

Private music in public spheres: chamber cantata and song

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The eighteenth-century secular cantata confronts us with a nest of paradoxes. Though conceived at the beginning of the century as a kind of poetry, the cantata had for decades before been Italy's dominant type of vocal chamber music. Though chamber music, the cantata shared with opera its use of alternating recitatives and arias for solo voice with continuo accompaniment. Though from 1700 bound up with particular social practices of the Italian literati, once disseminated abroad after 1700 the cantata merged and competed with indigenous chamber song – in the process becoming an 'umbrella term' for a wide range of musical forms, some of which were extremely popular. Though once so fêted, cantata music is virtually unknown to listeners today. This study will follow the chamber cantata from its birthplace in Italy through its absorption in France, England and Germany, tracking its metamorphoses as determined by local conditions of production and pre-existing traditions of song- and identifying the contributions of the genre's chief exponents.

The legacy of the *Accademia degli Arcadi*

From around 1630, the secular cantata superseded chamber song and the madrigal in Italy.¹ Although the form of the cantata changed around 1700, patterns in patronage and production followed those of the previous century. Cantatas were composed for an *accademia* or other privileged social forum, whose invited members shared views on philosophy, aesthetics and artistic trends. The term 'accademia' could carry four separate meanings: a fellowship under one patron or more; a gathering of fee-paying (traditionally male) members promoting current ideas;² a meeting featuring musical performances

¹ Gloria Rose, 'The Italian Cantata of the Baroque Period', in Wulf Arlt *et al.* (eds), *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen. Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade* (Bern and Munich, 1973), pp. 655–77.

² Women are absent from the 'Indice degli Arcadi', in Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *Le vite degli Arcadi illustri* (Rome, 1708–14), 3 vols. Describing the *Accademia degli Arcadi*, he refers to female participants generically ('Ninfe'), rather than by name.

and discussion; and the building where such meetings might take place.³ Cantatas were used to expound on a proposed topic – usually love – set to music by house or hired musicians, though academy members might also participate. To celebrate current events, such as birthdays and marriages, patrons also sponsored occasional cantatas or ‘serenatas’ (discussed in chapter 17 of this volume). Similarly, the allegorical moral cantata, such as Handel’s *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*, formed an independent genre related to the sacred cantata.⁴

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni’s circle in Rome was an important locus for the development of the secular chamber cantata from 1700. Ottoboni was a Venetian *arriviste* who, with the aid of his great-uncle Pope Alexander VIII, sought to replace the recently deceased Princess Christina of Sweden as Rome’s leading patron of the arts. Appointed cardinal and vice-chancellor of the church in 1689, he resided in the Cancelleria, where he held court and housed a prestigious art collection (inherited from his great-uncle) and library (taken over from Princess Christina). Ottoboni drew into his entourage celebrated musicians whom the Princess had supported, such as Arcangelo Corelli, Bernardo Pasquini, Alessandro Scarlatti, Filippo Amadei and the castrato and maestro di cappella of the Sistine Chapel (1710–14) Andrea Adami da Bolsena, who became Ottoboni’s personal friend. Adami da Bolsena helped organize musical performances for the Cardinal and his circle.⁵

Ottoboni also followed the Princess in co-founding an academy. Created in 1690, the Accademia degli Arcadi was a literary society that aimed to cultivate simplicity and naturalness in the Italian language. Its rejection of *seicentismo* – extravagance and superfluity in expression – in favour of a *buon gusto* in argument and practice was most influential in the poetry that it spawned.⁶ Other literary academies quickly re-styled themselves as ‘Arcadians’, while ‘colonies’ – academies declaring allegiance to the Accademia degli Arcadi – proliferated. Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, one of Italy’s first literary historians, reported that in twenty years membership had grown to 1,300, and that 114 associated academies existed outside Rome.⁷

The cantata proved a pliant means for animating poetry created for and by academies and patrons. Cognoscenti demanded both music in which to clothe

3 Michael Talbot, ‘Musical Academies in Eighteenth-Century Venice’, in *Venetian Music in the Age of Vivaldi* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 21–66.

4 Carolyn M. Gianturco, ‘*Il trionfo del tempo e del disinganno*: Four Case-Studies in Determining Italian Poetic–Musical Genres’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 119 (1994), pp. 43–59.

5 Hans Joachim Marx, ‘Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli’, *Analecta musicologica*, 5 (1968), pp. 104–77.

6 This taste was visible in Ottoboni’s art projects inside and outside his home. Edward J. Olszewski, ‘The Enlightened Patronage of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740)’, *Artibus et Historiae*, 23/45 (2002), pp. 139–65.

7 George E. Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London 1715–1744* (The Hague and Paris, 1967), p. 30.

and dramatize highly prized poetry, and demonstrations of the poetry's power to move listeners in performance. More discourse than genre, the poetry and music of the Accademia degli Arcadi – created sometimes in extempore – constructed an idealized realm in which participants could enact 'Olympic games', supported by music.⁸ Such 'games' included competitions between authors; in one, 'Tirsi' (the lawyer Giambattista Felice Zappi) and 'Terpandro' (Alessandro Scarlatti) attempted to outbid each other in a contest between poetic and musical invention:

No sooner had Tirsi finished his recital [of poetry] than Terpandro ... began to transcribe the verses recited, with the music thereto ... the souls of those present received of them so great delight that they not only obliged the singer to repeat the song again and again but also urged both poet and musician to display their skill afresh ... their contention was so close that scarce had the one finished repeating the last line of the new air than the other ended the last stave of his music.⁹

Although opera provided space for a similar dynamic, the chamber cantata differed from opera by ruminating about private passion – love. Typically the solo singer would occupy the perspective either of the third-person narrator or of the lovelorn first-person protagonist, both of whose affective expression was mediated and constrained by accepted practices in decorum, literature and music. An obsessive revisiting of the tropes of Arcadian love – the amorous longings of shepherds, shepherdesses, or mythological figures – fed seemingly on a tension between the desire to explore love outside social imperatives and the social imperative of honouring or revitalizing convention. This tension was reflected in the cantata's twinned viewpoints, shifting between the socially responsible narrator–poet and the socially innocent shepherd.

The Academy enhanced the excitement of pitting passion against restraint by merging the member–poet's identity with that of an Arcadian figure, ruling that every member adopt a pastoral name to be used at meetings. This made it possible for imaginative play to subvert social responsibility, as for instance in George Frideric Handel's cantatas, where homoerotic fantasy found licensed expression.¹⁰ The literary gentleman Giuseppe Baretti observed:

It is impossible to conceive the eagerness with which this whimsical scheme of turning all sorts of men into imaginary shepherds was adopted both in Rome

8 'Olinto [Francesco Maria Ruspoli] spoke thus to the nymphs ... you will see thus today renewed the true Olympic games ... from three sides the sweetest melody resounded on rustic instruments, over one of which Protico [Bernardo Pasquino] presided, over another Terpanthro [Alessandro Scarlatti] and over the third the admirable Arcomelo [Arcangelo Corelli] famous *maestros* in the art of playing and of music. Meanwhile the contestants were admitted, stimulated more by the glory than the subtlety of the playing.' Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *L'Arcadia* (Rome, 1708), pp. 267–8. (My translation.)

9 Crescimbeni, *L'Arcadia*, p. 289. Cited in Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works*, rev. edn. with preface and additional notes by Frank Walker (London, 1960), p. 90.

10 Ellen T. Harris, *Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantatas* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).



Illustration 18.1. Pier Leone Ghezzi, Misc. MS. 166, folio 49r; Alessandro Scarlatti, *Cantate*, Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

and out of Rome: and how the inflammable imaginations of my countrymen were fired by it! ... Every body who had the least knack for poetry was metamorphosed into a shepherd.¹¹

By indulging passions through an Arcadian persona while containing them through the sophistication of their expression, cantatas offered endless scope for re-inventing personae, an act commemorated in cantata manuscripts illuminated by Pier Leone Ghezzi who depicted Roman nobility as pastoral figures (see ills. 18.1, 18.2, 18.3).

