have been to remain at home or to
have broken a leg of the body rather than of the mind!\footnote{Charles Fantazzi, \textit{“Introduction: Prelude to the Other Voice in Vives,”} in \textit{The Education of a Christian Woman}, 2–3. The fact that a converso has written an education manual intended for \textit{“Christian women”} in Antwerp is a fascinating idea that I do not have space to explore here; needless to say, this presents a wealth of possibility for future scholarship.}
\end{quote}

To prevent corruption Vives — a converso himself, from Valencia, Spain\footnote{Vives, \textit{The Education of a Christian Woman}, ch. 10, \textit{“S’elle chant, que ce soit doucelement, \\& chansons honnestes, graves \\& decentes.”} Quoted and transcribed in Forney, \textit{A Proper Musical Education,"} 121, n. 2.} — suggests that
young women learn to sing only “decent, honest, and serious songs.”\footnote{Giovanni Michele Bruto, \textit{La Institutione di una Fanciulla Nata Nobilmente}, ed. Jean Beller (Antwerp: Antwerpse Bibliophielen, 1956).} An \textit{Education for a Gentlewoman}, by Giovanni Michele Bruto, an Italian expatriate in Antwerp, is even more
cautions. The work was first published in Antwerp by Plantin’s firm, in 1555 — in it, Bruto
admits that “it is a grace and ornament if [a woman] becometh expert to sing and play upon
divers instruments,”\footnote{Giovanni Michele Bruto, \textit{La Institutione di una Fanciulla Nata Nobilmente}, ed. Jean Beller (Antwerp: Antwerpse Bibliophielen, 1956).} but he also warns against the dangerous combination of musical ability
and beauty. He proposes complete abstinence from music for women,\textsuperscript{120} lest they be led astray.\textsuperscript{121}

Instruction manuals propose versions of an ideal feminine identity achievable through regimented education, but they do not alone reveal anything to us about the state of music-making by women in early modern Antwerp, other than that women in Antwerp must have been deeply involved in musical endeavors so as to raise suspicion. After all, Guicciardini’s lengthy study of the Low Countries revealed that not only were both “men and women sing[ing]” but they were “us[ing] instruments of all sorts.”\textsuperscript{122} Young women from mercantile families in sixteenth-century Antwerp, Kristine Forney writes, were given a religious education through music and expected to have social skills that extended to playing instruments and singing “for family music making and to entertain their husband's clients.”\textsuperscript{123} Education manuals written in the seventeenth century in the Low Countries reflect that women were excelling in both intellectual and cultural ranks. Johan van Beverwijck, a physician in the Dutch town of Dordrecht, was an advocate of the education of women in the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{124} His 670-page work, Of the Excellence of the Female Sex (\textit{Van de Winementheyt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts}), of 1639/1643, was a meditation on women’s superiority that reflects the accomplishments — or what Cornelia Moore has deemed the “self-assuredness” — of the Dutch

\textsuperscript{120} Rudolph M. Bell, \textit{How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 184.
\textsuperscript{121} The warnings and the disjunctive reality are synonymous with sixteenth-century orders against nuns making music in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a time when the suspicion of nuns’ music reflected both the Council of Trent’s preoccupation with religious celibacy and a traditional and general distrust of female religious autonomy. See Jonathan E. Glixon, \textit{Mirrors of Heaven or Worldly Theaters?: Venetian Nunneries and Their Music} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
\textsuperscript{122} Guicciardini, \textit{Description of the Low Countries}.
\textsuperscript{123} Forney, “A Proper Musical Education,” 103.
\textsuperscript{124} Larsen, \textit{Anna Maria van Schurman}. 
upper classes. The work contains references to about 700 European women, including Anna Van Schurman, friend of Francisca Duarte, and Anna Roemer Visscher, visitor to the Duarte home. The education and musical literacy of the Duarte children did not come from specialty schools for women — it accelerated in the salon and has come forth in testimony; it is also evidenced in Leonora’s music and abilities as a performer.

In 1664 Margaret Cavendish recalled an evening of music-making in a letter to Leonora. This letter has been cited by Katie Whitaker to reference the Duarte sisters as exemplars of the intellectual company kept by Cavendish, though she does not discuss Duarte or her siblings specifically. Cavendish recounts that she had sung from “old ballads” but that she had refused to sing some of Diego Duarte’s settings of her husband’s verse:

The last week your Sister Kath’rine and your Sister Frances were to Visit me, and so well Pleased I was with their Neighbourly, and Friendly Visit, as their Good Company put me into a Frolick Humour, and for a Pastime I Sung to them some Pieces of Old Ballads; whereupon they desired me to Sing one of the Songs my Lord made, your Brother Set, and you were pleased to Sing: I told them first, I could not Sing any of those Songs, but if I could, I prayed them to Pardon me, for neither my Voice, nor my Skill, was not Proper, nor Fit for them, and neither having Skill nor Voice, if I should offer to Sing any of them … instead of Musick, I should make Discord … whereas my Voice and those Songs, would be as Disagreeing as your Voice and Old Ballads, for the Vulgar and Plainer a Voice is, the Better it is for an Old Ballad…

127 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letter CCII,” CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, Early English Books Online, accessed April 20, 2019: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.202?rgn=div2;view=fulltext
128 Katie Whitaker, Mad Madge: The Extraordinary Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, the First Woman to Live by Her Pen (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 119.
While Cavendish’s words might sound like typical seventeenth-century (false) modesty, they provide direct evidence that the music the Duartes performed were not only old ballads — the sort of “decent, honest, and serious songs” that Vives prescribed — but something distinctly different: of a quality that an amateur musician such as Cavendish might struggle to master, for neither her voice, nor her skill, she writes, was “proper” or “fit” for such music.\textsuperscript{130} Van Beverwijck’s treatise proposes what Cavendish’s correspondence with Duarte makes clear: that women were engaged in many learned and artistic endeavors conducted in the privacy of their homes and, as Cornelia Moore would have it, “to be admired as [a] worthwhile leisure activity” by their family and social acquaintances alike.\textsuperscript{131}

\textbf{IV. Music in the Duarte Home}

The music the Duartes would have known provides insight into the context for Leonora’s compositions. At times, specific pieces or compilations of pieces are cited in letters, but more often testimony provides evidence for composers, styles, or genres certainly known to the family. The Duartes were familiar with English composers, Continental composers, and a collection of local composers who today are lesser known — the cross-cultural nature of their musical knowledge is also reflected in how they collected and displayed this knowledge, and I discuss that further in Chapter Three. Meanwhile, some particularly striking examples of the music they knew are listed here; a chart containing a comprehensive list of all music mentioned in conjunction with the family is located in Appendix 2.

\textsuperscript{130} Margaret Cavendish, “Letter CCH,” \textit{Sociable Letters}.
\textsuperscript{131} Moore, “Not by Nature,” 643.
The Duartes were familiar with a number of English composers and musicians. In 1638, the composer Nicholas Lanier helped Huygens acquire a consort of six English viols, and might have interacted with the Duartes then.\(^\text{132}\) He then boarded with the Duartes upon fleeing to the Continent in 1645 and again during his visits to the city in the later 1640s.\(^\text{133}\) The previously mentioned Messaus-Bull Codex contains a piece by John Bull subtitled *Fantasia sopra A Leona*, which Rasch suggests could have been named for Leonora Duarte, citing the fact that the composer’s prestige would have made him a logical match for a position tutoring the children of the illustrious Duarte family.\(^\text{134}\) Other English musicians circulated amongst the exiled community at the Cavendish residence, such as Matthew Locke (1621–1677), who set a comedy by William Cavendish to music.\(^\text{135}\)

There is no existing inventory of the Duarte library, but we do have some clues pointing us to some of the music that might have been performed in their home. In December of 1648, Gaspar asked Huygens if he could borrow “the music books of the Duke of Buckingham,”\(^\text{136}\) published in Amsterdam in 1648 as “Konincklycke Fantasien,” and containing three-part fantasias by Thomas Lupo (1571–1627), Giovanni Coprario (c. 1570–1626), Orlando Gibbons (1593–1625), William Daman (c. 1540–1591).\(^\text{137}\) The letter in which Gaspar asks after the books

\(^{132}\) Crawford, “Constantijn Huygens and the ‘Engelsche Viool’,” 43–44.

\(^{133}\) Hulse, 86.

\(^{134}\) Rasch, “Messaus-Bull Codex.”


provides valuable information on music the family knew. On December 27, 1648, shortly after
the works’ publication, Gaspar writes to Huygens,

Asking you to forgive the impertinence of our insatiability, we
would like to see, when the waters are open again and at your
convenience, the music books of the Duke of Buckingham, to have
something copied from them, after which we will return them to
you properly. 138

The Duartes most likely also borrowed books from the library of their Antwerp
neighbors, William and Margaret Cavendish, royalist refugees in exile from England in Antwerp,
and whom I discuss at length in Chapter Four. C. H. Firth cites a letter that Diego possibly wrote
to Margaret in 1671 to thank her for loaning him some books.139 Diego’s compositions were
mentioned by Margaret Cavendish, who wrote to Leonora about settings of poems by her
husband, William Cavendish (I discuss Cavendish’s second letter to Duarte in Chapter Four).140
Huygens, like the Cavendishes, was exposed to a variety of Continental composers and styles
through his connections to the Duartes. In a letter of June 24, 1683, Diego wrote to Constantijn
Huygens that he had composed a complete setting of psalm paraphrases by the French bishop

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138 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, December 27, 1648. Translated by Rudolf Rasch. See Rasch, “The
‘Koninklycke Fantasien,’” 68. “Wij zijn zeer vereerd geweest door uw bezoek en dankbaar voor de gezonden
muziek; mijn dochter Leonora zal ze zingen. ‘Die Italiaensche madrigaletten syn oyck goet, dan presumerende, dat
U.E. heyt van die coopmanschap dagelyx versien wert, soo den overlast hem niet te swaer en valt, soude wensen
noch iet raers van eenige nieuwe airs van Petit Lambert, alsmede iet van La Chapelle voor mynen organisant door U.E.
faveur te moghen becomen, dat gelooove door Mynheer, broeder van Mons.r de Bellingam - aen wien bidde U.E.
mynen oytmoedighen dinst te laeten aendienen - lichtelyck sal connen verkregen werden, biddende U.E. te willen
vergeven de impertinentie van dese onversaedelycke liedens, ende die wateren eens open synde, met U.E.
gevoechelycke comoditeijt, sullen geren sien de musickboeckten van den hertogh van Boekingham, om iet daeruyt te
laeten schryven, dewelcke met behoorelycke sorge aen U.E. terugging sullen beschickt werden.”
139 I have not been able to locate the actual text of this letter, but it is mentioned by C.H. Firth in his edited edition
of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, to Which is Added
129n, Firth writes “in the Letters and Poems in honour of the Duchess, p. 131, is a letter from J. Duarte in 1671,
thanking her for some of her books.” “J. Duarte” refers to Diego Duarte and is one of many other versions of
Diego’s name referenced in English language primary source documents; other versions of his first name include
Jacob, Jacobus, and Jacques.
140 Cavendish, Sociable Letters. Diego wrote the works in the 1650s.
Antoine Godeau (1605–1672) — he would later dedicate this work to Huygens, moving the older man considerably. In a letter of November 21, 1640, Gaspar writes to Huygens,

Concerning the music, I would appreciate having a couple of these beautiful Italian and French airs; I believe that they were presented to you by a nobleman musician, by the name of Varenne, Occhi belli and Se credi col ferir, Amor, darmi tormento…

Later on January 9, 1641, Gaspar writes, again to Huygens,

Sir, thank you for the two songs, one in Italian and one in French, the latter of which is no air de cour, although it is nice and good. In return I am sending you two other Italian songs, but I could not find the Ochi belli guarciri which I had also mentioned; I will send it later.

The gentlemen continued to send music back and forth. In a letter from April 21, 1641, Gaspar writes to Huygens,

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141 Amsterdam City Archives, Archives of Portuguese Jewish Community, no. 682. All three letters are mentioned in Rasch, “Musical Patrons,” 423. The works are dated sometime between 1673 and 1685. Huygens wrote a poem referencing Diego’s music and the original is reproduced in Rasch, “Musical Patrons.”

142 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, November 21, 1640; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KW 79 E 235; transcribed and translated by Rudolf Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/n0286. “Touchant la musique, j’estimeray d’avoir une pair de ces beaux Airs Italiens e Fransois. Je pense qu’il vous sont este présenté par un gentilhome musicien, nommé La Verane, que j’ai ou chanter en Angelterre, lequel devoit passer par Hollande. Nous avons quelques airs de lui, pour le moins deus bonnes, a savoir Ochi belli guarci, l’autre Se credi col ferir, Amor, darmi tormento. Nous usons quelquefois une musique domestique en petit concert d’instruments, come avons faict entendre à Mademoiselle Anna Roomers, à savoir trois instruments aveq leur particulier, d’estre de trois filles, l’espinette, é luth, é la viole bastarde, é moy le violon, pour le 3m dessus, é pour les voix: un luth é la viole à deux dessus avecq les voix de mes deux filles, et quelques fois deux dessus avecq une basse que je chante avecq l’espinète o théorbe pour de petites madrigales du livre.” The complete letter in the original French is reproduced below in Rasch’s transcription as Appendix 5.

143 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, January 9, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 2; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/2606. “Mijnheer, ik dank u voor de twee liederen, één in het Italiaans en één het Frans, welke laatste volgens mij geen air de cour is, al is die toch mooi en goed. Ik zend u als tegenprestatie twee andere Italiane liederen, maar die van Ochi belli guarciri, die ik ook had genoemd, kon ik niet vinden; die zal ik later sturen.”
Concerning the two pieces of music you have already sent, only a top part was included. I am sending you here three others and two in Italian that my two daughters have been singing.\textsuperscript{144}

In a postscript to a letter from later in the same week, April 27, 1641, Gaspar mentions another work, by name: “the words of the madrigal are \textit{Onghor desta la ray}; there is no second couplet.”\textsuperscript{145} This can be seen in a reproduction of the letter below, to the left of the central text (reproduced below as Figure 1.2). The work is not listed in compendia of Italian madrigals by either Emil Vogel\textsuperscript{146} or Harry Lincoln,\textsuperscript{147} thus I assume Gaspar refers to another work by French composer, Varenne, whom he was discussing with Huygens earlier in their correspondence.

\textsuperscript{144} Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, April 21, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 4; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in \textit{Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens} (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” \textit{huygens ING}:

\textsuperscript{145} Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, April 27, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 5; transcribed by Rudolph A. Rasch in \textit{Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens} (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” \textit{huygens ING}:


\textsuperscript{147} Harry B. Lincoln, \textit{The Italian Madrigal and Related Repertories: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500–1600} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).
From a letter of Gaspar’s from December 27, 1648, we learn that Huygens brought a copy of his own works, *Pathodia sacra et profana* (Paris, 1647), with him on a visit to the Duarte home, and that Leonora would sing from the works (for one voice and basso continuo, in Latin, Italian, and French\(^{148}\)). Gaspar opens the letter as follows:

> We have been very honored by your visit and grateful for the music sent; my daughter Leonora will sing them.\(^{149}\)

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\(^{149}\) Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, December 27, 1648; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 11; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond*
In a letter to Huygens from August 14, 1654, the statesman David le Leu de Wilhem (1588–1658) conveyed similar remarks about the Duarte sisters’ singing, passing on word from a singer who went by the stage name ‘Cleobuline’. He writes: “[‘Cleobuline’] is in Antwerp; she has heard the Duarte ladies sing and she found it to be more beautiful than Mademoiselle La Barre...”

Gaspar also asked Huygens in the letter of 1648 for airs by Michel Lambert (1610–1696), and harpsichord music by Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (c. 1601/2–1672). Adelheid Rech notes that the Duartes introduced Lambert’s airs to Antwerp, a fact that suggests both the exceptional musical skill and international interests of the family. Gaspar continues in the letter of 1648 that “the Italian madrigals go well….” It is unknown currently to which madrigals Gaspar is referring in this case, but approximately one month later, on February 16, 1649, Gaspar would write again to Huygens to acknowledge his receipt of the music. He tells Huygens that some part books were missing from the delivery:

I have just received your kind letter with the attached books; thank you very much for that favor. We are going to have copies made of those we like the most, but this will not be done outside the house, so that they do not venture out into the open. They will then be

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Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/letter.html?id=huyg001/4903. “Wij zijn zeer vereerd geweest door uw bezoek en dankbaar voor de gezonden muziek; mijne dochter Leonora zal ze zingen.”

150 David le Leu de Wilhem to Constantijn Huygens, The Hague, August 14, 1654; original held at Leiden University Library, Leiden, NL: Cod. Hug. 37 (Wilhem) 315; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5366. “La Reyne a esté veoir Mesdemoiselles Duárti et les a ouï chanter, professant qu’elles chantassent mieux que Mademoiselle La Barre.”


153 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, December 27, 1648; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 11; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/4903. “Die Italiaensche madrigaletten syn oyck goet...”
returned to you in good condition and with due care. I would have liked to have seen the tenor part sent instead of the bass that has never been sent along, because I have found two basses and a top voice. In case you have two tenor parts and you are missing this bass voice now, I thought it would be best to send the bass back, to receive the tenor part instead. However, if you are not able to do so, we will solve it ourselves by having the voice in question copied from the original books.\textsuperscript{154}

Though it is Gaspar Duarte’s daughters who are singled out for comment in the passages I have quoted, we know from Christiaan Huygens that Diego also wrote music; as I mentioned earlier, on March 26, 1663, Huygens wrote to his brother Lodewijk Huygens that Diego had written a Sarabande tune with words related to the feast of the Annunciation. He writes,

I saw Don Diego and I received wonderful treatment in his home. I dined there yesterday, and Francisca played the harpsichord, and after that I probed him about his composition, which is a piece of devotion with Dutch text on a sarabande tune, which he had just made for the feast day.\textsuperscript{155}

While none of Diego’s compositions survive, we can assume that, like Leonora’s, they exhibited a variety of influences. Due to the date, the Francisca described playing the harpsichord above is

\textsuperscript{154} Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, February 16, 1649; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 12; transcribed and translated by Rudolph Rasch in “The ‘Koninkclycke Fantasien,’” 68; full letter transcribed by Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 929; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/4910. “Ik heb uw vriendelijke brief met de bijgevoegde boeken zojuist ontvangen, en dank u zeer voor deze gunst. Van de stukken die ons het best zullen bevallen, gaan we afschriften laten maken, wat echter niet buitenshuis zal gebeuren, teneinde te voorkomen dat ze in de openbaarheid komen. Daarna worden ze u in goede staat en met gepaste zorg teruggestuurd. Ik had wel graag gezien dat in plaats van de nu meegestuurdé bas de tenopartij zou zijn opgestuurd, omdat ik twee basseren en een bovenstem heb aangetroffen. Voor het geval dat u twee tenopartijen heeft en deze basstukken nu mist, leek het mij het beste deze bas terug te sturen, om daarvoor in de plaats de tenopartij te mogen ontvangen. Indien u echter daartoe niet in de gelegenheid bent, dan zullen wij het zelf oplossen door de bewuste stem uit de oorspronkelijke boeken te laten overschrijven.”

\textsuperscript{155} Christiaan Huygens to Lodewijk Huygens, Brussels, March 26, 1663. original document held at Leiden, NL: coll. Huygens; Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome Quatrième: Correspondence 1662–1663 (The Hague, no. 1103), 322–23; accessed online: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/huyg003oeuv04_01/huyg003oeuv04_01_0157.php. “J’ay veu Don Diego et j’ay receu chez luy les regales accoustumes. J’y dinay hier, Francisque joua du clavecin, et luy me persecuta apres cela de sa composition qui estoit une piece de devotion avec des paroles flamendes sur un air de sarabande, qu’il venoit de faire pour ces jours de feste.”
Leonora’s younger sister; an earlier letter from the 1630s in which Huygens described a similar evening in which “Francisca” sang duets with Maria Tesselschade Visscher, the younger sister of poet Anna Roemer Visscher. This letter references the older Francisca, Leonora’s aunt; at that evening, Dirk Sweelinck, son of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621), purportedly accompanied them on the harpsichord.156 Thus, the music of the Sweelinck can presumably join the list of work known to the Duarte family.

A church record survives from Gaspar Duarte’s funeral at the Church of Sint-James — where the family were registered parishioners — documenting that a requiem mass by church organist Philippus van Steenlant (1611–1670) was played during the service.157 Van Steenlant was appointed organist at Sint-James in 1644 and is known to have written at least two Requiems.158 One is located in an manuscript in Brussels, and the other was printed in Antwerp in 1656.159 The situation of the mass performance at Duarte’s funeral is significant, as it highlights the fact that the Duarte family were aware of the music of local composers. According to Rasch, Guilielmus Messaus (1589–1640) was the phonascus (chapel-master) of the Church of Saint-Walburgis, and another possible local musical influence on the Duarte family — he also compiled the Messaus-Bull Codex discussed above.160 After his father’s death, Diego was encouraged by Huygens in a letter of January 20, 1687 to soothe himself by studying the

157 Antwerp, City Archives, PR 297 (Burial register of the Church of Saint-James), folio 76r. See Rasch, “Musical Patrons,” 420.
counterpoint of Antwerp violinist and composer Joannes Chrysostomus de Haze (before 1640–1685). Huygens writes,

It might bring you pleasure to spend a few hours per day with [music] in this otherwise lonely and sad time for your family, and you will not do so without the guidance of the well-constructed counterpoint of Lord [Joannes] de Haze, of which I have heard very good results on several occasions.161

Rudolf Rasch has noted that De Haze is known today only for one collection of trios published in Middleburg in 1681, and indicates that De Haze may have made music with the Duartes.162 De Haze sometimes went by “Giovanni de Haze,” apparently influenced by the same Italian craze that also led English composer John Cooper to take on the name Giovanni Coprario. Further research shows that he not only knew the Duarte family but dedicated the one work published in his lifetime to Diego, a music book by the name of “Clio,” published in Middleburg in 1681.163 This is the work containing trios that Rasch cites, and recent research by Spiessens describes the volume as containing forty-eight pieces in total, scored for two violins, three voices, and basso continuo; Spiessens suggests that the works are likely music for the theater inspired by Diego’s love of the dramatic arts.164 A second work of De Haze’s was published posthumously — Triphonio, op. 2 (Antwerp, 1689)165 — and because Clio was dedicated to Diego, it is highly likely that Diego knew of this work as well, published two years before his own death in 1691.

163 Spiessens, “Giovanni de Haze.”
164 Ibid.
165 Ibid.
As seen, the Duartes regularly appear in reference to music in letters between members of the family and Huygens, his children, and other members of their circle. For example, Huygens corresponded with both composer Joseph de La Barre (1633–1678), and his sister the noted soprano, Anne Chabanceau de La Barre (1628–1688). In one letter of February 25, 1654 to Joseph, he mentions a “Tombeau” for Duarte, presumably referring to Gaspar, who had passed away a year earlier in 1653. Huygens urges La Barre to

Remember, please, that you are giving a Tombeau to poor Mr. Duarte, whom we have lost; I have already written something for the lute and the spinette, and I assure myself that your father and other illustrious men will not want to miss it.\(^{166}\)

Presumably, Huygens has either prepared a piece, himself, or is practicing on those instruments in preparation of performing one. Huygens also corresponded with Henri Dumont (1610–1684), a composer of the French school, but also from the Southern Netherlands. Huygens wrote to Dumont on April 6, 1655 while Dumont was organist at Saint Paul’s chapel in Paris; he praises Dumont’s compositions, including the allemande in the 1652 collection *Cantica sacra* as well as the pavane from the same collection. He writes, “Your pavane is also very beautiful and I sent it to join the works dedicated to the *Tombeau of the late M. Duarte*…”\(^{167}\) At first reading, it is unclear whether the “Tombeau” to which Huygens refers is a specific piece or a compendium of

\(^{166}\) Constantijn Huygens to Joseph de la Barre [place unknown], February 25, 1654; original document held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, NL: KA 49–2, p. 623; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 977; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” *huygens ING*: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5333. “Souvenez-vous, s’il vous plaît, que vous devez un Tombeau au pauvre Monsieur Duarte, que nous avons perdu; je m’en suis désjà acquité sur le luth et sur l’espinette, et je m’assure que Monsieur votre père et d’autre[s] illustres n’y voudront pas manquer.”

\(^{167}\) Constantijn Huygens to Henri Dumont [place unknown], April 6, 1655; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 49–2, p. 677-678; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 983; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” *huygens ING*: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5399. “Votre pavane est aussi tres-belle en son espece, et je l’ay envoyée joiindre aux works dediées au tombeau de feu M. Duarte…”
works dedicated to Duarte. It is interesting to note that Dumont published a piece entitled “Allamanda gravis” in his *Cantica Sacra* for 2, 3, and 4 voices and instruments in 1652.\textsuperscript{168} It is scored for four strings in the pavane form of AABBCC — the only work in pavane form in this collection with a titular reference to mourning. Rudolf Rasch has referred to a piece by the name of “Tombeau de Mr Duarte,” composed by Huygens in 1653.\textsuperscript{169} Considering that the reference to Gaspar Duarte’s “Tombeau” lies with multiple composers in the circle,\textsuperscript{170} the likelihood that the “Tombeau” might also refer to a compendium of works or a performance dedicated to Gaspar’s memory is also great, but more work needs to be done in this area.

**V. Leonora Duarte’s Seven Sinfonias**

The only music that testifies directly to the abilities of the talented Duarte siblings — particularly the oft-mentioned daughters — are the seven five-part Sinfonias by Leonora, which only recently have begun to attract attention. In 1998 the works were published in a modern edition by Corda Music Publications, edited by David Pinto, with an introduction by Rudolf Rasch.\textsuperscript{171} Relatively few performers have taken an interest, among them London-based ensembles Fretwork and


\textsuperscript{170} Constantijn Huygens to Utricia Ogle Swann [place unknown], March 27, 1654; original document held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, NL: KA 48, fol. 43r; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 979; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” *huygens ING*: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5338. Constantijn Huygens to Joseph la Barre [place unknown], February 25, 1654; original document held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, NL: KA 49–2, p. 623; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 977; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” *huygens ING*: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5333).

Concordia, and my ensemble, Sonnambula, in New York; there is as yet no scholarly literature focused on the music or on the context in which it was written.

The Sinfonias are preserved in a manuscript score in the Christ Church College Library at Oxford University as Mus. Ms. 429.\textsuperscript{172} The finding record for Ms. 429 at Christ Church College indicates that the manuscript made its way to Oxford as part of the “Aldrich bequest,” named for Henry Aldrich (1648–1710), Dean of Christ Church from 1689 until his death.\textsuperscript{173} Aldrich was aware of the rarity of many of the materials in his collection, noting that he had amassed “things of value in themselves and to be found in very few Libraries.”\textsuperscript{174} It is not known how Aldrich acquired Duarte’s manuscript, but considering the Duarte family’s connections to England, there are a number of possibilities for transfer, though none more than speculative. Aldrich bequeathed the manuscript to the college in the eighteenth century,\textsuperscript{175} at which point it was mistakenly catalogued under the composer name “Leon Duante.”\textsuperscript{176}

\textbf{TABLE 1.1} Leonora Duarte, \textit{Seven Sinfonias}\textsuperscript{177}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Subtitle</th>
<th>Length (mm)</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Key Sig.</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Features</th>
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<td>47</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>b</td>
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<td>free counterpoint</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Ionian</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Dorian</td>
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<td>d</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>De Octavi toni</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Hypo-Mixolydian</td>
<td>source material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>De Terti toni</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>[Hypo-?] Mixolydian</td>
<td>free counterpoint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{172} Leonora Duarte, Mus. Ms. 429, Christ Church College Library, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.
http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?page=Resources+for+provenance+research#A2.
\textsuperscript{175} Hulse, \textit{Royalist Refugees}, 210.
\textsuperscript{176} Milsom, “Aldrich Bequest.”
\textsuperscript{177} Modes assigned by David Pinto in \textit{Leonora Duarte, Seven Sinfonie à 5: Consort Music for Viols} (St. Alban’s: Corda Music Publications, 1998), 7.
The manuscript contains five part books bound together with music copied onto the recto side of pages containing ten staves and ruled margins. The binding is made of “sky-blue” cloth that has had its ties torn away to reveal a parchment cover. Three watermarks exist which Rasch has connected to the Low Countries via comparative analysis. He reports as well that the paper used in the manuscript appears to be from the 1640s as opposed to a type known to be used in the 1630s. Both Pinto and Rasch name Gaspar Duarte as the scribe of each work’s title in Ms. 429 and date the works to before 1653, the year of Gaspar’s death. It is not known who copied the music, or if the hand was that of a professional or amateur scribe.

The works reveal both Continental and English influence, a combination that is not uncommon in seventeenth-century music written in the Low Countries. Sinfonias Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 7 are written in free counterpoint; Nos. 4, 5, and 6 use source material (see Table 1.1). All seven are in five parts with high top lines, revealing a taste for Jacobean consort music in their resemblance in scoring to that of consort music by John Jenkins (1592–1678) and William Lawes (1602–1645), namely two treble voices, two middle voices, and a bass. Despite the unity in instrumentation, there is no overall tonal conception organizing the set, although the fact that the works’ subtitles focus on the “toni” do imply that they are modally conceived. Sinfonia No. 4 is labeled “Seconda parte” and begins in the same key as the final cadence of No. 3; whether No. 4 is meant to be the second part to No. 3 or to the collection at large is unclear.

179 Ibid.
180 Ibid. Duarte would have been 43 in 1653, the year her father died.
The pieces display a learned style and indicate familiarity with other repertories. The sixth, for example, is a reworking of a Girolamo Frescobaldi’s (1583–1643) four-part Recercar Settimo, from the Recercari et canzoni Franzese of 1615. Subtitled “Octave toni (Sopra Sol mi fa la sol),” Leonora’s reworking preserves Frescobaldi’s imitative setting over a cantus firmus almost entirely, except for the omission of bars 35 through the middle of bar 64, and the addition of a second treble to make a fifth voice. The brighter tessitura lends her work an English sound evoking the free fantasia style and the fantasia suite popularized mid-century by Coprario after his return from Italy. Other works, such as Sinfonia No. 4, resemble English fantasia writing and the In Nomine tradition of composition over a cantus firmus.

