The Solo English Cantatas and Italian Odes of Thomas A. Arne

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Ву

Paul F. Rice

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



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This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-4386-2 ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-4386-7

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PREFACE

Until the second half of the twentieth century, the compositions of eighteenth-century British composers were little studied. This is not surprising given the primacy paid to foreign-born composers such as G.F. Handel, J.C. Bach, F. Geminiani and others who settled in Britain. Foreign composers came to be patronized by the British aristocracy with the result that they increasingly dominated the musical scene, especially in London. Twentieth-century scholars often made unfortunate conclusions about the period. Sir William Hadow's blanket condemnation of eighteenth-century British music is disheartening to read: "It is not fair to say that [Handel's] Rinaldo killed English music: there was then no English music to kill." This kind of dismissal of an entire musical culture did little to encourage the study of a large and important repertoire. Fortunately, the situation changed dramatically with dissertation studies by Stephen Farish Jr. (1962), A. Glyn Williams (1977), Richard Goodall (1979), Donald Cook (1982), Audrey Borschel (1985), Jane Adas (1993) and Stephen C. Foster (2014). These studies, along with those published by Roger Fiske (1973, 2nd ed. 1986), Simon McVeigh (1989 and 1993), Michael Burden (1994), and Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (2004) have all done much to reveal the wealth of musical activity and the value of the compositions of native composers in the century.

As a genre, the solo cantata was very much an eighteenth-century interest in Britain. The creation of cantatas in the "Italian Style" which featured alternating sections of recitative and air resulted from the importation of Italian cantatas to Britain and the subsequent efforts of British composers to copy the Italian models. Contrary to comments made by Richard Jakoby, who wrote that "the cantata did not do particularly well in England," the genre enjoyed great popularity in the eighteenth century and was heard in concert halls, pleasure gardens, theatres, and private homes.² As musical tastes changed in the early years of the nineteenth century, however, the cantata genre soon lost favour. Some favourite works continued to be performed during the early years of the nineteenth century, but these performances were considered to be exceptional by the end of the 1830s.³

Thomas Arne (1710-78) composed cantatas and odes for solo voices between 1740-74, a period which comprised the largest part of his

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compositional career. As such, their study demonstrates the evolving aspects of Arne's style throughout his life as well as changing contemporary attitudes to the social role of music. Arne was fortunate in being able to work with some of the finest singers in the country who performed in the various concert societies of London, the Theatres Royal at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and the pleasure gardens of Vauxhall, Ranelagh and Marylebone. Since many of these singers had been trained by Arne, he could be assured of performances of the highest quality.

The first two chapters of this book provide historical and social contexts for Arne's contributions to the genre. Thereafter, the chapters examine his output chronologically. I have attempted to pay as much attention to the literary background of the texts that Arne set as to his music. Arne rarely revealed the sources of his texts, thus obscuring their origins. Although he was himself the author of numerous libretti, the disparity in the poetry of the cantata texts—from almost doggerel to far more elevated texts—argues against a single authorial hand. In addition, it is possible to demonstrate that several of the cantata texts are pastiches which borrow from such noted poets as William Congreve and Alexander Pope. The resulting process of adaptation and recombination recontextualizes the borrowed material, often resulting in differing emphases and changed meanings.

The opportunity to see Arne dealing with a foreign language is found in his four Italian settings contained in the 1757 publication of Del Canzoniere d'Orazio di Giovan Gualberto Bottarelli. A Bottarelli selected twelve odes by Horace and invited six composers resident in Britain to set his Italian translations to music. Arne settings have been much neglected in the studies of his music, with the result that they are almost unknown today. While these Italian settings are a significant addition to the canon of Arne's cantatas, it appears that he may have composed other works set to English texts that are now lost. This is especially true for the period of the 1740s and early 1750s when reports of unnamed cantatas are found in the London presses. The title page of British Melody No. XI (1760) lists a publication of Six Favourite Cantatas Sung by Miss Brent &c. No trace of a publication by this name has been found.⁵ John Parkinson lists other lost works in his index of Arne's vocal works that possibly fell into the genre of cantata/ode. What has survived, however, is more than sufficient to provide insights into Arne's methods and his changing musical style.