Poetry dictated the cantata's musical form. Cantata poets developed what would become conventions of *dramma per musica* librettos: unrhymed mixed

¹¹ Giuseppe Marc'Antonio Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* (London, 1768), 2 vols., vol. 1, pp. 255–7. Cited in Michael Talbot, *The Chamber Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi* (Woodbridge, and Rochester, NY, 2006), p. 40.



Illustration 18.2. Pier Leone Ghezzi, Misc. MS. 166, folio 53r; Alessandro Scarlatti, *Cantate*, Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

verses of seven- or eleven-syllable lines (*versi sciolti*) and arias divided into two semistrophes of even-number syllables, varied endings and regular rhyme schemes.¹² Musical components came also to be shared with opera. Most importantly, the ostinato bass and strophic repetition that had characterized seventeenth-century cantatas receded. Basso ostinato yielded to basso continuo that not only progressed harmonically but could also share motivic material with the vocal line or, if the cantata was *con strumenti*, with accompanying instruments, including the newly popular obbligato line. The recitative became sharply differentiated from the aria sections to create separate movements. Alternating recitative/aria sections grew in length and diminished in number, with R-A-R-A or A-R-A structures becoming common, although this varied considerably depending on poet, composer and the chosen theme.

¹² The last syllable of the verse's line could be unstressed ('plain'), unstressed ('truncated'), or of two unstressed syllables ('sliding' or *sdruciolato*). Talbot, *The Chamber Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi*, pp. 33-7.



Illustration 18.3. Pier Leone Ghezzi, Misc. MS. 166, folio 77r; Alessandro Scarlatti, *Cantate*, Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.

Those cantatas that eschewed Arcadian themes to take up stories from classical mythology or history (so-called ‘subject cantatas’) were much longer and fewer. The cantata was usually anchored in a home key that opened and closed the work, although exceptions to this – most notably by Alessandro Scarlatti, Handel and Giovanni Bononcini – are legion. Minimum instrumental forces were typically violin (*colle parte* if without an independent part), harpsichord and cello.

As in opera, the soprano voice (castrati or female) dominated; alto and bass voices occupied composers less and the tenor voice almost never. The ternary da capo aria (ABA), although also a component of earlier cantatas, came to dominate aria writing; A and B sections lengthened, grew in contrast, and the A section became the focal point of writing through text repetition. The seventeenth-century cavata – an arioso passage in the recitative elaborated through fughetta writing – gradually disappeared.¹³ Melismatic, bravura

¹³ Colin Timms, ‘The Cavata at the Time of Vivaldi’, in Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (eds.), *Nuovi studi vivaldiani: edizione e cronologia critica delle opere* (Florence, 1989), pp. 451–78.

writing prevailed, as did sequential repetition; the bass line differentiated itself from the melodic line through its angularity, more rapid motion, and probably its texture, although instrumentation was usually unspecified. Composers adopted *secco recitative* and the delayed instrumental cadence in which the voice resolves prior to the bass.

Cantata composers modulated boldly in recitative or arioso sections, because in the 'judgement of connoisseurs' the cantata's recitative should 'touch the heart' more than the recitative of other genres.¹⁴ Following a recitative, harmonic rhythm slowed in the cantata aria and progressions related to the aria's home key. After c. 1710 the ritornello regularly functioned as in opera: it framed the aria's three sections, exposed thematic material, established tonal areas and introduced or concluded with the melody's material. Cantata arias, more frequently than those in opera, tended to open with a *devisé*, a term coined by the nineteenth-century musicologist Hugo Riemann. There were two types of *devisé*: the 'false start', in which the voice interrupts and repeats the opening instrumental ritornello, and the 'contrasting start', in which the interrupting vocal phrase differs from the opening ritornello.¹⁵ An aria by Bononcini from his *Cantata e Duetti* (1721) shows the first type of *devisé* opening (example 18.1).

The Accademia degli Arcadi not only helped to establish poetic models but also nurtured the genre's most prolific composer, Alessandro Scarlatti, who wrote most of his roughly 800 cantatas for this circle. Scarlatti was prized for the complexity of his counterpoint, the daring of his harmonies, the sophistication with which he reflected words in music and the beauty of his melodies. Other composers, while less prolific, contributed uniquely to the genre: Benedetto Giacomo Marcello, a nobleman whose complex 'subject cantatas' were admired into the following century,¹⁶ Antonio Caldara, who cultivated cantatas for the bass as well the soprano voice,¹⁷ Francesco Gasparini, whose writing for concertized instruments contradicted the *con strumenti* practices of Ottoboni's court,¹⁸ Agostino Steffani, who focused on duet rather than solo cantatas,¹⁹ Tomaso Albinoni, who fused pre- with post-1700 cantata

14 Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song* (1702), trans. John E. Galliard (London, 1742), p. 67. Cited in Edwin Hanley, 'Alessandro Scarlatti's *cantate da camera*: A Bibliographical Study', PhD thesis (Yale University, 1963), p. 2.

15 For detailed analysis of the cantata's stylistic features, see Talbot, *The Chamber Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi*, pp. 44–60.

16 Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Marcello's Music: Repertory vs. Reputation', in Claudio Madricardo and Franco Rossi (eds.), *Benedetto Marcello: la sua opera e il suo tempo* (Florence, 1988), pp. 205–22.

17 Monica Centanni, "'Delirante, disprezzato, deluso, accesso amante": variazioni su temi classici in alcune cantate inedite di Antonio Caldara', *Musica e storia*, 7/2 (1999), pp. 403–45.

18 Alberto Cavalli, 'Le cantate opera prima di Francesco Gasparini', *Chigiana*, 25/5 (1968), pp. 200–1.

19 Colin Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque: Agostino Steffani and His Music* (New York, 2003), pp. 264–305, 334–40.

Ex. 18.1. Giovanni Battista Bononcini, 'Misero Pastorello', opening of first aria, in Bononcini, *Cantate e Duetti* (London, 1721), pp. 83–4.

Lento

4 2 6 6 5 4 3 9 8 6 # 4#3

5

Se tar-da l'au-ro-ra a dar mi con for-to qui te-mo che mor-to tro-var mi dou[ra]

6 5 4 2

writing,²⁰ Tomaso Antonio Vivaldi, whose pregnant themes and active bass lines contrasted with cantata writing elsewhere²¹ and, most famously, Handel, who produced a wealth of Italian cantatas that he mined throughout his later career.²² So vast and varied is the Italian cantata repertory that modern scholars have declared it impossible to present a synoptic view of this music.²³

Cantatas circulated largely in manuscripts produced quickly, and in staggering numbers, by scribes. 'Collections' consisted of single manuscripts sewn together and seem to have aimed to preserve a composer's output, a singer's repertory or selected performances.²⁴ Judging by the contents of this material

20 Michael Talbot, 'Albinoni's Solo Cantatas', *Soundings*, 5 (1975), pp. 9–28.

21 Talbot, 'Albinoni's Solo Cantatas', pp. 18–19.

22 Ellen T. Harris, "'Cantate, que me veux-tu?' or: Do Handel's Cantatas Matter?", in Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus (eds.), *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2007), pp. 159–84.

23 Colin Timms, 'The Italian Cantata since 1945: Progress and Prospects', in Francesco Fanna and Michael Talbot (eds.), *Cinquante anni di produzioni e consumi della musica dell'eta di Vivaldi: 1947–1997* (Florence, 1998), p. 75 and Teresa M. Gialdroni, 'Bibliografia della cantata da camera italiana (1620–1740 ca.)', *Le fonti musicali in Italia*, 4 (1990), pp. 31–131.