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181 Pinto, Seven Sinfonie à 5.
Pinto and Rasch posit that the music itself was notated by a professional copyist,\textsuperscript{183} but Gaspar’s indication to Huygens that he would have music copied at home, mentioned above, raises the possibility that he or one of his children did the copying.\textsuperscript{184} Recent scholarship by Christine Jeanneret on educated women who were professional scribes makes distinctions between the hand that wrote the headings and titles, and the musical handwriting in early modern music manuscripts;\textsuperscript{185} this certainly raises the possibility that Leonora could have copied out her own work or that the task was given to another family member.\textsuperscript{186} Kristine Forney has uncovered archival evidence of Antwerp women deeply involved in their husbands’ businesses and managing their houses, which again supports the hypothesis that Duarte may have copied her own manuscript.\textsuperscript{187}

Further evidence of musical activity within the Duarte family sphere can be deduced from the Duarte’s instrument collection. The Antwerp-based keyboard-making dynasty of Ruckers-Couchet was located near their home and furnished many noble and royal European households with instruments.\textsuperscript{188} From the Ruckers-Couchet inventories\textsuperscript{189} we know that the Duartes owned several of their instruments, including four or five harpsichords and a

\textsuperscript{183} Rasch, \textit{Seven Sinfonie à 5}.
\textsuperscript{184} Rasch, “Koninklycke Fantasien.”
\textsuperscript{187} Forney, “A Proper Musical Education,” 85.
\textsuperscript{188} De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 182. The Ruckers family included many generations of organ and harpsichord makers; the likely originated in Germany and set up shop in the late sixteenth century in Antwerp. Joannes Couchet married into the family and joined the workshop sometime around 1627.
\textsuperscript{189} Grant O’Brien has demonstrated that the Ruckers firm built a harpsichord model intended specifically for the French market, one which would permit Huygens to play “courants, allemandes, and sarabandes.” See Grant O’Brien, \textit{Ruckers: A Harpsichord and Virginal Building Tradition} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
claviorganum, a type of virginals with an organ bellows, first recorded in England in the 1530s.\textsuperscript{190} We might also infer that they also owned virginals, which appear in many household inventories throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Antwerp, particularly the double or so-called “mother and child” virginals, instruments used as teaching tools, for which Antwerp was famous.\textsuperscript{191}

The scoring of the Sinfonias supports documentary evidence from correspondence that the Duartes must have owned viols. More crucially, the Duartes were invested in the more virtuosic capabilities of the viol and intimately acquainted with the technique of viola bastarda, or of creating divisions out of madrigals, a type of playing with which Monteverdi is also strongly associated (Monteverdi played viola bastarda as part of his courtly duties in his early years in Mantua).\textsuperscript{192} In a letter to Huygens dated November 21, 1640, Gaspar writes,

…We have sometimes a small music ensemble at home, as we did present to Miss Anna Roemers, namely, three instruments which are particularly suitable for three ladies, the spinet, the lute and the viola bastarda … for short texted madrigals. That is how we pass the time sometimes to enjoy ourselves…\textsuperscript{193}

William and Margaret Cavendish were another outlet for the Duarte’s interest in bastarda playing. During the years that they were in exile in Antwerp (1648–1660)\textsuperscript{194} they lived around

\textsuperscript{190} Hulse, \textit{Royalist Refugees}, 210.
\textsuperscript{191} Forney, “A Proper Musical Education,” 86.
\textsuperscript{193} Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, November 21, 1640; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KW 79 E 235; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in \textit{Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens} (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/n0286
\textsuperscript{194} Peter Young and Richard Holmes, \textit{The English Civil War: A Military History of the Three Civil Wars 1642–1651} (London: Eyre Methuen, 1974). They lived in Antwerp from September 1648 until 1660, when they returned to London with Charles II.
the corner from the Duartes in the former home of Rubens. As mentioned above, the Duartes likely used their vast collection of music, much of which was comprised of books of divisions, the favored style of virtuoso instrumental performance that flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century. Division playing was greatly similar to bastarda playing in the sense that it was based on ornamenting a line, only in bastarda playing, that line was taken from a madrigal. According to a 1636 inventory of the Cavendish estate, Cavendish owned at least twelve viols and patronized the viol player and composer Christopher Simpson, who is associated with the division, or lyra, viol, the small version of the bass viol designed specifically to aid with the rapid passagework of the genre. Simpson dedicated The Division Violist (London, 1659) to William Cavendish and writes in the introduction that, “I would have a division viol to be of something a shorter size than a consort bass, that so the hand may better command it.” Considering the contents of the Cavendish library and the patronage of Simpson, it is very likely that some of the viols in Cavendish’s collection were division or lyra viols.

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195 Whitaker, Mad Madge.
196 Diego Duarte to Margaret Cavendish, Antwerp, 1671; transcribed by C.H. Firth in Letters and Poems in Honor of the Duchess of Newcastle, 131. This letter is mentioned in C.H. Firth, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, The Life of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, to Which is Added The True Relation of my Birth, Breeding and Life, edited by C.H. Firth (London: John C. Nimmo, 1886), p. 129n. Firth writes, “in the Letters and Poems in honour of the Duchess, p. 131, is a letter from J. Duarte in 1671, thanking her for some of her books.” J. Duarte is Jacob/Jacobus Duarte, another version of Diego Duarte II. I have not been able to locate the original copy of this letter.
197 Lynn Hulse discusses the inventory briefly in Hulse, Royalist Refugees, 210.
198 The inventory was conducted at Welbeck in 1636. Cavendish also had two viol players in his employ, Robert Atkins, and the conveniently-named Robert Fretwell, who had been in service to the Cavendish family since 1600. Of his twelve viols, four were made by the English maker John Rose the Younger (d. 1611). See Hulse, Royalist Refugees.
201 Lynn Hulse, “The Duke of Newcastle and the English Viol,” Chelys 29 (2001): 28–43. Four of the 12 viols mentioned in the inventory can be associated with Rose: three are described as “made by Rose the Younger” and the fourth as a “Violl of Rose his making.”
Guillelmo Calandrini’s comparison of music in the Duarte home to Monteverdi’s music-making mentioned earlier may also relate to the type of music-making going on in the Antwerp home, if not purely to the level of competency, especially considering that the division viol began to displace larger consort viols in England after 1600. Though no systematic tallies have been made, we can imagine that the smaller division viols also took hold in the Low Countries,
as well, insofar as the playing of division viol repertoire, also called playing “the lyra way,” was associated strongly with Cavendish through his patronage of Simpson and considering his considerable presence in the music-making circles in Antwerp, The Hague, and elsewhere in the Low Countries, where he often hosted music-making soirees at his many homes. Huygens is also connected directly to the tradition of division or lyra viol playing, suggesting yet another connection between these instruments and this style of execution to the Duartes. In a letter of February 23, 1648 to Utricia Ogle Swann, Huygens writes to entice his friend to leave her travels and join him for some music-making. He writes,

> But finding myselfe not able to goe and discharge my cholere so farr from home, I come to tell you for some mortification, that in your absence, Lady, wee are not al.together out of tune, but that Monsieur Stöfkins and I are doing a kinde of wonders upon two leeraway viols, which could bring us in danger of ravishing, if there were another Teilinghen capable of the mischiefe, and that in time of necessitie I have hands enough to play a wofull ‘Lachrimæ’ and such other stuffe, upon my organs, to have that wonderfull bow rowle upon my bases. See if you will make hast to heare our miracles, and, now my gall is out, beleve that, either staying or coming, ravished or ravishing...

The reference here to Monsieur Stöfkins is very likely one of the famous viol-playing brothers, either Frederick William or Christian Leopold Stöfkins. Yet, Huygens implies that, despite the enjoyment of his company, he is intent on having a different lyra viol partner, betraying the particular intimacy of the style in his flirtatious note. In the original manuscript copy of the letter (reproduced below as Figure 1.5), we can see that Huygens adjusts his original statement, “upon

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202 Constantijn Huygens to Utricia Ogle Swann [place not mentioned; likely The Hague], February 23, 1648; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 48, fol. 47rv; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/4762.
two viols” with the addition of the word “leeraway,” suggesting that he is using a particular type of instrument — as well as style — to play this difficult, chord-based music.

Fig. 1.5 Detail of Letter from Constantijn Huygens to Utricia Ogle Swann, February 23, 1648. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 48, fol. 47rv.

Given the Duarte’s close relationship with the Cavendishes, Huygens, and their own connections to England, we might also assume that Leonora, too, either owned or had access to division viols and possessed a familiarity with lyra playing as she was writing her consort music — this would have properly equipped her for bastarda playing and playing the “leeraway” herself.

There are certain passages in Duarte’s oeuvre that stand out as moments in which the voices, particular the inner voices, slip from polyphony and into periods of ornamental variety that seem informed by the practice of divisions. One such is the final eight bars on Sinfonia No. 4, reproduced below as Example 1.1.
As the piece barrels to an end, the first, third, and fifth lines take on a series of running quarter notes that, when sounded together, resemble bariolage, a feature of solo bass viol music in which chords are rolled across multiple strings of the viol with the bow, producing a recognizable sound that would have been heard streaming from the practice chamber of any seventeenth-century solo viol player. This technique of chordal accompaniment also resembles that of viola bastard, in which madrigals are accompanied, specifically, with chords on a stringed instrument. In m. 31, the second line joins in, so that in the final four bars of the work the entire consort, except for the cantus firmus line in voice four, is involved in conveying this sound, newly popular in the middle of the seventeenth century — just when Leonora was writing. The passage comprises small phrases of about a bar in length a piece and must be executed by consistent
string crossings in all parts and a rolling motion of the bow arm. Even though chords are not being executed by individual players, the result of this passage is one of masterful achievement in consort, quite literally, with one’s peers; certainly in contrast to the serenity of the rest of the work it feels triumphant and difficult.

This performer’s experience comes forward when approaching Duarte’s music as inspired by Elisabeth Le Guin who posits that the physical sensation of performing is integral to the reception and analysis of the music, and that performing allows for transformation of perception to evidence.\(^{203}\) To this end, I recently performed Leonora Duarte’s works on a rare unaltered mid-seventeenth-century (English) division viol at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 1.6), and can provide testimonial evidence for the ease and playability stemming from the instrument’s shallow bridge and flat neck. Performing Duarte on an instrument close to her time, unaltered and preserved in a museum’s storage chamber, recalled for me Chapter One of Le Guin’s *Boccherini’s Body*, a lengthy discussion of how the physicality of performing/playing music is closely related to the body, such that physical sensations the musician makes during performance are directly — corporially — linked to both affect and motif contextualizing the composer.\(^{204}\)

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\(^{204}\) Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*. 
It is true that musical instruments are complex material objects that permit such observations and allow us, to use the words of Flora Dennis, “to probe more deeply into the social and cultural meanings of music making in the home, and to understand their effects on domestic culture.” While the Met’s division viol granted me the ability to phrase slower passages with clarity, it also allowed for speed and dexterity on fast passagework, which thereby increased the blend of the consort sound. The instrument’s flat fingerboard encouraged my fingers to stay easily planted in the frets, the technique needed to create a clear and consistent sound. The bridge, too, felt

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luxurious in its width and spacing between strings and practically guided the bow across the slim arch with ease. The clarity of sound created a blend across the consort letting the viols and violins sound together as one, in full realization of the ultimate goal and tenet of what Peter Holman has referred to as the “consort principle,” or the act of like instruments in different sizes sounding together as though one single sound. Control over expressivity allowed the final passage in Duarte’s Sinfonia No. 4 to sound out as a crucial point of difference juxtaposed with the rest of the work, a moment recalling the words of Margaret Cavendish, who remarked upon Duarte’s special ability to “relish the notes.”

The moment also deeply resonates with the circumstances in which the piece as a whole was composed and the many contrasts therein, such as the contested space of seventeenth-century Antwerp and the culture-worshipping palatial home within it — at once a barricade from, and entryway to, the world around it. Within this space, both domestic and public, Duarte commandeered a discursive musical world reflecting tremendous musical knowledge, inspiration, and tenacity. Her work suggests that education must have reflected social and economic values shared by conversos and gentiles, alike, and that the spaces where women played music, held intellectual conversation, and studied languages were just as important as centers for the promulgation of these new value systems as the church in the seventeenth century — or perhaps even greater so. I will discuss the specific ways in which Duarte’s salon intersected with and aided her family’s business enterprise in the following chapters.

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206 Peter Holman, Life After Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press: 2010).

Chapter Two

On November 21, 1640, Gaspar Duarte wrote a letter to his friend, the poet and diplomat Constantijn Huygens. Included at the end is a passage that should pique the interest of the music historian:

Concerning the music, I would appreciate having a couple of these beautiful Italian and French airs; I believe that they were presented to you by a nobleman musician, by the name of Varenne... We sometimes have a little music ensemble at home, like the one we formed for Miss Anna Roemers; namely, three instruments which are particularly suitable for three ladies, the spinet, the lute and the viola bastarda, and me the third treble on the violin, and for the voices: one lute and one viol for the two trebles with my two daughters singing, and sometimes two trebles with bass which I sing, either with the spinet or theorbo, for small madrigals of the book....

Another of Gaspar’s letters to Huygens, dated January 9, 1641, contains the following passage:

Sir, thank you for the two songs, the one in Italian and the one in French, the latter of which, although no air de cour, is nice and good. In return I am sending you two other Italian songs, but I could not find the Ochi belli guarciri which I had also mentioned; I will send it later.

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1 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, November 21, 1640; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KW 79 E 235; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/n0286. “Touchant la musique, j’estimeray d’avoir une pair de ces beaux Airs Italiens e Fransois. Je pense qu’il vous sont este présenté par un gentilhome musicien, nommé La Verane, que j’ai oui chanter en Angelterre, lequel devoit passer par Hollande. Nous avons quelques airs de lui, pour le moins deues bonnes, a savoir Ochi belli guarci, l’autre Se credi col ferir, Amor, darmi tormento. Nous usons quelque fois une musique domestique en petit concert d’instruments, comme avons faict entendre à Mademoiselle Anna Roomers, à savoir trois instruments avec leur particulier, d’estre de trois filles, l’espinette, é luth, é la viole bastarde, é moy le violon, pour le 3m dessus, é pour les voix: un luth é la viole à deux dessus avecq les voix de mes deus filles, et quelques fois deux dessus avecq une basse que je chante avecq l’espinète o téorbe pour de petites madrigales du livre.”

2 Gaspar Duarte, Letter to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, January 9, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 2; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/watermarker/media/huygens/original/BR2606.pdf. “Mijnheer, ik dank u voor de twee liederen, één in het Italiaans en één het Frans, welke laatste volgens mij geen air de cour is, al is die toch mooi en goed. Ik zend u als tegenprestatie twee andere Italiaanse liederen, maar die van Ochi belli guarciri, die ik ook had genoemd, kon ik niet vinden; die zal ik later sturen.”

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And a few months later, on April 21, 1641, Gaspar penned another letter to Huygens about these songs — it reads:

Regarding the two pieces of music that I sent you earlier, only the upper parts were included. I am sending you here three others in two parts in Italian that my two daughters have been singing.  

All three of these citations provide fascinating details about the music making practices of the Duartes and Constantijn Huygens, one of the most important figures in early modern diplomacy and a businessman who, like Gaspar, had a hunger for high art. In these passages we read about the “musique domestique”
4 that prominent musicians, diplomats, artists, and writers heard the Duarte children perform in their famed family chamber concerts; that their “petit concerts d’instruments” comprised a spinet, lute, and the polyphonic performance technique of viola bastarda; that Gaspar, himself, played the third treble part on the violin (“le 3m dessus”); and that certain instruments were considered more suitable for three ladies (“aveq leur particulier, d’estre de trois filles”). We also observe through them reference to a composer of airs Gaspar admires, “un gentilhomme musicien, nommé La Verane,” identifiable as the singer Bernard de Varenne, who visited Huygens in Holland in January 1640.  

The discourse surrounding music in these letters offers a rare glimpse into the cultural and domestic life of a great artistic patron of the seventeenth century and positions the Duarte home in Antwerp as a creative hub for the convergence of the cultural élite. The correspondence

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3 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, April 21, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 4; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/letter.html?id=huyg001/2694. “Touchant les deux pièces de musique que ci-devant vous ai envoié, ne sont qu’à un dessus seulement. Je vous envoie ici trois autres à deux dessus en Itallien que mes deux filles chantent.”


5 Sotheby’s, “Music, Continental Books and Manuscripts.”
is thus an important source document providing testimony of the sort prized by musicologists for its insight into music making in the domestic sphere; passages such as these regularly take on a life of their own in the scholarly literature, where they persist in citations and recitations, separated from the original context of the letters. All three passages, however — examined elsewhere in this dissertation for the information they provide about the Duarte’s musical practice — appear in letters that are primarily concerned with business dealings.

In this chapter, I take that contingency seriously and examine how music related to business for the Duartes, and how it helped facilitate what might have otherwise been complicated social and political transactions. One of the most crucial places where this music happened, as reported in the letters, was in their salon, a place of solace and privacy that Marika Keblusek has recently argued “ensured [for] the visitor an informal, protected atmosphere, where a shared language of cultural pursuits — of music, art, literature — could be exploited to forge other, politically charged, bonds.”6 I build on Keblusek’s contention to suggest that music, particularly conducive to socializing, facilitated and legitimized business and cross-cultural networking and, more crucially, functioned for the Duartes as a specific means to establish trust and friendship across racial, linguistic, and religious boundaries.

A comprehensive study of the role of the private residencies of merchants as cultural and intellectual entrepôt has yet to be undertaken, but related studies inform my approach. In his monumental survey of Jews in the Renaissance, Cecil Roth famously argued that the art dealer fills a specific function in a sophisticated society, one that was “an essential factor of cultural activity in the Renaissance.”7 Particularly Jews, Roth continues, are implicated in this paradigm,

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as the purchasing and selling of wares was a shared concern of the merchant class, predominantly Jewish in the Low Countries; moreover, these transactions often occurred in the home where collections could be viewed extensively. Mark Netzloff has written that letter-writing, dining, and other aspects of daily life bound people together while they were away from home, as well; his work on the English embassy in early modern Venice charts a connection between the social bonds most strongly affirmed in a domestic space and the consequent professional network-building facilitated therein. Gaspar is an exemplar of this continuity: he grew his jewel business, his reputation as an expert in fine art, and his knowledge of music while simultaneously serving as the consul of the Portuguese Nation in Antwerp in the 1640s. I argue that the Portuguese Nation functioned as a social embassy, in which a sense of belonging was built on the shared experience of exile and unity amidst persecution. Although many merchants of Jewish extraction converted to Catholicism, some also remained steadfastly Jewish in identity and practice, despite edicts to the contrary. For this reason, the Jewish-Portuguese community, and especially recent converts, were considered suspect, a population marked as different; unlike their gentile counterparts, this threatened their ability to travel freely as citizens. Despite the subordinate political position that converso merchants held in Antwerp — or perhaps because of it — no other group provoked as much existential anxiety amongst non-Jewish merchants, simply by virtue of the fact that they were large in number and were persistent and successful in their work and trade.

8 Roth, Jews in the Renaissance, 208.
Exile is a progenitor of social unification concerning Jewish histories at least as far back as the fifteenth century and I cite similarities between the Duarte’s experience in post-Inquisition Antwerp and that of conversos in Castile following the edict of expulsion from Spain in 1492, when conversos were collectively suspected of continuing to “judaize” after their mass conversion to Catholicism. Renée Levine Melammed’s work on these conversos parses the difficulty with which the Spanish Catholic church accounted for the converts who “formed a group of their own… not part of either the Jewish or Christian communities” and that they were the subject of “a new and intense hatred… an ethnic anti-Semitism,” in which even descendants of the converted bore the brunt of local anger.

The Duartes, too, were united by a sense of exile within a community of other conversos; this extended to their forging bonds with English Royalists, in exile, themselves, in Antwerp during the English Civil War (I discuss Duarte’s friendship with Margaret Cavendish, for example, at length in Chapter Four). It is evident from the Duarte-Huygens correspondence that the home functioned for the Duartes as a semi-official space for the convergence of exiled individuals, and I show how music — and specifically women making music in the salon — enabled such interstitial and interracial dependencies. In this way I build on work by Amy Brosius that examines how women in seventeenth-century Rome created spaces that encouraged business discussion between men of differing social classes who might not have otherwise associated with one another. Leonora Duarte’s superb musical abilities served to bring together and unify disparate entities and diplomatize what could otherwise have been, at best, tenuous

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11 Many relied upon Jewish communities for support, for books and supplies during holy days. See Renée Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
transactions between a Judeo-Portuguese family and their non-Jewish counterparts in post-Inquisition Antwerp. The intersection between women’s roles as musicians and their identification with Judaism in the Antwerp salons, however, has not yet been thoroughly examined in the musicological literature.

The discursive uses of music in non-courtly, non-professional contexts by members of a converso merchant family alongside the Jewish mercantile community and gentile gentlemen elite contributes to our understanding of the domestic values of culture in a population otherwise marginalized in early modern Europe. By understanding the letters shared by the Duartes and Huygens as business letters, we can see that the salon begins to take on aspects of a business space within the world of conversation and culture sharing; the salon thus permitted the Duartes the ability to benefit from shared experience and the dissolution of social hierarchies. Far from a simple reflection of a shared love of music, the Duarte-Huygens correspondence, which lasted over forty years, is also indicative of the profoundly complex nature of the kinds of relationships forged between converso merchants in the Low Countries and the world around them. The merchant class of which the Duartes were a part was primarily comprised of Jewish immigrants from Portugal and Spain; they were unquestionably business savvy, consistently exploiting family connections and the familiarity of shared culture and language to facilitate deal-making as a means of survival, sometimes at the expense of remaining within the fairly compact networks from the Judeo-Portuguese world from which they came. In the specific case of the Duartes, their love of music combined with status as conversos was made more complicated by the fact that they resided in Antwerp, increasingly anti-Semitic throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries. A sense of ethnic belonging comingled with an outwardly focused inclusivity permitted wide-ranging socializing that, on the one hand, meant their survival in spite
of tenuous circumstances, and on the other an intellectual and professional flourishing that would ultimately lead to dealing in jewels with the British royal family.\textsuperscript{14} I argue that the Duartes exploited the exclusivity of their social-religious community to subvert the notion of nationhood, at once challenging the position of the converso merchant as a wandering, nation-less minority and complicating a gentile claim to national heritage. Gaspar’s success bridged both worlds, and was contingent on building, maintaining, and embodying his family’s image as cultural heirs to the literary and artistic traditions of Europe, in their case not only in what might in the nineteenth century be called a bourgeois or even aspirational manner, but in achieving a mastery over artistic practice with which they impressed and outshone their peers.

I.

Throughout their forty-year correspondence, Gaspar and Huygens used art and music and the traffic of musicians and fine instruments to forge an international network between countries that were sometimes at war,\textsuperscript{15} a network that would grant Gaspar the connections he would need to distinguish himself as a businessman in a competitive industry. Gaspar established a large and international community that came together at his family’s house concerts and that his son Diego continued to cultivate after his death. As I have discussed in Chapter One, the Duarte home attracted English court musicians who were in exile in Antwerp, such as Nicolas Lanier,\textsuperscript{16} and royalty, such as Mary Stuart, who regularly stopped in the city on her way to the spas south of Maastricht.\textsuperscript{17} Like Lanier, both Stuart and her brother Charles (later Charles I) stayed in the

\textsuperscript{17} Jardine, \textit{Going Dutch}, 175.
Duarte home while in Antwerp, even though the English community entertained them elsewhere during their stay.\(^{18}\) Margaret Cavendish experienced many social gatherings with the Duartes at their home and in her own, where she heard the Duarte sisters sing.\(^{19}\) So important and celebrated was the family’s prominent role as patrons and practitioners of the arts that Huygens referred to the Duarte residence as “Antwerp’s Parnassus,” referring to the mythological mountain that was home to the muses, for the family’s ability to draw together there such an array of guests, all in the name of culture sharing.\(^{20}\)

Huygens was perhaps the Duartes’ most important business intermediary. He represented the House of Orange, in exile in Low Countries during the Commonwealth.\(^{21}\) Gaspar’s and Diego’s letters to the diplomat — in Dutch, English, and French — reflect the ease with which these men navigated between national boundaries and allude to the fact that the Duarte salons, as well, must have been multilingual events. From a linguistic standpoint, the Duartes skirted the constrictions held over the tightly-knit community of Portuguese Jewish jewel merchants, many of whom only communicated with one another in Portuguese,\(^{22}\) despite having left Portugal two, and in some cases, three generations earlier.

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Over the years, Gaspar engaged in discussions of matters entirely unrelated to the jewel business with Huygens, but which served to increase a mutual sense of trust and maintain a groundwork for other interactions. In 1648, for example, Gaspar facilitated Huygens’s purchase of a Couchet harpsichord after an extensive correspondence with the Ruckers-Couchet firm, neighbors of his in Antwerp.\textsuperscript{23} Gaspar took an interest in instrument building and kept up with the developments of these makers, some of which are crucial in the history of harpsichord making. Huygens sent Gaspar in pursuit of a certain type of instrument for his collection, and in a letter from Gaspar of March 5, 1648, received word in Dutch that his friend had located “a harpsichord with one full keyboard reaching to the lowest G.”\textsuperscript{24} Likely speaking about the Couchet model II, a large single manual harpsichord, the correspondence details an essential fact with regard to Couchet’s instruments — that Couchet’s single-manual harpsichords usually had a range of four octaves from C with a short-octave bass. We now know that as late as 1644 Couchet’s partner, Andreas Ruckers, is known to have been making a single-manual harpsichord (the Couchet model II) with the range indicated in the correspondence.\textsuperscript{25} Gaspar’s letters to Huygens report that Couchet had already made four extended-range instruments by 1648, chromatic from GG. Gaspar writes,

\begin{quote}
The length of the large harpsichords is around eight feet; at choir pitch with three registers, there are three different strings, that is to
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{24} Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, March 5, 1648; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 7; transcribed by by Rudolph A. Rasch in \textit{Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens} (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 874; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/4772. “…het grote klavecimbel met één volledig klavier, tot de allerlaagste G.”

say, two strings at unison and one at octave; all three can be played together or each string alone.²⁶

Huygens purchased the model II, an extended single without the four-foot, and settled on a range of FF to d'". Though the top note is not mentioned, Frank Hubbard has argued, after a thorough study of Couchet’s keyboards, that it is likely c".²⁷ Gaspar’s familiarity with the early days of the Ruckers-Couchet firm and expertise in the mechanics of the instruments likely are what encouraged Huygens to seek his council: Huygens’ purchase of the very sort of instrument that Gaspar procured is proof that he trusted his advice.

Musical discussion with Huygens would help to pave the way for one of the most significant business transactions the Duartes would complete in their long career: the London sale of a priceless brooch destined for Mary Henrietta Stuart (1631–1660), the daughter of Charles I, on the occasion of her marriage to William II of Orange in May of 1641.²⁸ Gaspar first took Diego to London when he was 20, in 1632, and both men integrated into London society and with Huygens’ help moved in court circles.²⁹ Gaspar established his business outlet in London in 1632, and by 1634 both he and Diego were granted “denizen” status and naturalized as English citizens.³⁰ That year Gaspar became jeweler, gem procurer, and supplier to Charles I, a position that he would hold until 1639; in 1635 Diego was appointed “Jeweler in Ordinary” to King Charles I.³¹ In this position Diego also became the king’s agent for the purchase and disposal of gems.³²

²⁶ Gaspar Duarte to Huygens, March 5, 1648.
²⁷ Hubbard, 63.
²⁸ Translated in Jardine, Going Dutch, 180.
³⁰ Jardine, Going Dutch, 177.
³² While registration as Catholics granted the Duartes access to networks that would have remained off-limits to them should they have chosen to live openly as Jews, the climate in England, where they had a lot of success, was not great for Catholics, either. Laws were enacted in 1643 that required all Catholics in England over the age of twenty-one to take an “oath of abjuration,” which denied young Catholics certain traditional Catholic benefits — if
In this capacity, Gaspar and Diego were the intermediaries between the English and Dutch courts as they negotiated the sale of the royal jewel with Huygens on behalf of Huygens’ employer, the Stadholder Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange. Diego identified the jewel in London, a piece that was valued at 80,000 guilders, “more than three hundred times the annual wage of a simple craftsman.” The plan was for him to bring it to Antwerp to show Huygens, while a thorough description was sent to the Stadholder. Stationed in Antwerp, Gaspar was the pivotal figure in the negotiations between Huygens and Diego. On March 24, 1641, Gaspar writes that the ambassadors of Holland had seen the jewel and were very satisfied:

Their honors the Holland ambassadors saw it in London, and also told His Highness about it, because they were so delighted to see so magnificent a piece. For the four diamonds in combination have the impact of a single diamond of value 1 million florins.

Prior to these business discussions — but as part of the same letter — Gaspar mentions some unidentified French and Italian airs that he thinks Huygens would enjoy — one of the passages quoted above. The musical details provide an entry into, and a transition away from, the thornier business matters: as Gaspar delicately describes the value of the jewel to his friend, he also poses questions about music that encourage response; the discussions that ensue pave the

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35 De Paepe, “Networking in High Society.” The copy was sent via Joachim de Wicquefort.
36 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, March 24, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 3; portion transcribed and translated by Lisa Jardine in Temptation in the Archives: Essays in Golden Age Dutch Culture (London: UCL Press, 2015), 58; full letter transcribed by Rudolf Rasch, Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantlynhuygens/en/brief/nr/2677. “Les Seigneurs Abbadesse d’Hollande l’ont veu à Londres et aussi donné avis à Son Altesse à cause du grand contentement qu’ils ont pris de voir une telle pièce.”
way for more serious dealings and ensure the progression of business matters and the lengthy negotiation process. His prompt reply also contains musical “small talk” of interest to both men; taken together, the letter forges neutral territory, establishes trust, and ultimately lays the groundwork for the sale.

The Dutch Stadholder was eventually interested in the purchase and the sale was made: the jewel was given to the nine-year-old bride (it features prominently in a portrait of the royal couple by Van Dyck in the same year, located today at the Rijksmuseum, and reproduced here as Figure 2.1).
Lisa Jardine argues that the exchanges of letters concerning this jewel present us with an intriguing picture of material culture — the value of a luxury object is being established by two fashionable societies: that of the recipient and of those making the sale.\(^{38}\) The Duartes, those making the sale, had arrived at the pinnacle of society at this juncture, despite the racial and national prejudices against them — successful at business and at maintaining a genuine and

consistent engagement with the arts, and embodying the role of a successful bourgeois that came with it.

Though it appears savvy in print, Gaspar’s musical connection to Huygens was an authentic point of contact not based solely on business dreams. Gaspar helped his friend with other, more personal, business matters, including the sale of Huygens’ country home just outside of Antwerp: on January 9, 1641, he writes that he “will do all that may be possible to you and your house” and follows up on April 21 of the same year to state that “as for the sale of your house, I will conduct the business with industry and reputation as best as I can.” The connection to Huygens was shared by other members of the Duarte family, and both of Huygens’ sons were close with the Duarte children. Diego, in particular, continued to cultivate an intimate musical connection with Huygens. In 1684, Diego sent Huygens some of his own compositions, seeking the diplomat’s approval — he later sent drafts as well to Huygens’ children Constantijn II (1628–1697), the mathematician Christiaan (1629–1695), and daughter Susanna (1637–1725). A letter of Diego’s to Huygens, Sr., dated January 9, 1684 opens with a friendly inquiry about his friend’s health then segues into an explanation of his intention to set a collection of psalms by Antoine Godeau (1673–1685) from the *Paraphrase des Pseaumes de David* of 1648.