I am indebted to numerous individuals for their assistance in the preparation of this study. I extend my gratitude to the staff and librarians of the British Library and the Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Nick Dell Isola, Special Collection Assistant

at the Gilmore Music Library, Yale University, provided me with the portions missing from the British Library copy of Bottarelli's publication of the Horace Odes. I am much in debt to Dr. Jane Leibel and Mr. Eldon Murray, both of the School of Music at Memorial University of Newfoundland, for their insights into the Italian text setting. Mr. Raphael Fusco undertook the translation of the Bottarelli odes into English. Mr. Gareth Burgess at the Rowe Music Library, Cambridge, arranged for me to obtain a copy of the Bowman cantata discussed in Chapter Three. Mr. Michael O'Keefe kindly located a score for me at the University of Oxford. I also extend my gratitude to Mr. Daniel Dunn and Dr. Andrew Staniland at Memorial University for their assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

The following library *sigla* have been used for British libraries: **Ob** (Bodeian Library, University of Oxford), **Ckc** (Rowe Music Library, King's College, University of Cambridge), **Lbl** (British Library, London), **Lcm** (Royal College of Music, London), and **Bu** (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham). The Helmholtz pitch-classification has been used throughout:



Notes

¹ Sir William H. Hadow, *English Music* (London: Longman and Green, 1931; repr., Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 108. The author refers to this period in English Music as the "Dark Ages."

² Richard Jakoby, *The Cantata*, trans. Robert Kolben, *Anthology of Music* 32 (Cologne: Arno Volk; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), iv.

³ Donald F. Cook, "The Life and Works of Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752), with Special Reference to His Dramatic Works and Cantatas" (PhD diss., University of London, 1982), 268. Cook records performances of Pepusch's *Alexis* as late as the period 1823–32, after which time even this once popular work dropped from the concert scene in England.

⁴ Del canzoniere d'Orazio di Giovan Gualberto Bottarelli, ODE XII. Messe in Musica d'piu rinomati Professori Inglesi. Dedicate Al signor Guise. Luogatenente Generale dell'Armata di S.M.B, 2nd ed. (Londra: MDCCLVII [1757]).

⁵ The title page of *The Agreeable Musical Choice* (1756) also lists *Six Celebrated English Cantatas* published by Walsh. This might be a reference to the *Six*

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Cantatas for a Voice and Instruments published the previous year. In the case of the Six Favourite Cantatas Sung by Miss Brent &c., a reference to the Six Cantatas for a Voice and Instruments appears less likely since Charlotte Brent was not associated with these works at the time of their publication.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOLO CANTATA IN BRITAIN BEFORE ARNE

The solo cantata in the Italian style was not introduced in Britain until a century after its development on the Italian Peninsula. It was a product of the eighteenth century, whereas its Italian predecessor became the principal form of vocal chamber music in the major Italian centres early in the seventeenth century, with possible antecedents. While a detailed overview of the development of the Italian chamber cantata exceeds the scope of the present study, a brief overview of the genre as it flourished on the Italian peninsula will be useful for comparative purposes.¹

The term "cantata" is particularly vague in the Italian language, being the past participle feminine singular of "cantare," the Italian verb meaning "to sing." As such, the literal meaning of the word is "sung." In and of itself, the word designates only the vocal performance of music. Gloria Rose writes that the word was rarely used before 1670 to designate those pieces which would today be considered to be cantatas. This is not unusual since any kind of genre description is rare in the period, especially in manuscript copies where even composers are infrequently named. The term could encompass of range of musical genres as seen in the *Cantata pastorale fatta per Calen di Maggio in Siena*, which was composed for the wedding of Cesare d'Este and Virgina de' Medici in 1586. This pastoral work was composed for multiple voices, rather like a serenata, and concludes with an eight-voice madrigal. Alessandro Grandi's *Cantade et arie à voce sola* (ca.1620) is one of the earliest collections of vocal chamber music to bear the description of cantata.