24 Michael Talbot, *Benedetto Vinaccesi: A Musician in Brescia and Venice in the Age of Corelli* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 156–60.

and related manuscripts, after 1735 opera arias or excerpts began to replace cantatas in chamber vocal performances, with 'song collections' typically combining cantatas and arias.²⁵ By 1760 the nature of *accademia* sociability and music-making had changed. Theorist Giorgio Antoniotto reported that cantatas were 'performed only by ladies of quality, and sometimes by young lords, in which assembly are not admitted the professors of music'. Among these ladies were 'not only many excellent singers but also composers'.²⁶ Writing in the early nineteenth century, the nobleman Giovanni Rossi divided Venetian academies into those of select and open membership, explaining that the latter permitted nobles, priests and ordinary people to co-mingle.²⁷ The music of these forums has yet to be studied.

Harmonizing taste: the cantata and song of France

In France, the eighteenth-century cantata was characterized by self-consciousness, rather than the idealized desire of its Italian model. Initially, to import the cantata was to stake out a territory removed from court-endorsed musical styles; later, the genre's French composers claimed to unify French and Italian taste. The cantata was also charged with an aim traditionally linked to the salon: the cultivation of politeness. Through domestic music-making, the cantata became gradually intertwined with a concurrent flourishing of French song. Print circulation worked together with public concerts to transform the cantata from a sophisticated hybrid into a popular kind of music that after 1760 devolved into the truncated form of the *cantatille*.

As the power of Louis XIV waned during the late seventeenth century, taste for Italian music among the nobility flourished in implied opposition to the King's bias towards 'native' styles of composition.²⁸ The most important early patron of the cantata in France was the King's nephew Philippe, Duc d'Orléans (later Prince Regent), whose real and alleged libertinism stood in stark relief to the piety of the aging King. Philippe cultivated Italian music by hiring Italian and Italian-trained musicians, commissioning Italianate works, collecting Italian music- and composing after the Italian manner.²⁹ He played harpsichord, flute

25 Reinhard Strohm, 'Hasse, Scarlatti, Rolli', *Analecta musicologica*, 15 (1975), pp. 220-57.

26 Giorgio Antoniotto, *L'arte armonico* (London, 1760), 2 vols. Cited in Talbot, *The Chamber Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi*, p. 38.

27 '... dove e nobili e preti mescevasi coi diversi ordini delle persone ...'. Giovanni Rossi, 'Storia de' costumi e delle leggi de' Veneziani' (MS, n.d.). Cited in Talbot, 'Musical Academies in Eighteenth-Century Venice', p. 29.

28 Donald James Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin", Campra and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Musical Patronage around 1700', *Music & Letters*, 86 (2005), pp. 380-413.

29 Donald James Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style at the Court of Philippe II, Duc d'Orléans (1674-1723)', PhD thesis (Stanford University, 2000).

and viol, studied engraving and spoke several languages. During his military campaign in Italy 1706–7, Philippe may have commissioned the first cantatas in French by composers of Italian cantatas, including Handel.³⁰ The concentration in his retinue of France's earliest and most important cantata composers – Jean-Baptiste Morin, Nicolas Bernier, Jean-Baptiste Stuck (known as 'Batistin') – attest to his seminal role in cultivating a native version of this imported genre. Lower down the social scale, the domestic music-making of the Parisian parliamentarian Hilaire Rouillé du Coudray independently brought the cantata to France at around the same time. In a report attributed to Voltaire, du Coudray's mistress Marie de Louvencourt possessed a beautiful voice for which Nicolas Bernier wrote 'the first' French cantatas – Bernier's works carried no date – to words by her friend, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau.³¹

As in Italy, poetic rather than musical innovations stimulated cantata composition, but in France the poetry aimed to educate rather than entrance. Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, whose cantata *livrets* pre-dated the compositions for the Duc d'Orléans, articulated this goal. Basing his cantatas on allegorical myths, Rousseau claimed to have 'gained' what Italian cantatas had 'lost': 'the soul or moral' of the airs.³² Sébastien de Brossard emphasized that 'in choosing subjects ... nothing [should] be against good morals. One may well join agreeableness with utility ... they [cantatas] are not less instructive than diverting.'³³

As he himself pointed out, Rousseau created the model for later cantatas: a survey of cantatas published from 1706 to 1740 shows remarkable continuity in their subjects – Orpheus, Medea, Circe, Pirus and Thisbe, among others – and in their writing conventions.³⁴ Tales were mythological and typically narrated in the past tense, concluding with a lesson about love. Myths sat alongside other types of poetry – anacreontic, pastoral, or occasional – but whatever the subject, the French cantata *livret* diverged sharply from its Italian

30 Along with Handel, Francesco Mancini and Pietro Antonio Ficcò composed cantatas to French texts before 1710. Jerome Dorival, 'André Campra et la cantate française', in Jean Lionnet (ed.), *Le Concert des Muses: Promenade musicale dans le baroque française* (Paris, 1997), pp. 322–3.

31 This report appeared in 'Vie de M. J.-B. Rousseau (1738)', and was published in the twenty-second volume of Voltaire's complete works (1869). Cited in Manuel Couvreur, 'Marie de Louvencourt, librettiste des cantates française de Bourgeois et de Clérambault', *Revue belge de musicologie/Belgisch tijdschrift voor muziekwetenschap*, 44 (1990), pp. 28–9.

32 'I realized after having written some [Italian-style cantatas] that the poetry had lost what the music had gained.' Preface to Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, *Œuvres diverses du Sieur R.*** (Paris, 1712), pp. xxiii–xxiv. This passage, taken from a 1743 edition of Rousseau's works, is translated in David Tunley, *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1997), p. 18.

33 'En choisissant des sujets ... du moins qui n'ayent rien de contraire aux bonnes moeurs ... qu'elles ne sont moins Instructives que divertissantes.' Sébastien de Brossard, 'Dissertation sur cette espece [*sic*] de concert qu'on nomme Cantate', 'Meslanges et extraits relatifs à l'histoire de la musique', *Fr-Ph* N.a. 5269, f. 75 v.

34 This assessment is based on a survey of editions in the seventeen-volume facsimile reprint series, *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, ed. with commentary by David Tunley (New York and London, 1990–1).

counterpart by representing experience and mediating its meaning, rather than inhabiting an Arcadian persona. A closer parallel to the Italian cantata could be found in French poetic structures: free metric and rhyming schemes were used in recitative sections, while the A and B sections of the air consisted of two *quatrain*s that formed one strophe of *huitain* verse.³⁵

Early French cantata composers commented on how they adapted Italian taste. In his preface to perhaps the earliest French cantata (1706), Morin explained that he strove 'to retain the sweetness of our French style of melody, but with greater variety in the accompaniments and employing those tempos and modulations characteristic of the Italian cantata'.³⁶ For his part, Batistin claimed to have safeguarded 'the genius of each language' in 'joining the style of Italian music to French words'.³⁷ André Campra explained his method of cantata writing as one that perpetuated French operatic recitative – which he considered optimal – while exploring the new fashion for the cantata.³⁸

Until mid-century, certain Italian forms persisted: the alternating recitative and da capo aria movements, usually in six parts, the *devisé* opening, the ritornello principal, the anticipation of melody by the continuo, the aria's steady harmonic rhythm, the harmonic patterns that determined a vocal line, the obbligato writing (primarily for violin or flute) and the bravura display. As in Italy the majority of compositions were for solo soprano, with some duos and trios; unlike in Italy, however, composers intended that tenors should also perform these works.³⁹

Yet these cantatas sound unmistakably French, because the melodic writing remained steeped in French tradition. Leaps, step-wise motion, lack of motives and an avoidance of text repetition perpetuated the aesthetic of *douceur*. In airs, melodic fragments articulated prosody instead of structuring musical statements through sequential treatment, as in Italian arias. In recitative, composers adapted Italian methods to accommodate the traditional drive to reflect scansion: the ever-shifting time signatures of Lully became a bass line of chords which, although held, moved more rapidly than in Italian music to highlight differences in syllables (short, medium, long). Like Campra, other

35 Greer Garden, 'Poetic Design and Musical Structure in Campra's Cantata Airs', *Music & Letters*, 78 (1997), pp. 26–8. Garden surveys the cantatas of Morin, Bernier, Batistin and André Campra.