Diego writes, in Dutch,

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40 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, January 9, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 2; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/2606
41 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, April 21, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 4; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/2694.
With regard to the 5 [psalm-] paraphrases of Antoine Godeau… although it was my intention to only set a few to music, I think it is a subject so divine and suitable, even though they are psalms, to praise and thank God, and especially your encouragement… [letter is damaged from this point forward] 44

On January 6, 1687, the year of Huygens’ death, Diego writes another letter about this to his friend, again in Dutch. This one, like the above, is greatly eaten away and missing many words, but within its remains we witness Diego revealing to Huygens that he has dedicated the Godeau settings to him. He writes,

…I have taken the liberty of dedicating it to you, with the wish that you will have at least some of the satisfaction with this that it gives me… so that my work has not been in vain. You will forgive me this freedom, with which I wish you a happy new year and the continuation of many future wishes. 45

Diego’s Psalms to Huygens are a paean to his father’s close friend and colleague, a man who was a key figure in seventeenth-century cultural diplomacy and whose connections had greatly sustained his family’s business and ensured their ability to give full purpose to their cultural pursuits. The works also acknowledge a great man known for helping the careers of many young musicians and painters in the 1640s and 1650s, even while immersed, himself, in the political

44 Diego Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, January 1684; original document held at Amsterdam, Gem. Arch., Hs. Arch. 334, nr. 682; transcribed by Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007), nr. 7213A, 1261–1262; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/watermarker/media/huygens/original/BR7213A.pdf. “UE. magh noch dencken op myn serieuse musicale onderneming, raeckende de Paraphrase van Antoine Godeau, ende hoewel myne intentie in den beginne maer en was voor eenige in ‘t musick te stellen, doch vindinge het subjeckt soo goddelyck en bequam, tamquam 2 psalmi, om Godt te loven en te dancken, en inson[der]h[ey]t UE. aenmoed[gr]inge heeft my den…”

45 Diego Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, January 6, 1687; original held at Amsterdam City Archives, Hs. PA 334, No. 682; transcribed by in Rudolf Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007), 1264; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/brief/nr/n0311. After signing off Diego ends with this postscript: “The overview of the numbers of the psalms, as printed in the original book, is here written in the back, with the corresponding folio numbers indicated.”
responsibilities associated with maintaining the reputation of the House of Orange after William of Orange died in 1650.46

Huygens’ own compositions betray influences from England, France, and Italy: he was influenced by a realm of styles from the Continent, refashioning them into a quintessentially Dutch style and sentiment that reflected the contemporary state of music in Antwerp. Likely influenced by the worldly man’s knowledge and fusion of musical language, Diego may have taken his own idea to set Godeau from Huygens, as the older man had also set the Psalms himself, a few decades earlier. However, while Huygens, a Protestant, had used the Latin, Catholic edition in his setting; Diego maintains the original French of the Godeau, a fact that suggests that Diego’s works were intended for the bilingual elite of his circle and meant to be performed in the home.

Diego’s letters about the works also reveal that he originally had doubts about setting the Psalms — and eventually decided that it would be appropriate to set them as long as “praising God through song” was the intention.47 (He did not publish the work, and it is currently lost.) Timothy De Paepe has cited a similarity between Diego’s musical allegiance to Catholicism and Leon Modena’s defense of Salamone Rossi’s intention to set the Songs of Solomon sixty years earlier — indeed, both composers contend that the purpose of the setting of psalms is to praise God.48 Modena defended a newness in Rossi’s music49 — perhaps what Roth might have meant when he claimed that Jews in the early modern period enacted a “universal outlook,” or what David Ruderman has deemed more recently a “humanistic mobility” amongst communities of

46 Jardine, Going Dutch, 185.
49 Don Harrán, Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 208.
Jewish intellectuals of this time. Rossi’s music was concerted music and arose in direct opposition to what Rossi and other likeminded commentators deemed the poor state of Hebrew song at the time. Modena wrote about this phenomenon in his Foreword to Hashirim Asher Lishlomo, by Salamone Rossi, 1622:

Shall the prayers and praises of our musicians become objects of scorn among the nations? Shall they say that we are no longer masters of the art of music and that we cry out to the God of our fathers like dogs and ravens?

Modena acknowledges the poor state of synagogue music in his own time and yet he implies that it was not always so. Later in the document he argues that the rituals and the music of the Catholic church had been derived from those of ancient Israel, as a means of forging a connection between art music and a Jewish identity. Diego may have felt compelled to defend his compositional decision on the heels of Susanna Huygens’ comment that “un Juif” was writing psalm settings (see Chapter One).

Diego’s defense of his own attempt at concerted music also serves to distance himself from the stereotype of the Jew as noise-maker, particularly the creator of Jewish sounds emanating from the home, and which Ruth HaCohen cites as a major tenet behind the music libel against Jews in the early modern period. The association of animalistic noise with Jews presents a complicated historiography in which Jewish cacophony born of the synagogue stands against Jews in the early modern period.

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52 Leon Modena, Foreword to Hashirim Asher Lishlomo by Salamone Rossi (Venice: Bragadini, 1622).
in relief against concerted Christian music. The topos, HaCohen argues, is particularly embedded into the early modern period, and is a phenomenon that Michael Marissen argues culminates in the eighteenth century. Marissen proposes, for example, that the aria “Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron” and the “Hallelujah Chorus” in Handel’s Messiah are anti-Judaic, partially on grounds that the “people of Israel” whose destruction is celebrated in the “Hallelujah Chorus” are portrayed in “Thou shalt break them” with an evocation of noisy banter and confusion. By looking at the mechanics of Jewish stereotyping in early seventeenth-century theater in Mantua, Emily Wilbourne, too, has revealed that actors in the seventeenth century understood voice to carry ethnic and social markers distinguishing Jewish meaning — thus one could enact Jewishness and one might also cover it up. Amidst this soundscape, music may well have aided Diego’s quest for social emancipation, when he wrote to Huygens in a letter that music means harmony (contra noise) and “does not tolerate contradictions.” The musical socializing enacted in the Duarte salon repudiates the anti-Semitic synagogal construct of domestic chatter and instead generates a secular domestic sense of embassy in which culture is economy; the Duartes’ music-making negates the construct of the Jewish home as a place of noise and heresy.

57 Diego Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, January 23, 1673; original document held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 34 (Duarte) 1; transcribed by by Rudolph A. Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 1117; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/brief/nr/6877. “Ons verheught seer U.E. zich nog gestadich met de musique vermaeckt welck genoegh uytbelt de volmaecktheijt van U.E. grooten geest, alsoo de musique geene teghenstrijdicheijt in haerselven en tollereert, en wenschen van herten dat U.E. in die goede humeer noch veele jaeren met vreugth en voorspoed magh volharden, en nog door de genade Godes het beleven U.E. ten dinste.” Huygens later confirmed this idea. See Constantijn Huygens to Diego Duarte [place unknown], January 24, 1656; original held at Royal Library, KA 49-2, p. 739; transcribed by Rudolph A. Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5452. “Toute âme musicale est bonne et benigne” (every musical soul is good and kind). See also De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 183.
II.

Throughout his career, Gaspar maintained connections with Antwerp’s Portuguese community, which was primarily comprised of other Jewish immigrants who had come to the city in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and who had also converted upon leaving Portugal or on arrival in Holland. This community was unified socially under the aegis of the “Portuguese Nation,” a term derived from the Portuguese term Naçao and originally applied to groups of traveling merchants who had taken up lodging in another city.\(^58\) As Mark Netzloff has shown, embassies were also referred to as “nations” in the early modern period, such that “nation” is at once a concept, a unifying marker, and a place of convergence.\(^59\) As I discussed in Chapter One, many members of the Nation, like the Duartes, were merchants who helped to grow Antwerp’s economy substantially; most of them were conversos\(^60\) who, whether crypto-Jewish or practicing Catholic, were restricted from participating in the guild system in any way and thus from most trades and crafts.\(^61\) Portuguese Jews in both Antwerp and Amsterdam attempted to build community in spite of this; in Amsterdam, where the Dutch Republic granted Jews religious freedom, community was formed in large part by importing Sephardic rabbis from Italy, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire, which forged a connection to a larger network of Jews in the diaspora. Many leaders of the Amsterdam Portuguese-Jewish community adopted Sephardic surnames as a means of reclaiming this Sephardic legacy as émigrés.\(^62\) Conversos in Antwerp

\(^58\) Keblusek, “Merchants’ Homes,” 505.
who could not practice openly also discarded their Hebrew names in favor of Sephardic names, and the Antwerp Duartes, originally Abolais in Hebrew, were no exception. Gaspar’s success in this community of exiles culminated with his service as the consul of the Portuguese Nation in Antwerp, first in 1641 and again in 1646. Within this network, Gaspar was part of a mercantile community with a deep sense of belonging, one that Miriam Bodian has argued was tied to heroic self-fashioning in exile, and in the wake of suffering, at a time when “the very existence of a post-biblical Jewish tradition had been forgotten among Portuguese crypto-Jews within a generation of the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition,” and in which, therefore, the Inquisition was crucial to a sense of belonging and to their founding mythology. Gaspar’s involvement in this network even while cultivating business connections outside of it entitled him to benefit from an additional community of members unified by shared experience of past and present and the desire to preserve heritage; these connections proved crucial to the success of his business endeavors.

Occasionally, Gaspar’s correspondence with Huygens reveals that Gaspar possessed an awareness of the professional activity of Jewish merchants in the jewel business. This knowledge may have given him an edge over his competition. The letter to Huygens of April 21, 1641 that discusses the sale of the Stuart gem also contains the following information. Gaspar writes,

I remain greatly indebted to you for the great affection you have shown towards my son Jacob [Diego] Duarte, by tomorrow showing His Highness that beautiful jewel which I mentioned to you previously. And although I understand that Mr. Alonse de Lope has already managed to sell His Highness four other pieces [of expensive jewelry], nevertheless I hope that your particular

64 Ibid.
65 Portuguese Jews seem never to have integrated completely into the Sephardic world. See Bodian, “Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation,” 72.
favor will have the power to be successful in this matter, since this
is such an extraordinarily rare piece...66

Presumably, Gaspar refers here to Alvaro Lopes, a religious Jewish diamond merchant based in
London who is known to have advised many Jews who arrived in the city in the seventeenth
century following the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Well aware of the climate around him,
Gaspar encourages Huygens to send his favor to a possible buyer and to remind them of the
jewel’s extraordinary rarity while Diego was shopping the jewel around to the highest bidder. He
intimates that there is an amount of urgency attached to the deal by mentioning Lopes; this
information, when paired with his friendships with noble gentiles, positioned him
advantageously while conducting business in London, a major hub of the jewel business in the
seventeenth century due to the demand for high quality jewels from noblewomen returning from
exile and who needed them to wear at court.67

Travelers to London around the time of the Stuart gem sale report to have encountered
people openly practicing Judaism.68 Many, like Lopes, were jewel merchants. Lopes held
religious services in his home, gatherings that included several prominent physicians and

66 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, April 21, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod.
Hug. 37 (Duarte) 4; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond
Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as
“Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING:
http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/brief/nr/2694. “Je vous demeure ausi
grandement obligé pour vostre bonne affection qu’avés temoigné par delà à mon fils Jaques Duarte, pour
lendemain montrer à Son Altesse ce bel joiau dont ici-devant vous avois faict mention. E combien j’ei entendu que
Monsieur Alonse de Lope par son industrie avoit desjà vendu à Son Altesse quatre pièces différentes, néanmoins
j’espère que vostre particulier faveur aura ausi le pouvoir de quelque effèct, principalement en une pièce si
extraordinairement rare...”
67 Samuel, “Manuel Levy Duarte,” 11. Middle-class women in London did not wear jewels; the demand in London
was for expensive pieces, whereas in the Netherlands, middle-class women wore jewelry of lower value.
Jewish households were reported in the 1535 census. For information on the importation of rabbis from Amsterdam
to London in the seventeenth century, see: Chaya Brasz and Yosef Kaplan, Dutch Jews As Perceived by Themselves
and by Others: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands
(Brill: London, Boston, and Köln, 2001). Jacob Sasportas arrived in 1664, Joshua da Silva in 1670, and Jacob
Abendana in 1681.
theologians. Because his home was a place where travelers would go upon arrival when entering a new country, it resembled an embassy. No evidence exists that Lopes and Gaspar ever met—or, by extension, that Gaspar had any interaction with other Jewish merchants that was not purely business. But the Duarte home, like Lopes’ home, attracted travelers who converged around a shared locus; the Duartes’ visitors came together as fellow ambassadors of culture, suggesting what David Ruderman has identified as a “correlation between motion and cultural production and creativity” for Jews in the early modern period.69 The intellectual mobility that converged in the intimacy of the family home, Ruderman argues, was part of a larger sense of human movement that had offshoots in “colonial and mercantile governments across the globe,” and against which Jewish self-identification and the representation of Jewish civilization became reified in the non-Jewish world.70 For the Duartes, music—what permits Gaspar to push his business enterprise to the highest level—encouraged what Lisa Jardine has referred to as “cross-cultural competition” amongst merchants in the Low Countries:71 Gaspar’s involvement in a gentile world within the nexus of what was primarily a Jewish trade, contests and complicates the borders imposed on its Jewish minority by both Jewish law and Christian society. For Gaspar to ultimately succeed he had to integrate his family with the gentile world, yet he could not distance himself completely from the transactions occurring within religious Jewish mercantile matrices.

In some ways, Gaspar’s community and network building resemble that of his religious cousin Manuel Levy Duarte, also a merchant—a man who was married to Gaspar’s niece Constancia Duarte (c. 1631–1707) and who lived in Amsterdam where it was acceptable to

69 Ruderman, Early Modern Jewry, 24.
70 Ruderman, Early Modern Jewry, 17.
71 Jardine, Going Dutch, 182.
practice Judaism openly. His professional success, like so many in his position, relied upon a close network of other merchants of Portuguese extraction. Levy Duarte’s papers survive in the Amsterdam archive: they are written in Portuguese and reveal that the small Amsterdam Judeo-Portuguese community often conducted business between families. Levy Duarte was one of the Jewish merchants with whom Gaspar remained in closest contact; the other was his business partner, Joseph ben Abraham Athias (the rabbi who became a book publisher of great renown who I discussed in Chapter One and whose firm famously published Maimonides’ *Mishneh Torah* in Amsterdam in 1702, just two years after his death). Levy Duarte would become the executor of Diego’s will and eventually was responsible for the disbursement of the family’s collection of over two hundred paintings. He and Athias traded internationally in Brussels, Antwerp, London, and Paris, but unlike the Antwerp Duartes he did so primarily with other Jewish jewelers, even though they occasionally dealt in other trades such as cloth and cocoa, as was typical of businessmen in the seventeenth century. Like Gaspar and Diego, Levy Duarte engaged in profitable trade relationships with contacts in London. As Gaspar cultivated connections with the House of Orange, Levy Duarte and Athias built a prosperous trade network that depended on a few major customers who worked with them regularly, including Luis Alvares of Paris and Olympe Mancini, the Brussels-based Countess of Soissons — she was the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, a former favorite of Louis XIV and the mother of Prince Eugene of Savoy. Levy Duarte and Athias were likely her stockbrokers, as well; her investments were very important to their business, and they likewise invested in her.

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72 Papers survive as Amsterdam Gemeente Archief, PA 334, 675–68. Also discussed in Samuel, “Manuel Levy Duarte,” 25.
73 De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 176. This was compiled between 1170 and 1180 (4930–4940), while Maimonides was living in Egypt.
Edgar Samuel argues that Manuel Levy Duarte’s success was contingent upon his belonging to an ethnic minority living within a major trading city, connected by language and kinship with similar communities in other major cities — in other words, “the reason the diamond trade remained a Jewish specialty is the strange compatibility of the commercial needs of the gemstone trade with the structure of Jewish communities.”

Levy Duarte is a test case that reveals how language, religious identification, and identity building amidst persecution bind and to some extent insulate and protect professional communities. Traveling internationally yet maintaining a fixed linguistic identity allowed Jewish merchants like him (and Athias and Lopes) to connect with their “nations” in foreign cities; as such these communities stood in for sites of both commercial and cross-cultural trade that created, to borrow from Keblusek, “social topographies of exchange, emulation and innovation,” or networks of trust, shared identity, and purpose.

In spite of this, Levy Duarte was limited in his ability to engage in the artistic and musical small talk perfected by the Antwerp Duartes. His letters make no mention of music, and his writings about art were constrained to business documentation chronicling the collection he would inherit. In Antwerp from 1691–96, to settle the Duarte estate following Diego’s death, he fully documented his efforts to sell the collection of paintings. The following entry is from his inventory, currently in the archives of the Portuguese Community of Amsterdam. It tracks both those sold and those which had not yet been sold at the start of 1693. The end of the entry for Lot 403 reads (with my bold marks added):

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Permigiano junto ao cabinet
1: Maria met [j]e[w]us kint e Josef .... f200
1: dito ao lado de lucrecia contem
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77 Keblusek, “Merchants’ Homes,” 505.
Levy Duarte does not write out the names “Jesus” or “Christ” in his letters about art, in keeping with religious practice.\(^{80}\) This is in direct contrast with both Gaspar and Diego Duarte’s practice in correspondence, for example Diego’s letter describing his decision to set all of Godeau’s psalm paraphrases, in which “God” is spelled out in full. Gaspar’s and Diego’s business letters are written in many languages — De Paepe has discovered some of Diego’s accounting books to contain letters in Portuguese, but these are the minority, and only between other converso and Jewish businessmen.\(^{81}\) And while Levy Duarte had overlapping spheres of influence, they converged, as Samuel has argued, on the synagogue, a place at once the “social and charitable focus” of Levy Duarte’s existence, where family, business, and prayer congregated.\(^{82}\) Gaspar’s and Diego’s social and — importantly — musical capital allowed the two men to forge networks outside the confines of the Judeo-Portuguese trade network. For the Antwerp Duartes this convergence happened in the home; their salon was a business space of shared experience. The ensembles Gaspar and his daughters created and the music that they read and performed for guests all served to suture the bonds that Gaspar and Diego built in their business world.

III.


\(^{81}\) De Paepe, “A Converso’s Experience,” 175.

At their home on the Meir, the Duartes used music to construct a community comprised of exiled royalists, businessmen, and musicians — Leonora and her siblings played host to Antwerp’s elite as well as cosmopolitan visitors from throughout the Dutch Republic, Paris, and Italy, “turning the family home into an informal concert hall for those who were lucky enough to be invited to their soirées.”

Ironically, this converso family resembles Christian gentlemen merchants and travelers on the Grand Tour, who also used culture as political economy to maintain and establish social bonds.

In his study of the English Protestant diplomat Robert Bargrave, Michael Tilmouth argues that music was utilized to “carry his pattern of life with him [even while] planted in some corner of a foreign field.” Still, Bargrave had to be discreet while traveling in Catholic Italy. When he visited churches to hear music, he reported taking holy water so as to avoid arousing suspicion. Yet his musical training soon smoothed the path for him and granted him society despite his status as a religious minority. He writes in his memoirs,

> Here my little Skill on the viall appearing to the advantage, because none else could play on it, endangered my playing before Principe Matteo; but waving it as well as I could, I was only heard by his chief Capellans who repaid each lesson with Interest, Each affording me the excellency of theyr voices and severall Instruments, as they were peculiarly qualified, and in presenting me divers admirable Songs.

Bargrave’s skill and knowledge of music masked and enabled his own crypto-identity. In his case, as with the Duartes, cultural currency was a family affair — in his case, it had been

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cultivated by his father, Isaac Bargrave, who was the recipient of a substantial bequest of Italian books and a viola da gamba by his close friend Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador to Venice, a serendipity that underscores yet again the importance of musical practice to embassy.86 In 1652, the return of Bargrave’s party from Constantinople to England was celebrated along the journey home, and in Danzig they were invited to an “abundant Feast, and bestowed on mee a gallant Banquett of musick, in a consort of a German Viall and Violine, with an Italian Lute and Voice; little inferiour to the best I ever heard.”87 Here we recall the “handsome collation” that finished John Evelyn’s visit to the Duarte home in 1641, mentioned in Chapter One.88 Bargrave’s passage was a success.

As it did for Bargrave, music presented common ground for the Duartes and their stakeholders and granted them access to an international community of outsiders, permitted them acceptable interactions with gentiles, and ultimately meant that their place in society extended beyond that of racial signification — remarkable in a climate in which accusations of judaizing could lead to death, as it had for Athias’s father, Abraham, burned at the stake in Cordoba in 1665.89 Music functioned for the Duartes as a means to legitimize relationships across these social, religious, national, and ethnic borders, much as it would in the Jewish salons of early 19th-century Berlin — spaces in which enlightened people peacefully co-existed, devoid of identity-driven segregation.90 The Duarte’s domestic congregation, and not the synagogue, was a
place for identity building and networking that permitted the family, like the liberal German Jews of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to abandon strict belief and therefore, as Michael Brenner has argued of the experience in the Weimar Republic, integrate with less effort.\textsuperscript{91} Gaspar’s interest in instruments, his musical banter with Huygens, his musically-prodigious daughters, Diego’s French setting of Godeau, and their multilingual letters all betray what Cecil Roth has deemed a certain “citizenry of the world.”\textsuperscript{92} Business and domestic networks were interchanged in a worldly setting in the Duartes’ milieu, and this is reflected in their deeply-rooted investment in culture and the business successes that grew out of such fertile soil.

\textsuperscript{91} Michael Brenner, \textit{The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 32.

\textsuperscript{92} Roth, \textit{Jews in the Renaissance}. 

Chapter Three

The collector dreams his way not only into a remote or bygone world, but at the same time into a better one in which, to be sure, people are not provided with what they need any more than they are in the everyday world, but in which things are liberated from the drudgery of usefulness.¹

Frans van Mieris the Elder’s *The Serenade*, ca. 1678–80 (Figure 3.1), is one of over two hundred paintings that hung in the Duarte family’s palatial home along Antwerp’s Mier. The canvas depicts four figures enshrouded in darkness — a woman stands in the center with a theorbo, her mouth open, presumably in song. A young boy with a torch leads the way for two men in theatrical dress who crowd into the central space of the frame. One of the men wears a mask and falls deeply into darkness; the other is turned away from the viewer. Despite the gloomy night, the woman in the center of the frame is illuminated by torchlight, candle, and the moon, and made a point of focus by the placement of her companions and the manner with which she is juxtaposed with them: she is central, they are peripheral; she is illuminated by nature (the moon), they rely on candlelight; she is spotlighted, they are cast in shadow. The visual conversation that these figures enact makes studying the elegantly dressed musician at the center of the work on its own a difficult task, despite her illumination and the open-mouthed invitation we are given to listen. Where we are permitted access to the innocuous torch bearer, we are made to feel we are invading her privacy: in this moment, the viewer becomes a voyeur, immediately conscious of her active participation in the nocturnal scene.

Fig. 3.1 Frans van Mieris the Elder, *The Serenade*, ca. 1678–80
The intoxicating sense of intrigue that scenes such as this present are common throughout Dutch Golden Era painting and were collected voraciously for the enjoyment they presented to the household visitor. The baroque influence of Caravaggio felt in the contrast of light and dark (chiaroscuro) and figure placement sets up a discursive readability that would have stimulated its contemporary viewership. As Gaspar Duarte grew his jewel business in the 1640s and 1650s, he collected many works like this by contemporary Dutch and Flemish artists. They were part of an elaborate Kunstkammer we also know included musical instruments, with allusions to performers, and that they provided a backdrop for the prized musical performances the family held in their home. In this respect, their musical performances can and should be read as an integral part of the Kunstkammer at large: like the material objects displayed, musical ability was internalized and displayed within the gallery walls during salon concerts; performances, like the art around them, were wonderous things to be observed and just as much attractions to behold and contemplate.

In Chapter Two, I discussed how the Duartes used their musical skills to build audiences and communities within their domestic space, at once a business space and place for cultural gathering. Here, I build on this contention to argue that the sense of curatorship on display in the Kunstkammer helped to unify the family with their guests and admirers and granted new access to Leonora Duarte’s music. Like a collector’s cabinet, designed with artfully juxtaposed objects to inspire wonder, Duarte’s deft arrangement of musical styles display a worldly mastery on par with her father’s collection of paintings. At her family’s gatherings, the trappings of their cultivated life took on a mercantile aspect. The Duartes sold more than their experience in art, jewels, and music — they sold a family brand, an attachment to an economy of status and belonging, through a complicated transaction that implicates musical performance in a domestic
politics of early modern consumerism. This chapter positions domestic musical performance within the aesthetic of the Kunstkammer, a space at once public and private in which connoisseurship is performed. By reading Duarte’s works alongside the particular setting in which they were first played, I reveal how music — a controlled and carefully organized collection of sound — participates in the performance of the Kunstkammer. Accessed by invited guests who were invested in the buying and selling of goods, Duarte’s domestic musical evenings enhance the notion of the Kunstkammer as a space of social and cultural functionality.

I.

The Duarte’s art collection is part of the early modern tradition of the Kunstkammer, or collector’s cabinet containing art and other objects assembled by wealthy merchants for display in a private home with personal guests as its audience. The genre was pervasive in the Low Countries and had a particularly strong tradition in Antwerp. The Kunstkammer is subject of a rich historiography in both art history and the history of science. The earliest theoretical writings on the subject establish that the purpose of the Kunstkammer is to bring together objects that encourage the simultaneous observation of nature and art. The juxtapositions that arise are meant to inspire wonder in the observer, one of the passions most common to seventeenth-century philosophic thought. This conceit is the basis of the first treatise on the Kunstkammer, *Kunstkammern, Inscriptiones vel tituli Theatri amplissimi* by Samuel Quicchelberg of 1565. In

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it, Quicchelberg proposes establishing a system of workshops, laboratories, and display spaces that provide the infrastructure for administering ideology — whether economic, religious, or political.\textsuperscript{5} In his introduction to the treatise, he writes:

> The inscriptions or titles of a vast theatre, containing the individual subjects and excellent images of the things of the universe, such that one may with reason also call this a repository of artificial and extraordinary things, of every rare treasure and precious furnishing, of buildings and pictures, that are examined and collected together here in this theatre, in order that through the repeated inspection and study of them, one may obtain in rapid, easy and certain fashion singular knowledge and a marvelous practical experience of all things.\textsuperscript{6}

The proper display, Quicchelberg argues, provides the framework to observe the world in an untouched state in a way that allows the viewer to rapidly acquire knowledge in a way that allows one to interact with and exert personal control over the world.\textsuperscript{7} The juxtapositions of untouched nature and artful control that are crucial to the early modern’s collection cabinets are found in practice in the description of the collection of the Dresden nobleman Johann Georg I, Elector of Saxony (r. 1611–1656). Philipp Hainhofer, advisor to the court of Augsburg, described the collection in his travel diaries; there Hainhofer writes that “one would need several days to observe nature and art.”\textsuperscript{8}

Antwerp was enjoying a period of relative political stability in the mid-seventeenth century that fostered a sense of self-awareness on the part of the bourgeoisie where one had not ultimately been possible before. In 1637 the Dutch entered the slave trade, the same year that

\begin{footnotes}
\item[6] Quicchelberg, \textit{Inscriptiones}.
\item[7] Rebecca Cypess, “‘Die Natur und Kunst zu betrachten’: Carlo Farina’s \textit{Capriccio stravagante} (1627) and the Cultures of Collecting at the Court of Saxony,” \textit{The Musical Quarterly} 95 (Spring, 2012), 140. Cypess refers to it as an “opposition.”
\end{footnotes}
public opera began in Italy. Merchants and collectors contributed substantiated the foundations of a global commerce enterprise in the early modern period that Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen argue had “an enormous impact on European culture, changing the very way people perceived the world around them.” It was a time of both growth and connection in which knowledge was a commodity and the correct vessel permitted easy acquisition. It was at this time that the Duartes began to simultaneously build their collection and reputation as art connoisseurs. The Duartes, burghers and members of the merchant class, were like many Antwerp art collectors whose painted Kunstkammern reframed mercantilism into a personal business enterprise reflecting knowledge acquisition at the heart of the domestic sphere. Elizabeth Honig’s study of Antwerp collectors reveals that the highly class-conscious bourgeoisie of that city were even at times criticized for acquiring impressive collections of paintings; they used them to imitate their ruling elite so as to perpetuate aristocratic social gatherings, where greed was construed as avarice, and yet their spaces were often “populated by nobility.” Ariane Suchtelen and Ben Van Beneden have written about the many merchants who collected art despite an ardent disinterest in it, in order to gain social status and advance in social circles. Likewise, some merchants of lower rank used the social environment propagated by the Kunstkammer to their advantage. “By projecting an image of himself as a connoisseur,” Suchtelen and Van Beneden write, “an affluent commoner could vie with those in aristocratic

10 The great French rococo artists who would later look to the Dutch masters for aesthetic inspiration probably did so with an amount of nostalgia for the sort of learned domestic society they would never know, themselves. By the end of the seventeenth century in France, the monarchy’s indulgent tastes had dominated art, making a mockery of the learned bourgeoisie and a theater piece of their domestic indulgences.
12 Suchtelen and van Beneden, *Room for Art.*
circles and thus acquire status.” Where the Duartes were concerned, a sense of authority on art developed simultaneously with deep-rooted interest in the art on the walls, something likely established through their serious attention to the provenance of the works they acquired and which they documented in letters. In one letter, Diego urged the person who sold him a Raphael to disclose the provenance of the work. In his study of the art market and connoisseurship in the Low Countries, Koenraad Jonckheere has stated that other famous connoisseurs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Röver and Meyers, were just as concerned as the Duartes and other top art dealers about the provenance of their collections and that knowledge about it enhanced ones reputation as an authority. Lisa Jardine argues that the line was hazy between merchant collectors and connoisseurs in the early modern world. But by the 1650s — when Leonora, Diego, and their siblings were young adults immersed in salon concerts and in performing and writing music — the family had gained a solid reputation as highly sought-after art dealers. Sometimes their jewel business and art dealership did overlap, but more money was always brought in through jewels. Art collecting was actually not an efficient way to flaunt wealth in Antwerp in the mid-seventeenth century, due to the fact that most paintings were comparatively inexpensive. The most valuable work in the Duarte collection was the Raphael Madonna and Child, purchased from Don Emanuel and might explain Diego’s concern for provenance. The Madonna was part of a series of works exchanged for a diamond ring, or as

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13 Suchtelen and van Beneden, Room for Art, 18.
15 Koenraad Jonckheere, “Supply and Demand,” 86.
17 Jardine, Going Dutch, 183.
18 Honig, Painting and the Market, 205.
Lisa Jardine has written, “last year’s piece of jewelry could be traded for a number of fashionable works of art.”

The Duartes were part of an elite group of collectors whose paintings were academic resources and gathering points for worldly, educated clientele, and at the same time evidence of their own tastes and learnedness. With heightened awareness that the art would be viewed by visiting guests, they collected with a certain amount of freedom and could choose what to have displayed in their home. The works attracted prominent travelers to Antwerp, and with their musical evenings, many visitors left testimony describing their impressions of the art, among them the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tassin and French diplomat Balthasar Monconys.

G. Dogaer’s annotated inventory of the Duarte collection of 1971 relies on Tassin’s notes to establish provenance, for example, the architect’s description at having been struck by Anthony van Dyck’s portrait, *Albert de Ligne on Horseback*, a work that had also attracted the attention of Huygens. The display and observation of work allowed the Duartes to receive people into their home on equal terms, such that the home became what Timothy De Paepe has referred to as a “neutral meeting ground [that] bridged the distance between [the Duartes] and non-Jews with no converso background.”

Art collecting also helped the Duartes sustain their contact with Huygens who, like Tassin, was struck by the Van Dyck portrait of *Albert de Ligne*. Constantijn Huygens’s son, Constantijn Huygens Jr., visited the Duarte residence several times when traveling south with military campaigns and he noted his views on the collection in his diary,

recording one such visit on September 12, 1676. In the entry for June 11, 1676, Huygens Jr. described Brueghel’s *Peasants’ Fair* extensively and recorded that it was estimated to be worth one thousand francs; Huygens Jr.’s descriptions also mention a portrait of the Earl of Southampton by Holbein and, in a small “cabinet,” a piece by Rottenhamer replete with nude figures, which he called “the best I ever saw of that master.” Like many merchants’ homes, the Duarte home was used as a fixed mailing address in exchanges associated with art dealership. Poised to leave Antwerp for Holland in March 1646, Nicolas Lanier, Master of the King’s Music to Charles I, asked Huygens to procure him a passport “for my selfe with two cases of paintings and one servant,” to be addressed to him at the house of “Mr. Dewarte.” In January 1659, while staying in The Hague, Béatrix de Cusance ordered the Antwerp art dealer Matthys Musson to leave his letters for her at the Duarte home.