Early Italian works demonstrated the influence of both the madrigal tradition as well as the emerging *stile recitativo* that was an essential part of the development of opera. Finding a balance between the needs of Italian poetry and music was a concern for those composers experimenting with monody. Henri de Prunières writes that:

twenty years after the appearance of the *stile recitativo* and of melodrama, music came into her own again, and poetry was again the faithful servant, though she knew that at any moment she might have a box on the ear. It was the cantata, a note written as it were on the margin of opera, which enabled music to recover from the blow struck at it by the Florentines, to become once more conscious of its own power, to realize the resources (hitherto unknown) of the monodic style, to practice new forms, and to become familiar with the *système tonal* which had crept in, to take the place of the ancient modes."⁵

The development of monody permitted the creation of sectionalized works that corresponded to the changing moods and storylines of poetry. Musicians were quick to recognize the need for variety in their compositions and they created different kinds of song forms to supplement the passages of recitative. These include strophic songs and *arioso* passages of considerable proportions. The number and ordering of the various components varied from one composition to the next.⁶

Rome became a principal centre for the production of cantatas during the seventeenth century. Numerous manuscript anthologies were compiled in this city, although few of the actual pieces were published there. The manuscript collections are representative of the interest in the cantatas as performed in the homes of prominent Roman families such as the Borghese, Chigi, and Barberini during gatherings called *conversazioni*. These events comprised significant social, artistic and intellectual interactions where the performance of music was an important part of the discourse. The texts of the vocal works were usually drawn from pastoral literature, classical mythology or tales of love and intrigue and were often presented as first-person narratives which formed a dramatic continuity. Here, the parallels to Italian opera are seen, although there was one significant difference. The cantata frequently made use of an external and unnamed narrative voice which might be heard at various points within the cantata and often ended it. 8

Initially, the works of Francesco Balducci, Domenico Benigni and Giovanni Lotti figured prominently in the emerging vocal repertoire, but it was the cantatas of Luigi Rossi (*ca*.1597–1653) and Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) that achieved the greatest acclaim in these salons. Their cantatas made use of a variety of song forms, including strophic airs, strophic variations, ostinato bass designs and binary forms, in addition to recitative. Carissimi's approximately 150 surviving cantatas reveal a mastery over varying forms and styles. His structures are often longer and more varied than those of Rossi. Some of Carissimi's cantatas consist of a single aria, while others are sectional works composed largely in *arioso*.

But as Gloria Rose notes, the majority of them are "composite works, containing a succession of recitatives, *ariosos* and arias." ¹⁰ In this respect, the 175 cantatas of Mario Savioni (*ca*.1608–85) are perhaps typical of the trend towards differentiations between aria and recitative. While the cantata may have been an ideal genre for chamber performance, it could also have some potential drawbacks because of its relative brevity. Michael Talbot remarks that "storms in cantatas too easily appear teacupsized, incapable of genuinely involving an audience." He also observes that *da capo* arias, once they had been introduced, altered the balance between text and music since they gave singers the opportunity to display their command of ornamentation and virtuosity. ¹¹

Basso continuo accompaniments were the norm in cantatas composed for either one or two solo voices. Some exceptions can be found in the more than 170 cantatas composed by Alessandro Stradella (1639–1682) which can require two violins or other instruments. Around the same time, a greater separation between sections of recitative and the various song forms emerged. This was accomplished by means of instrumental introductions and postludes provided for the song forms. This change in the treatment of the basso continuo writing is clearly seen in the works of Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), likely the most prolific of cantata composers during the second half of the seventeenth century. Some six hundred examples can be authenticated, while a further hundred or so works are less reliably attributed to him. 12

One of the most striking aspects of Scarlatt's cantatas is his varied and audacious harmonies. Charles Burney much admired Scarlatti's cantatas, although he criticized the composer's frequent modulation.