36 Preface to Jean-Baptiste Morin, *Cantates françaises à une et deux voix* (1706); cited in Tunley, *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, p. 47.

37 Preface to *Cantatas of Jean-Baptiste Stuck (Batistin) (1680–1755): Cantates françaises à voix seule, book 1 (1706)*, in Tunley (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata* (New York and London, 1990), vol. 4.

38 'Cantatas having become fashionable, I have consented ... to let the public have some of my own ... Above all, I have striven to retain the beauty of our melody, of our expression, and of our kind of recitative, which according to my opinion is the best.' Preface to *Cantatas of André Campra (1660–1744): Cantates françaises, book 1 (1708)*, in Tunley (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, vol. 2.

39 David Tunley, 'The French Cantata in Performance', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 8 (1974), pp. 47–55.

composers – notably Jean-Philippe Rameau, Louis-Nicolas Clérambault and André Cardinal Destouches – carefully safeguarded Lullian tenets of recitative composition. Music generally reflected, rather than obscured, the caesuras and conclusions of verse lines. *Devisé* openings, instead of being fragments, were often self-contained statements. Extremes of tempo were avoided, *notes inégales* appeared in middle or slow tempos, and *agréments* (embellishments) and cadential gestures, particularly the *cadence fermée* – an extended appoggiatura on the penultimate tone, a trill and an anticipation of the final tone – remained *de rigueur*.

Critical commentary identified Bernier, Batistin, Campra, Thomas-Louis Bourgeois, Élisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre, Jean-Baptiste de Bousset and Clérambault as the foremost innovators of the genre. In the first ‘history’ of the cantata, J. Bachelier judged Clérambault’s works unmatched for their ‘grace of melody, force of accompaniment, and difficulty of execution’. His musical depictions of Medea, Pigmalion, Leander and Hero were ‘admired by all Paris’, due probably to Clérambault’s unique gift for animating dramatic climaxes through dissonance and surprising progressions.⁴⁰

After a 1713 ruling made it possible for French entrepreneurs to secure a royal *privilege* to publish music – this having been until then a monopoly of the Ballard family – music was sold by engravers and other vendors.⁴¹ Catalogues (1738–67) of the four leading Parisian music shops attest to how popular the cantata became as the century wore on.⁴² Cantata poetry circulated freely, with 167 texts appearing between 1711 and 1771 in the monthly *Mercure de France*, where poets invited musical settings.⁴³

Women played an important part in popularizing the cantata in France. The legendary soprano Catherine-Nicole Le Maure dominated the *Concerts François* that were a central venue for cantata performance from 1727 to 1732.⁴⁴ Besides inspiring the ‘first’ French cantata, Marie de Louvencourt produced cantata *livrets* that two leading composers took up, and her works earned her a place in Evrard Titon du Tillet’s *Le parnasse françois* (1732).⁴⁵ The Parisian salon, traditionally a sphere over which women presided, promoted cantatas and

40 Preface to J. Bachelier, *Recueil des Cantates ... pour l'usage des Amateurs de la Musique & de la Poesie* (The Hague, 1728).

41 Ballard’s rights covered music printed from type; the court ruled in 1713 that others could obtain the *privilege* to print music from engraved plates.

42 Anik Devriès, *Édition et commerce de la musique gravée à Paris dans la première moitié de XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1976), pp. 13–43, 74–7.

43 David Tunley, ‘An Embarkment for Cythera: Literary and Social Aspects of the French Cantata’, *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 7 (1967), pp. 110–11.

44 Le Maure performed more than fifty times; her rival, Marie Antier appeared eighteen times. See David Tunley, ‘Philidor’s “Concerts français”’, *Music & Letters*, 47 (1966), p. 132.

45 Evrard Titon du Tillet, *Le parnasse françois* (Paris, 1732), p. 550.

also allowed growing numbers of amateurs *musiciennes* to perform chamber music.⁴⁶ Politically powerful women such as the Duchesse du Maine and Maria Leszcinska, wife of Louis XV, commissioned or requested cantatas for private concerts.⁴⁷ One of the most innovative composers of the period was Jacquet de La Guerre, whose 'fertility of genius' peaked in her cantatas.⁴⁸

Secular song in France drew from similar musical sources, addressed similar topics and enjoyed a similar dissemination to that of the cantata. The output of song during the century was staggering: in Paris alone over 10,000 song collections appeared before 1750.⁴⁹ Here, the Ballard family was able to retain its earlier dominance in publishing, though composers such as de Bousset, Louis Lemaire and Philippe Courbois did hire engravers to issue their collections independently. De Bousset, the era's best-known composer of song, reused forms developed in this genre when composing cantatas, which may be true of others who contributed to both genres.⁵⁰

Ballard's collections both circulated the new sounds of Italian arias and perpetuated seventeenth-century French song types. Airs could be packaged as collections by single composers or as excerpts from stage productions, but it was miscellanies ('recueils') that were by far the most popular, particularly the monthly series of *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* (1694–1724).⁵¹ In each volume Ballard divided the music into *airs sérieux* (songs about love), *airs à boire* (drinking songs commenting on love, after seventeenth-century *baccanales*) and *airs italiens* (Italian arias). *Airs sérieux* and *à boire* often modelled themselves on earlier song forms such as the *ronde de table*, the *vaudeville* – which flourished independently – and the *brunette*, collections of which also appeared.⁵² Airs were typically set as continuo songs, vocal duos without accompaniment, or on one stave. The heterodox nature of these collections is striking: virtuosic rondos, canons and fashionable arias appeared alongside street ballads and

46 Julie Anne Sadie, 'Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime', in Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (eds.), *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* (Urbana, IL, 1986), pp. 191–223.

47 Records of cantata performances at court and at the nocturnal festivals ('Les grandes nuits de Sceaux') for the Duchess are summarized in Gene Vollen, *The French Cantata: A Survey and Thematic Catalogue* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1982), pp. 23–8.

48 Titon du Tillet, *Le parnasse françois*, pp. 635–6, plate XI (medallion portrait). Her cantatas are unrivalled in their sophistication of text-setting and thematic development, and she was virtually the only French composer to cultivate sacred cantatas. Adrian Rose, 'Elizabeth Claude Jacquet de La Guerre and the Secular cantate française', *Early Music*, 13 (1985), pp. 529–41.

49 This repertory remains largely unexplored. See Tony Eastwood, 'The French Air in the Eighteenth Century: A Neglected Area', *Studies in Music* (Australia), 18 (1984), pp. 84–107.

50 Greer Garden, 'A Little-Known Contributor to the Early French Cantata: Jean-Baptiste de Bousset (1662–1725)', in Warren Drake (ed.), *Liber amicorum John Steele: A Musicological Tribute* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1997), pp. 357–77.

51 The 1750 inventory of Ballard lists 104 volumes of airs. For the volume titles, see <http://rand.pratt.edu/~giannini/ballardnewhtml.htm>.