Current scholarship on the Kunstkammer by art historians and historians of science analyzes these spaces as the early modern precursor to the modern museum due to the authority that these collections engendered. However, not every contemporary scholar was initially convinced that the modes of perception and thought associated with collector’s cabinets would serve as a viable model for scholarship — for example, Horst Bredekamp, a scholar who has since devoted years to studying the Kunstkammer, wrote in an early work, from 1995, that

24 Keblusek, “Merchants’ Homes and Collections,” 504.
26 Nicholas Lanier to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, March 16, 1646; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Lanier) 2; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); see also Keblusek, “Merchants’ Homes and Collections,” 504.
28 Baadj, *Jan van Kessel I*.
“nobody wants to return to the deliberate chaos of the Kunstkammer as a museum.”\textsuperscript{29} Precisely this visual “chaos” was then the concern of Kunstkammer scholarship throughout the 2000s. Scholars such as Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park in 2001 bound chaos together with issues of wonder and curiosity and cite instances in which European naturalists from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment used oddities and marvels to both envision and explain the world.

“Monsters, gems that shone in the dark, petrifying springs, celestial apparitions,” they write, “these were the marvels that … lured collectors and frightened the devout.”\textsuperscript{30} Historians of science have charted how curiosity was understood as a science in medieval thought.\textsuperscript{31} For Krzysztof Pomian, writing in 1990, curiosity as an active notion is reified in the cabinet, a place whose material manifestations attract audiences and inspire wonder; Pomian succinctly describes the cabinet as hoardings of “rare, exceptional, extraordinary, exotic, and monstrous things.”\textsuperscript{32}

Similarly interested in the cabinets themselves, Nadia Baadj’s work from 2016 at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin seeks to re-evaluate the Kunstkammer’s role in the seventeenth century as a medium for framing and communicating an increasing body of knowledge about art and science in the rapidly globalizing world.\textsuperscript{33}

The particular hybridity of such cabinets in the Duarte home and the manner with which they presuppose and enclose musical showpieces, effectively transforms them into what Baadj has referred to as “contact zones between diverse people, places, objects, visual idioms, media,
and materials.” The value systems that exist within the Kunstkammer are explored also by Mark Meadow, who is concerned with how the complex systems at work in the Kunstkammer also include social memory. The way in which knowledge is produced by these juxtapositions, Meadow argues, can be applied to the economics of merchant families who are trading in knowledge and foreign difference, through goods, experiences, languages: this international mercantilism was a defining aspect of the Duarte jewel business and is echoed in the home (and is discussed at length in Chapter Two). Meadow has argued that merchants used the Kunstkammer to demonstrate special financial prowess, commercial power, and knowledge, a triumvirate that was showcased by powerful business families and sought after by the aristocracy as an alternative to seeking power and control via spy networks or other diplomatic means. In the controlled privacy of the Kunstkammer, these attributes are mirrored back to them in a very personal manner that likely helped shape a business enterprise. In the case of the Duarte family, the aspirations of the converso merchant family were met through the cultivation of skills displayed in their musical performances. Sometimes, entire Kunstkammern — and thus entire knowledge programs — were bought and sold between families, revealing that knowledge was commodifiable and transferrable. Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt are concerned with the ways in which knowledge is produced and acquired in the early modern world. They aim, in work of 2007, to correct what they see as an “imbalance” in the way that the fruits of knowledge — books, data, and ideas — tend to generate more critical attention than the paths taken toward their acquisition. In other words, material culture and the study of objects is directly connected

34 Baadj, *Jan van Kessel I*.
to those who come in contact with objects. For many historians of science today, a close read of Quicchelberg’s treatise offers an understanding of the functions served by these early Kunstkammern, one in which collections are closely tied to knowledge production with implications for stewardship policies, also of concern to many academic heritage collections today.³⁸

The Duartes were in equal parts producers and stewards of visual and aural consumer culture. The element of display that underlies the performances given by Duarte and her siblings for the guests of the house implies that her music and her body are performative. The Kunstkammer is rarely the subject of musicological scholarship, however. In musicology, it has been discussed within the context of collecting paintings of singers in the work of Amy Brosius, who questions how portraits of female virtuose signified performative fantasies of their embodied singers; Brosius calls into question the dual perception of these women as simultaneously high achieving and sexualized.³⁹ Rebecca Cypess has argued that Carlo Farina’s Capriccio stravagante offers a representative sampling of musical instruments in various social contexts, an aural “Kunstkammer” showcasing sounds of instruments used by peasants to those used in court, “from those destined for church to those designed for the battlefield.”⁴⁰ She explains how drones representing the hurdy gurdy are juxtaposed with sounds alluding to organ music and other such disparate sonic elements for listeners to peruse, all of which, taken together, strikingly illuminate the climate in which Farina was writing. Along these same lines, Andrew Dell’Antonio discusses collectors whose objects include instruments as a means of

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⁴⁰ Cypess, “Cultures of Collecting,” 147.
publicly presenting their prestige through the cultivation of musical experiences.\textsuperscript{41} The Duartes are an example of how music making was synonymous with the establishment and reinforcement of one’s social caste and its creation of a space that displays what the owner wants it to, or, to paraphrase Dell’Antonio, the performance of wealth and culture, in addition to knowledge, through personally curated possessions.\textsuperscript{42} Art history often contends that during the Renaissance the fascination with musical iconography was based in ideology, but that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it became material to be manipulated and consumed.\textsuperscript{43} In the early modern world, music acquired and carried with it social responsibilities that were indicative of cultural mores: the manner with which music was made, those who made music and those for whom music was made — even the instruments associated with the act — were all connected to a socialization of the self. Where the music-making Duarte family is concerned, the uses of performance in the practice of collecting and display establishes the Kunstkammer as an active space, discursive grounds that reveals the power of images to construct and reinforce a personal reality.

Connections between wonder and curiosity pervade the early modern period between collectors, natural historians, and alchemists. Kunstkammer ideology presupposes an emergent attempt to catalogue objects that encourage wonder and curiosity in viewers on the cusp of the Scientific Revolution, thus revealing a nascent form of new science that did not yet exist in the seventeenth century. If the collector can master nature, as Quicchelberg puts it, he must do so through dual loyalties to both natural and artificial production — in a time before wonder would

\textsuperscript{41} Andrew Dell’Antonio, \textit{Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
\textsuperscript{43} This culminates in the \textit{fête galante}, and specifically in the mysterious crowdedness in works by Watteau.
give way to the sublime, wonder’s “darker guise.”\textsuperscript{44} These methods of cataloguing the natural world, alongside the controlling hand that ordered it, co-existed for a time with older methods of sciences (such as alchemy, which I will discuss at length in Chapter Four). Curiosity is construed as the material representation of the period between the Middle Ages and the Enlightenment, a time of change between the theological strictures of the medieval Church and what Pomian has deemed “the epistemological tyranny of the Scientific Revolution.”\textsuperscript{45} In the early modern world, before the establishment of science as a public enterprise at the end of the seventeenth century, curiosity was bound up with mechanistic thought. Cypess has argued that mechanistic philosophy lay at the heart of Kunstkammer collections: the collections displayed a desire to understand all natural phenomena, including life itself, in mechanical terms.\textsuperscript{46} Similarly, Brosius maintains that the mechanistic understanding of the early modern body and soul meant that portraits of \textit{virtuose} functioned in performative ways, causing viewers to interact with portraits as they would with the embodied singers.\textsuperscript{47} The cultures of curiosity supported and sustained by a generational impulse to collect was the supreme manifestation of what Robert Evans and Alexander Marr have referred to as the “age of curiosity.”\textsuperscript{48} When they are removed from economic circulation, collected objects become what Pomian has termed “semiphores,” that is, objects that act as a bridge between “that of which we speak and that which we see,” between the space of discourse and that of visual perception, such that the spaces they inhabit become active

\textsuperscript{45} Pomian, \textit{Collectors and Curiosities}.
\textsuperscript{46} Cypess, “Cultures of Collecting,” 160.
spaces of knowing and learning.\textsuperscript{49} At the heart of the Duarte collection, Duarte’s musically-performative body becomes a semiphoric curiosity, a bridge between hearing and seeing.

II.

The heart or the interior of the home was where the Kunstkammer was often located and the cabinets displayed. For the Duartes, subjects of international curiosity themselves, this was a hermeneutically active space where music was made and culture created, and in which the paintings and instruments on display were the physical embodiment of the business of culture sharing.\textsuperscript{50} In the Duartes’ space, curiosity was a rhetorical strategy that granted agency to the collector, the wonder cabinet a lens through which to assess the interconnections between objects, individuals, texts, and ideas via the personal treatment by individuals devoted to their circulation and care. Music is implicated in the economic project of the Kunstkammer for the Duartes in two ways: via the materiality of the instruments adorning their chambers, and through the sound the instruments and those using them create in the collection. Music, and the seeing of music made by bodies, establish the Kunstkammer as what Richard Leppert calls “the sight of sound,” or the corporeal point of convergence of these interconnections.\textsuperscript{51} Instruments, strewn around, displayed, and used in front of visitors, are complex material objects which permit observation and allow for the analysis of, in the words of Flora Dennis, “the social and cultural meanings of music making in the home, and to understand their effects on domestic culture.”\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{49} Pomian, \textit{Collectors and Curiosities}. Here he quotes Nicole Jacques-Chaquin “espaces du savoir.”

\textsuperscript{50} Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, \textit{Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 3.

\textsuperscript{51} Leppert, \textit{The Sight of Sound}.

Gaspar’s desire to understand the workings of instruments has been documented in letters to the Ruckers-Couchet firm of harpsichord builders (I discuss some of them in Chapter Two) that reveal an authentic interest in the mechanics of musical instruments and reveal that the family owned many of them.53

In the second decade of the seventeenth century a unique genre of painting arose in Antwerp that depicted Kunstkammern.54 Even a cursory study of these works can transmit something of how the Duarte galleries may have appeared. Often the works deftly replicate diverse paintings in a variety of styles and techniques of execution. Ariane van Suchtelen and Ben van Beneden suggest that this points to the paintings’ construction by many different hands, each with expertise in a particular artist.55 By the 1650s, the style began to be characterized by the representations of local painters and identifiable works of art that could be identified by connoisseurs.56 Sometimes these works were constructed as a pictorial inventory of an actual collection, such as Willem van Haecht’s Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest, 1628 (Figure 3.2), one of a very few in a subset of this genre.57

54 Suchtelen and van Beneden, Room for Art.
55 Ibid.
56 Baadj, Jan van Kessel I, 13.
57 Ibid.
Fig. 3.2 Willem van Haecht, *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, 1628

Fig. 3.3 Jacob de Formentrou, et. al., *A Cabinet of Pictures*, c. 1659.
Usually, however, these grand pictures were rendered as carefully constructed advertisements for a particular collection. *A Cabinet of Pictures* by Jacob de Formentrou and others, c. 1659 (Figure 3.3), is one such picture, a work that Nadja Baadj has called a “virtual calling card of local artistic talent.”58 The painting was originally thought to be by Gonzales Cocques, who painted the Duarte family in the 1650s. In the case of both the de Formentrou and the Cocques, the interior setting is grand in scale. Paintings adorn all walls, stacked sometimes four pieces high and leaving little room for anything else. Gentlemen in richly-appointed garb adorn the central space and are depicted deeply engaged in study, poised as decorations within the ornate spaces meant for viewing. In the unsigned Flemish work *Cognoscenti in a Room Hung with Pictures*, c. 1620 (Figure 3.4), two large tables display smaller curios and are surrounded by knowledgeable gentlemen admiring them closely.

![Fig. 3.4 Anonymous Flemish, *Cognoscenti in a Room Hung with Pictures*, c. 1620](image)


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58 Baadj, *Jan van Kessel I*, 13, n. 1.
Cocques’ picture of the Duarte family (Figure 3.5), though not a picture of paintings, references this genre of pictorial advertisement and positions the Duartes deftly across the canvas: Duarte is centered holding a guitar near a portative organ while her mother, Catharina, standing at her side holding sheet music. Both the guitar and the partbook incite evidence of the fact that Duarte sang. Her two sisters (a third sister, Isabella, is absent) crowd to the right opposite her brothers, Diego II and Gaspar II, the latter of whom is seated at a bass viol to the far left and depicted in the process of playing, his bow at the tip as though about to roll a chord. The young men surround their father, Gaspar, who sits at a table richly adorned with a carpet and holds a letter. The work, like the depictions of the Kunstkammern discussed above, is packed with iconographical proof of the Duartes’s music-making endeavors and is a veritable curriculum vitae of their talents — a musical offering.
We have little knowledge of precisely how the instruments, paintings, and musicians in the Duarte home and collection were arranged, but there are some indications in the inventory of paintings that cabinets were displayed alongside paintings, as they were generally in the homes of other merchants. We know quite a bit about the specific elements contained within the Duarte Kunstkammer. At Gaspar’s death in 1652, the family’s collection contained eleven works by Rubens, eleven by Van Dyck (including portraits of the Countess of Northumberland and Utricia Ogle), and others by the Brueghels, Quinten Matsys, Hans Rottenhamer, Hans Holbein, Cornelis
Poelenburgh, Jan Porcellis, and Adam Elshauer.\textsuperscript{59} Also represented were paintings by great Italian masters such as Titian,\textsuperscript{60} Andreas del Sarto (four works), Tintoretto (two), and two by Raphael (one of which had been purchased for twenty-two hundred guilders directly from Don Emanuel, Prince of Portugal, [c. 1568–1638]).\textsuperscript{61} Gaspar left the family art collection and the jewel business that kept it alive to his son Diego, who made an inventory of the works in 1682.\textsuperscript{62} The manuscript of this original inventory still exists and is located in the Royal Library in Brussels.\textsuperscript{63} The inventory is heavily cited in the art history literature and was originally published by Fred Muller in 1870 as “Catalogus der Schilderijen van Diego Duarte,”\textsuperscript{64} a publication that has since been well researched by art historians and in places corrected.\textsuperscript{65} Most of the paintings were purchased from English aristocratic art collectors in exile in the Low Countries who desperately needed money upon emigrating. Many were portraits of English sitters by fashionable artists.\textsuperscript{66} Diego’s sole heir, his Amsterdam-based cousin, Manuel Levy Duarte, was later appointed executor of the collection and settled in Antwerp for six years after Diego died in 1690 to dispose of it.\textsuperscript{67} He sold 128 paintings within that time\textsuperscript{68} — mostly at the prices Diego had indicated in the original inventory — and kept meticulous records of his transactions.\textsuperscript{69} The end of Lot 403 in the inventory of paintings, for example, lists “Permigiano junto ao cabinet”

\textsuperscript{59} Keblusek, “Merchants’ Homes and Collections,” 504.
\textsuperscript{61} Keblusek, “Merchants’ Homes and Collections,” 504.
\textsuperscript{64} Royal Library in Brussels (MS 1194). Originally published by Fred Muller as “Catalogus der Schilderijen van Diego Duarte, te Amsterdam in 1682, met de prijzen van aankoop en taxatie,” \textit{Do Oude Tijd} (1870): 397–402.
\textsuperscript{65} See G. Dogaer, “De Inventaris der Schilderijen van Diego Duarte,” 195–221. For one, he was able to show that the original source of the collection was in Antwerp. See p. 198, note 10.
\textsuperscript{66} This would become a highly sought-after genre in The Netherlands. See Jardine, \textit{Going Dutch}, 184.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{69} Manuth, “Denomination and Iconography.”
(Parmigianino next to the cabinet…). Tassin’s notes, which were used in Dogaer’s 1971 annotated inventory of the Duarte collection, also inform us that Van Dyck’s *Mother of the Emperor* hung in the first room in Duarte’s chambers along with various other portraits and alongside *Albert de Ligne*. Paintings of collectors cabinets and paintings collections in Antwerp combined with these few descriptions can give us at least some idea of how the Durate home and collection were arranged, and at the very least, some insight into the grandeur of the spaces that housed their works, both plastic and sounded.

Scholarship concerning the reconstruction of the contents and arrangements of merchants’ Kunstkammern has recently extended into the digital space. Timothy De Paepe is part of a team of Dutch researchers trying to digitally recreate the collection space of the Amsterdam painter and engraver Arnold van Halen (1673–1732). Van Halen collected miniature portraits of Dutch poets and writers around 1700, all rendered on small metal plates measuring only 9.5 x 11 cm, their names written on the back. This collection of miniatures has been scattered but originally included the likenesses of many women, such as the Frisian poet Sibylle van Griethuysen (1621–1699) and Anna Maria van Schurman (1606–1678), a musician who shared social networks with the Duartes, though it is unclear whether she ever met them. The digital rendering of Van Halen’s collection, like that of other merchants before him, shows

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73 Van Deinsen and Van Strien, “The Writer’s Cabinet.”
that it was an ordered and inclusive space, constructed in a teleological manner in the style of Quicchelberg. Quicchelberg’s treatise provides evidence about how collections were ordered, particularly the idea that collecting objects is equivalent to the Ciceronian project of collecting ideas. Mark Meadow’s current work on Quicchelberg revalues material culture in this framework with his view that “however eloquent an orator may be, be it Cicero himself, the pragmatic value of the collection could not be conveyed as well by him as it could by the objects themselves.” Only by nature of juxtaposition does the larger meaning of a collection unveil itself. This is in keeping with the Renaissance concept of *theatrum mundi*, in which the world is a sum greater than its parts, where various roles are played by different actors. According to Paula Findlen, images in the seventeenth century hold this power. There is something of this in the Van Mieris, whose figures do not interact, but instead exist, as Angela K. Ho has written, separately together. Other works by Van Mieris enact similar pictorial presentations. Often his works do not contain scenes common in seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish art, tropes such as the music lesson, letter reading, gambling, and others which so often have moralizing intent. Like *The Serenade*, his work *The Cloth Shop* [not Duarte coll.] of 1660 (Figure 3.6), is one such non-coherent narrative, but rather what Ho has called a “collection of figural types and motifs that visually articulate specific concepts about critical viewing and artistic competition.”

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77 Angela K. Ho, *Creating Distinctions in Dutch Genre Painting: Repetition and Invention* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).
78 Ho, *Creating Distinctions*, 140.
A man and woman engage in the exchange of fabric in a cloth shop “in which the client compares the sensation of touching fine cloth to the delicate caress of the shopgirl’s proffered chin.”

Similarly, *The Serenade* is a collection of types that illustrate individual meanings. The background figure has been described by Metropolitan Museum of Art curator, Adam Eaker, as a “curious,” which was an art historical term used to mean foreigner in the context of early modern Dutch imagery. The masked man may evoke the newfound thirst in the Low Countries for the Italian *commedia dell’arte*. The instrument appears to be a northern version of an Italian theorbo.

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80 Adam Eaker, Conversation with the author, August 4, 2017.
with courses like the French lute but with a long Italian neck permitting a lower range and reflecting current tastes. The practice of re-assembling these “visibly accessible meanings” falls to the viewer in the Mieris, but it also reveals that the work’s collectors and likely first owners — the Duartes — were well-versed in Italian music, a fact we know to be true from letters describing their performing Italian madrigals at home (discussed in more depth in Chapter One).

Choices of images that encourage active participation on the part of the viewer underscore the age’s valuation and contribution to the theory of learning and knowledge. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), a German philosopher whose works were widely read in the Low Countries, discusses the value of the picture atlas as the literary equivalent of a Kunstkammer. In his pedagogical instructional text of 1685–1686, Leibniz writes,

> Nothing is more important [than images] to grasp things with the mind, that is the central point that must not be forgotten. And because these arguments are graspable and sensual, the satisfaction is doubled. Precisely here, reason has made use of the escort of imagination.82

Leibniz designates the atlas as the ideal vessel for reason’s imagination because it at once has a visual component and is an environment that can be inhabited.83 In the framed interiority of a picture whose spatial dimension is heightened by contrasting formal elements, Van Mieris’ gathering of figure types becomes a testament to the tastes of his patron, a miniature Kunstkammer; the figures are the discursive cornerstone — “semiphores” to Pomian — between an active musical curiosity and a consciously constructed present, their existence controlled in a space for viewing both within the frame and the framed interiority of the viewing chamber. Van

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81 Ho, *Creating Distinctions*, 140.
Mieris’ marriage of visual dialogue and performance reflects on discourses surrounding the arts in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries concerning the nature of a text or image as an active phenomenon.\(^{84}\) In the center of the painting, as well as in the chambers in which it hung, is a feminine performing body — one painted and one alive — both capable of transmitting the centrality of musical performance in the Duarte Kunstkammer — a sonic element that has, in Aristotle’s words, been “put forth before the eyes.”\(^{85}\)

**III.**

Duarte’s works were performed and displayed in the interior of her family’s Kunstkammer, yet they also reveal a structural organization that is especially conducive to the reflection and observation permitted by juxtaposed objects. Musicological engagement with the Kunstkammer literature has shown that certain musical pieces may be read as collections of styles, themselves, and ultimately reveal a composer’s erudition and knowledge about practice, genre, and technique. Cypess has shown convincingly how Carlo Farina assembled various musical elements together in the *Capriccio stravagante* and that “the oppositional nature of different types of consorts within the large work highlight the opposing nature of nature and art, a tenet of the Kunstkammer in the seventeenth century.”\(^{86}\) Cypess applies the Kunstkammer conceit directly to Farina’s work to reveal how art and nature combine in sound to reflect the love of all things Italianate during Farina’s tenure as court Konzertmeister at the Dresden court.\(^{87}\) Cypess argues that Farina’s *Capriccio* is a Kunstkammer of its own. Musicians were aware of the

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\(^{86}\) Cypess, “Cultures of Collecting,” 147. The non-representational music then serves as a frame for these evocative juxtapositions.

\(^{87}\) Cypess, “Cultures of Collecting.”
popularity of the Kunstkammer and its ability to sell. The seventeenth-century musical collection, ‘T Uitnemend Kabinet (“Out of The Cabinet”), is a two-volume collection of two and three-part instrumental music that plays with the conceit of the art cabinet. Published by Paulus Matthysz in Amsterdam (1646 and 1649), it features work by Dutch, Flemish, German, Italian, and French composers, ca. 1590–1667. The title page is reproduced below as Figure 3.7.

![T Uitnemend Kabinet](image)

**Fig. 3.7. ‘T Uitnemend Kabinet.** Amsterdam, Paulus Matthysz: 1646 and 1649. Image in the Public Domain.

The title of the print is a direct reference to the Kunstkammer — the work is, quite literally, a collection of disparate entities, in this case, of musical objects for different combinations of instruments that together reflect a variety that was bound to sell well. The subtitle of the work, printed on the frontispiece, claims that:

To make our cabinet shine even more, we will endeavor to take full advantage of all facets of these new entertainments and share them with lovers of art.89

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88 ‘T Uitnemend Kabinet (Amsterdam, Paulus Matthysz: 1646 and 1649).
'T Uitnemend Kabinet' is reveals just how well the Kunstkammer concept was understood outside of the world of plastic objects and paintings, and suggests that musicians, too, were deeply affected by the economic impulse to collect and construct knowledge centers that impacted their political gain. In the seventeenth century, manuscripts that contained a variety of repertories and composers may have functioned to visually recall musical experiences; as Dell’Antonio has written, these objects permitted the connoisseur to retrace in his memory the events and/or emotions that formed part of his ‘aural collection.’”\(^{90}\) When performed, Duarte’s works provide an aural dimension to the Kunstkammer’s objective of display: they implicate the composer in her family’s economic objective to outwardly recognize the value of objects. Building on Leppert’s contention that music-making is the site of political and economic convergences concerning the bodies making music, performance extends into the realm of connoisseurship, enabled by the same commercial networks which are also important to the other aspects of the Duarte enterprise (I discuss these networks at length in Chapter Two). Not only are the performers (Duarte, myself) on display when performing in front on an audience, but the transmission of learned styles manifest in the score are replicated with performance and reify the project of the Kunstkammer as a vessel for knowledge transmission and economic advancement.

Building on Cypess, I read Duarte’s music, like Farina’s *Capriccio*, and ‘T Uitnemend Kabinet’, as a collection of juxtaposed elements that, like a Kunstkammer, make prominent an amount of erudition and learnedness synonymous with the Duarte family’s project of knowledge consumption. While the works contain references to the sounds in Duarte’s world — the diversity of the seven Sinfonias alone reveal profound awareness and understanding of both

\(^{90}\) Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 64.
Continental and English styles — certain Sinfonias, particularly Nos. 1 and 3, also contain resting points within that allow for an embodied experience of contemplation of the disparate sounds surrounding them that the works hold together. These resting points, or spaces of sonic observation, take the form of chordal homophony, where longer note values contrast with the thematically-driven portions found elsewhere. These are spaces that encourage rubato and altered pacing in performance and their presence enhances the objective personality of the thematic material.

Sinfonia No. 3 features a greater amount of dramatic textural alteration than the other works in Duarte’s oeuvre and as such is a fitting prototype for how the greater plan of collecting and observation can be manifest in musical performance. The work’s two homophonic sections occur in the center and conclusion and divide the piece into sections, where areas of repose are aurally separated from the busy, imitative free fantasia sections that surround them and permit a vantage point for the performer to observe modal shift, anticipate what is to come, and even to rest. Stylistically, this juxtaposition resembles Italianate German music and music written in Venice c. 1630–1640,\(^9\) for example that of Dario Castello (c.1590–c.1658), Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690), and Johann Rosenmüller (1619–1684). Castello’s Sonatas were published in Venice and his work not widely disseminated in his lifetime, thus it is unlikely Duarte was influenced by him. Legrenzi, younger than Duarte, could present a case of mutual influence, as could Rosenmüller, a German composer who was very influenced by Legrenzi, Corelli, and Schutz, and who helped to bring Italian influence up north.

Sinfonia No. 3 is a 43-bar work whose musical ideas circle around the common interval of a falling third. The piece begins in a canzona style: the Tenore voice opens with a canzona

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\(^9\) Italian works had influenced English ones before, but in the pre-Baroque style; this is not what is happening here.
head motive opening of a half note followed by two quarter notes. The Bassus part follows at the half measure of bar 1, a statement that preserves the shape of the motive, but in which the pitch has been altered by a step for the sake of harmony. The Alto responds with a tonal answer in m. 2, as does Canto 2 at the top of m. 3, with a tonal answer beginning on g (see Example 3.1).

**EXAMPLE 3.1** Leonora Duarte, *Sinfonia No. 3*, mm. 1–6

The opening section reveals a liberal application of modal answers rather than real answers. In fact, no two consecutive entrances of the first subject use identical intervals after the initial repeated notes so that variety is an essential feature of the style. There is much vying for our
attention within this multi-voiced question and answer opening statement: a countersubject is immediately proposed by the Bassus on the second quarter note of m. 2 with a dotted quarter note followed immediately by a descending eighth, quarter, and breve; it is then passed around the consort, appearing simultaneously one time in m. 4 in the Canto 1 and Bassus. The instruments, too, are all very busy and active in this introduction, and focus is required to execute the meandering lines with clarity of tone and correct intonation. The opening resembles that of Alfonso Ferrabosco’s Fantasia à 4, VdGSA No. 9 (see Example 3.2):

EXAMPLE 3.2 Alfonso Ferrabosco II, Fantasia à4, VdGSA No. 9, mm. 1–10
Ferrabosco’s work opens, as Duarte’s does, in canzona style with a similar motive preparing for repetition. While the action is similar, however, the absence of a fifth voice in the Ferrabosco presents a slightly less complicated case.

Duarte continues in this vein for some time. An altered statement of the motive follows, introduced by the Bassus in m. 6 as a quarter rest followed by three quarter notes. Dovetailing out of this foreshortened moment is a new section beginning in m. 10, comprised of a new motive of a quarter rest followed by two quarters, an ascending pair of eighth notes, and two quarters a step above those. This new motive sneaks up on the performer and is something we have seen before; it is derived from the head motive, but with a crucial set of differences: the eighth notes ascend, rather than repeat, and a rising third defines the arc of the new motive, as opposed to a falling third as in the opening head motive. They pass quickly in performance even though, as with previous ideas in the work, Duarte passes this figure based on a third around the consort. The idea comes to a cadence throughout the consort at m. 16 (see Example 3.3).

At this point a significant texture change occurs. As the Tenore descends to g into a cadential afterthought, the Alto rises up to B-flat in m. 17, searing into its high register and coming forward above the sound of the rest of the consort — B-flat is a step away from the highest note in the Alto part of this work, and the moment harkens back to the opening thematic activity of this part in m. 3, and gives new import to the moment at hand. There is a tendency to linger on this note in performance — it is also the cap of the descending third — especially as the other voices lock in with similar note values which can lag without underlying sense of motion. The quarter notes in the Canto 1 part, and those that answer it by Canto 2 and Alto in m. 19, maintain a crucial sense of direction — Duarte’s thought is not finished — before the voices come to a full simultaneous stop in m. 20. In a work so far comprised of ideas and answers and
counter-proposals, this first real resting point is an awakening: how has so much happened in merely 40 seconds of music?

**Example 3.3** Leonora Duarte, *Sinfonia No. 3*, mm. 16–20

The moment that follows is hymn-like: vertical harmony, simultaneous chord changes, and the perception of space allude to the sound of an organ in church and simple, congregational singing. Beginning on the half note pick-up to m. 21, our prevailing sense of time has, indeed, changed: note values have been doubled, and except for the occasional ornamental passing note, the passage moves in unity — and so must the musicians. For the notes to change together, bows must move in the same direction and at the same time. There is a meeting of the minds in this moment that frames the interdirectionality that has come before. Referring to later repertoire and social practices, Elizabeth Le Guin has written that the sense of reciprocity

in this process of identification [that] is not entirely wistful or metaphorical… functions as real relationship… this relationship is not fantastic, incidental, or inessential to musicology. It can and should be the primary source of knowledge about the performed work of art.  

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Although two smaller statements present themselves — a small iteration of four half notes (last note of m. 20 and first three notes of m. 21) and one comprising six half notes (last half note of m 21, all four notes of m. 22, and the first [dotted] half note of m. 23) — Duarte’s asymmetrical phrases lend the performer an amount of uncertainty about how long the section will last. Like an observer lingering over a display case, the musician is not sure how or when to look away. Clarity comes in the form of the Alto’s pick-up to m. 23: this next little idea — a half note traveling up a step to a dotted half, and down again by step to a quarter note and two unison half notes — evolves in two forms. First, it is picked up by the Bassus at the interval of a second. Secondly, it is taken up by the Canto 1 and Canto 2 who, in m. 24 (on the second and fourth beats, respectively), express it in fourths (see Example 3.4).

**EXAMPLE 3.4** Leonora Duarte, *Sinfonia No. 3*, mm. 21–25

The version in fourths occurs four times before this section cadences at m. 27. The Alto, unlike the other parts, participates in both versions of the imitation, and states this motive in both a second (pick-up to m. 23; first statement) and in a fourth (pick-up to m. 24). Dovetailing out of this section, a new motive is introduced, but if we look closely, we can see that this motive has
occurred earlier in the work, though in different note values. The Bassus voice in m. 17, Canto 2 and Alto in m. 19 (the only voices who exhibit the figure with the “pick-up” note on the strong beat) — and even earlier in the Canto 1 part in m. 17 — reveal versions of the material we see being introduced here, as though new material, dovetailing with a contrasting section stated by the Alto voice in the pick-up to m. 23. The Canto 1 iteration in m. 17 stands out in augmentation amongst the other examples of the motive, which are plentifully distributed throughout the other parts and similar with regards to their metric position.