The cantatas of Scarlatti are much sought and admired by curious collectors. It must not, however, be dissembled that this author is not always free from affectation and pedantry. His modulation, in struggling at novelty, is sometimes crude and unnatural, and he more frequently tried to express the meaning of single words than the general sense and spirit of the whole poem he has set to music. Yet I never saw one of them that was not marked by some peculiar beauty of melody or modulation. ¹³

Scarlatti adopted the approach of recitative/aria pairs, but there is much variety in his recitatives. Cantatas such as *Selve, caverne e monti* and *Lascia, deh lascia* use both traditional *recitativo secco* and *arioso* at the beginning before presenting the first aria. ¹⁴ The *arioso* sections contain a more active bass line and a melody with a heightened melodic profile, often involving leaps. Such practices appear to have confused Charles Burney who complained of "a curious mixture of air and recitative" in

some of Scarlatti's works. 15 Yet, it is these sections that often reveal just how masterful Scarlatti was in the art of appropriate text setting.

Although Scarlatti made use of a variety of songs forms earlier in his career, it was the *da capo* aria that gained prominence in his output by the end of the seventeenth century. Unlike some aspects of Italian opera, Scarlatti's vocal writing in his cantata arias tends to be restrained and is not dependent upon vocal display for effect. *Lontan dalla sua Clori* contains two arias, the first of which ("Dove sei t'ascondi") has a melodic range of e '-g'', but most of the aria sits within an octave and the vocal demands are modest. The second aria, "Come, oh Dio," is more rhythmically active, but can hardly be said to be vocally demanding. ¹⁶ Neither has extended passagework.

In the preface to his edition of *Six Cantatas* (1716), Johann Ernst Galliard (1687–1747) remarked that "of late years, *Aless. Scarlatti* and *Bononcini* have brought *cantata's* [*sic*] to what they are at present; *Bononcini* by his agreeable and easie style, and those fine Inventions of his *Basses* (to which he was led by an Instrument upon which he excells;) and *Scarlatti* by his noble and masterly Turns."¹⁷ Galliard does not specify whether he refers to Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747) or his younger brother Antonio (1677–1726). Both played the cello, but it was the elder Bononcini who achieved the greater fame and who composed the larger number of Italian cantatas.

Such was the popularity of Scarlatti's music that its publication outside of Britain was deemed to be worthy of reporting by the British press. The New State of Europe as to Publick Transactions and Learning (May 23, 1701) presented a section devoted to "BOOKS lately Printed Abroad," which included the following: "Scarlati [sic] Opera prima, Cantata a una & due Voce, col Basso continuo." Italian solo cantatas, such as those by Scarlatti, would likely have been known to those British wealthy enough to travel to the Continent during the seventeenth century. These travellers often brought back with them manuscript copies of music that were subsequently performed in English aristocratic homes. ¹⁸ The growing popularity of this foreign music appears to have made Britain composers want to emulate its success, but with texts that would be more generally understood by local audiences.

Throughout the 1680s, a number of Italian vocal works circulated in London that gave composers, such as Henry Purcell (1659–95), a better sense of Italianate styles that might enrich their own compositions. Ian Spink writes that "undoubtedly Purcell was . . . familiar with cantatas by Carissimi, Rossi and other middle Baroque Italian composers." The Italian cantata appears to have served as an inspiration for Purcell when he

came to set the highly contrasted verses of poetry by Abraham Cowley (1618-67), the royalist poet whose exile on the Continent was to last until 1656, at which time he published his collected works. It is Spink's contention that the alternation of recitative and air in Italian cantatas showed Purcell a way of dealing with the strong contrasts of Cowley's poems in an effective manner. Purcell's work might be seen as an analogue to the Italian cantatas, although the differences between his music and the Italian cantatas are striking. Firstly, Purcell makes no great contrast between his more declamatory passages and his airs. His recitatives are more in the nature of arioso and are often treated to considerable amounts of word painting. Secondly, these passages are meant to be sung and not just declaimed as in Italian recitative. Purcell's "Bess of Bedlam" ("From Silent Shades," ca.1682, Z370) contains many changes of moods. In a hundred measures of music, there are twelve different sections, each set with a different metre and a change in mood. Passages, such as "For since my love is dead" are set as a type of semirecitative, but this must be sung and not just declaimed to achieve the true affect. Thirdly, there are rarely full stops between the various sections in this song or that of "The Blessed Virgin's Expostulation" (1693, Z196), with its text by Nahum Tate. Such passages are meant to flow continuously. The difference between the kind of arioso that Purcell saw as recitative, and the recitativo secco passages of the Italian cantatas and operas of the same period is further demonstrated by Purcell's arioso-inspired recitative "Thy hand Belinda" in Dido and Aeneas (1689).