52 Jörg Fiedler, 'Brunettes ou petits airs tendres: Unterrichts- und Unterhaltungsmusik des französischen Baroque', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 12 (1988), pp. 65–79.

boisterous drinking songs for bass voice (*récits de bass*). Ballard also made Italian airs publicly accessible for the first time in the *airs sérieux et à boire*, and again in the series *Recueil des meilleurs airs italiens* (1699–1708).⁵³

Over time, the French cantata's Italian origins became greatly attenuated – first by the formal innovations of its earliest practitioners and then by its gradual absorption into a public sphere in which it consorted freely with indigenous musical traditions. Leading patrons such as the Prince de Conti (Louis François I de Bourbon) and Alexandre Le Riche de La Pouplinière held concerts open to audiences,⁵⁴ and the concerts of the Crozat family grew into twice-weekly subscription ‘Concerts Italien’ featuring cantatas.⁵⁵ While they continued, the *Concerts François* founded by Anne Danican Philidor built on the successful sacred music programmes of his *Concerts Spirituels*, though their high ticket prices ensured well-heeled audiences only. More informally, composers such as Clérambault held house concerts and exchanges at cafés.⁵⁶ Salons seemed to foster vocal chamber music generally: in 1763, the Comtesse de Rochefort declared, ‘we no longer talk but only make song’.⁵⁷ In the provinces, cantatas featured in concerts called *académies* in which professionals – the soloists and the director – performed with amateur academy members for paying audiences.⁵⁸

By 1760 the Italian cantata had completed its transformation into the French *cantatille*: a reduced piece of two or three airs joined by recitative. Jean-Jacques Rousseau identified this genre with poetasters and musicians ‘without genius’, content to repeat ‘politeness’.⁵⁹ His disparagement reflected the genre's success: from 1740 to 1760 *cantatilles* flooded the market, becoming the province of dabblers.⁶⁰ Composers of merit passed over the genre and production tailed off in the 1780s.

53 Catherine Massip, ‘Airs français et italiens dans l’édition française (1643–1710)’, *Revue de musicologie*, 77 (1991), p. 179.

54 Types of audiences included invited guests, subscribers and ticket-holders. Michel Brenet, *Les concerts en France sous l’ancien régime* (Paris, 1900), pp. 160–4 and Georges Cucuel, *La Pouplinière et la musique de chambre au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1913), p. xi.

55 Knowledge of the Crozat concert programmes is based on the family's music collection that included nineteen cantata editions. See Rosalie McQuaide, ‘The Crozat Concerts, 1720–1727: A Study of Concert Life in Paris’, PhD thesis (New York University, 1978), p. 184.

56 Brenet, *Les concerts en France sous l’ancien régime*, p. 168 and Dorival, ‘André Campra et la cantate française’, p. 320.

57 ‘Nous ne parlons plus, nous ne faisons que chanter.’ Letter to Mme de Pailly of 19 July 1763. Cited in Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons: sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2005), p. 252.

58 Humphrey Burton, ‘Les Académies de musique en France au XVIIIe siècle’, *Revue de musicologie*, 37 (1955), pp. 122–47.

59 ‘Le genre [cantatille] vaut moins encore que celui de la Cantate ... comme on n’y peut développer ni passions ni tableaux, & qu’elle n’est susceptible que de gentillesse, c’est un ressource pour les petits faiseurs de vers, & pour les Musiciens sans génie.’ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris, 1768), p. 73.

60 Tunley, *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, pp. 168–93.

Commercializing leisure: English cantata and song

In Britain, the chamber cantata and song assumed radically different forms than elsewhere in Europe. The early commercialization of entertainment in Britain replaced private patronage with patterns of consumption horizontally dispersed among those with disposable incomes. Initially the English cantata struggled in this market, superseded in publication by the Italian cantata until it absorbed the mid-century vogue for stage ballads. The ballad-style cantata, initially conceived by Henry Carey, became the musical staple of concerts at London's pleasure gardens, where it enhanced the gardens' appeal to pastoral pleasures.

The English cantata was therefore not so much chamber music as theatre or concert music that became domesticated through publication. Composers also produced songs in the Italian style, but these remained marginal within a robust market for English song nourished by both the theatre and by a range of indigenous forms. From 1750 Italianate writing swung back into fashion, first in song and then in cantatas composed for performance by specific stage players. As editions combined cantatas with songs, generic distinctions blurred, although the popularity of the Italianate cantata outlasted that of Italianate song.

From around 1700, impresarios of theatres and concerts and publishers of editions capitalized on English audiences' willingness to 'follow [Italian] Musick and drop their pence freely'.⁶¹ The bi-partite Restoration theatre air gave way to the Italian-style recitative-air or paired declamatory and lyrical airs.⁶² The earliest English cantata written 'after the Italian Manner' was a stage novelty at Drury Lane on 13 April 1706.⁶³ A separate claim to have fathered the English cantata was made on behalf of John Hughes, whose poetry was said to be 'the first in its kind for Compositions in *English* after the manner of *Italians*'.⁶⁴ Hughes wrote his 'Essay' to emulate Horatian odes.⁶⁵ Like many English men of letters, Hughes believed that the 'End of Vocal Musick' was to

61 Roger North, 'Of Musically Ayre', f. 75; cited in Michael Tilmouth, 'Some Early London Concerts and Music Clubs, 1670-1720', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 84th session (1957), p. 14.

62 Richard J. Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas* (New York, 1979), p. 248. Composers of Italianate song included John Eccles, Daniel Purcell, John Weldon and William Croft.

63 The cantata, performed by Margherita de L'Epine, was probably Daniel Purcell's 'Love, I defy thee'. Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas*, p. 119.

64 'Mr Pepusch having desir'd that some Account shou'd be prefix'd to these Cantata's [*sic*] relating to the Words, it may be proper to acquaint the Publick, that they are the first Essays of this kind, written for the most part several years ago.' John Hughes, 'To the Lovers of Musick', in Johann Christoph Pepusch, *Six English Cantatas humbly inscrib'd to the most noble the Marchioness of Kent* (London, 1710).

65 Quoting Hughes, William Duncombe, who introduced a collection of Hughes' verses that included those for Pepusch, commended his 'Diction, Beauty, Vivacity and Epithets' after Horace. John Hughes, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1735), vol. 1, p. xv.

promote 'Reason', that music required the mediation of native words to achieve this goal, and that Italian cantata verses were 'inferior'.⁶⁶ Ambrose Philips counselled poets that the cantata required 'Regularity' and 'utmost Nicety' rather than 'extraordinary Capacity' – a far cry from the aesthetic concerns of his Italian counterparts.⁶⁷

Johann Christoph Pepusch, resident composer of the Duke of Chandos, set Hughes' verses and those of others. Pepusch wedded standard devices – alternating secco recitative–da capo sections (usually two pairs), motivic development, sequential writing, thematic fragmentation, *devisé* openings, contrapuntal dialogue – to Corelli's instrumental style. The high quality of Pepusch's cantatas paralleled that of Handel's last Italian cantatas, composed for the same patron (1710–20).⁶⁸ But the cantata composers who followed, such as John Ernest Galliard, Daniel Purcell, Nicola Haym and John Eccles, did not work to the same standard.⁶⁹ Most glaringly, the piquante harmonic progressions vital to Italian cantatas were lacking, particularly in recitative, an element of the cantata that critics claimed was inimical to English vocal music.⁷⁰ From 1721 until the mid-1730s, the operatic composers around Paolo Rolli – Bononcini, Attilio Ariosti, Nicola Porpora and others – dominated the form with Italian cantatas written to target London's Italian opera supporters.⁷¹ Italian cantatas by non-Italians such as Maurice Greene, Willem De Fesch and Thomas Roseingrave followed.⁷²

Only Henry Carey composed English cantatas during the 1720s, though in a way that broke sharply with cantata precedent.⁷³ He merged high with low style, he conceived works to showcase his singing pupil, the soprano Kitty

66 'If Reason may be admitted to have any Share in these Entertainments [Italian cantatas], nothing is more necessary than that the Words shou'd be understood, without which the End of *Vocal Musick* is lost ... in the great number of their [i.e. Italian] *Opera's*, *Serenata's*, and *Cantata's* [sic], the Words are often inferior to the Composition'. John Hughes, 'To the Lovers of Musick' (1710).