There are many possible antecedents of the motivic motion seen in the homorhythmic section beginning at the pick-up to m. 21, but the passage has a clearly articulated cadence on the downbeat of m. 27, in G Major (see Example 3.5).

EXAMPLE 3.5 Leonora Duarte, Sinfonia No. 3, mm. 26–29

Again, as with the cadential moments in mm. 9–10, Duarte does not linger for long at this moment, and instead dovetails out of it with a rhythmically contrasting section, also beginning on the downbeat of m. 27 in the Bassus voice with a new motive that leaps up by a fifth. Rhythmically speaking, this strongly resembles the Bassus motion in the opening motive — in
this case, the tonal answer of the head motive; the difference here is that the Bassus leaps up by a fifth in notes 3 and 4 of the motive, rather than stepping up by a second at that same moment. This idea is answered by the Alto on a fifth. Following are a couple of occurrences of the figure, but about the interval of a fourth: there are no more occasions of the motive on a fifth. Within all of this activity the Alto’s material in m. 27 is significant. Its own motive — a dotted quarter note falling down to an eighth, back up via two eighths, and up again to a half note that is then re-struck — is a countersubject derived from the Bassus statements in mm. 1 and 4 but telescoped, or shorted by the duration of one quarter note. Instead of continuing the descent down a full fourth, as the Bassus had done, the Alto figure rises back up by a fifth, reaching A at the end of m. 27, then re-strikes A in m. 28. This motion gives us another motive to come out of the homorhythmic section (though it is more like a rhythmic figure than a motive, as such), derived from an altered version of the motive; we will hear this throughout this next section (see Example 3.6).

For the first time in the work, the Bassus drops out, and this leaves the Tenore to assume the bass role after m. 30. In this configuration, the section cadences at m. 32.

**EXAMPLE 3.6** Leonora Duarte, *Sinfonia No. 3*, mm. 33–36
Now the Bassus and Alto sound together almost in canon, in imitation at the unison, displaced by a quarter note. The same point of imitation is carried through to a cadence at m. 36, in all voices, except that in m. 33, after the initial point of imitation, the Bassus stops participating in the imitation and switches instead to breves (see Example 3.6). Like in many other passages throughout the piece, we see here a descending scale of a filled-in sixth beginning with a now-familiar rhythmic formation: a falling third comprised of a dotted quarter note, an eighth, and another quarter — a figure that announces that another theme has begun and that it is time to observe and participate in something else. The figure is an oft-used one in the viol repertoire because of its playability on the viol — it is also the outline of the “Flow My Teares” motive used in English five-part consort writing, in both the Dowland Lachrimae pavans and variations on the works by other English writers (see Example 3.7).

EXAMPLE 3.7 John Dowland, Lachrimae antiquae, mm. 1–3

The pervasive presence of the falling third in the Sinfonia suggests Duarte’s familiarity with Dowland or that she could have been writing these works with the viol in hand. The likelihood that she had played the Lachrimae pavans on viols, or was at least aware of them, is great, considering her family’s favorite correspondent, Constantijn Huygens, himself quite adept at the
viol, knew of the works well. On February 23, 1648, Huygens writes a letter to Utricia Ogle Swann, which I discussed in Chapter One in reference to the Duartes’s knowledge of the leeraway technique of viol playing. In this letter Haygens also betrays his knowledge of Dowland. He writes,

But finding myselfe not able to goe and discharge my cholere so far from home, I come to tell you for some mortification, that in your absence, Lady, wee are not altogether out of tune, but that Monsieur Stöfkins and I are doing a kinde of wonders upon two leeraway viols, which could bring us in danger of ravishing, if there were another Teilinghen capable of the mischiefe, and that in time of necessitie I have hands enough to play a wofull ‘Lachrimæ’ and such other stuffe, upon my organs, to have that wonderfull bow rowle upon my bases. See if you will make hast to heare our miracles, and, now my gall is out, beleve that, either staying or coming, ravished or ravishing...

The reference to Monsieur Stöfkins (likely one of the famous viol-playing brothers, either Frederick William or Christian Leopold Stöfkins, as I mentioned in Chapter One), suggests Huygens might be citing the pavans for five viols by Dowland cited above, printed well into the seventeenth century. The incorporation of references to the English tradition can also be read as part of the Kunstkammer, one of various international styles that coursed through Duarte’s oeuvre. We might go so far as to call this falling third the “Leonora motif,” as it is so commonly used as to feel like a personal trait, a defining part of a portrait in sound. At this point in the piece, it might even be played by muscle memory — or via sounded knowledge of or nostalgia for other consort music — recalling what Le Guin deems an “executionally constituted theme,” or music composed at the instrument for which it is scored, as opposed to at the composing desk,

93 Constantijn Huygens to Utricia Ogle Swann [place not mentioned; likely The Hague], February 23, 1648; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 48, fol. 47rv; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/4762.
with the contingency that “a hand, even a virtuosic hand, makes music rather differently than a conscious intellect.”

The motif often serves as a reminder in the work not to linger, but to continue looking and listening for something different to occur. The passage that follows, and which brings the piece to its conclusion, is comprised of the cascading juxtaposition of figures we now know well. There is also beauty in contrast: Duarte constructs this section, from the previous cadence at m. 36 and until m. 40, in homorhythm again, at which point the Tenore introduces a slight rhythmic complication with the falling third motive. This dotted quarter note, eighth, quarter figure is repeated immediately by the Alto in m. 41, by the Tenore again in m. 41, then by the Canto 1 in inversion, and one final time by the Canto 1 leading to the final cadence of the piece in G Major. The head motive at the top of the piece began on D, thus the work has traveled tonally up by a fourth from beginning to end. Along the way, a crucial suspension led to a middle section in C Major, designating C as a crucial controlling pitch for a portion of the work (this begins in the Canto 2 part in mm. 15–16), and the work finishes with a B-natural in the Canto 1. Though tonal analysis has thus far not been my focus, it is worth stating that the modal outline of the work as such is a large-scale articulation of the figure that I have been tracing. Textural alteration and contrast found between the work’s homophony and portions in fantasia-style are dramatically juxtaposed in Sinfonia No. 3.

IV.

That drama is innate to the Baroque era is a truism that is predicated on the fact that at its core, dramatic juxtaposition was economically guided by a new consumer class’s impulse toward

\[^{94}\text{Le Guin, } Boccherini’s Body, 131.\]
acquisition and materiality. The Duarte Kunstkammer, like that of many merchant collectors, contained myriad items that set themselves in relief — contained within drawers, hung upon walls, and housed in adjoining rooms — they filled a house which, itself, stood in conversation with other such homes. Duarte’s Sinfonias also are replete with similarly juxtaposed elements. The variety within the collection as a whole stands out alongside performances in a space surrounded by objects and paintings designed for perusal and display. In a performative light, the score shoulders more than just the texted voice of a musical mind — it becomes, ironically, an object of material inquiry, the sort of evidence that Daniel Miller has argued encompasses “the ephemeral, the imaginary, the biological and the theoretical.”

In Duarte’s hands, the Kunstkammer gains a sonic dimension: the music becomes a vehicle for the contemplation of many things at once, and something to observe like art works in a gallery. Sinfonia No. 3 is a work of contrasting motivic and thematic layers that resonate with the physical traits of the spaces in which it was first written and performed. Duarte’s other works, too, stand in contrast to one another and perpetuate a ripple effect of this ideology. Sinfonia No. 1, like No. 3, is written in free counterpoint. It also contains homophonic and homorhythmic sections that contrast with busier points of imitation. At times the Bass breaks off in cadential moments to isolate thematic events, setting them in relief against contrasting material. Despite these confluences, the work is more English in style than No. 3: in fantasia form, it owes much to Tudor consort writing. Duarte also makes use of the imitative free fantasia style introduced to England by Giovanni Coprario (1570–1626), a form recalling the Italian-influenced violin writing popular in that country in mid-century. The hymn-like central points of

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contrast warrant repose and reflection and like those in No. 3 provide the space for the work’s stylistic elements to be sounded and observed.

In performance, the variety and learnedness of these pieces would have been juxtaposed with conversation enacted by the array of guests who frequented the home — both to see art and to hear Duarte perform. In this way, we can read the Duarte Kunstkammer as not only a container of social and economic processes, but as the sort of space that sociologists have argued generates these discursive practices, as well. Henri Lefebvre, for one, identified the early modern urban space as a vessel particularly conducive to these convergences; he identified a shift during the Renaissance in society’s perception of the utility and purpose of space, “a science of space,” in which the social construction of meanings was connected directly to capitalist processes.96

Conversation enabled these processes and made salons active spaces; it is what Peter Burke has argued is evidence of “an increasing concern in the early modern period with the control of violence, deviance, and even speech, posture, and gesture.”97 In her study of the art world in seventeenth-century Antwerp, Elizabeth Honig has written that gatherings in collector’s homes that combined dealers, artists, and collectors provided “opportunities for the exchange of knowledge, the discovery of shared interests and opinions, and the formation of discursive community.”98 If testimony about Duarte’s performing is any proof, the gesture of performance formed its own conversation with other socialized behaviors, such that the innate principles of juxtaposition that played out in her home also occurred on her body.

And so back to Van Mieris’ *Serenade*. The juxtaposed figures in this work must have entertained viewers with their anecdotal references — the Italian *commedia dell’arte*, knowledge

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of instruments, the new way to render light and shade, and a feminized body set against contrasting discursive elements. Farina placed contrasting movements in the *Capriccio* to signify opposing social musics; Duarte, too, inserts points of possible musical influence and stylistic similarity into Sinfonia No. 3 that resonate, themselves, with the cosmopolitanism of the Kunstkammer, projecting the composer’s learnedness and setting it in relief. Music-making in the Duarte enterprise could be controlled and displayed (and discussed) in the quasi-public/private space of an art salon alongside the economic underpinnings of a merchant household inhabited by a family who traded as much in knowledge and expertise as they did in jewels and art. The performative element in the Duarte Kunstkammer recalls Quicchelberg’s tenets of juxtaposed difference discussed in *Theatrum Sapientiae*, a work he initially wrote in response to the 1558 establishment of the Bavarian court library in Munich, an early model for this type of display, and different from a library as we might know it today. As James Niessen has suggested, the library in Quicchelberg’s day “highlighted the goal of display and presentation over that of solitary study.” This designation lends new credence to the suggestion that Duarte’s works were not, to paraphrase Le Guin, written in the solitude study of the score desk, but must have been composed on instruments and meant for all to see. As such, Duarte furthers an older Renaissance tradition of keeping musical instruments in libraries to aid with work. The Milanese humanist scholar Angelo Decembrio (1415–1467), for example, recommended that a lute always be kept in the library in case poetic inspiration should strike; for similar reasons, a small cithara, a plucked relative of the lute, was kept at the court library of the d’Este castle in Ferrara.

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99 Quicchelberg, *Inscriptiones*.
By performing her music for guests in her family home, in the same space that art was viewed and sold, Duarte displayed her knowledge while embodying and enacting the expertise of her family, similar to the professional Antwerp collector who “stood before a gallery painting and showed off the discerning power of his eye, his performance mirrored that which occurred within the fictive space of the painted gallery itself.”

Music-making, as with art observation, fashioned the Duarte home as an active space for display, a controlled environment in which self-styling and culture sharing were performed to secure the family’s position as elite members of Antwerp society. Where the Duartes differ from other merchant collector families, however, is that their particular domestic brand of mercantilism enabled the family to sell the idea of their expertise to their clients: Duarte’s music displays a level of erudition that appealed to aristocratic connoisseurs, some with more social cache than she, re-purchasing an elegant experience via her presence in the room, all part of the shifting kaleidoscopic experience of the Kunstkammer, Leonora the crown jewel of a family whose taste was on display.

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Chapter Four

In 1664, the natural philosopher Margaret Cavendish, The Duchess of Newcastle, published a collection of letters entitled *CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle*.¹ The volume contains two letters addressed to “Sweet Madam Eleonora Duarti” and signed “your very loving friend and servant.” Both letters are in English and are transcribed in Early English Books Online (they are reproduced below as Appendix 7).² The first of the two letters, discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation, contains themes related to musical composition and performance; it documents the intense pleasure Cavendish experienced in Duarte’s company and sheds a nuanced light on the high level of musicianship displayed by Duarte and her siblings.³ The second letter provides an exegesis against alchemy and the efficacy of transmutation, or the transformation of metal into gold.⁴ In this letter, Cavendish references a conversation that supposedly occurred with Duarte at the latter’s home, on which occasion Duarte is to have suggested that gold might be artificially produced.⁵ The letter is a lengthy meditation on Cavendish’s opinion that gold can neither be created nor destroyed with the methods typically found at the alchemists’ disposal. It is this letter that I will scrutinize here.

¹ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letters CCII and CCVI,” *CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle*, Early English Books Online, accessed April 20, 2019: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.206?rgn=div2;view=fulltext. Both letters are reproduced in full at the end of this dissertation as Appendix 7.
² Cavendish, “Letters CCII and CCVI.”
³ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letter CCII,” *CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle*, Early English Books Online, accessed April 20, 2019: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.202?rgn=div2;view=fulltext
⁴ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letter CCVI,” *CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle*, Early English Books Online, accessed April 20, 2019: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.202?rgn=div2;view=fulltext
⁵ Margaret Cavendish, Letter CCVI.
The letter about alchemy, like Cavendish’s earlier letter about music, was likely written in the 1650s during Cavendish’s stay in Antwerp, where Cavendish settled during her exile from England with her husband, William Cavendish, The Duke of Newcastle. The Cavendishes, like many other royalist English Catholics, were in exile in the Low Countries to wait out the Commonwealth; while in Antwerp they lived around the corner from the Duartes, where both Margaret and William’s letters report they spent many evenings together making music and engaged in conversation. Margaret Cavendish’s letters to Leonora Duarte reference particular evenings the women spent together in Antwerp before the Cavendishes’s return to England at the restoration of King Charles II in 1660, evenings that took place both in the Cavendish home (the former Rubenshuis) and at the Duarte palace on the Meir, where the Duke and Duchess had heard the Duarte sisters sing on many occasions.

The letter reveals the makings of an authentic intellectual companionship, mutual admiration, and sincere affection, and indicates that Duarte was a plausible and intellectual equal to Cavendish. Yet the question of whether the letters are genuine or written for publication (or perhaps both) surrounds the works, as many of Cavendish’s letters were written with the intention of a wider audience, a common epistolary practice in the early modern world. Largely overlooked in the Cavendish literature or otherwise partially cited in reference primarily to Cavendish, neither letter has been treated to musicological scrutiny and neither has been discussed directly in reference to Duarte, even though they join a tradition of published letters by women in the early modern period (about which more will be said below).

8 On the early modern tradition of letter publishing, see Abigail Ballantyne, “Social Networking in Seventeenth-Century Italy: The ‘Harmonious Letters’ of a Monk-Musician,” in Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philip’s 450th
At seven pages long and filled with repetition, Cavendish’s letter on the subject of alchemy is a testament to an intellectual relationship that the women must have established within the context of a knowledge-sharing environment and predicated on the intimacy of the salon. Structured as direct communication between friends, the letter simulates the environment of the Kunstkammer which I discussed in Chapter Three: it crosses boundaries between the personal and the public and unveils a high level of discussion in the domestic space. Of the scholars who have mentioned Cavendish’s Duarte letters, Katie Whitaker alludes to the intellect of the Duarte sisters as part of Cavendish’s circle and mentions that Cavendish associated with women “like the Duarte sisters,” to imply that Cavendish kept good company that stimulated her intellectually. Yet, Katherine Larson discusses the first letter only, in relationship to the level of competency for music displayed by the Duarte sisters and contrasts their music making with Cavendish’s singing of “old Ballads,” as does Leni Katherine Robinson, who, like Larson, notes the contrast established by Cavendish between ballads and the music of Duarte and her brother, Diego.

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9 Katie Whitaker, Mad Madge: The Extraordinary Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, the First Woman to Live by Her Pen (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 119.
The one scholar to discuss Duarte in relation to Cavendish’s letter about alchemy is Sara Mendelson, but her conjectures are tenuous. She writes,

perhaps we should not dismiss the ‘Jewish connection’ out of hand. Did the mysterious crypto-Jews stimulate Cavendish’s craving for the exotic...? Had the conversations between Cavendish and her Marrano friends ever touched on Jewish mysticism or other Judaic arcana?\(^\text{12}\)

The questions Mendelson poses imply assumed connections between Judaism and alchemy — and between Duarte and Judaism — that problematize and threaten to cloud Duarte’s accomplishments. They also ignore crucial factors pertaining to Duarte’s role in the complex historical moment in which the letter was written, in which alchemy and scientific method were splitting apart but still very much connected and interlaced, a moment in time that scholarly work on Cavendish has only recently begun to consider. Cavendish’s letter reflects a chemical, scientific world and reveals that alchemy is neither foreign to early modern collector knowledge nor removed from science. I find the slippage here both fascinating and problematic: as I examine this letter within the context of Duarte’s social practice, I attempt to chart a continuity between the display of personal collections in the Kunstkammer cultivated by her family, and evidence of intellect in the semi-private and transitory space of correspondence. Larson argues that Cavendish asserts authority in her letters that was not afforded her in other contexts, enriching the established salon culture of which she was a part in England and on the Continent.\(^\text{13}\) Building on this contention, I argue that Cavendish’s letters position Duarte as a confidante whose society extended beyond mere “hospitality and a talent for … orchestrating harmony for ever-changing groups,”\(^\text{14}\) as Laurie Postlewate would describe early modern salon

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\(^{12}\) Mendelson, “Margaret Cavendish and the Jews,” 183–84.
\(^{13}\) Larson, “Cavendish’s Civilizing Songs,” 122.
hosts, but as a person whose camaraderie helped cultivate the very intellectual relationships conducive to the advancement of culture and ideas and which ultimately complicate — as opposed to depend on — hierarchies of class, race, and gender in seventeenth-century Europe.

The question of whether or not Duarte performed alchemy, or if the Duarte home contained a chemistry lab in the back rooms of the Kunstkammer, is largely irrelevant to this chapter; rather, what does matter is that it was conceivable to Cavendish and to her publishers that two intelligent women were engaged in scientific discussion of this nature. The letter illuminates the sorts of questions that might have been posed in these potent spaces. Cavendish’s testament against transmutation has as catalyst an intellectual interlocutor, Duarte, with whom conversation was presumably stimulating enough to produce a lengthy recitation on a subject of discussion. More crucially, the letter displays Duarte’s particular accomplishments and musical abilities in the context of early modern salon culture, signifying that they were of interest to women involved in the private and public acts of knowledge sharing.

The published letters are part of a large, mostly fictional oeuvre belonging to Cavendish, but deciphering whether or not the letter is real is not the intention of this chapter, either. Mendelson has described the alchemical letter as a “lengthy missive,” that is “one of very few genuine communications published in Cavendish’s Sociable Letters.” She gives no direct evidence to support the claim that the letter is personal, other than the sincerity with which Cavendish addresses her interlocuter. Rather than prove its status in that respect, I will show that the letter is evidence of a relationship between Cavendish and Duarte that Cavendish wants to claim in print.

15 Sara H. Mendelson, “Introduction.”
In the previous chapter, I argued for Duarte’s music as part of the Kunstkammer — a showcasing of wealth and culture — yet Cavendish’s letter discussing alchemy ascribes to Duarte a belief in the philosopher’s stone that, whether or not it can be proven, displays an impulse in the opposite direction and toward more a arcane form of scientific endeavor. I take the possibility of Duarte’s interests in alchemy seriously, in order to ask a number of questions. For one, what would it have meant for Duarte to have believed in the philosopher’s stone, as a converso, a Jew, and a woman in the seventeenth century? Moreover, what would her dabbling in alchemical experiments have implied about her education, her relationship with Cavendish, her music, or the power that her music might have had on others? While these are all rhetorical questions, they are worth posing insofar as Cavendish thought it was feasible that Duarte was in some way connected to alchemical culture.

In this chapter, I take Cavendish at face value to ask what the association of alchemy with a Jewish woman composer is such that, through proximity, she might be understood to possess the power to turn an object into something else more valuable. The one scholar thus far to bring critical attention to Duarte’s presence in the letter conflates alchemy, Judaism, and Kabbalah in a way that is problematic. My reading, however, attempts to tease out some of these questionable associations, to ask how they would have read as such by early modern standards, and to resist naturalizing them in the modern moment. Assessing how they might have signified in Duarte’s world is therefore my goal in the following pages. Even if Leonora is a foil, she is still an interlocutor; she is a woman in the salon space engaged in a certain level of conversation with another woman.

I.
Cavendish’s second letter to Duarte opens with a frank declaration. Cavendish writes,

The last time I was to Visit you, we fell into a Discourse of the Elixir, and the Philosophers Stone, you being of the Opinion that Gold might be made by the Art of Chymistry, I of the Opinion, it could not be made any other wayes than by the Natural way, as in the Earth. 

She references a supposed recent conversation between the two women on the key feature of alchemy, transmutation, or the transformation of metal or lead into gold by way of a mythical substance known as the “Philosopher’s Stone.” Cavendish continues,

But it may be questionable, whether Gold is made by an Increasable way, or whether it was made all at first, and that there is no more than what was made when the World was made, for I cannot find a Reason against it, but that Gold may be as the Sun, which is Undecayable, and not Increasable, for it is to be Observed, that what is not Decayable, is not Increasable, otherwise it would be Infinite in this World, or Universe, which World, or Universe, hath no Room, or Place for Infinite, and the Sun which is Undecayable, Produces no other Suns, neither doth it Multiply it self, nor Alter from it self; the like of Gold, we cannot make Gold to be no Gold, for Pure Gold cannot be turned into Dross, or into other Dust, whereas all other Creatures, as Minerals, and so Vegetables, and Animals, may, and do Transmigrate, except the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and I do verily believe, it is as Impossible to Fix the Elixir, as to Fix the Sun. But the Difference betwixt the Sun and Gold, for the matter of Outward Form, as well as Several Effects, is, that the Sun is one Entire Body, which is Spherical, and Gold is in many several Parts, which lies in many several Places in the Earth; but Stars which are of the like Undecayable Nature as the Sun, are also in Several Bodies, and at Several Distances, and yet they are Stars nevertheless, and all seem to be as of one Kind or Sort, only some are Fix’d, and others Moveable; so Gold is Gold though in Several Parts, and Several Distances, only I think none is Fix’d, but what cannot be found, for though Gold is not Moveable in it self, yet it is subject to be Moved, and so may the Fix’d Stars, for any Reason to the contrary that ever I heard…

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Her claim is that Duarte believes in the Philosopher’s Stone and that Duarte is a proponent of the art of “chymistry,” as alchemy was referred to in seventeenth-century England — and that Duarte believes that the art of mixing substances can alter nature and create gold. Confirming this claim is difficult for a number of reasons, one of which is that alchemy and science were still interchangeable in the seventeenth century. William Newman and Penelope Gouk have linked alchemy to the early development of modern science and uncovers a relationship between alchemical pursuits and developments born out of the various forms of experiments encountered within.\textsuperscript{18} Pinning down what indeed alchemy was in the seventeenth century, or indeed at any other time, is therefore a difficult task, as Lawrence Principe has written: “arriving at solid, satisfactory conclusions about alchemy can seem as difficult as finding the Philosopher’s Stone, itself … alchemists did not make it easy for others to understand what they were doing.”\textsuperscript{19} Alchemy gained new popularity in the seventeenth century as many merchants acquired the knowledge, materials, and space to dabble and experiment. Yet, if Principe suggests the rise is due to increased economic stability, P.G. Maxwell-Stuart argues otherwise, suggesting that one reason for the surge of interest was a depleted economy resulting from climate change — which brought with it increased food prices — as well as savage confessional wars between Catholics and Protestants; these were problems that drove many — like the Cavendishes, and the Duartes at the end of the sixteenth century — into exile; all of these factors, he argues, inspired an interest in alchemy in “anyone who might be able to provide them with gold and silver.”\textsuperscript{20}


Encoding of information and use of allegory was a common feature of alchemical writing into the early modern period, and as I will show, traces of this feature can be noticed in Gaspar’s and Diego’s business letters. Alchemical pursuits in the early modern period were made in tandem with scientific inquiry. The tenacity with which the Duartes pursued their business and cultural advancements also echoes the sort of experimentation Cavendish alludes to in Duarte when she writes that Duarte is “of the Opinion that Gold might be made by the Art of Chymistry.” Cavendish writes,

And as for Effects and Influences, as the Sun and Stars have several Effects and Influences upon other Creatures, yet we cannot perceive that other Creatures have Effects or Influences upon the Stars or Sun; so Gold hath an Influence, and Works several Effects upon other Creatures, but none upon Gold, I mean in Altring or Changing its Nature, so that Gold seems to me to be the Sun, or Stars of the Earth, which Men in these Ages Adore, as the Heathen did the Sun, and by their Practice one may believe men Commit Idolatry to it; and in comparison to Gold, all other Metals are like Meteors, which do Shine like Stars, but their Light goes oftentimes out, leaving a Jelly, or Slime, as Dross. So other Metals may be Changed from what they were, as from one Metal into another, or from being Metal, but Gold cannot, at least could not as yet, be Altered by the Art of Man, so as it seems that Gold is of as Durable a Nature as the Sun or Stars.\(^{21}\)

Even while Cavendish differentiates between alchemy and more rational knowledge, she assumes as rational things we no longer consider as such, for example that gold has effects on other substances that can alter them, or that metal leaves a “slime” when “their light goes often out;” she suggests even that parallels may be found between the substances alighting (the metal gold) in the gold of the sun — creating a symbol of the sun’s light.\(^{22}\)


It is possible that the Duartes were versed in alchemical processes on account of instances of symbolism and allegory in their own correspondence, yet the suggestion begs the question of what possible concrete evidence relating to this might exist. Secrecy abounds, for one, in letters about new music between Gaspar Duarte and Constantijn Huygens that reveals a similar urgency in the Duarte’s musical work at home. Recall the letter dated February 16, 1649 from Gaspar to Huygens cited in Chapter One which referenced some of the music that circulated in the Duarte home. The letter contains an important caveat: after receiving some books of English music from Huygens, Gaspar writes,

Thank you for your letter and the books sent by you, which were just delivered. We will have copied some of the pieces that please us most; this will not take place outside the house, so that they will not become publicly known, after which we will send them back with proper care.23

The hiding of this discovery of new music, though not inspired by business, resembles the act of keeping information about transmutation secretive in order to protect results. Lawrence Principe articulates that this sense of secrecy or hiding of information is a trait of alchemy more so than of modern chemistry: he writes that the chemist’s goal is to make results public, whereas there maintained an air of secrecy around alchemy in the early modern period so as to contain the primacy of one’s results in an economical sense.24 Whether this is a trait strictly relegated to alchemy is debatable, though, for secrecy was also common amongst businessmen and tradesmen. Antwerp in particular was a city in which secrecy’s relationship to both business and

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artisanal practice pervaded everyday life, as glassmakers and other craftspeople were often secretly solicited and requested to work elsewhere.\textsuperscript{25} When word traveled that the German chymist Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719) had performed a possible transmutation in Berlin in 1701, for example, Böttger was secretly arrested by soldiers at the command of Duke August the Strong of Saxony and kept in solitary confinement where he was ordered to make gold. He did not succeed, though he accidentally discovered how to make porcelain, a substance of which he is now hailed as the inventor. The Duke was relieved because porcelain was then nearly as lucrative as gold — a possible reason for the fact that one of the tenets for the early modern resurgence in alchemical practice was financial advancement.\textsuperscript{26}

Cavendish’s claim that Leonora may have practiced alchemy permits me to take the idea of symbolism one degree further. Principe has argued that one task of the historian studying documents from alchemists requires figuring out “what the symbols mean.”\textsuperscript{27} Thus, we can infer that the Duartes’ known surviving letters with otherwise unexplainable details can be similarly decoded. In a letter from October 15, 1640, for example, Huygens asked Gaspar for some “Manteca d’azar” to give to his employer, the stadholder, Frederik Hendrik of the House of Orange.\textsuperscript{28} This letter does not survive, but it is referenced in its reply by Duarte in a letter from October 24, 1640, in which Gaspar writes that he had found some and would send it on to Huygens. Gaspar writes in French that he has trouble procuring the Manteca d’azar, but that he has found some and can send more if need be, a statement that speaks to the rarity of the

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\textsuperscript{26} Principe, \textit{The Secrets of Alchemy}, 167.
\textsuperscript{27} Principe, \textit{The Secrets of Alchemy}.
\textsuperscript{28} Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, October 15, 1640. Letter does not survive. See J. A. Worp, \textit{Briefwisseling} (The Hague, 1911–1917).
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In his next letter to Huygens, written on November 21, 1640, Duarte opens by stating that he is “very pleased that the manteca d’azar that [Huygens] presented to His Highness [Frederik Henry] has pleased him.” Manteca d’azar translates, from Spanish, to “the oil of an orange blossom,” and is referenced in a footnote in the edition of Huygens’s letters compiled and transcribed by J. A. Worp in 1911–1917 as “eene soort van pommade,” or a kind of ointment. Juan de Esteyneffer’s medicinal treatise, Florilegio medicinal de todas las enfermedades: sacado de varios y clasicos, published in Madrid in 1711, states the following about the substance:

Ointment, or orange blossom ointment [manteca del azár]: The manteca del azár, or of orange blossoms [the flowers of oranges] is prepared in the same manner as the aforementioned rose ointment, except that instead of pig [lard] the same amount of cow butter is used, washed several times with water, and instead of roses fresh orange blossoms are used. Its benefits [virtues]: The orange blossom ointment [manteca del azár] is good for reinvigorating the heart, when applied [spread/rubbed] warm: it also makes the person sweat gently, when they apply [spread/rub] it on the joints of the knees, of the ankles, of the elbows, and of the wrists of the hands, then wrap themselves up warmly after applying the ointment with proper [proportionate/adequate] clothing.

29 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, October 24, 1640; Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 1; transcribed by Rudolf A. Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/2559. “J’ê reçu l’agréable vostre du 15e courant, é tout à l’heure n’ay failli d’exécuter vos commande[s] entre ceux de ma congnoisance, pour descouvrir la manteqa d’azar blanche et fraiz, come me mandés. Ayant trouvé seulement un petit, un petit, voire, q’un mon amis avoit de réserve tout fraiz dell’anée passé, dont il avoit faict venir cantité pour présenter, ce qu’il avoit desja faict, ainsi qu’il me déplait que je ne vous puis envoyer davantage, et n’avoir reçu vostre lettre plutost pour le désir que j’ê de vous servir, que vous plaira d’accepter de bonne part, l’aiant délivré à messager d’Amsterdam, nommé Roelof Roel, pour vous faire tenir.”

30 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, November 21, 1640; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KW 79 E 235; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/n0286. “Je suis bien aise que la manteca d’azar qu’avés présenté à Son Altesse lui a esté agréable.”


32 Juan de Esteyneffer, “Catalogo de los Medicamentos y el Modo de Componerlos,” in Florilegio medicinal, de todas las enfermedades: sacado de varios, y clasicos authores, para bien de los pobres, y de los que tienen falta de medicos, en particular para las provincias remotas, en donde administran los RR. PP. missioneros de la Compañía de Jesus; reducido a tres libros; el primero de medicina, el segundo de cyurgia con vn apendix, que pertenece al
Esteyneffer’s treatise was part of a growing need for documentation in the complex field of early modern medicine, newly characterized in the seventeenth century as a combination of medicine, natural history, and alchemy — all of which were deeply rooted in philosophical discourse. The subtitle of the treatise mentions that its entries are “taken from several, and classic authors, for the good of the poor, and of those who lack of doctors, in particular for the remote provinces.”