The First English Cantatas "After the Italian Manner"

As the taste for the cantata genre grew in Britain, there was a need for appropriate materials for performance. The importation of Italian works, however good, could not satisfy those who wanted to hear a text in their native tongue. Initially, attempts were made to fit English words to existing Italian music. This was a difficult process if the appropriate musical and textual accents were to coincide. Perhaps the most easily found of these experiments was published in the *Monthly Mask of Vocal Music* on December 1710.²⁰ A CANTATA by SCARLATTI alleges to present music by Scarlatti to an anonymous English text. The work contains but a single recitative/aria pair ("The Beautious Melissa"/"Gentle Cupid") without any reference to an Italian title.²¹ Many of the traditional aspects of Italian cantata writing are present in the aria. It is cast as a da capo structure that begins with an extended instrumental introduction leading to an unaccompanied two-measure section for the soloist ("Gentle Cupid").

This kind of interjection into the instrumental introduction is part of a tradition known as the motto aria where the soloist enters with a brief and bold phrase that is followed by a continuation of the instrumental introduction. The range of the aria is quite narrow (f#'-g'') and the text is mostly syllabically set. Other than a melismatic treatment of the word "wounded," there are no vocal difficulties in the setting. The same cannot be said for the recitative which pushes the range up to b " and contains two examples of demanding passage work. While the text setting in the recitative is effective, the aria contains some instances of awkwardness. It has not been possible to identify the origins of this music and, given the musical differences between the recitative and aria, it is possible that the cantata published in the *Monthly Mask* is a composite score.

The first known published example of a cantata set to original English words is *Love, I defy thee*, a "Cantata after the Italian Stile." It is found in the September issue of the *Monthly Mask of Music* and has music by Daniel Purcell (*ca*.1664–1717) and a text by John Hughes (1677–1720). The cantata is referenced for sale in the *Daily Courant* of October 4, 1708, where it is again referred to as being in the Italian style.²² This leads Kathryn Lowerre to claim that it was the first extant English cantata with that label.²³ New cantatas set to English text quickly followed. In November, 1708, Walsh announced the publication of cantatas by Daniel Purcell, John Eccles and J.C. Pepusch. It is often assumed that the reference to Daniel Purcell is for *Love, I defy you* (already published), but there is critical debate about the identity of the other two works.²⁴

It is evident that some composers in Britain had already experimented with the creation of vocal music that made use of recitative and aria. The Monthly Mask (July, 1706) contains "Where e're Divine Clorinda goes" with the title, "SONG Sett by Mr John Church." 25 Church had been trained in the cathedral tradition in Oxford before taking up a career as a tenor soloist in London around 1695. There, he appeared in theatrical productions, in addition to serving as the Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey from 1704–40. Church's song consists of two arias followed by a recitative. None of the sections are so marked, but the two arias are clearly delineated by different metres and the use of introductory measures for the continuo accompaniment. That the final section is in the style of recitativo secco is evident by the use of a bass line that is not rhythmically active. The frequent repeated notes in the vocal line give the music a declamatory aspect, although there are also similarities to Henry Purcell's more melodic recitatives. The two arias (both in b minor) contain vocal melismas that are Italianate in nature. The structure of Church's song is clearly unusual, although it is possible that the second aria was meant to be repeated after the recitative, something that would not cause problems with either text or music. While this would result in a more traditional organization on some levels, there are no repeat signs in the setting or in the flute transcription that follows.