67 *The Guardian*, 16 (30 March 1713). Cited in Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas*, p. 18.

68 Ellen T. Harris, 'Handel's London Cantatas', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, 1 (1984), pp. 86–102.

69 Comparing Purcell and Galliard to Pepusch, Goodall observes that Purcell lacked Pepusch's 'melodic inspiration, harmonic interest and formal spaciousness' and that Galliard's arias 'suffer from underdeveloped middle sections' and lack of thematic development. Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas*, pp. 149, 153.

70 The attack against English recitative was led by Addison in *The Spectator*, 29 (3 April 1711) and was 'argued for the rest of the century'. See Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn. (London and New York, 1986), p. 32.

71 The subscription list to Bononcini's *Cantate e duetti* (1721) was full of opera patrons loyal to the Duchess of Marlborough, who supported the composer in his rivalry with Handel. See Dorris, *Paolo Rolli*, pp. 79–81. Elsewhere, the royal family figured as dedicatees: Ariosti's cantatas were titled *Alla Maestà di Giorgio Rè della Gran Britagna* (1728) and Porpora's *All' Altezza Reale di Frederico Principe Reale di Vallia* [Prince of Wales] (1735).

72 Maurice Green composed thirteen Italian cantatas and duets in the early 1730s, Willem De Fesch produced two volumes of 'canzonette' (1733–5) and Thomas Roseingrave published six cantatas (1735).

73 No English cantatas were published between 1720 and 1735 except Carey's *Six Cantatas* (1723) and *Cantatas for a Voice* (1724).

Clive, and he sought to revive past native traditions of vocal writing, in particular by championing the ballad. His new direction in cantata writing received impetus from the astonishing success of *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), whose repertory plundered dance music, Handel arias and broadside ballads alike. Along with vocal music, Carey also cultivated the burlesque, as in the cantata 'The Musical Hodge Podge' or the song 'The Ladies' Lamentation for the Loss of Senesino'. In critical commentary as well as music, Carey articulated his 'ballad style': a binary air of an even number of bars (eight, twelve or sixteen) with *galante* dance metres, cadences in the dominant (or relative major or minor), syllabic word-setting, restrained embellishment, triadic melodies, symmetrical phrasing and frequent appoggiaturas on the bar's first beat (usually a 4-3 suspension).

Carey's ballad style became characteristic of the era's largest English vocal repertory – that of pleasure garden concerts. By mid-century, London's sixty-odd pleasure gardens formed an archipelago of public spaces where higher and lower orders could mix freely. At the most prestigious establishments – Vauxhall, Ranelagh and Marylebone – concerts enhanced consumer pleasure by showcasing the theatre's rising vocal talent and providing pastoral theme music.⁷⁴ Songs and cantatas came to revolve around rural love, framed as naïve tableaux 'calculated rather to entertain the Fancy than improve the Understanding',⁷⁵ and favouring the indigenous and prosaic over the foreign and mythological; as the century progressed, figures such as Jenny and Jocky came to replace those of Phillida and Damon. Topics also broadened to include nationalist sentiments, advice about or parodies of female conduct – a mainstay of ballad operas – and reflections on personal values.

Theatre singers' pre-eminence at garden concerts – publishers invariably identified the music with the performer ('sung by Mr. Lowe') – suggests that concerts merely extended the urban musical monopoly of London's patent theatres. This use of theatre singers impacted directly on the cantata, with composers routinely showcasing a vocalist's particular skills or reputation. That concerts were performed from bandstands – or, in the case of Ranelagh, inside the giant 'rotunda' – dictated the instrumentation, which typically included strings, woodwinds, horns – hunting horn motifs were a cliché – trumpets, and

74 Berta Joncus, "'His Spirit is in Action seen": Milton, Mrs Clive, and the Simulacra of the Pastoral in *Comus*', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 2 (2005), pp. 7–40. See also Christopher Hogwood, 'The London Pleasure Gardens', in *Johann Christian Bach: Favourite Songs Sung at Vauxhall Gardens* (Tunbridge Wells, 1985), pp. ix–xv.
75 'The Poetry of following *Cantata*'s, (which, it is imagin'd, will be more the Subject of Criticism than the *Music*) ... are calculated rather to entertain the Fancy than improve the Understanding.' Preface in John Stanley, *Six Cantata's for a Voice and Instruments* (1742) (Alston, 2004; facsimile edn.). Stanley's cantatas were all 'probably first performed' at Vauxhall Gardens. Tony Frost, 'The Cantatas of John Stanley (1713–1786)', *Music & Letters*, 53 (1972), p. 286.

harpichord or organ.⁷⁶ The gardens' most prolific composers, John Stanley, Thomas Arne and William Boyce, made the most of these musical resources and the ballad-style idiom in which they worked.⁷⁷ Arne excelled at conjuring images of nature through word-painting and instrumental colour, particularly in recitative, and his melodies superbly match the charm and accents of the words. Uniquely, he used arioso sections to intensify drama in narrated passages. Arne tightened the air's structure by restating the first section's theme and home key in the second section, and he created broad-based tonal schemes to accommodate modulations.⁷⁸

Spearheaded by Arne's collection *Vocal Melody* (1749–52), Italianate song finally found a market that James Hook and other composers were able to tap into.⁷⁹ After soprano Charlotte Brent's spectacular 1762 success in his *Artaxerxes*, Arne created bravura cantatas for the pleasure gardens concerts where Brent, his former pupil and then-mistress, appeared. These ushered in the English cantata's final but most popular era, until around 1790. Following Arne, a host of composers supplied works whose bravura writing for principal singers over-rode any other formal demands.

Paired in programmes and editions, the gardens' cantatas and songs after 1750 grew increasingly to resemble each other.⁸⁰ Standard song devices such as hunting horn motifs and Lombard rhythms resurfaced in cantatas, as did dance meters such as the minuet and, from c. 1770, the rondo. Composers wrote cantatas with airs in binary and da capo form, and songs prefaced by recitative.⁸¹ From roughly 1740, publishers tended to combine cantatas and songs in one volume rather than issuing them separately. The song's ballad-style poetry infiltrated cantatas, and 'ballad cantatas' such as James Oswald's 'The Dust Cart' (c. 1755) proliferated as, until 1760, did simplified cantatas – *secco* recitative prefacing binary airs or ballads – by minor composers.⁸² From 1750

76 Based on newspaper reports (1790–1), the average number of band members was twenty-five. Charles Cudworth, 'The Vauxhall "Lists"', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 20 (1967), pp. 27–9.

77 Although Arne's output was clearly for the pleasure gardens, that of Boyce is less clear, but the music in book III and VI of Boyce's six-book series *Lyra Britannica* (1745–60) was probably performed there. Robert J. Bruce, Introduction to *William Boyce: Lyra Britannica* (Tunbridge Wells, 1985), p. x.

78 Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas*, pp. 220–37. For exemplary pictures of nature and arioso writing see, respectively, Thomas Arne, *Six Cantatas for a Voice and Instruments* (London, 1755), pp. 47–55 ('The Morning'), and pp. 31–5 ('Bacchus and Ariadne').

79 Christopher Hogwood, 'The London Pleasure Gardens', p. xii.

80 Popular cantata and song publications are listed in Gwilym E. Beechey, 'Songs and Cantatas in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Consort: Annual Journal of the Dolmetsch Foundation*, 49 (1993), pp. 30–40.

81 Stanley's 'Three Songs', Op. 9 are da capo arias with obbligato. See Frost, 'The Cantatas of John Stanley (1713–1786)', p. 288. The songs of J. C. Bach (1766–71) were 'indebted to Bach's operatic music' and used simple sonata patterns. See Stephen Roe, 'J. C. Bach's Vauxhall Songs', in *Johann Christian Bach: Favourite Songs Sung at Vauxhall Gardens* (Tunbridge Wells, 1985), p. xviii.