Divided into three portions covering New World traditional medicine, materia medica (or pharmaceutical knowledge about the therapeutic properties of substances used for healing), and eighteenth-century medical diagnoses, it documents a codified, perhaps ancient, use of methods and substances for reference. Of interest, the work’s second section on materia medica defines manteca d’azar as an ointment made from orange blossom oil that was strongly associated with love, unity, and devotion.

In both instances in Gaspar’s and Huygens’ correspondence, the ointment is mentioned in the midst of other discussions — on October 24 a discussion of real estate, and November 21, madrigals by Varenne and the configuration of their music consorts, which I described in Chapter One. Immediately following a brief mention of the substance in the letter of October 24, 1640, Duarte continues,
The friends who told me about your big house in the Lanteren Hof... who wanted to know about the surrounding area; he has only two or three days in which to see it. I received a safe-passage from the States of Holland in 1629, but now I am having difficulties with it from the magistrate of Zevenbergen...  

The switching subjects in these letters is indicative of a form of knowledge production that sheds light on the way that knowledge in the Kunstkammer is displayed. In the context of the Huygens-Duarte correspondence, is it tempting to wonder, however, whether manteca d’azar, an ointment made from orange blossoms and, as shall be seen, meant to aide in matters of the heart, might be a coded reference to the men’s negotiations over the sale of the jewel for the Prince of Orange’s nuptials, which I discussed in Chapter Two. If the orange blossom oil is a cipher, it would have been easily detected by those dealing in business with the House of Orange, particularly in the context of a discussion emphasizing the substance’s rarity and juxtaposed with mentions of safe passage. The House of Orange was also directly inculcated with medicinal alchemical practice through the personal physician to the Prince of Orange, Johann Friedrich Helvetius (1625–1709). Helvetius published a notorious “transmutation history,” recounting a visit he had by a stranger to his home in The Hague that resulted in his being able to transmute metal into gold. It is thus possible that the Gaspar-Huygens correspondence cited above employed, as Laura Snyder has written, “the hiding of names,’ or the technique of using cover names for ingredients or

36 Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, October 24, 1640; Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 1; transcribed by Rudolf A. Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/letter.html?id=huyg001/2559. “L’amis, qu’il me l’a présenté, dezire de savoir le dernier pris de vostre grande maison au champs, Lanteren-hof. Home fort riche, mes non pas trop libéral, désirant de savoir la cantité des terres alentour. Il n’a que deux ou trois jour qu’il i a esté ... Monsieur, je viens ancr de prendre l’hardiesse, s’il vous plaist, de m’envoier une copie autentique hors du registre [de] ma neutralité, que j’ai obtenu des Signeurs les Estats d’Holande l’an 1629, au mois d’Avril, autorisé de nouveau. Ce que par vostre faveur j’espère d’obtenir, pour ce que ceux du Magistrat de Sevenbergen me demandent les arières de tout le temps de mon absence, que je suis esté en Ingelterre...”

37 Transmutation history is the seventeenth-century term used to refer to eye-witness accounts of transmutation, either one’s own, or someone else’s. See Principe, The Secrets of Alchemy, 167.

38 Principe, The Secrets of Alchemy, 168.
results, in cases where they deemed that a ‘veil of secrecy’ was necessary to screen out readers unworthy or potentially abusive of the secret knowledge.”\textsuperscript{39}

It is also of course conceivable that orange blossom ointment is not a cipher, but mentioned in direct relation to its medicinal use. The methods of making manteca d’azar and its various uses were well-documented in the seventeenth century in works that circulated in the Low Countries, such as \textit{Teatro farmaceutico dogmatico, e spagirico del dottore} (Pharmaceutical, dogmatic and spagyric theatre),\textsuperscript{40} first published in 1667 by Giuseppe Donzelli (1596–1670), a Neapolitan physician and pharmacist.\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Teatro farmaceutico} contains recipes for preparing medications and “spagyric,” or alchemical, information about the dyeing of silk and the properties of gemstones. Manteca d’azar is listed twice in the Index, once under the heading “Cuore giouare, e confortare,” or “for the happiness and comfort of the heart,” and once under “Podagra, Chivagra, e Gonagra,” or Gout of various parts of the body. Of the substance, Donzelli writes:

\ldots oil distilled from flowers from Cetrangoli, mixed with Ben’s oil, which they call “oglio Balanino,” with sufficient wax, makes Manteca d’Azar perfectly. Tobia Aldino, and Francesco Patritio, as Father Ferrari recounts, have made the most perfect Manteca d’Azar, composed of a bouquet of Centrangolo flowers.... In Valencia, Spain, the Manteca d’Azar is prepared with the whole Cetrangoli flower, including also the yellow part, and it is perfect, and of a golden color. Manteca d’Azar adds happiness to all effects of the heart, anointing all of its regions. It refreshes all the effects of the heart, anointing all of its regions. It refres...

inflammations of the body, and particularly those of Women; it helps to lessen the pain of gout.\textsuperscript{42}

Considering its documented use, manteca d’azar could signify both the House of Orange and a love-match — or the very jewel Gaspar would sell to William of Orange on the occasion of his marriage. While it is possible that Duarte’s trade connections were utilized to secure material for the House of Orange’s alchemical experiments or medicinal needs, I suggest that metonymic symbols of familiarity shared by the two men might have been employed to protect their correspondence about a coveted business deal from potential interception by competitors. The “hiding of names” highlights competition and emphasizes a continuity in the shared space of the letters within the world of the secular guild in Antwerp, and another space within the matrix of competing systems of auction and display that enfranchised the art market.\textsuperscript{43} Gaspar and Diego Duarte’s own letters switch between more than one vernacular language, and contest Dirk Van Miert’s notion that early modern letters are a bifurcated phenomenon and are either written in Latin or in the vernacular.\textsuperscript{44} Their successful jewel sale also neatly negates Daniel Jütte’s contention that, in the early modern period, “the trade in clandestine knowledge and the practice of secrecy became a complex, sometimes hazardous space for contact between Jews and Christians.”\textsuperscript{45} Huygens’ connection to the early modern economy of secrecy is contingent on a trustful relationship with Duarte and, by extension, suggests Huygens’ or Duarte’s knowledge of alchemical history — but even then there is a connection to early modern alchemical experimentation that is not divorced from scientific inquiry, or the presence of scientific inquiry.

\textsuperscript{42} Donzelli, \textit{Teatro farmaceutico}, 267.
in the Duarte home. In a letter to Philip Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen (1613–1693), a mathematician also deeply interested in music, Constantijn Huygens refers to the Duartes as lovers of the sciences, when he writes, “the Duartes’s home is a receptacle for the beautiful sciences that flourish there.” In 1663, Huygens’ son, the scientist Christiaan Huygens, writes to his brother Constantijn Huygens, Jr., that he is having some clocks sent to the Duarte residence for safe-keeping. In Chapter Three I mentioned that the Duarte home was used to receive goods and letters from travelers — it was a meeting ground for scientific endeavors, as well. Alchemical experimentation is less proof of cultural or religious identity in the Duartes’s worldview, but rather blurs with the family’s sophisticated business practices and scientific interests.

II.

I have established at many points in this dissertation that the practice of knowledge sharing allowed the Duartes to cross religious and ethnic boundaries. I return now to Mendelson’s conflation of Judaism with alchemy in order to show that such a linking segregates Duarte away from this practice of network-building and positions her in the disadvantageous intersection between scientific experimentation and the more extremist traditions of Jewish mysticism that pervaded seventeenth-century thought. Mendelson poses the following question:

If Leonora Duarte (as Cavendish claimed) believed it possible that alchemists could convert base metals into gold, was she perhaps

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46 Constantijn Huygens to Philip Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen, The Hague, February 24, 1655; original held at Frisian History and Literature Center, Leeuwarden, NL, T 323 Family archive EVC inv. no. 3616; transcribed by J. A. Worp in Correspondence of Constantijn Huygens 1608–1687, Volume 5, p. 229, No. 5392; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5392. “…vous vous souvenez que la maison de Duarte en est un receptacle ordinaire pour les belles sciences qui y fleurissent.”

reflecting age-old hermetic Jewish traditions carried by the family from Iberia, close to where the Zohar had its origins?\textsuperscript{48}

Momentarily leaving aside the problematic racial and ethnic stereotypes (relating to physical features and shared cultural attributes, respectively) that underline the assertion, we need to ask how pervasive such stereotypes would have been for early modern subjects, including both the letter writer and her presumed interlocutor. Lest I spend this chapter saving Duarte from objectification, some context must be considered. The Jewish association with alchemy dates from ancient times, possibly because one of the most prominent authoritative voices in alchemical history was a Jewish woman. Maria Judea, or Mary the Jew, is credited with a variety of inventions and techniques, the most well-known being a heating method in which a hot bath of water is used as opposed to an open flame — the \textit{bain-marie} — a process that has conscribed her image to legend.\textsuperscript{49} Alchemy and Kabbalah are also close relations and have been particularly closely linked from the Middle Ages onward. This link culminated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period of noticeable rise in publication of alchemical books, the majority of which were written in Latin (followed by German, then French, then Italian).\textsuperscript{50} The Kabbalah invokes a model of the universe believed to have been handed down from Moses to the Rabbis of the Talmudic tradition, the portion of Jewish thought central to Judaism even in the modern period. Initially an oral tradition, the Kabbalah apparently forms the written redactions of the oral Torah comprised of disputes between rabbinic sages on a variety of topics. In the early seventeenth century, the prestige and influence of the Kabbalah became widespread. In the Christian view, alchemy and Kabbalah became synonymous, an identification that remains

\textsuperscript{48} Mendelson, “Margaret Cavendish and the Jews,” 184.
\textsuperscript{49} Principe, \textit{The Secrets of Alchemy}, 16.
\textsuperscript{50} Maxwell-Stuart, \textit{The Chemical Choir}, 83.
groundless,\textsuperscript{51} but one that was codified in a number of treatises. One important contribution to the historic relationship between alchemy and Kabbalah is the undated treatise \textit{Cabala mineralis} (Mineral Kabbalah), by Simeon ben Cantara, a text about minerals with a recipe for how to create the Philosopher’s Stone.\textsuperscript{52} Largely inspired by the \textit{Cabala mineralis} is the \textit{Voarchadumia} (published in Venice in 1518), a work that established a relationship between alchemy and rabbinical science, claiming that the word “alchemy” derived from Hebrew. Following this publication, as Raphael Patai has shown, many alchemical treatises hereafter contained the word “Kabbalah” in their title, such as Franz Kieser’s \textit{Cabala chymica} (Frankfurt, 1606) or Stephen Michelspacher’s \textit{Cabala sive speculum Artis at natural in alchymia} (Augsburg, 1615–1616), to name but a few.\textsuperscript{53} Patai cites a commonality between Kabbalah and alchemy emphasized by these early modernists, which is that there was an accepted axiom that “beneath all diversities lies a hidden essential identity or an identical essence,” and that finding it, in the early modern alchemical mindset, would permit the transformation of one substance to another.\textsuperscript{54} Patai argues convincingly that when Kabbalistic study was opened up to Christian scholars, Christian alchemists, in particular, used Kabbalah as the underpinning to their own work; thus “cabalistic alchemy” was developed by Christian alchemists, but maintained an ideological connection to Jewish mysticism.\textsuperscript{55}

No evidence suggests that Duarte or any member of her family possessed a deep knowledge of Kabbalah, yet abovementioned scholarship has reflexively located connections to it in Leonora. What we do know, however, is that Cavendish, herself, was deeply interested in

\textsuperscript{51} The symbol systems of Kabbalah and alchemy were utterly different, but many kabbalists accepted alchemy as a fact. See https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/alchemy
\textsuperscript{53} Patai, \textit{The Jewish Alchemists}, 158.
\textsuperscript{54} Patai, \textit{The Jewish Alchemists}, 159.
\textsuperscript{55} Patai, \textit{The Jewish Alchemists}, 155.
the Kabbalah; she expresses this in her autobiography, *The Description of A New World Called the Blazing World* (1666). During an examination of the Kabbalah (“Cabbala”), the work’s protagonist, the Empress, a stand-in for Cavendish, quizzes spirits about the nature of the source, proclaiming that “Cabbalists have nothing else to do but to trouble their heads with such useless fancies.” It continues,

> I have a great desire . . . to make a Cabbala. What kind of Cabbala asked the spirits? The Empress answered, the Jews’ Cabbala. No sooner had the Empress declared her mind, but the spirits immediately disappeared out of her sight; which startled the Empress so much, that she fell into a trance, wherein she lay for some while.\(^{56}\)

There are elements of experimentation here that echo mythical results of alchemical practice, thus solidifying a link between Kabbalah and alchemy, or in the words of Susan Kaye Johnson “the ambiguousness and powerful traditions of cabala give Cavendish the flexibility to experiment with potentially dangerous concepts within the safety of its history and uncertainty.”\(^{57}\)

Cavendish’s circuitous writing branches out like a tree, evocatively reflecting the fact that contemporaneous treatises linking alchemy and Kabbalah depict Kabbalah as a tree growing out of the Torah, or Hebrew Bible. The so-called “Tree of Life” represents a distribution of the powers of creation, each power in turn represented by *sephiroth*, or spheres, which are connected to each other through twenty-two paths representing the possibility of movement toward further knowledge.\(^{58}\) As Johnson has written, few early modern authors use “cabala” in popular works,

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but Margaret Cavendish stands out for her repeated and extended use of it. As in her letter to Duarte, she invokes the Tree of Life and the process of striving for continued branches of learning. Her literary style in *The Blazing World* which unfurled rhetorically like a tree with many interconnected branches, is similar to that of her letter, in which she writes,

Some, as Chymists, Conceive, or Imagine (for it is but Imaginable) that there are Seeds, or Slips, or Branches of Gold, which may be Producible as Plants are, but I know not where they should find them, nor do I believe if they should Search for them, they would find them, first, as not knowing where they lie, for what Man can Search all the Earth, or Fathom the Earth, or Dig to the Centre of the Earth? next, they do not Know those Branches, Slips, or Seeds to be such; thirdly, if they did Know them, and Had them, yet they Know not how, or when, or where to Set, or Ingraft those Slips or Branches, or to Sow those Seeds, or to Order them in their Limbicks; but I perceive they would make their Limbicks their Increasable Grounds, and every Limbick should be as an Acre of Ground, or a Field, indeed every Still would be worth a Lordship, nay, a Kingdom; fourthly, Man knows not the Time those Slips, Branches, or Seeds, require to be brought to Maturity, for all Creatures are not brought to Maturity in the same distance of Time; as for Example, Animal Creatures, some are Produced in a Month, some in no less time than a Year; so for Plants, some are at Maturity in a Few Hours, at least Dayes, and others not under an Hundred Years, as Oaks; so for any thing we know, Gold could not be brought to Maturity under an Hundred Years, nay a Thousand, Hasten Nature what they can, and nothing can be Hastened in an Unnatural way; nay, in some Creatures Art cannot Hasten Nature, as Animals cannot be Hastened to Perfection sooner than their Natural Time, Art may cause Abortion, as to make the Womb cast forth the Burden before the Natural Time of Birth, but not to bring it to Perfection, and if Man, which is Decayable and Increasable, yet is Ten Months, or say Seven, e’er he comes to Maturity, well may Gold, which seems of an Unalterable, or Undecayable [sic] Nature, be Seven Ages...

Cavendish evokes the Tree image to convey nature in its many forms, all possessing a uniqueness that cannot be replicated by art, or falsely conjured from nothing. Her prose takes on

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59 Johnson, “Cabalas and Cabals.”
60 Margaret Cavendish, “Letter CCVI,” *Sociable Letters.*
the growth that resembles the curling of branches, alluding allegorically to the “Undecayable Nature” about which she speaks. The above quote expresses an analogous fertile energy as that represented in the tree. However, with the exception of Cavendish’s letter, there is no proof that the Duartes possessed a thorough or even cursory understanding of the Kabbalah; thus, readings that make a connection between Duarte and Kabbalistic discourse and establish this as a sign of her Jewishness — either despite or because of the possibility that she possessed a keen understanding of alchemy — are problematic in their reductionism.

Cavendish was writing actively during a time of renewed interest in Kabbalistic study throughout Europe, particularly on the Continent, one many scholars have argued grew out a period of false messianism. As Raphael Patai has written, an indication of the importance placed on alchemy by Jewish thinkers earlier in the Renaissance is that it occurs in testimony. He quotes that of a converso by the name of Fernando de Madrid, who describes having predicted in 1476, before converting, that

the Antichrist would come to the city of Palos, and they say that he would bring a philosopher’s stone, and that if he should touch with it an iron rod it will turn into silver, and if one of steel it will turn into gold, and the sea will reveal its treasures to him.

Fernando’s testimony indicates that some Jews felt that the expected Messiah would possess alchemical abilities. Indeed, the economic turmoil of the seventeenth century saw radical figures arise claiming to be the Messiah, touting interpretive philosophy found in the Kabbalah as their reasoning. One such individual was Sabbatai Sevi, founder of the Sabbatean movement, who developed a mass following that eventually threatened rabbinical authority. At the core of his process were messianic expectations that some historians have argued were cultivated in the

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61 Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, 263.
62 Ibid.
Sefhardic communities of which Sevi was a part. The contemporary Israeli philosopher Gershom Scholem, for example, argues that the ritualistic activities cultivated by Spanish Jews had the potential to drive Jews toward false messianism; he thus links messianism to the spiritual processes set in motion by the Spanish expulsion.⁶³ David B. Ruderman argues that the dissemination of the Kabbalah and the rise of extremism at the end of the seventeenth century were primarily effects of mobility, the printing press, and the rise of radical enthusiasm. Periods of economic difficulty are followed by period of radical messianism, Ruderman writes, despite the fact that they affected the Jewish communities of the Mediterranean more than those of eastern Europe.⁶⁴

The philosophical underpinnings of false messianism were known to Jewish communities in early modern Europe, and it is likely that the Duartes were acquainted with them as well, considering both their involvement with Antwerp’s Portuguese Nation and with regard to the plentitude of international guests that frequented their home. Glückel of Hameln (1646–1724), writes of the hysteria caused by the false messianism of Sevi in her memoirs, written in the 1690s, the only such writing known to exist by a Jewish woman in the early modern period.⁶⁵ Glückel’s writing details the events of her life in the ghettoized German city of Hameln in Lower Saxony; a widow with fourteen children, she was in a very different situation from Duarte, yet there are similarities in some of the subjects that concerned them both. She discusses Sabbatai Sevi’s rise in Book Three of the Memoirs, particularly the commotion caused by the man’s reputation that directly impacted her family’s ability to be trusted to conduct trade or receive

mail, likely threats that faced Jews universally in Europe at the time. The Sephardim in early modern Amsterdam were exposed to the philosophical debates over Cartesianism which were prevalent in the Dutch Republic in the middle of the seventeenth century particularly surrounding the work of rationalist philosophers René Descartes. One was Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). Of Jewish-Portuguese origin like the Duartes, Spinoza was a leading rationalist of his day. Spinoza was raised in Amsterdam, a city where Jews were afforded a degree of religious liberty, so long as practices were kept private and controlled. His deep rationalistic questioning of the Hebrew Bible resulted in the Jewish community in Amsterdam issuing a cherem against him, the highest form of excommunication from Jewish society — they could not risk the disruption of their tenuous relationship with authorities once it was established that there could be a space for Jewish practice. Spinoza eventually settled in The Hague, where he worked as a lens grinder and collaborated in optical lens design with Constantijn Huygens.

Despite his rigorous rationalism, Spinoza took alchemy very seriously; the two entities were not necessarily opposed. When word reached him of a supposed transmutation by a silversmith in the Netherlands, for example, he traveled to confirm that the event had indeed taken place and reported to a friend that he saw some of the gold that resulted from it. Spinoza also wanted to know of the transmutation Helvetius had purportedly performed in England, mentioned above, whether it was real and similarly checked upon it. Considering the connection with Huygens, Spinoza was likely known to the intellectual, cosmopolitan Duartes — either in person or through his philosophical writing — their own outward breach with Judaism

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66 Miriam Bodian, Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997).
68 The concept of rationalism differed in the seventeenth century from its post-Enlightenment manifestations.
70 Principe, The Secrets of Alchemy, 168.
enabling a symbiosis with his ideology. Mendelson suggests that Cavendish’s argument that a natural mechanism for the creation of gold would be physically impossible strongly suggests she was exposed to the ideas of Descartes and Spinoza.\(^1\) Spinoza, however, Jewish yet excommunicated, separates the seventeenth-century understanding of alchemy from a strictly Jewish interpretation. Huygens was a patron of Spinoza, and Cavendish’s own communication with Huygens is documented in a series of letters containing discussions about the properties of Rupert’s drops, toughened glass beads that could withstand a hammer.\(^2\) It is probable that Cavendish would have known of Spinoza through Huygens, and thus Duarte might have been well-versed in Spinoza’s writing as well, if not through Huygens then through Cavendish, herself. Through the possible filter of Spinoza, alchemy also provides the means for women, largely excluded from official domains of scientific inquiry, to exchange knowledge with others, thus enhances the rhetorical possibilities of the salon. Kathleen P. Long has specifically linked the alchemical studio to the literary salon in this respect, calling both spaces in which “women create their own intellectual communities.”\(^3\) Cavendish’s letter to Duarte testifies to these communities, for the possibility of knowledge-sharing between women it engenders, both in the context of the seventeenth-century salon, and in the company of some of the most infamous ideas and scholars of their day.

Cavendish and Duarte were both in exile in Antwerp — Cavendish a “royalist refugee” and Duarte a converso whose family had fled the Inquisition. Exile was seen as a progenitor for

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\(^1\) Sara H. Mendelson, “Introduction,” xi. William Cavendish and Descartes were correspondents, as well. On this, see very recent work on the subject: Steven Nadler, *The Oxford Handbook of Descartes and Cartesianism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 649.


\(^3\) Kathleen P. Long, *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Culture* Routledge 2016, 2.
the study of Kabbalah in the seventeenth century — Lezek Kolakowski has contended that the Kabbalah was understood in the seventeenth century to contain a series of truths useful to people in exile, “often leaning on the same ancient exile or persecution.”74 Brandie Siegfried posits that Cavendish’s interest in the Kabbalah aligned with her post-exilic status, thus suggesting a sense of rootlessness shared with her Jewish counterparts also drove Cavendish’s interest.75 Kabbalah was also known to be embraced by rationalists, as David Ruderman has convincingly argued, as a source of truths regarding the relationship between Nature and God.76 To that end, Johnson suggests that Cavendish’s particular use of “cabala” is at once that of an outsider but that it articulates the position of an insider, as well: though not Jewish, herself, Cavendish, like many in the Restoration — Puritans, Catholics, even Charles II — “moved between the uncertain positions of privilege and non-privilege” in a world of constantly shifting power structures.77 Timothy De Paepe suggests that it was more than just music-making that fueled the Duarte’s and Cavendish’s synchronicity, but that unity in exile fused their relationship.78 Mendelson, too, cites exile as a point of unification between Cavendish and Duarte.79 Cavendish’s first letter to Duarte was composed after an evening of music-making; recall that in Chapter One I discussed Cavendish’s deference to Duarte as a singer of art music, claiming the ballad, by contrast, as her own domain. Patricia Fumerton has written that the ballad had a way of articulating displacement and homelessness in the early modern era and its role, particularly in the alehouse, where it took on political import, helped to formulate the “nomadic journey of

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75 Siegfried, “Soulifried,”186.
76 David B. Ruderman, Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
provisional subjectivities,” or to create spaces in which to construct personal histories of exile. In this light, Mendelson’s reading of Cavendish’s feelings of unity with the ballad do suggest Cavendish’s feelings of an exiled person — but they do little to explain or construct a meaning of exile in Duarte’s story.

There is a similarity here, however, between the Cavendishes and the seventeenth-century Jews, if not the Duarte family specifically, a group singled out for persecution due to their religious-political allegiances and recently relocated following forced exile. Anna Battigelli dismisses the “myth of Cavendish as an isolated and lonely thinker,” that pervades Cavendish scholarship and argues the role of exile was a rhetorical stance that allowed Cavendish, like others writing during the period after the English civil wars, to find relationships between the world and her mind. For Cavendish, Battigelli continues, that world was predicated on living outside of her native country by force — with her life at risk and her worldly goods confiscated by an intolerant regime. But was exile the “bitter experience,” that was conjured by Duarte for Cavendish, as Mendelson would have it? Upon their departure from Antwerp to return home to England, William Cavendish is said to have expressed joy at returning home coupled with a sincere warmth for his adopted city of Antwerp. Margaret Cavendish’s biography of her husband reads as though in William Cavendish’s words — in it she writes, as William,

> My departure being now divulged in Antwerp, the magistrates of the city came to take their leaves of me, where I desired one Mr. Duart [sic], a very worthy gentleman, and one of the chief of the city, though he derives his race from the Portuguese (to whom and his sisters, all very skillful in the art of music, though for their own pastime and recreation, both my Lord and myself were very much bound for their great civilities) to be my interpreter. They were pleased to express that they were sorry for our departure out of

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their city, but withal rejoiced at our happy returning into our native country, and wished me soon and well to the place where I most desired to be.\textsuperscript{83}

While it is tempting to imagine that in her friendship with Duarte, Cavendish may have been drawn into empathetic affection at least partly because of this specific understanding of exile, no evidence exists that the Duartes felt rootless.

Cavendish’s friendship with Duarte came during a resurgence of philosemitism both in England and among English travelers during the Reformation.\textsuperscript{84} A deep curiosity about Jews can be seen in two contemporaneous anecdotes of visits to synagogues by English writers. One is Samuel Pepys, who attended a service on the holiday of Simchat Torah at the London Sephardic Synagogue on October 14, 1663, located in the St. Katherine Creechurch parish — of it he wrote the following in his diary:

Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws, that they take out of the press, is carried by several men, four or five, several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another, or whether it is that everyone desires to have the carrying of it, I cannot tell. Thus they carried [it] round, round about the room while such a service is singing. And the end they had a prayer for the King … But Lord, to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like Brutes then people knowing the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more, and endeed, I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world as absurdly performed as this.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{83} Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, \textit{The life of William Cavendish, duke of Newcastle, to which is added The true relation of my birth, breeding and life}, Charles Harding Firth, ed. (London: J.C. Nimmo, 1886), 128–129, accessed online April 25, 2019: https://archive.org/details/lifeofwilliamca00newcuoft/page/129


\textsuperscript{85} Quoted in Mendelson, “Margaret Cavendish and the Jews,” 175.
The anecdote resembles Charles Burney’s descriptions of the Ashkenazi synagogue in Amsterdam, included in volume two of his *Musical Tours in Europe*, 1770–1772, which he devoted to Central Europe and the Netherlands. Burney writes,

> After this, three of the sweet singers of Israel, which, it seems, are famous here, and much attended by Christians as well as Jews, began singing a kind of jolly modern melody, sometimes in unison, and sometimes in parts, to a kind of *tol de rol*, instead of words, which seemed to me very farcical. One of the voices was a falset, more like the upper part of a bad *vox humana* stop in an organ than a natural voice. I remember seeing an advertisement in an English newspaper, of a barber, who undertook to dress hair in such a manner as exactly to resemble a perue; and this singer might equally boast of having the art, not of singing like a human creature, but of making his voice like a bad imitation of one. Of much the same kind is the merit of such singers, who, in execution, degrade the voice into a flute or fiddle, forgetting that they should not receive law from instruments, but give instruments law.⁸⁶

In both of these cases, descriptions born out of curiosity take a bitter turn. In their comparison of Jewish sound to noise — what Ruth HaCohen refers to as “the music libel against the Jews,” a topos linking cacophony to Jewish spaces within the context of Christian hegemony (see Chapter Two)⁸⁷ — these anecdotes resemble advice to readers in Cavendish’s work on rhetorical theory, *The Worlds Olio*, of 1655.⁸⁸ Amidst a discussion of proper pacing for good reading, Cavendish compares the effect of reading a text poorly with a musician who plays out of tune. She writes,

> I Desire Those that read any of this Book, that every Chapter may be read clearly, without long stops and staies; for it is with Writers as it is with men; for an ill affected Fashion or Garb, takes away The Natural and gracefull Form of The Person; So Writings if They be read lamely, or crookedly, and not evenly, smoothly, & throughly, insnarle The Sense; Nay The very sound of The Voice will seem to alter The sense of The Theme; though The Sense will be There in despight of The ill Voice or Reader, but it will be

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concealed, or discovered to its disadvantage; for like an ill Musician, or indeed one that cannot play at all, who instead of playing he puts The Fiddle out of tune, and causeth a Discord, which if well plaid upon would sound Harmoniously; or is like one that can play but one Tune on all sorts of Instruments; so Some will read with one Tone or Sound of Voice, though The Passions and Numbers are different; and Some again in reading wind up Their Voices to such a passionate scrue, that They whine or squeal rather than speak or read; others, fold up Their Voices with that distinction, that They make that three square that is four square, and narrow that should be broad, and high that should be low, and low that should be high; and Some again so fast, that The Sense is lost in The Race...  

It is worth briefly mentioning here that the words echo Cavendish’s own criticisms of herself in her earlier letter to Duarte: should she attempt to sing Duarte’s music, she writes, “nay, instead of Musick, [she] should make Discord.” Cavendish’s categorization of Duarte as a progenitor of Art contrasts with her own descriptions of herself as a discordant noisemaker and echo contemporaneous descriptions of synagogue noise. Cavendish’s alchemical letter rhetorically addresses these intricate relationships by evoking the differences between nature and art, also a popular topic in contemporary alchemical treatises. She writes,

Wherefore it is not Probable, that Art should Increase Gold by a Small Artificial Limbick, and a Wasting, Uncertain Fire, which must be alwayes Renewed, and Blown, and if it be Improbable that Art can Increase, or Multiply Gold, it is less Probable that Art can Create Gold or any other Creature, though Chymists Pretend they can, they may Imitate Nature by Art, but not Create as Nature doth; as for Natural Poets, who are far beyond Artificial Chymists, their Creation of Fancies is by a Natural way, not an Artificial, and if Gold could be Created as Fancies, Chymists would be Rich, and not so Poor as Poets are, but surely it is impossible for Art to do as Nature doth, for Art neither Knows, nor can Comprehend, at least not put in Practice, the Subtil, and Intricate Motions, Divers Temperaments and Substances put together; neither doth Art know

89 Cavendish, The Worlds Olio.
91 Tien-yi Chao, “‘Between Nature and Art’: The Alchemical Underpinnings of Margaret Cavendish’s Observations upon Experimental Philosophy and The Blazing World,” Euramerica 42/1 (March 2012), 45–82.
the Timing of Motions and Mixtures, to Create so as Nature doth, for some Creatures in Nature require more Curiosity than others, and some more Several, and Subtil Mixtures than others, and some require Longer Time and Pains than others, so as Man may as well believe he can Create a World, as Create Gold, or any other Creature, as Animals and Vegetables, as Chymists believe they can do by their Art; Men like Painters, may Draw to the Life the Figures of Creatures, but not Create Living Figures, or Real Creatures; 'tis true, Art may Hinder, or Oppose, or Hasten Nature's Works, to a more Sudden Maturity, but not in an Unnatural way; and as for Opposing, or Hindring Nature, Man may Set a Slip, or Kernel, or Seed, and when it is Fix'd, or hath taken Root, Man can Pull it up, and Dissolve it, so as not to be capable to Grow and Increase, nay, man can Dissolve it from its Nature, and Turn it into some other Nature, yet it is Natural for such Dissolvable Creatures to be Transformed into other things, so as it is but a Natural way; but Man cannot Create by Art, for that were an Unnatural way, Man may Increase and Multiply, not only his own Kind, but all Increasable things, but they must be done after their Natural way, or else Man cannot Increase and Multiply.92

The debate between art and nature was pursued by alchemists in the early modern period, and despite Cavendish’s rebuttal against alchemy, it is possible, as Tien-yi Chao has suggested, that older alchemical debates between artifice and nature influenced her greatly.93 In Cavendish’s view, Duarte was not a “noisy Jew,” but a refined and acculturated, likely secularized companion. Implications that Cavendish’s attraction to Duarte was based on interest in Kabbalah undercuts Duarte’s potential for musical or intellectual appeal in its reliance on ethnicity. That Cavendish may have perceived that the Duarte sisters were, as Mendelson puts it, “kindred spirits under the skin,” or that she enjoyed their company “whether despite or because of their Jewish origins,”94 evokes the warning that “a specter lurks in the house of music, and it goes by

93 Chao, “Between Nature and Art.”
94 Mendelson, “Margaret Cavendish and the Jews,” 184.
the name of race. For most observers, it hovers and haunts barely noticed, so well hidden it is beneath the rigors of the scholarly apparatus.”