Cantatas composed "after the Italian Style" were performed publically in London during the first decade of the eighteenth century. On April 12, 25 and 27, 1706, the soprano Margherita de L'Epine appeared at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. The *Daily Courant* advertised a performance of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* for April 25, 1706. The play was to be presented with "singing in Italian and English by the famous Signora Margaretta de l'Epine, particularly an English Cantata written and compos'd after the Italian Manner."²⁶ Neither the title nor the composer of the work was mentioned, but presumably the reference to the "Italian style" was thought to be a drawing card for audiences. L'Epine (ca. 1680–1746) was an Italian soprano and dancer who arrived in London in 1702. She initially appeared in concerts but achieved subsequent success in staged operas by Bononcini and Handel, appearing in the revival of the latter's *Rinaldo* in 1712–13. She retired after her marriage to Johann Christoph Pepusch in 1718.²⁷ The utility of English cantatas as appropriate works for performance in theatres in London was well established before her retirement. The Daily Courant (May 31, 1706) announced that Henry Holcomb[e] (?1693-1756), a noted boy soprano, would perform a "new English Cantata never perform'd before" at the Drury Lane theatre on June 1. The work is announced as being different from the works performed by L'Epine earlier in the year. Again, the name of the composer of the cantata is not given.²⁸

Who might have composed these unidentified cantatas? Two names would appear as strong possibilities: Daniel Purcell and Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752). Both composers were working in London and soon to publish cantatas in English. Of particular interest is their connection to the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, where the first recorded public performances of English cantatas took place. John Eccles is less likely possibility because he worked out of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre.²⁹ The publication of Daniel Purcell's Love, I defy thee was quickly followed up by his By silver Thames's flow'ry side which appeared in the Monthly Mask of Vocal Music (March, 1709). 30 Purcell continued his interest with the English cantata with his SIX CANTATAS For a Voice with a Through Bass, published by J. Cullen in 1713. It is entirely possible that some of these works had already been composed at the time of the performances by L'Epine and Holcombe at Drury Lane. Indeed, it would seem likely that a successful performance of his Love, I defy thee in 1706 might have prompted the publication of the piece in 1708.

Another possible candidate for the repertoire heard at the Drury Lane theatre is J.C. Pepusch who had moved to London from Berlin around 1700. Pepusch found employment in the orchestra of Drury Lane, first as a violist and then as a keyboard player, and soon turned his hand to adapting music to the needs of the theatre's performers and making arrangements of scores. He also composed vocal works of his own. Donald F. Cook conjectures that Pepusch had "actually begun to compose cantatas as early as 1705," thus making him perhaps "the first to adapt Italian form to English words."31 The composer had given the genre considerable thought when his first book of Six English Cantatas appeared in 1710. 32 If, indeed, it was one of Pepusch's subsequently published cantatas was performed by L'Epine or Holcombe in 1706, there would have to be a revision of the early history of the genre in Britain. Pepusch was in a good position to influence the choice of music that L'Epine and the young Holcombe sang. Pepusch was already established at the Drury Lane location when L'Epine made her first appearance there in 1704 (Daily Courant, January 28, 1704). Given L'Epine's subsequent prominence in the musical circles of London, she would have been the ideal performer for Pepusch to interest in his music.

The cantata soon became a popular genre in public concert settings. A benefit concert for a Mr. Keen was given in the York-Buildings on March 26, 1707. The Daily Courant on that day records that a "Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick" was to be performed, including "a new Cantata by one who never perform'd in publick before." The same newspaper (April 17, 1707) announced another benefit concert, this time for Thomas Dean, Junior, was to be given the following day in the same rooms. A cantata accompanied by the Arch-Lute was promised, performed by Mr. Newbury. It is possible that this music was composed by Thomas Dean, who is listed as having composed other musical works for the occasion. If so, the music does not appear to have survived. Young Henry Holcombe had maintained his soprano voice and was announced to take part in a benefit concert given on March 31, 1710, for [?William] Viner (Tatler, March 25, 1710). This time, however, the cantatas were not to be in English: "Mr. Holcombe will sing several Italian Cantata's [sic] never yet heard in England, accompanied by Mr. Viner, who will play a new Solo, composed on purpose for him by Mr. Pepusch." This would seem to indicate that the popularity of the cantata as genre of music was not entirely dependent upon its being sung in English, even in public concerts.