82 Michael Christian Festing, Thomas Bowman and a 'Gentleman from Oxford' are three of many contributors; Goodall, *Eighteenth-Century English Secular Cantatas*, pp. 206–209.

the glee – a through-composed partsong for unaccompanied voices – flourished in London catch-clubs and eventually became a staple of commercial and home performance.⁸³

Publishers had from 1730 virtually ceased issuing volumes dedicated to high-style song. Whether preparing miscellanies or a composer's collected works, publishers put da capo or multi-sectional airs together with strophic ballads. The practice had precedents in earlier collections by the leading publishers John Walsh, Thomas Cross and Henry Playford, who had combined theatre and concert songs with glees, Scotch airs and ballads.⁸⁴ In England, commerce erased the boundaries of genre, style and location that characterized vocal chamber music in the rest of Europe.

The dialectics of song: Germany and the promise of the Enlightenment

Characteristic of the hundreds of autonomous polities that made up Germany was division: between regions, between court and bourgeois circles, between sovereign cities and absolutist centres of power, between Catholic and Protestant. While German courts imported sophisticated and expensive musicians from Italy, German urban institutions – churches, schools, city councils and societies – cultivated vernacular music. Chamber cantata and song in Germany therefore consisted of very different strands: the Italian cantata, which flourished particularly under the powerful dynasties of Brandenburg-Prussia, Saxony and the Bavaria-Rhenish Palatinate; the German lied, which was cultivated by literati from the seventeenth century onwards; and the German secular cantata, which was influenced by German opera, Lutheran cantata and critical writings on music and poetry. Throughout the era, the urge among German men of letters to theorize was unparalleled. This created another rift, between theory and practice. Although often reporting on current practices, theorists also misrepresented 'histories' or held up ideals that were in practice routinely ignored. The German cantata exemplifies the gulf between the optimism of Enlightenment theory and the reality of the work that was produced.

Without private patrons, the German chamber cantata, like its English counterpart, depended upon consumers. The genre began in Hamburg, a

83 The roughly 300 eighteenth-century publications featuring the glee, together with performances in and outside the home, helped to stimulate interest in native composers and forms. Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Warren, MI, 2003), pp. 10–14, 111–31. For a list of editions, see *ibid.*, pp. 379–84. For the relationship of the catch to the glee and the rise of glee clubs, see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2006).

84 David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1705–1726: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London, 1997).

wealthy independent city-state where civic institutions – a public opera house featuring German operas, five major churches, a nascent concert venue (the Drill House) and esteemed church schools – supplied inhabitants with a rich mix of vernacular music supported by local printers. Hamburg's leading opera composer, Reinhard Keiser, wrote the first German cantatas, *Gemütsergötzung* (1698), which he asserted 'came from the [Italian] theatre' and had 'overtaken German song'.⁸⁵ His statement was only partially true. Although 'theatrical', the forms on which these and later cantatas by Keiser drew came from local German opera – for example, their binary airs, French dances (courante, loure), French-style arioso recitative and rich instrumental solos.⁸⁶ Keiser's claim for the success of the German secular cantata was fiction, but this did not deter theorists such as Johann Christoph Gottsched from repeating it.⁸⁷

Generally, the wealth of writing about the German chamber cantata – by Christian Friedrich Hunold ('Menantes'), Gottsched, Johann Adolph Scheibe, Johann Mattheson and Johann David Heinichen – misrepresented the importance of this genre, which only seven composers notably cultivated and which had fizzled out by mid-century.⁸⁸ This did not deter theorists from constructing histories or developing rules about it. According to Menantes, Erdmann Neumeister's poetic models for the Lutheran cantata were also seminal for German secular cantata poetry. Music and literary theorists set guidelines for writing cantata music and poetry: the number and order of movements (RARA, ARA), how to develop motives, where to modulate, which type of poetry to choose, where to apply tender melodies, etc.⁸⁹ Composers followed their own inclinations. Keiser, for instance, extended the length of cantatas beyond four movements, deployed *dramatis personae* and diversified his melodic writing, all in disregard of theorists' prescriptions.

85 'Diese Sing-Gedichte, oder wie sie die Italiener nennen Cantaten, haben die ehemaligen deutschen Lieder ganz verdrängt. Die Erfindung derselben ist aber von den Opern hergekommen.' He states later that in composing his cantatas he writes more 'in the theatrical rather than chamber style' ('in den Theatralischen- als Kammer-stil'). Reinhard Keiser, Preface to *Gemütsergötzung* (1698). Cited in Robert Eitner, 'Cantaten aus dem Ende des 17. und Anfänge des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte*, 16/5 (1884), pp. 50–1.

86 Klaus-Peter Koch, 'Reinhard Keisers gedruckte weltliche Kantaten (1698–1715)', in Bert Siegmund (ed.), *Zur Entwicklung, Verbreitung und Ausführung vokaler Kammermusik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Michaelstein, 1997), pp. 49–63. After 1698, Keiser produced the cantata collections *Divertimenti serenissimi* (1713), *Musicalische Land-lust* (1714) and *Kayserliche Friedens-post* (1715).

87 In 'Von Cantaten', *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst* (1730). Cited in Eugen Schmitz, *Geschichte der weltlichen Solokantate*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1955), p. 262.

88 The composers of German cantatas catalogued are, in addition to Keiser, Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann Sebastian Bach, Carl Heinrich Graun, his brother Johann Gottlieb Graun, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, and Johann Heinrich Rolle. These are 'not only the most significant but largely all the names' of those who wrote German secular cantatas. See Schmitz, *Geschichte der weltlichen Solokantate*, p. 301.

89 These writings, including Menantes' observations from *Die aller-neueste Art zur reinen und galanten Poesie zu gelangen* (1706), are summarized in Schmitz, *Geschichte der weltlichen Solokantate*, pp. 260–6.

Only through Georg Philipp Telemann did the German cantata achieve even moderate success. Perhaps the best-known and most highly regarded German composer of his day, Telemann commands our attention as much for his innovations in marketing as for his gifts in composition. Cantatas were only a part of Telemann's vast chamber music output to meet the demands of private worship, domestic entertainment and self-education. He astutely managed the issuing of this huge corpus, testing markets before investing in publications, covering overhead costs through subscriptions, running advertising campaigns, networking with distributors and offering discounts to subscribers.⁹⁰ Vital to the success of Telemann's chamber cantatas was talent in blending chamber, theatre and sacred styles. Issued by installment, his *Harmonischer Gottesdienst* (1725–6) and *Fortsetzung des harmonischen Gottesdienstes* (1731–2) were cycles of sacred cantatas 'suited for private domestic service'. Clarity of word-painting, simplicity of coloratura and naturalness of recitative ensured that this music did not exceed amateur abilities. In the *Harmonischer Gottesdienst*, Telemann encouraged users to replace the voice part with a second solo instrument to create trio sonatas out of these sacred vocal works.⁹¹ Conversely, his series *VI Moralische Cantaten* [I–II] (1735–6) made secular music into hymns, albeit to Enlightenment principles such as 'Hope' and 'Happiness', after which he titled movements. In 1739 Scheibe based his rules for cantata composition partly on these works, translating practice into theory.⁹²

Telemann's publishing enterprise popularized his lieder as effectively as it did his cantatas. His musical 'newspaper' *Der Getreue Musicmeister* (1728) set didactic texts to melodies, making him one of the earliest composers to adapt the rationalist ideals that would dominate the lied until 1760. In *Singe-, Spiel und Generalbassübungen* (1733–4), he set the poetry of Friedrich von Hagedorn, the pioneer of 'order and nature'. Based on the literary form of the strophic 'ode', the lied opposed a basic tenet of Italianate composition that ruled that melodies must change to reflect a word's meaning. Hamburg literati, followed by Gottsched, maintained that the lied, through its formal simplicity and unity around one idea, represented the essence of rationalist aesthetics.⁹³ Although

90 Steven Zohn, 'Telemann in the Marketplace: The Composer as Self-Publisher', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58 (2005), pp. 275–356.