III.

Cavendish’s published letters betray a public performance of intimacy in consort with the display of education, cultural accomplishment, and musical ability present in the Duarte salon and blur the border between private interactions and public consumption. Cavendish chooses Duarte as a woman with whom there existed an intimate private relationship on a public stage, evoking the rhetorical practice of reading letters aloud that took place in the early modern salon or amongst intimate gatherings of female friends — her letters, even though published, participate in similar networks. Whether or not Duarte did believe in the Philosopher’s Stone is subsumed by the fact that the act of publishing a letter stakes a claim of friendship and intimacy in a relationship expressed in intellectual discourse. Often these relationships were constantly shifting in the seventeenth century. As Virginia Cox has noted, early modern women like Maddalena Campiglia, Isabella Andreini, and Lucrezia Marinella were, each in their own way, becoming sociologically amorphous, difficult to frame within conventional notions of femininity. Cox writes,

all were shrewd operators, canny in their self-presentation, and alert to patronage opportunities. All made good use, in particular, of the appeal they had, as women, to potential female patrons and of the ‘novelty value’ female writers possessed in a literary world still overwhelmingly male.

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Like Cavendish, Isabella Andreini publicly displayed her intimate relationships by publishing letters and poems that she exchanged with others as a way of claiming an equality with them that extended beyond the boundary of a personal relationship. In order to circumvent the restraint of her gender Cavendish uses the ritual of writing to establish the legitimacy of her role in the scientific community, and, to paraphrase Lisa Sarasohn, debunking others’ theories as a means of establishing self-credibility in the face of her male peers.97

Cavendish attests to her enjoyment of her musical and literary evenings with Duarte and her family amidst her own experience in international salon networks. They were events that Katherine Larson suggests recalled for Cavendish, a former lady-in-waiting to Henrietta Maria, wife of King Charles I, “the centrality of the salon within the Caroline court.”98 Katie Whitaker reports that Cavendish also visited the salon of Béatrix Cusance, The Duchess of Lorraine at Beersal, for evenings that, like those with Duarte, also featured the particular combination of music and conversation.99 Larson notes that Cavendish was also associated with musical salons hosted in London by the composer, Henry Lawes.100 Cavendish was known to make a memorable and flashy appearance at the Duarte home. As Cusance wrote in a letter to Constantijn Huygens in 1658, “I leave it to Duarte [which Duarte is unclear] to describe the party that has been here; the duchess of Newcastle [Cavendish] wore no ribbons,” alluding to Cavendish’s breach with current fashion etiquette.101 Given the context of the society in which

99 Katie Whitaker, Mad Madge, 118–24.
100 Larson, “Cavendish’s Civilizing Songs,” 122.
101 Béatrix de Cusance, Duchess of Lorraine, to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, February 28, 1658; original held in Royal Collections, The Hague, Constantijn Huygens Archive, G1-9.1, no. 16; transcribed by Inke Huysman and Rudolf Rasch in Béatrix and Constantijn, The Correspondence between Béatrix de Cusance and Constantijn Huygens, 1652–1662, No. 45 (The Hague: Institut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2009), 146, 272; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5574. “Pour les nouvelle de la feste d’ir soir, je laisse à Monsieur Duarte à vous en fère le récit est je vous dires ceullemant que les pety ruban du sein de
published and otherwise circulating letters were shared between friends, Cavendish’s choice of interlocutor is, as Larson has it, “ideally suited to public intellectual performance,” and in a context in which Duarte is both audience and co-participant in Cavendish’s display. The performative element in the repetition present in Cavendish’s letters is additional evidence of a unique personal style that betrays her individualistic presence in salon society and which also conforms to the early modern practice of publishing collections of letters as documents of one’s life — the rhetorical act of writing with the knowledge that private thoughts would be on display.

Evidence of an authentic enjoyment of intellectual discourse and comradery amongst women pervades the letters to Duarte, and as James Daybell and Andrew Gordon have written, “the construction of gender is a layered process involving collaborative letter-writing practices that divorce the letter from personal writing technologies and challenge simplistic notions of subjectivity and agency.” Both of Cavendish’s letters are written in English, a fact that supports the notion that Duarte, and her siblings, were fluent in that language. Indeed, as Mendelson writes, Cavendish, “for all her education, claimed never to have learned another language other than her native tongue;” recall that as Cavendish wrote of her husband in his biography, William Cavendish “desired one Mr. Duart [sic]... to be my interpreter.” Rudolf Rasch has suggested the Duartes’ fluency in English likely came about due to Diego’s close ties

Madame de Nucastel n’on point parut, mais elle estêt parés en vray espouses. Pour la musique, l’on ne l’antant point sans vous y souayter mil fois.”

102 Larson, “Cavendish’s Civilizing Songs,” 117.
105 Mendelson, “Margaret Cavendish and the Jews,” 183.
106 Margaret Cavendish, The life of William Cavendish.
to the English crown. However, conversation with their English exiled friends might have contributed to the process of learning the language. The intentionality in Cavendish’s letter to Duarte reflects another of Cavendish’s letters to another recipient: in letter 66 Cavendish recounts that one day as she was “Pondering upon the natures of Mankind” she decided to write down the virtues of an acquaintance, a woman she refers to as “Lady A. N.” On another sheet of paper, she listed Lady’s A. N.’s imperfections. She writes that because she had found many “excellencies” of character, she thought the lady would be pleased to hear about them and thus sent them to her in the form of a letter. However, Cavendish accidentally included the wrong paper — the one listing Lady A. N.’s imperfections — and when she received the reply was horrified to discover her mistake. She begged another friend to accompany her to explain to Lady A. N. what had happened in person, “for I dare not write to her again.” The incident demonstrates the finality of committing one’s thoughts to paper and the dual nature of Cavendish’s persona in print; on the one hand, it illuminates a passion for philosophizing and extended off-the-cuff exegesis. Yet on the other hand, it displays, as Christine Mason Southerland has written, Cavendish’s “sincerity, her good-heartedness, her social ineptness, and her naiveté.” There is an extended philosophical notion in the outlining and repetition of points which accompanies a moralizing intention in step with early modern epistolary practices of friendship: Cavendish’s letters reinforce and represent the kinds of committed and concerned conversations that happened in the salon space, likely with a real interlocutor. Her discourse (which includes music, art, action, speech and reason — all of which are expressed to and

107 Mendelson, “Margaret Cavendish and the Jews,” 183.
subsequently shared with Duarte) is central to her natural philosophy and is what constitutes her natural world.\footnote{Robinson, “A Figurative Matter,” ii.}

The letters to Duarte reveal that Duarte was a part of this world view, and that, by extension, the women together raise questions that participate in larger philosophical conversations. They indicate the level and content of discussion that were happening behind the closed doors of a conversation parlor — that Duarte is capable of intellectual and learned conversations, the sort that evoke Virginia Cox’s contention that women’s letter writing in the early modern period encouraged an “affirmative attitude toward women’s capacities and potential.”\footnote{Sarasohn, “Margaret Cavendish and patronage,” 252.} As Newman puts it, “it is a striking irony that we have found in Margaret Cavendish the very sort of antiexperimentalism that the traditional historiography of the scientific revolution has led us to expect in the followers of Aristotle.”\footnote{Newman, \textit{Promethean Ambitions}, 288.} Cavendish’s declamatory style forms a sort of Aristotelean dialogue with Duarte, such that the published letters become a kind of salon of their own, in a semi-public way. They provide yet another access point into the education that pervaded the Duarte home and build knowledge of how conversation filled women’s spaces. They are exchanges that convey to us that Duarte was understood in her day as a serious intellect, or at least represented as such by someone who knew her intimately.

\section*{IV.}

\footnote{Cox, \textit{Women’s Writing}, 203. Cox demonstrates how Counter-Reformation religious literature, in particular, was formed in dialogue with the writings of Petrarch, Tasso, and Ariosto.}
In the final section of this chapter I want to return to Duarte’s music, keeping in mind the context in which music itself could be understood to be alchemical. The existence of Duarte’s Sinfonias invokes the kinds of educated discourse and amorphous public/private divide that is illustrated by Cavendish’s choice to publish her letters. But music in the seventeenth century was also understood to have an alchemical ability to move the emotions, a fact which complicates the transitory nature of this music as domestic and public in turn. Modern scholars have explored a number of associations between music, natural magic, and the senses, and some, like Penelope Gouk, suggest that music itself mediated between these domains in the early modern world — particularly, according to Gouk, that of science and natural magic, of which alchemy was an important part.114 Natural magic had already been the subject of controversy for several decades in the seventeenth-century prior in the rise of the scientific method. Gouk argues that changing musical practice in Europe as early as the sixteenth-century fostered close connections between science and magic, connections that affected seventeenth-century thought on music’s powers.115 As Principe has mentioned, the ancient pursuit of the Philosopher’s Stone, for one, was a narrative that fit neatly into theories of matter in the early modern period: transmutation, he writes, was not exactly “contrary to contemporaneous systems of scientific thought.”116 In a similar vein, Bonnie Gordon, too, asserts that musicians in the seventeenth century experimented with alchemy and that there was a symbiosis between science and musical practice in a common pursuit of moving the emotions.117

114 Gouk, Music, Science, and Natural Magic. See also Giambattista della Porta, Natural Magick (London: John Wright Next to the Sign of the Globe in Little-Britain, 1669).
115 Gouk, Music, Science, and Natural Magic.
116 Principe, The Secrets of Alchemy., 166.
117 Bonnie Gordon, Monteverdi’s Unruly Women (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 30. Certain musical practices like the invention of recitative, she argues, directly influenced Galileo’s understanding of the natural world.
The circulation and diffusion of alchemical ideas was widespread among musicians. Monteverdi was also publicly known for his seriousness about alchemy — like Spinoza, he, too, separates an early modern reception of alchemy from a purely theistic standpoint. Denis Stevens suggests that perhaps he gained alchemical knowledge from Vincenzo Gonzaga, in whose employ Monteverdi passed his formative years.\(^\text{118}\) The other evidence for his alchemical experiments exists in five letters written by Monteverdi, dated August 1625–March 1626 and addressed to Ercole Marigliani. In them Monteverdi describes ordering vessels and experimenting with “calcinating gold with lead.” For example, on March 26, 1626, Monteverdi writes,

> I must then tell you how I shall be able to make mercury from unrefined matter which changes into clear water, and although it will be in water it will not however lose its identity as mercury, or its weight; because I have tested it by taking a drop, and have put it on a brass spoon and rubbed it, and it became all tinged with silver color. From the purified water I shall hope to make something worthwhile, inasmuch as it is a powerful solvent of silver.\(^\text{119}\)

Following Monteverdi’s death, the Venetian priest and musician, Paolo Piazza, addressed Monteverdi in a sonnet in the year following Monteverdi’s death with the epithet, “In morte di Claudio Monteverdi, Gran professor della Chimica.”\(^\text{120}\) Monteverdi is an interesting complement to Duarte here — the subject of much scholarship, he is hardly conceived of as an outlier, or singled out for his alchemical experimentation. The comparison between the music of Monteverdi and that of the Duartes made by Italian traveler Guiliano Calandrini (discussed in Chapter One) pays tribute to the fact that alchemical practice, penchant for scientific curiosity,


\(^{120}\) *Fiori poetici* (Venice, 1644), 22. Quoted in Denis Stevens, “Letters and Commentaries,” 287.
and general sense of discovery were pervasive in the seventeenth century. The similarity of interests between the two composers, one widely studied, the other not at all, implicates Duarte in the same kinds of ideological discussions of concern to the famous Venetian musician.

Rebecca Cypess provides some connective tissue between these domains. She understands early seventeenth-century Italian string music to be a genre of invention born out of the same environment of experimentation, curiosity, and collecting that saw the growth of scientific experimentation. Rather than reading instrumental music as an outgrowth of vocal music, Cypess instead contextualizes work by Biagio Marini and others against the contemporaneous fascination with instrumental technology documented by early modern thinkers. In her hands, Marini’s music, and in particular the lutes and violins used to play it, functions as tools servicing the inquiries of the great thinkers of the age — one sees through reading Cypess that a kind of metaphysical alchemy was engendered by deep curiosity, experimentation, and mastery of technology and technique on instruments. Recall in Chapter One that I discussed letters that revealed that the Duartes often borrowed music books from the Cavendish library, a collection that contained many virtuoso sets of divisions for solo bass viol and inventive dance music that reflected the more innovative styles in string playing. Duarte’s inevitable knowledge of this repertoire sheds light on how her music might have informed such practices and at the same understood by her contemporaries within this rich context of experimentation and invention.

121 Rebecca Cypess, Curious and Modern Inventions: Instrumental Music as Discovery in Galileo’s Italy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).
In Century 2, experiment 225, of *Sylva Sylvarum*, Francis Bacon’s ten-volume natural history (London, 1627), Bacon writes about sympathy, using the analogy of strings resonating to do so. Bacon writes,

> if a Lute, or Viall, bee layed upon the back with a small Straw upon one of the Strings; and another Lute or Viall bee laid by it; And the other Lute or Viall, the Unison to that String bee strucken; it will make the String move.  

In Bacon’s worldview, Sympathy signifies the relationship between different parts of the cosmos, which, as Gouk writes, was originally a Stoic concept, later taken up by the neo-Platonists and revived in the fifteenth century and onwards into the early modern era. The power of music to affect the passions and, by extension, affect the soul, can be explained, Gouk writes, “in terms of universal sympathy, displayed metaphorically in Bacon as the resonance between two stringed instruments.” By not making “Discord,” as Cavendish writes of Duarte in her earlier letter, Duarte is, in effect, creating the sort of harmony that is also echoed in her sympathetic resonance with Cavendish, despite her contrary views. Duarte’s good singing, too, might be linked to a medical outgrowth of alchemy: singing ornaments, known as *gorgie*, was described in the seventeenth century as having resulted from a process that turns air into sound, creating something from nothing — invention born out of experimentation. There is a dense nexus of association here between sympathy, change, and resonance that point to the fact that the mysterious properties of strings encouraged philosophical and scientific speculation and that

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125 In Bacon, musical metaphor can be medical now. See Andrea Luppi and Elizabeth Roche, “The Role of Music in Francis Bacons Thought: A Survey,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 24/2 (December 1993), 99–111.
these discourses were not distinct from those of the various properties of music to move the emotions.

Echoes of sympathy, vibration, and even transmutation can be seen in Duarte’s Sinfonia No. 4, marked “Seconda Parte” the manuscript. The titular indication raises the possibility of the work reacting against something else; perhaps it is the second part of the collection of seven, or the second part of the preceding No. 3. Indeed, No. 4 begins in g minor, the same key as the end of No. 3. Yet, unlike No. 3, Sinfonia No. 4 is based on a cantus firmus; the work is subsequently through-composed and very much its own entity. Stylistically speaking, No. 4 comes out of the world of English consort music and contains an ample amount of internal rhythmic variation and dovetailing of sections. In certain of these sections, change is introduced from within the consort, and causes the other parts, as though “touched by iron… it turns to steel… and then gold,” resulting in a transmutation of sound and display. Usually change is instigated in the Alto part, the central of the five voices, and the most curious. (No evidence survives telling us which line Duarte played.)

Canto 2 begins the piece with a whole note followed by two half notes centered around G; this figure is echoed by Canto 1 in the last beat of the bar in direct imitation at the fifth, but with a metrically displaced statement of the motive: a fantasia has begun (see Example 4.1).
A dissonance in m. 5, however, foreshadows something else is being drawn out from within, and indeed, the Tenore, having remained silent throughout this opening passage, enters shortly after with the unidentified cantus firmus. From a cadential moment of this opening in m. 7 and until a d minor cadence at m. 12, a new section of music emerges and the work appears to speed up; this results in a texture dominated by loosely imitative eighth notes driven by the Cantus 2 (see Example 4.2).
Here, the piece feels controlled from within the consort, the Alto line standing in for the cantus firmus and replacing tonal organization by a manifestation of intellectual ideas presented in variation. In m. 12 and into m. 13, the Alto brings the consort to F Major with motion that evokes a recent F Major approach at the top of m. 8. In both cases, the F Major harmony appears in the second measure of a new section of music and precedes a return to g minor. The Altus is crucial to this harmonic drive, though the part is sketchy relative to the other busier voices in the work.

Again in the following phrase, change begins with the Alto. A brief period from m. 19 through to an F Major cadence in m. 22 unfolds in which the texture is marked by ascending scales and by comparatively faster harmonic motion (which will speed up again in m. 21). The Alto line concludes at m. 22 in an F Major cadence, a moment of the widest scoring of the piece so far; here, the Alto hits its highest note, a c on the fourth fret in first position, an extra stretch for the smallest finger in 1/6-comma meantone temperament (see Example 4.3).

EXAMPLE 4.3 Leonora Duarte, Sinfonia No. 4, mm. 20–22
The Alto is a true catalyst, particularly in m. 23: connecting texture with motive, it introduces a new version of a motive of a falling third consisting of a quarter note, dotted quarter, three eighths and a half note — ripe for repetition. Duarte has cut this material from the same cloth as that of the opening motive of this piece, but the figure is transmutated, and then reproduced, first by the Bassus in augmentation in m. 24 and then by the Canto 2 in tenths with the Bassus later in the bar (see Example 4.4).

**EXAMPLE 4.4** Leonora Duarte, *Sinfonia No. 4*, mm. 23–26

The surge of energy at this moment is palpable yet made all the more startling by Canto 1’s echo of the motive at the octave to the Alto. Within this imitative section is a memory of unity in m. 25 and with it the allusion of pause. The Alto calmly marks time with halves at this juncture to affect another change: throughout the barreling motion of a few seconds prior, a specter of stillness now shines through marked by the figural agreement between Cantus 1 and 2. From m. 32 the voices center around a pedal G in the cantus firmus, bringing the work to a close in a bright G Major area, a far cry from the introspective opening (see Example 4.5).
With the exception of the first section of the piece prior to the entrance of the cantus firmus, Sinfonia No. 4 does not possess the clearly-outlined section breaks that we saw so distinctly set up with rests and cadential unity as in Sinfonia No. 3, discussed in Chapter Three. This is partly due to the fact that No. 3 has no cantus firmus. Yet the cantus firmus in No. 4 has no internal repetition, and thus the other four voices here elaborate a continually changing harmony. By the end, No. 4 more closely resembles the *In Nomine* tradition of composition over a cantus firmus\(^\text{127}\) than it does a fantasia, after a series of augmentations and changes that have been led from within. The Alto voice largely incites these changes in unexpected ways and as a result the fantasia is peppered with a variety of elements and moments of discovery.

**Conclusion**

Congruencies exist between letter writing and music written by women in the privacy of their chamber, yet with the knowledge that the work would in some way be publicly consumed, whether through the publication, or even readings *a viva voce*, of letters, or the performances that

\(^{127}\) In Tudor writing, the *In Nomine* cantus firmus was originally taken from the plainchant *Gloria tibi trinitas* in the Benedictus section of John Taverner’s mass from the 1520s.
brought life to the musical score. Margaret Cavendish’s letter to Duarte presents another space in which to consider Duarte’s exceptionalism and reveal that the salon extended, at least for women in the early modern period, into the space of correspondence. Letter writing presented musicians in the early modern period with a space in which thoughts about philosophical matters and academic subjects could be discussed and put forward. The medium can thus be construed as a social network, and one of which many musicians became a part in an early modern custom of bringing personal correspondence into print. More than networking, however, Cavendish’s letters to Duarte are a performance of intimacy and a display of education and cultural accomplishment, a performativity that we can also parse out in Duarte’s music, written for the intimate chamber, and yet heard and discussed by visitors — many of whom committed their thoughts on the performance of the works to letters themselves.

Their contents, however, reveal as much about Cavendish’s thoughts on Duarte as they do about modern scholarly reception of a Jewish or converso woman in the seventeenth century. Alchemy collapses into Judaism for some contemporary readers; yet it is clear after casting a wide net around the co-mingled histories of music and science and that alchemy need not, indeed should not, signify as an arbiter of scientific (il)legitimacy or racial distinction. On the minds of both early modern men and women of letters, alchemy was a topic discussed in the salon. Understanding it in this way informs our knowledge of Duarte’s intellectual capabilities and contemporaneous reception and establishes another point of continuity between her accomplishments and the amorphousness of public versus private display that was innate to the Kunstkammer.

Conclusion

This dissertation has considered Leonora Duarte at the intersection of race, place, performance, and gender. It has examined Duarte as someone who simultaneously inhabited enclosed and public spaces, and in whose environs the interchange of business and domestic networks reflects a deeply-rooted investment in culture and in the business successes that were their direct results. I have argued that music functioned for Duarte as a means to emphasize connections between otherwise disparate cultural borders — social, religious, and ethnic. What I add here is that the point of their convergence is in the body: a body subjected to claims made on it by others, a body that mastered the physical properties and constraints of instruments, and a body that arbitrated over a creative output that, fortunately for us, was thought to be saved following her death.

In 1678, at the age of 68, Leonora died, likely of the plague, along with her sisters Catharina and Francisca. Constantijn Huygens’ daughter, Susanna Huygens, wrote of it in two letters to her brother, the scientist, Christiaan Huygens. On November 10, 1678, she writes:

I have no doubt that my Father will have told you of the Death of our good Desmoiselle Francisca Duarte. I was extremely surprised to hear about her elder sister... It lasted only a few days. Her older brother, who gave me news of the death of his sister whom he held so dear, like you informed me that his two other sisters are sick at the same time. But since then I have learned nothing more of it, yet I regret very dearly dear Francisca. She has always shown me a great deal of friendship; goodbye to the music of this House. It is said that, in eight years, there have been more than fifteen thousand deaths [by the Plague] in the city of Antwerp, the infection seems to me to be very serious, since it takes away entire families. There are religious convents of eighty that are left as eight...¹

¹ Susanna Huygens to Christiaan Huygens, The Hague, November 10, 1678; original in unknown location; transcribed online, ePistolarium: http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/. “Je ne doute point, ou mon Pere vous aura dit celle de la Mort de nostre bonne Desmoiselle Francisca Duarte. i'en ay eté extremement surprise aijant ouij
And one month later, on December 15, 1678, Susanna writes,

Since I have been informed of the death of Miss Catharina Duarte, I have learned nothing more... and believe that the family is diminished... the only one left is Don Diego... It is said that Illness still continues in Antwerp, but not with so much vehemence... but it is said that it is a pity to see the misery of this beautiful city, it is almost like Desert.\(^2\)

Susanna’s descriptions of the silent home and the desert-like city of Antwerp could not contrast more sharply with the account of the glorious October day that Evelyn conscribed to his diary in 1641, in which he finished off a day spent browsing in Platin’s bookshop with a glorious concert at the Duarte home.

But Duarte’s story does not end with the plague. While her works live on in these pages, in the recording I have made, and in future performances of her music, the import of this continuity between past and present has critical meaning that deserves to be briefly parsed here. Jonathan De Souza deems the meeting of musical cultures and social contexts occurring in the present day a “juxtaposition,” in which performance permits an emergence of coded information about music — “a process of bodily ‘technicization’ [that] affects the ways that players perceive,

\(^{2}\) Susanna Huygens to Christiaan Huygens, The Hague, December 15, 1678; original in unknown location; transcribed online, Epistolarium: http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/. “...depuis que l'on m'a donné nouvelle de la Mort de Mademoiselle Catherine Duarte je n'en aij rien appris d'avantage de sorte que je ne croij pas, que depuis la Famille est diminuée. depuis que Francisca est Morte, je ne me soucie guerre de tout le reste, si ce n'est encore de Don Diego. l'on dit que la Maladie continue encore toujours a Anvers, mais pas avec tant de vehemence, tousjours il n'en meurent pas tant comme ils ont fait. mais l'on dit que c'est une Pitié de voir la Misere de cette Belle Ville, Elle est presque comme Deserte.”
understand, and imagine music.” By no accident of performance curatorship, my choice to perform Duarte in spaces that are close approximations to the Duarte home, or to the Huygens’ home, or the Cavendish library — spaces filled with paintings and art objects, environments that resemble those in which Duarte made music — engenders an acoustic and visual awareness of the way in which the (my) body navigates juxtapositions of past and present, living and deceased, and scored versus sounded music. There is an application here with current scholarship of music and the body — in the words of Youn Kim and Sander L. Gilman,

> The body produces and experiences music in a given time and space. Therefore, the environment must be considered in approaching the relationship between music and the body. Such ecological perspectives in the psychology and sociology of music as well as ethnomusicology all converge on the significance of the environment and the body’s interaction with it.4

The concert space I inhabit becomes an object of material inquiry, as well, presenting a wealth of additional information about the composer’s project, such as the adaptations made by the composer to accommodate the acoustics of the rooms in which the works would be performed, knowledge Tom Beghin has recently defined to be crucial.5 In a performative light, I am an instrument in this business: I curate another continuation of the (Duarte) Kunstkammer.

When the relevance of social spaces that Duarte created is considered critically — spaces that allowed men and women, Jews and gentiles, to feely associate where they otherwise would not have been able — we can chart specifically feminized priorities within music history, with

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regard to collecting, patronage, domestic concertizing, and mutual influence — all of which were integral to the mobility and development of music.

But the project of paying critical attention to these spaces cannot be achieved through the act of performance itself. While performing these works, I am acutely aware of how they beg for musicological exploration — I feel the need to use my scholarly voice, at times a kind of crypto-identity while I am on stage. I also sense the social value in this project. The importance of sounding minority voices in history, and not just those of women, is especially felt now in our current political climate, when a domineering voice tries to squelch the nuance and variety that comprises us all at every turn. An audible and living music history will continue to adjust its ears to hear these voices, to employ an improvisatory historiography that reflects changes and shifts. A musician’s investment in a repertoire is reflected in her fluid and conscientious interpretation of it over time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Location of Original</th>
<th>Language of Source Document</th>
<th>Relevant Quotation or Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 25, 1638</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Leiden University Library, Leiden, NL: Cod. Hug. 37 (Calandrini <em>G</em>) 1</td>
<td>Calandrini, <em>Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens</em> (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).</td>
<td>Says that he hoped to find “music with which to renew the music making at the home of the Duarte in Antwerp, only comparable to what [he] had experienced in Venice under the guidance of Monteverdi.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 21, 1641</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Leiden University Library, Leiden, NL: Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 4</td>
<td>Rasch, <em>Correspondence of Constantijn Huygens 1608–1687</em>, Volume 2, No. 2694, 1651.</td>
<td>Concerning the two pieces of music you have already sent, only a top part was included. I am sending you here three others and two in Italian that my two daughters have been singing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Language listed is the language of the entirety of the document, or the language in which the document begins. If the document contains more than one language, this is indicated in the “Language” column.
2. If the original quotation is not in English, it will be transcribed in the footnotes from the Source Document column.
3. Portions are transcribed and translated into English; it will be transcribed in the footnotes from the Source Document column.
4. Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1667,” huysgens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/2694.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Source Document</th>
<th>Relevant Quotation or Summary in English</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 5, 1641</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>John Evelyn</td>
<td>In the evening I was invited to Signor Duerts...</td>
<td>John Evelyn, The Diary of John Evelyn, Vol. I (London: John Evelyn, 1620–1641)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 3, 1646</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Nicholas Lanier</td>
<td>Signor Duarte humbly kisses your handes, and is glad of any occasion to serve you, by this meanes Mr. Willeboirts may take his pleasure...</td>
<td>Leiden University Library, Leiden, NL: Cod. Hug. 37 (Lanier) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 13, 1648</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>William Swann</td>
<td>For Monsieur de Warty and his daughters I have heard to the full. Indeed they make a faire consort and harmony for lutes, viols, virginals and voyces. I doubt not but you will fynde great contentment by hearing them.</td>
<td>Leiden University Library, Leiden, NL: Cod. Hug. 37 (Swann) 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven, 147.
7 Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven, 892.
8 Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven, 147.
9 Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven, 290.
10 Leiden University Library, Leiden, NL: Cod. Hug. 37 (Swann) 7.
11 Leiden University Library, Leiden, NL: Cod. Hug. 37 (Lanier) 3.
13 Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven, 290.
14 Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven, 147.
15 Rasch's full transcription is also available online as http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/4304.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Source Document</th>
<th>Relevant Quotation or Summary in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 1, 1648</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Jacob van Wassenaer (1610–1665), Kernhem: Letter to Constantijn Huygens</td>
<td>&quot;In Antwerp, everyone was depressed by the news of the battle. I have been to Mr Duarte, but he was not at home; his son showed us a part of the house with many beautiful paintings; in the evening the father visited me in my accommodation and wanted me to see and hear everything, but I had to leave the next day.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wassenaer was the commander of the Dutch navy, and the grandfather of the composer, Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer (1692–1766). His original Dutch, as transcribed by J. A. Worp, is as follows: "Te Antwerp was iedereen gedrukt door vond hem niet; zijn zoon toonde ons een gedeelte van het huis met vele mooie schilderijen; 's avonds bezocht de vader mij in mijn logies en wilde mij alles laten zien en horen, maar ik moest den volgenden dag weg."
December 31, 1653

French

Constantijn Huygens: Letter to Duchess of Lorraine, Béatrix de Cusance (1614–1663)

9

"The pretty piece of music which I wanted to include in the memorial dedicated to poor Sr. Duarte, serves for me as a testimony of his gracious memory and proof of my foolish passion for harmony... the one who has just fallen in this beautiful Mount Parnassus in Antwerp... Three of [Gaspar’s heirs], who favored me for a fortnight’s visit, were, on their return, welcomed by this untimely disaster..."

Location

Jonckbloet and Land, Musique et Musiciens, 22.

Editions

Jonckbloet and Land, Musique et Musiciens, 22.

Relevant Quotation or Summary in English

Jonckbloet and Land, Musique et Musiciens, 22.

Date

February 25, 1654

French

Constantijn Huygens: Letter to Joseph de la Barre (1633–1678)

10

"Remember, please, that you are giving a Tombeau to poor Mr. Duarte, whom we have lost; I have already written something for the lute and the spinette, and I assure myself that your father and other illustrious men will not want to miss it."