Cantatas continued to be performed in theatres and in concert situations throughout the next decade. While it is not always possible to identify the works that were performed, their composers are sometimes

named. The Spectator (April 21, 1711) announced a benefit concert to be held at Humes's Dancing School on the 24th of that month for the celebrated Signora Lody. An unidentified new cantata was promised with a "Solo on the Harpsichord perform'd by Mr. Babell Junior." The reference here is to William Babell (1689/90-1723), a violinist and harpsichordist in the private band of George I. Pepusch is clearly identified as the composer of another English cantata sung by [Purbeck] Turner at the Drury Lane theatre on December 5, 1715, although the cantata is not named in the advertisement found in the *Daily Courant*. Turner's name is often found in the advertisements for this theatre and he is mentioned again by the same paper on January 23 and April 12, 1716, performing unnamed cantatas by Pepusch. The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, was not the only theatre in London to offer English cantatas on their programmes. At the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, Mrs. Maria Fletcher and Mrs. Fitzgerald (née Swan) performed cantatas on December 31, 1716 (Daily Courant, same day). Unfortunately, the names of the various works performed were not recorded.

The Meaning of the "Italian Style"

Jennifer Cable states that being in the "Italian style" at this time meant the use of *recitativo secco* in conjunction with arias. The ordering of these components was most commonly recitative/aria pairs or a structure consisting of aria/recitative/aria.³³ Recitative in the Italian style did not always please British audiences, however. The more declamatory style of Italian recitative often sounded strange to British ears used to the ariosolike recitatives of Henry Purcell. John Hughes, writing in his preface to the first volume of cantatas by Pepusch, remarked that "it is the Recitative Musick, which many People hear without Pleasure." Hughes continues his comments with his belief that many British listeners mistakenly thought that recitative should sound like air. In this, Hughes was likely correct since few British listeners living outside of London were used to hearing Italian opera unless they had travelled to the Continent. Hughes states that recitative should provide "that Variety of Accent which pleases in the Pronunciation of a good Orator," and "relieve the ear with a variety, and to introduce the airs with the greater advantage."³⁴ It appears that his countrymen were not always convinced by the argument.

Joseph Addison (1672–1719) wrote at length about the British reaction to recitative in Italian operas in the *Spectator*. In issue no. 29 (April 3, 1711), Addison states that "our Country-men could not forbear laughing when they heard a Lover chanting out a Billet-doux, and even the

Superscription of a Letter set to a Tune." His own view was that the "transition from an Air to Recitative Musick [is] more natural than the passing from a Song to plain and ordinary Speaking which was the common method in *Purcell's* Operas." What bothered Addison was when composers attempted to set "Italian Recitativo with English Words."35 Addison did not think that the tone and natural accentuation of the English language lent itself to Italian recitative styles. His advice to a composer was that he should "accommodate himself to an English audience, and by humouring the Tone of our Voices in ordinary Conversation, have the same Regard to the Accent of his own Language, as those Persons had to theirs whom he professes to imitate."36 Presumably, not all British composers mastered the technique immediately. On July 25, 1724, a letter was published in the Universal Journal that gave great praise to Henry Purcell's music, while disparaging subsequent English recitatives in the Italian style. The comment made that Purcell's "Recitative is gracefully natural, and particularly adapted to the English Tongue," is telling when Henry Purcell's recitatives often border on arioso.

If British audiences found Italian-style recitatives difficult, they appear to have had few issues with the subject matter of Italian cantatas. Jennifer Cable writes that "Italian cantata texts usually revolved around love (and the host of issues that accompany that emotion), placed in a pastoral setting. The majority of the texts that Scarlatti set dealt with Arcadian scenes, often with love as the driving emotion force."³⁷ Such emotions were universal and led British poets to the same source materials that had influenced the Italians. John Hughes, a prominent author of early cantata texts, had a thorough knowledge of the Greco/Roman literary traditions; he was well acquainted with Ovid's Metamorphoses since he transformed the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe from the fourth book of that source into a poem in rhyming couplets.³⁸ He also transformed several odes by Horace into a similar format.³⁹ Thus, Hughes was well positioned to create cantata texts in English that continued Italian pastoral traditions of love, courtship and mythological figures. 40 When it came time to create poetry for the cantatas of Daniel Purcell, Pepusch and Galliard, Hughes was quick to respond with texts utilizing a variety of pastoral and godly figures. He introduced Apollo in his texts for Pepusch's Alexis and Miranda, while also featuring Roman and Greek deities such as Flora and Zephyr in The Spring who interact and advise various shepherds and shepherdess.