91 Richard Petzoldt, *Georg Philipp Telemann*, trans. Horace Fitzpatrick (London, 1974), p. 154.

92 Günter Fleischhauer, 'G.Ph. Telemanns Zyklen VI moralische Cantaten (TWV 20:23–28 und 29–34) im Urteil J. A. Scheibes', in Monika Fink, Rainer Gstrein und Günter Mössmer (eds.), *Musica privata – die Rolle der Musik im privaten Leben: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Salmen* (Innsbruck, 1991), pp. 315–38.

93 Hamburg's informal societies ('Teutsch-übende Gesellschaft', 1715) and weekly 'moral' publications after English prototypes fired debate on the relation between poetry and Enlightenment principles before Gottsched's *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst* appeared (1730). Jürgen Rathje, 'Zur hamburgischen Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter Matthesons', in George J. Buelow (ed.), *New Mattheson Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 108–11.

other lied composers adhered to these principles after 1730, Telemann was their most prominent early advocate, declaring his debt to this school of thought in the preface to his *Vierundzwanzig Oden* (1741).⁹⁴

After 1750, the centre of song production shifted from Hamburg to Berlin, where King Frederick had assembled a brilliant and tight-knit entourage of composers, poets and critics whose debates about the lied spilled into print.⁹⁵ They also visited *bürgerlich* salons and assemblies where lieder were performed. Both debate and amateur performance stimulated lied production, with more than a thousand lieder appearing in print from 1753 to 1768.⁹⁶ Like their French counterparts, German salons were generally a semi-public sphere within which women could compose and perform without transgressing rules of decorum. Corona Schröter, who led female lied composition, composed her repertory for domestic use, despite being a stage singer. Because women had no access to formal musical training, miniature forms demanding few resources such as the lied were conducive to female cultivation.⁹⁷

Ruptures between the theory and practice of the lied soon emerged, as they had for the cantata. Perhaps the most successful early lied collection was *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (Leipzig, 1736), prepared by the poet Johann Sigismund Scholze ('Sperontes'), and frequently re-issued (1742, 1743, 1745 and 1751). Because the music was largely recycled from dance tunes, however, contemporaries did not credit the music with contributing to the development of the lied. While Christian Gottfried Krause iterated the lied's neo-classical aim of calling forth joy through noble simplicity, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing reported how lieder reflected the 'wit and taste' of salon audiences.⁹⁸ In line with the taste of the king, critics held up French airs as models, urging authors to copy their anacreontic verses and practice of writing for unaccompanied voices. Composers, however, continued to adhere to earlier German traditions of accompanied writing, and poets such as Christian Fürchtegott Gellert expanded their subject matter to include devotional poetry.

One of the period's most celebrated lied composers was Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. His residency at Berlin (1738–68) coincided with the lied's

94 Siegfried Kross, 'Telemann und die Liedästhetik seiner Zeit', in Günther Fleischauer, Wolf Hobohm and Walther Siegmund-Schultze (eds.), *Die Bedeutung Georg Philipp Telemanns für die Entwicklung der europäischen Musikkultur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Magdeburg, 1983), 3 vols., vol. 2, pp. 31–46.

95 'Ramling, Lessing, Sulzer, Agricola, Krause ... Bach, Graun, in short all those belonging to the Muses and liberal arts, daily got together, either on land or on water.' Johann W. L. Gleim, letter of 16 Aug. 1758. Cited in Hans-Günter Ottenberg, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, trans. Philip. J. Whitmore (Oxford, 1987), p. 64.

96 Ulrich Leisinger, 'Die Ode in der poetischen Theorie und in der musikalischen Praxis', in Anselm Gerhard (ed.), *Musik und Ästhetik im Berlin Moses Mendelssohns* (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 188–9.

97 Marcia J. Citron, 'Corona Schröter: Singer, Composer, Actress', *Music & Letters*, 61 (1980), pp. 15–27.

98 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Berlinische privilegierte Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung*, 17 November 1753. Cited in Leisinger, 'Die Ode in der poetischen Theorie', p. 194.

efflorescence there. In his autobiography Bach famously declared that he aimed to compose 'as songfully as possible' with a 'noble simplicity of melody'.⁹⁹ Lieder allowed him to develop these ideals. His balance of phrase, refinement of gesture and sensitivity to declamation epitomized the aesthetic endorsed by neo-classicists. By writing accompaniment that articulated prosody and commented on the poetry's meaning, Bach enhanced simplicity with emotional immediacy. Particularly in his Gellert lieder, the ode's modest structures – a binary strophic air with I–V–I tonal plan and syllabic setting in which melody dominated over the bass – became a springboard for expressiveness.¹⁰⁰

The drive among poets to replace Baroque artifice with simplicity and to follow French models also affected cantata poetry. From 1760 German writers took up the mythological subjects popular in France – Cephalus and Procris, Pigmalion, Ino – sometimes translating from the French original. These subjects became the springboard for a new type of dramatic cantata whose interweaving arioso, recitative and aria sections, rich orchestration, dynamic contouring and pictorial effects were designed for formal professional performances.

After 1770, lied poetry embraced folk-style writing for the first time. Johann Gottfried Herder's theories about *Ursprachen*, or primal languages, stimulated interest in the cultural practices of a 'Volk'. Paradoxically, even as poets took up 'folk' paradigms, composers set their verses in increasingly sophisticated ways. Responding to developments in instrumental music, this new through-composed or modified strophic writing with unorthodox modulations, as in the songs of Johann Friedrich Reichardt, or sonata-based forms, as in Joseph Haydn's lieder, established the means through which Franz Schubert would later transform the genre.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

Cantata and song repertoires throughout the eighteenth century show how local patterns of production and consumption not only determined, but also became embedded within, musical forms. Italian *accademie* and courts created

99 'My chief effort ... has been directed towards both playing and composing as songfully as possible ... the noble simplicity of the melody is not to be disturbed by too much bustle.' See William S. Newman, 'Emanuel Bach's Autobiography', *Musical Quarterly*, 51 (1965), p. 372.

100 'The Gellert Songs', in William H. Youngren, *C. P. E. Bach and the Rebirth of the Strophic Song* (Lanham, MD, 2003), pp. 203–40. See also Gudrun Busch, *C. P. E. Bach und seine Lieder* (Regensburg, 1957), pp. 62–5, 380–1 and Ernst Suchalla, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach – Ludwig van Beethoven: Bitten – ein Gellert-Lied', in Bert Siemund (ed.), *Zur Entwicklung, Verbreitung und Ausführung vokaler Kammermusik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Michaelstein, 1997), pp. 141–8.

101 Amanda Glauert, 'The Lieder of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven', in James Parsons (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 63–73.

realms where, under Arcadian guise, participants could experiment with pleasure, learning and invention. In France, adapting Italian cantatas to local traditions was a self-conscious way of defining and refining a characteristic taste; what had begun as a hybrid French–Italian genre became indigenous through its cross-fertilization with song and its popularization through salons, concerts and publications. In England, London’s entertainment industries turned cantata and song so effectively into commodities that the boundaries separating vocal chamber music from stage or low-style music quickly disappeared. In Germany, the separation of court and bourgeois cultures consigned Italian cantatas to court circles and German cantatas to domestic use, leaving the lied as the vital forum for aesthetic experiment in musico-literary circles whose members moved between royal and other privileged spheres. ‘Great works’ are the exceptions among myriad eighteenth-century vocal chamber music productions whose contrasts highlight the ways in which very different cultural contexts, economic developments and social practices could shape generic characteristics. These repertoires still have much to teach us.

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