Location

Jonckbloet and Land, Musique et Musiciens, 22.

Editions

Jonckbloet and Land, Musique et Musiciens, 22.

Relevant Quotation or Summary in English

Jonckbloet and Land, Musique et Musiciens, 22.

Date
Whensoever you come and find me alife, you are to heare wonderfull new compositions, both upon the lute - in the new tunes - and the virginals, lessons, which, if they will not please your eares with their harmonie, are to astonish your eyes with their glorious titles, speaking nothing lesse then Plaintes de Mad. la Duchesse de Lorraine, Plaintes de Mad. la Princesse, sa fille, Tombeaux et funerailles de M. Duarte, and such gallantrie more…
Huygens tells French harpsichordist, dancer, and composer, Chambonnières, that his music sounds so distinctly unique. "Je n’en suis que trop persuadé, après ce que m’en ont dit et vostre réputation universelle et en particulier les témoignages de la maison musicale des Duartes, de Madame Swann (autrefois Mademoiselle Ogle, qui est présentement en ceste ville) et d’autres, dont j’estime les jugemens." 

Huygens writes that he is jealous of his friend and that he wishes that he, too, were in "the house of harmony." "…vous diroy je combien je souffre de ne me voir pas dans la maison harmonique..."

Rasch's full transcription is also available online at "Brievenwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687." http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5412

Rasch's full transcription is also available online at "Brievenwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687." http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5451

Rasch's full transcription is also available online at "Brievenwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687." http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5453
J'ay veu Don Diego et j'ay receu chez luy les regales accoustumees. J'y dinay hier, Francisque joua du clavecin, et luy me persecuta apres cela de sa composition qui estoit une piece de devotion avec des paroles flamandes sur le de.

Transcription by David Bierens de Haan, Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome IV: Correspondence 1662–1663 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1891) is available online through De Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/huyg004oeuv04_01/huyg004oeuv04_01_0160.php#z5911


Rasch’s full transcription is also available online, "Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687," huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5911

Translation by David Bierens de Haan, Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome III: Correspondence 1660–1661 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1891) is available online through De Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/huyg003oeuv03_01/huyg003oeuv03_01_0009.php#z0931

20 Transcription by David Bierens de Haan, Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome III: Correspondence 1660–1661 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1891) is available online through De Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/huyg003oeuv03_01/huyg003oeuv03_01_0009.php#z0931


22 Transcription by David Bierens de Haan, Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome IV: Correspondence 1662–1663 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1891) is available online through De Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/huyg004oeuv04_01/huyg004oeuv04_01_0160.php#z5911

Huysman and Rasch, Béatrix and Constantijn, 197 and 305.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Source Document</th>
<th>Relevant Quotation or Summary in English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 10, 1678</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Susanna Huygens</td>
<td>“Jeanne, je ne doutte point, ou mon Pere vous aura dit celle de la Mort de nostre bonne Desmoiselle Francisca Duarte...&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Susanna Huygens to Christiaan Huygens, The Hague, November 10, 1678; original in unknown location; transcribed online, ePistolarium: [http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/](http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/)

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Due to the plague in Flanders, many convents and other religious institutions were abandoned. The infection was thought to be great, and it took whole families. There are religious convents of eighty that were left as eight.
while making music, he can at least still be a bit familiar with the biographies. See Rasch, "Biographies.

"24 Rasch provides this summary: Huygens is plagued by gout. He thanks Duarte for dedicating a few musical pieces to him. Although his illness hinders him.

Ogen noch mehr... die mir unter geladen werden muss..."

"25 Rasch's full transcription is also available online, as "Biographies" in Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome IX: Correspondence 1685–1690 (The Hague, 1901), 411.

26 Rasch provides this summary: "Huygens is plagued by gout. He thanks Duarte for dedicating a few musical pieces to him. Although his illness hinders him.

"27 Rasch's full transcription is also available online, as "Biographies" in Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome IX: Correspondence 1685–1690 (The Hague, 1901), 411.

28 Rasch's full transcription is also available online, as "Biographies" in Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome IX: Correspondence 1685–1690 (The Hague, 1901), 411.

29 Rasch's full transcription is also available online, as "Biographies" in Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome IX: Correspondence 1685–1690 (The Hague, 1901), 411.

30 Rasch's full transcription is also available online, as "Biographies" in Christiaan Huygens, Oeuvres Completes, Tome IX: Correspondence 1685–1690 (The Hague, 1901), 411.
### Appendix 2: Works and/or Musicians Known to the Duarte Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer and/or Musician</th>
<th>Work/Title of Work</th>
<th>Connection to Duarte Family</th>
<th>Instrumentation/Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1615</td>
<td>Girolamo Frescobaldi</td>
<td>Recercar Settimo</td>
<td>Leonora Duarte's Sinfonia No. 6 (Octave toni, Sopra Sol mi fa la sol), is a reworking of this piece</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Early Modern Edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1628–1629</td>
<td>John Bull</td>
<td>Fantasia sopra A Leona</td>
<td>Rudolf Rasch suggests that John Bull may have been a music tutor to the Duarte children.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Modern Edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630s</td>
<td>Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Sweelinck's son accompanied Francisca Duarte on the harpsichord</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638–1640s</td>
<td>Nicholas Lanier</td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>Lanier stayed with the Duartes upon fleeing to the Continent in 1645 and again during his visits to the city in the later 1640s.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. By 1626, Lanier was named Master of the King's Music. After the English Civil War, he spent 15 years in exile on the Continent. Upon the Restoration, he was appointed to the position of Organist of the Chapel Royal. There is no direct evidence that the Antwerp Duartes knew of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's music.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Connection to Duarte/Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Gaspar D'Heurteboat</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, January 9, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte)</td>
<td>Source: Rasch's full transcription is also available online as &quot;Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607-1687: Huygens LCA&quot;. Year: 2007. Rasch's full transcription is transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in Die Bewegung zwischen Barock und Aufklärung. Königliche Bibliothek, Kassel. 2007.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Composer and Title of Work</td>
<td>Instrumentation/Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641</td>
<td>Madrigal: Onghor desta la ray</td>
<td>Voices</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

13. Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, April 27, 1641; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Druve); transcribed by Rudolph A. Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007). Rasch's full transcription is also available online at [http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/watermarker/media/huygens/original/BR2606.pdf](http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/watermarker/media/huygens/original/BR2606.pdf). "Les paroles du madrigal sont Onghor desta la ray; il n'i a point de second couplet."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer and Title of Work</th>
<th>Instrumentation/Description</th>
<th>Connection to Duartes/Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1647</td>
<td>Constantijn Huygens, <em>Pathodia sacra et profana</em></td>
<td>Printed in Paris, One voice and basso continuo; in Latin, Italian, and French</td>
<td>Huygens brought a copy to the Duarte home and Leonora sang from them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>Gaspar Duarte borrowed the books from Constantijn Huygens to copy from them in 1648.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>Michel Lambert, <em>Airs (unidentified)</em></td>
<td>Voice and basso continuo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, December 27, 1648; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 11; transcribed by Rudolph Rasch in *Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online at [http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/brief.html?id=huyg001/4903](http://ckcc.huygens.knaw.nl/epistolarium/brief.html?id=huyg001/4903).
Year

1648/
1655

1648

1653

Composer and
Title of Work
Jacques Champion de
Chambonnières
(c. 1601/2–1672)
Unidentified harpsichord
music
“Italian madrigals”

“Tombeau de Mr Duarte”
by Constantijn Huygens23

Connection to Duartes/Source

Harpsichord

Gaspar asked Huygens to bring
them on a visit to the home.20
Huygens remarks that he has
heard raving testimonials about
his playing from the Duartes.21

Instrumentation/Description

Voices (various)

Rudolf Rasch has referred to a
piece by the name of “Tombeau
de Mr Duarte,” composed by
Huygens in 1653.24

Gaspar asked Huygens to bring
them on a visit to the home. See
Gaspar Duarte, Letter to
Constantijn Huygens, December
27, 164822

For lute and/or harpsichord

N/A

N/A

N/A

Modern Edition

N/A

N/A

Early Modern
Source

N/A

“Soo den overlast hem niet te swaer en valt, soude wenschen noch iet raers van eenige nieuwe airs van Petit Lambert alsmede iet van La Chapelle voor mynen
organist door UE. faveur te moghen becomen.”
20
Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, December 27, 1648. See Rasch, “The ‘Konincklycke Fantasien,’” 68.
21
Constantijn Huygens to Jacques Champion de Chambonnières [place unknown], June 2, 1655; copy in 17th-century hand held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The
Hague, NL: KA 49–2, p. 655; transcribed by Rudolf Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren,
2007), 988; Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING:
http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/5412. “Je n’en suis que trop persuadé, après ce que m’en ont dit et vostre
réputation universelle et en particulier les tesmoignages de la maison musicale des Duartes, de Madame Swann (autrefois Mademoiselle Ogle, qui est
présentement en ceste ville) et d’autres, dont j’estime les jugemens.”
22
Gaspar Duarte to Constantijn Huygens, Antwerp, December 27, 1648; original held at Leiden University Library, Cod. Hug. 37 (Duarte) 11; transcribed by
Rudolph Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also
“Die Italiaensche madrigaletten syn oyk goet, dan presumerende dat UE. seyt van die coopmanschap dagelyx versien wert.”
23
Constantijn Huygens to Henri Dumont [place unknown], April 6, 1655; original held at Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA 49–2, p. 677-678; transcribed
by Rudolf Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 983; Rasch’s full transcription is also
available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING:
aux works dediées au tombeau de feu M. Duarte…”
24
Rudolf Rasch, Driehonderd Brieven Over Muziek Van, Aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007). Considering that the reference to
Gaspar Duarte’s “Tombeau” lies with multiple composers in the circle, the likelihood that the “Tombeau” might also refer to a compendium of works or a

209

209


Deux ou trois de ces prémières rentrées du temps...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Dumont to Huygens Letter 1655</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1655</td>
<td>Dumont to Huygens Letter 1655</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Modern Edition**

**Early Modern Source**

**Connection to Duarte Source**

**Institutional/Deception**

**The Oedipus Complex**

**Composer and Year**

**English Street Cross**

**Connections**

**Finishing**: [Note: The table contains various entries including dates, sources, and connections, but the specific details are not transcribed due to the nature of the image and the format of the table.]

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer and Title of Work</th>
<th>Instrumentation/Description</th>
<th>Connection to Duartes/Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1656</td>
<td>Philip van Steenlant (&quot;Master Philips&quot;), Requiem mass (2 of 2)</td>
<td>32 vocal choirs and organ; no other instrumental parts are listed</td>
<td>A requiem mass was performed for the funeral of Gaspar Duarte in the church of Sint-James, the Duarte family's parish church. Van Steenlant was the organist and music director of the church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656–1674</td>
<td>Matthew Locke (1621–1677), The Triumphant Widow (text by William Cavendish)</td>
<td>Locke contributed vocal and instrumental music to the Restoration comedy, written between 1656–1674 and staged in 1674. It is possible the Duartes knew Locke's music considering they were part of Cavendish's circle. The Triumphant Widow is the only Locke's instrumental music to the Restoration comedy. Locke contributed vocal and instrumental music to the work. Two songs attributed to Locke from the work are located in the Portland Collection at Nottingham University Library.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>Joannes Chrysostomus de Haze (before 1640–1685), &quot;Clio, op. 1&quot;</td>
<td>Dance music for two violins, three singers, and basso continuo</td>
<td>After his father's death, Diego was encouraged by Huygens to soothe himself by studying the counterpoint of Joannes de Haze. (See Constantijn Huygens, Letter to Diego Duarte, January 20, 1687.) This work is dedicated to Diego Duarte. This work is also printed in Middleburg. Two songs attributed to de Haze from the work are located in the Portland Collection at the Portland MS PwV23, ff. 2r–3v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Notes:** The Portland MS PwV23, ff. 2r–3v.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer and Title of Work</th>
<th>Instrumentation/Description</th>
<th>Connection to Duarte/Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Joannes Chrysostomus de Haze (before 1640 – 1685)</td>
<td>“Triphonio, op. 2”</td>
<td>As De Haze’s op. 1 was published prior to the Duarte family's knowledge of his music, it is likely that op. 2 was also known to the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guilielmus Munninckx (1593 – 1652)</td>
<td>Cantiones natalitiæ (Christmas carols)</td>
<td>Munninckx was one of the leading composers of this genre in Antwerp in the first half of the seventeenth century; Godelieve Spiessen suggests that he was a music tutor to the Duarte children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pierre Chabanceau de La Barre (1592 – 1656)</td>
<td>Works for lute</td>
<td>The Duarte family is likely to have known his music as they made music with his children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All sources and translations are cited in full in the text, as indicated by the numbers and superscripted references.

Al Illustrissimo Signor, mio Signor osservatissimo¹

Il Signor Cavagliere Hughens, Secretario di Sua Altezza il Principe D’Orenges, à La Haye.

Illustissimo signor, mio signor osservatissimo,

Non ho potuto scusare di accompagnare il nostro antico amico, il Signor Appelman, della presente, et insieme offrirLi quella mia devota servitù che di tutto tempo Li ho dedicata, se ne prevagli nelle sue occorrenze, che mi sarà di favor singolare poterlo dimostrare per li effetti. Nel resto mi rimetto al lattore che Li darà particolar conto de m[i]ei andamenti. Son d’ha 6 anni che sono fuora d’Ingilterra et hora stò in procinto di tornarsi presto, dove me Li esebisco in tutto quello posso.

Godo in parte che ci troverò da rinovar la musica con la casa di Eminenza Duartes d’Anversa che ne ripiena, non havendola gustato che à Venezia in compagnia del Monteverde, veramente sugietto molto degnio et meritevole in ogni qualità. Non si mi stenderò in altri particolari, che sarebbe darli troppo incomodo.

Solo La suplico di conservarmi in grazia Sua et favorir il lattore in quello Li potesse occorrere, che nellLi havrò obbligo in eterno. Godo de riscontri fatto il Signor suo fratello et Signorine sorelle, alle quali con affetto bacio le mane. Per me, resto libero et sciolto al servitio de tutti con che Li faccio humil riverenza, et resto

di Vostra Signoria Illustissima
humilissimo et devotissimo servidore
Giul. Calandrini.

Aan Gaspar Duarte

_Aen den e heere Duarte_
_hebbende de Eer gehat hem met sijn Dochters te horen singen en speelen_

Swijcht vrij oud en nieu' Poeten
die soo veel te schrijven weeten
Van die Geesten in de hel
kon doen luystren na sijn spel.
die de beesten en de boomen
die de kruijden en de stroomen
door het soet getierelier
van sijn welgestelde Lier
Con van wijt en sijt vergaeren
Als hij repte maer sijn snaeren.

Noch so gaen sij ons vertellen
Van een die sijn Luijt con stellen
Op so soeten tover toon,
dat hij trotsen dorst de Goon.
daer van de Thebaenen Roemen
En het oock een wonder noemen
dat hij met sijn stem (jst waer?)
song de steenen an malcaer
Van haer vesten. die door t’ Raken
Schynen noch Musyck te maken.

Geesten, beesten, cruijden boomen
Steenen ja al wat sij droomen
dat beroerden: t’ Comt niet bij
Wanneer als Duwerte ghij
Met u Dochters lust te singen
doet ghij vrij al grooter dingen:
Want gij Menschen van de Aerdt
Stygen doet ten Hemelwaert
En hun leert de Sonden mijen
Om haer Eeuwich te verblyen.

Antwerpen, 1640.

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1 Anna Roemers Visscher, _Alle de Gedichten van Anna Roemers Visscher_ 2 (Utrecht: J. L. Beijers, 1881), 249.
Monsieur,

Je suis bien aise que la manteca d’azar qu’avés présenté à Son Altesse lui a esté agréable. 

Or, touchant à Vostre Mayson au Champs, j’é donné relation à celui qu’il m’en avoir parlé, lequel m’a donné commission d’en traicter avecq Mademoisele Vostre Cousine, come vous doit mander. Dont, je feray en Vostre endroit tout ce qu’il me sera posible (pour la rejouisance que j’aurei d’icelle) en cas que mon home va perseverent en son dessein, m’ayant dit estant à luy de la embellir ancor davantage d’une belle galerie.

Quant à ma sauvegarde, je vous dirai l’occasion que m’oblige à vous importuner, ce que depuis nostre revenue de Londres ne la puis trouver, pour l’avoir trop bien gardé avant nostre partement, mes bien cele de la Serenissime Infante dingne de haute memoire du sixième d’Avril 1624 et combien que cela n’importe pas tant, aiant le tout esté recongnu tant par le Magistrat de Deuren come par aprés d’iceux di Sevenbergen qui me la meintenent en toute aseurance (dont je vous envoieray les copies, estant nessesaire) néanmoins, puisque l’occasion se présente m’honorer de Vostre faveure de me faire octrier une nouvelle confirmation pour ancor plus de seuretté, vous aiant envoyé la date quant je l’ay obtenu, affin de me faire la faveur d’avoir une Copie que sans doubte on doibt trover pardela sur le Register, la faisant rechercher par quelque clerçq, en paient les despences que i pour avoir, que je donnerey ici à Mademoiselle Vostre Cousine et vous demeureray grandemant obligé, me perdonnant ceste miene inportunité.

Touchant la musique, j’estimeray d’avoir une pair de ces beaux Airs Italiens e François. Je pense qu’il vous sont este présenté par un gentilhome musicien, nommé La Verane, que j’ai oui chanter en Angelterre, lequel devoit passer par Hollande. Nous avons quelques airs de lui, pour le moins deues bonnes, a savoir Ochi belli guarni, l’autre Se credi col ferir, Amor, darmi tormento. Nous usons quelque fois une musique domestique en petit concert d’instruments, come avons faict entendre à Mademoiselle Anna Roomers, à savoir trois instruments aqev leur particulier, d’estre de trois filles, l’espinette, é luth, é la viole bastarde, é moy le violon, pour le 3m dessus, é pour les voix: un luth é la viole à deux dessus avecq les voix de mes deus filles, et quelques fois deux dessus aqev une basse que je chante aqev l’espinete ou téorbe pour de petites madrigales du livre. Voila quelque fois nostre passetens pour nous divertir une foi en 15 jours, ce que vous pourrés ausi avoir, quant il vous plaira, par le moien de vos quatre filse que Die conserve. Finissant je baise très-humblement le meins, demeurant,

vostre très-humble et très-affectionné serviteur

G. Duarte

1 This letter is transcribed by Rudolf Rasch in Driehonderd Brieven over Muziek van, aan en Rond Constantijn Huygens (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Rasch’s full transcription is also available online as “Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens 1607–1687,” huygens ING: http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/en/brief/nr/n0286.
Appendix 7.
Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, Letter to Leonora Duarte, Antwerp, c. 1650s

Letter CCII, in CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle.¹ 427–430

Sweet Madam Eleonora Duarti,

The last Week your Sister Kath’rine and your Sister Frances were to Visit me, and so well Pleased I was with their Neighbourly, and Friendly Visit, as their Good Company put me into a Frolick Humour, and for a Pastime I Sung to them some Pieces of Old Ballads; whereupon they desired me to Sing one of the Songs my Lord made, your Brother Set, and you were pleased to Sing; I told them first, I could not Sing any of those Songs, but if I could, I prayed them to Pardon me, for neither my Voice, nor my Skill, was not Proper, nor Fit for them, and neither having Skill nor Voice, if I should offer to Sing any of them, I should so much Disadvantage my Lord’s Poetical Wit, and your Brother’s Musical Composition, as the Fancy would be Obscured in the one, and the Art in the other, nay, instead of Musick, I should make Discord, and instead of Wit, Sing Nonsense, knowing not how to Humour the Words, nor Relish the Notes, whereas your Harmonious Voice gives their Works both Grace and Pleasure, and Invites and Draws the Soul from all other Parts of the Body, with all the Loving and Amorous Passions, to sit in the Hollow Cavern of the Ear, as in a Vaulted Room, wherein it Listens with Delight, and is Ravished with Admiration; wherefore their Works and your Voice are only fit for the Notice of Souls, and not to be Sung to Dull, Unlistning Ears, whereas my Voice and those Songs, would be as Disagreeing as your Voice and Old Ballads, for the Vulgar and Plainer a Voice is, the Better it is for an Old Ballad; for a Sweet Voice, with Quavers, and Trilloes, and the like, would be as Improper for an Old Ballad, as Golden Laces on a Thrum Suit of Cloth, Diamond Buckles on Clouted or Cobled Shoes, or a Feather on a Monks Hood; neither should Old Ballads be Sung so much in a Tune as in a Tone, which Tone is betwixt Speaking and Singing, for the Sound is more than Plain Speaking, and less than Clear Singing, and the Rumming or Humming of a Wheel should be the Musick to that Tone, for the Humming is the Noise the Wheel makes in the Turning round, which is not like the Musick of the Spheres; and Ballads are only Proper to be Sung by Spinsters, and that only in Cold Winter Nights, when a Company of Good Huswifes are Drawing a Thread of Flax; but as these Draw Threads of Flax, so Time Draws their Thread of Life, as their Web makes them Smocks, so Times Web makes them Deaths Shirts, to which, as to Death, afterwards those Good Huswifes are Married, and lie in the Bed of Earth, their House being the Grave, and their Dwelling in the Region of Oblivion; and this is the Fate of Poor Spinsters, and Ballad-Singers, whenas such a Singer as you, such a Composer as your Brother, such a Poet as my Lord, are Cloth’d with Renown, Marry Fame, and Live in Eternity, wherein Death hath no Power, Time no Limit, and Destinies Shears are Useless; but though I am willing to Sing an Old Ballad, yet not to Dwell in Oblivion, for I love your Company so well, as I would Live in Eternity with you, and would be Clothed as you, with Renown, for no Fashion’d

¹ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letter CCII,” CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, Early English Books Online, accessed online: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.206?rgn=div2;view=fulltext
Garments Please me so well, and though the Stuff or Substance is not the same with yours, the Substances being as Different as the Several Qualities, Faculties, Proprieties, Virtues, or Sweet Graces, and the like, yet I will have as Good as I can get, I will Search Nature's Ware-house, or Shop, and though I cannot have a Piece or Measure of Silver Sound, or Brocaded Art, yet certainly I hope to get a Piece or Measure of Three-poil’d Philosophy, or Flower’d Fancy, for though my Lord hath taken many several Pieces or Packs out of Nature's Shop, and hath Inhaunced the Prices, yet he must not Ingross this last Commodity to himself; 'Tis true, he hath Ingross’d two Commodities, as Weapons, and Riding, out of Art's Shop, the Hand-maid of Nature, yet sure he will be never able to Ingross all the several Kinds, and divers Sorts of Wares that Nature and Art yet have in their Store-houses. But I perceive that you three, as my Lord, You, and your Brother, do Traffick so much with Nature and Art, as I shall be but as a Pedlar; Howbeit, it is better to have some Dealings than none at all, and I will rather Trade with Toyes, than Starve for want of a Living, and in order to make my self Capable, I have bound my self Prentice to my Lord, and am willing to Serve out my Time, but my Lord is so Generous, as to give me my Freedom, and I must also desire you to give me at present so much Freedom, as to Subscribe my self,

Madam,

Your very faithful Friend and Servant.

* * *

Letter CCVI, in CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, 437–442.

Madam Eleonora Duarti,

The last time I was to Visit you, we fell into a Discourse of the Elixir, and the Philosophers Stone, you being of the Opinion that Gold might be made by the Art of Chymistry, I of the Opinion, it could not be made any other wayes than by the Natural way, as in the Earth. But it may be questionable, whether Gold is made by an Increasable way, or whether it was made all at first, and that there is no more than what was made when the World was made, for I cannot find a Reason against it, but that Gold may be as the Sun, which is Undecayable, and not Increasable, for it is to be Observed, that what is not Decayable, is not Increasable, otherwise it would be Infinite in this World, or Universe, which World, or Universe, hath no Room, or Place for Infinite, and the Sun which is Undecayable, Produces no other Suns, neither doth it Multiply it self, nor Alter from it self; the like of Gold, we cannot make Gold to be no Gold, for Pure Gold cannot be turned into Dross, or into other Dust, whereas all other Creatures, as Minerals, and so Vegetables, and Animals, may, and do Transmigrate, except the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and I do

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2 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, “Letter CCVI,” CCXI Sociable Letters Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, Early English Books Online, accessed online: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53064.0001.001/1:8.206?rgn=div2;view=fulltext
verily believe, it is as Impossible to Fix the Elixar, as to Fix the Sun. But the Difference betwixt the Sun and Gold, for the matter of Outward Form, as well as Several Effects, is, that the Sun is one Entire Body, which is Spherical, and Gold is in many several Parts, which lies in many several Places in the Earth; but Stars which are of the like Undecayable Nature as the Sun, are also in Several Bodies, and at Several Distances, and yet they are Stars nevertheless, and all seem to be as of one Kind or Sort, only some are Fix’d, and others Moveable; so Gold is Gold though in Several Parts, and Several Distances, only I think none is Fix’d, but what cannot be found, for though Gold is not Moveable in it self, yet it is subject to be Moved, and so may the Fix’d Stars, for any Reason to the contrary that ever I heard; And as for Effects and Influences, as the Sun and Stars have several Effects and Influences upon other Creatures, yet we cannot perceive that other Creatures have Effects or Influences upon the Stars or Sun; so Gold hath an Influence, and Works several Effects upon other Creatures, but none upon Gold, I mean in Altring or Changing its Nature, so that Gold seems to me to be the Sun, or Stars of the Earth, which Men in these Ages Adore, as the Heathen did the Sun, and by their Practice one may believe men Commit Idolatry to it; and in comparison to Gold, all other Metals are like Meteors, which do Shine like Stars, but their Light goes oftentimes out, leaving a Jelly, or Slime, as Dross. So other Metals may be Changed from what they were, as from one Metal into another, or from being Metal, but Gold cannot, at least could not as yet, be Altred by the Art of Man, so as it seems that Gold is of as Durable a Nature as the Sun or Stars; neither can I readily believe Gold can Increase, or Multiply it self, no more than the Sun or Stars, for any thing we can perceive; neither can I readily believe, that Gold can be Increased by the Art of Man, as by Chimistry, by reason Artificial Limbicks are not like the Natural Limbick of the Earth, nor the Fire that Chymists use is not like the Fire of the Sun, or the Constant Fire in the Centre of the Earth; wherefore it is not Probable, that Art should Increase Gold by a Small Artificial Limbick, and a Wasting, Uncertain Fire, which must be alwayes Renewed, and Blown, and if it be Improbable that Art can Increase, or Multiply Gold, it is less Probable that Art can Create Gold or any other Creature, though Chymists Pretend they can, they may Imitate Nature by Art, but not Create as Nature doth; as for Natural Poets, who are far beyond Artificial Chymists, their Creation of Fancies is by a Natural way, not an Artificial, and if Gold could be Created as Fancies, Chymists would be Rich, and not so Poor as Poets are, but surely it is impossible for Art to do as Nature doth, for Art neither Knows, nor can Comprehend, at least not put in Practice, the Subtil, and Intricate Motions, Divers Temperaments and Substances put together; neither doth Art know the Timing of Motions and Mixtures, to Create so as Nature doth, for some Creatures in Nature require more Curiosity than others, and some more Several, and Subtil Mixtures than others, and some require Longer Time and Pains than others, so as Man may as well believe he can Create a World, as Create Gold, or any other Creature, as Animals and Vegetables, as Chymists believe they can do by their Art; Men like Painters, may Draw to the Life the Figures of Creatures, but not Create Living Figures, or Real Creatures; ‘tis true, Art may Hinder, or Oppose, or Hasten Nature's Works, to a more Sudden Maturity, but not in an Unnatural way; and as for Opposing, or Hindring Nature, Man may Set a Slip, or Kernel, or Seed, and when it is Fix’d, or hath taken Root, Man can Pull it up, and Dissolve it, so as not to be capable to Grow and Increase, nay, man can Dissolve it from its Nature, and Turn it into some other Nature, yet it is Natural for such Dissolvable Creatures to be Transformed into other things, so as it is but a Natural way; but Man cannot Create by Art, for that were an Unnatural way, Man may Increase and Multiply, not only his own Kind, but all Increasable things, but they must be done after their Natural way, or else Man cannot Increase and Multiply. Some, as Chymists, Conceive, or Imagine (for it is but
Imaginable) that there are Seeds, or Slips, or Branches of Gold, which may be Producible as Plants are, but I know not where they should find them, nor do I believe if they should Search for them, they would find them, first, as not knowing where they lie, for what Man can Search all the Earth, or Fathom the Earth, or Dig to the Centre of the Earth? next, they do not Know those Branches, Slips, or Seeds to be such; thirdly, if they did Know them, and Had them, yet they Know not how, or when, or where to Set, or Ingraft those Slips or Branches, or to Sow those Seeds, or to Order them in their Limbicks; but I perceive they would make their Limbicks their Increasable Grounds, and every Limbick should be as an Acre of Ground, or a Field, indeed every Still would be worth a Lordship, nay, a Kingdom; fourthly, Man knows not the Time those Slips, Branches, or Seeds, require to be brought to Maturity, for all Creatures are not brought to Maturity in the same distance of Time; as for Example, Animal Creatures, some are Produced in a Month, some in no less time than a Year; so for Plants, some are at Maturity in a Few Hours, at least Dayes, and others not under an Hundred Years, as Oaks; so for any thing we know, Gold could not be brought to Maturity under an Hundred Years, nay a Thousand, Hasten Nature what they can, and nothing can be Hastened in an Unnatural way; nay, in some Creatures Art cannot Hasten Nature, as Animals cannot be Hastened to Perfection sooner than their Natural Time, Art may cause Abortion, as to make the Womb cast forth the Burden before the Natural Time of Birth, but not to bring it to Perfection, and if Man, which is Decayable and Increasable, yet is Ten Months, or say Seven, e’re he comes to Maturity, well may Gold, which seems of an Unalterable, or Undecayable Nature, be Seven Ages; and though the Elements seem to be both Decayable and Increasable as Mankind is, yet not the Fix’d, or Celestial Elements, for though Fire Begets Fire, when Fuel is put to it, and goes out for want of Fuel, or may be Quenched out, (for if it did Increase and not Decrease, it would Burn all the World) and though Water be Increasable (although not so Increasing as Fire) as also Decayable, as to Evaporate from its Nature, for else it would Drown the World, yet I do not perceive the Sun or the Earth to be Increasable or Decayable, for if the Sea and Earth did Multiply, the Terrestrial Globe would grow so Big, as the Sun could not Compass it in a Year, and it might grow so Big as not to be Compassed in Many Years; but we observe by the Motion of the Sun, that it is neither Decayable nor Increasable, for if it were Decayable, the Compass of the Sun would be in a Less Circle, as to Compass the Terrestrial Globe in Less than a Year, but whatsoever is not Decayable, is not Increasable, and whatsoever is Increasable is Decayable; and since we find by Experience that Gold is not Decayable, as not to be Changed from its Principal Nature, viz. from being Gold, it may be faithfully believed it is not Increasable, otherwise there would be a Word, nay Worlds of Gold. Thus, Madam Eleonora, I cannot perceive in my Reason, that Gold can be either Created, or Multiplied by Art, wherefore in my Opinion, Chymists may Break their Limbicks, and Quench out their Fire, and Endeavour to get Natural Gold a Provident way, and not to Im[poverish] themselves with Art. But leaving them to their Brittle Limbicks, and Quenchable, or Decayable Fire, their Great Expences, and Lit[tle] Profit, I rest,

Your very Loving Fr. and S.
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