The Early British Cantata Settings

Daniel Purcell enjoyed an active career in London, following his departure from Oxford in 1695. He completed the concluding masque in Henry Purcell's The Indian Queen in 1664 and subsequently contributed music to some forty stage works. His final stage contribution came in 1707, and some commentators suggest that he gave up writing for the stage because of the growing interest in Italian opera in London. He had very definite views on the British fascination with foreign musical styles. Purcell writes the following in the preface to the 1713 publication of his SIX CANTATAS: "The Introducing of Italian Opera's upon the English Stage, has so altered the Taste of this Nation, as to MUSICK, that scarce any thing, but what bears some Resemblance of the Italian Style and Manner, is received with Favour or heard with Patience."41 Purcell doubted that English audiences truly understood Italian operas and he cited the frequency with which they applauded in the wrong places as proof. Still, he thought that British composers needed to be familiar with the Italian style and writes: "As to the following *Peices [sic]*, tho' they are not of the Dramatick kind, yet they are intended as an Essay towards the Imitation of such Compositions, and 'tis hoped they will not fare the worst for speaking English: My End in it, was only to try an Experiment; and tho' I happen not to succeed, either to my own Wishes, or other People's Expectations in the Attempt, yet thus far I am convinc'd, that our Nation is capable of Improvement . . . were it not for the Humour of promoting Novelties, and discouraging our own Country-men, by being too fond of every thing that's Foreign, tho' in many Cases inferior to the Productions of our own Country."42

Love, I Defy thee is Daniel Purcell's only surviving cantata that is structured as an aria/recitative/aria. His other cantatas are constructed in recitative/aria pairs. The bass line of Love, I Defy thee is particularly active rhythmically and the opening aria is cast in the motto tradition. The vocalist enters with a single-measure unaccompanied interjection, itself a variant of the bass line from the instrumental introduction. The second aria, "Proud & Foolish" is constructed along similar lines and even makes use of the unaccompanied vocal interjection a second time before the vocal and instrumental parts coincide.

While Daniel Purcell makes use of word painting in both of the arias, it is the extended melisma in the first aria on the word, "fly," lasting five measures (which is repeated) that contrasts with most of his later works in the genre. In the opening aria, he creates the effect of triplet motion through the use of ¹²8 metre. In the second aria, "Proud & Foolish," he

again has passage work on the word "Joys," this time making use of actual triplet writing. 44 Purcell's use of passagework appears to be a self-conscious attempt at imitating the ornate Italian opera style. His later cantatas reverse this situation and only a few have extended passage work. Music Example 1–1 presents the A section of the first aria of *Love*, *I Defy Thee*.

Purcell's *By silver Thames Flow'ry shore* was published in the March 1710 issue of the *Monthly Mask*. ⁴⁵ The two arias contain none of the coloratura effusions of *Love, I Defy thee*, although the second aria, "In vain the Spring discloses," does contain word painting in the form of a descending scale on the word "mourn." Both arias are cast as motto constructions and are organically constructed so that there are "similar rhythmic elements between both the A and B sections" of the arias. ⁴⁶ The phrases tend to be short and are motivically generated; the vocal writing is largely syllabic. The range of the vocal part is d#¹–g#¹¹ and the tessitura sits high within this range. The use of a relatively high tessitura is common in Purcell's vocal writing, although none of the cantatas in the 1713 publication of *Six Cantatas* extends the upper range beyond a".

Purcell's use of passage work is inconsistent in his cantatas. *She whom above myself I prize*, the third cantata in the 1713 collection, makes use of passagework of up to five measures in length. Similarly, the final cantata in the collection, *The Beauteous Daphne*, contains examples of passagework of up to four measures in length, while the remaining four cantatas in the collection pose no such demands. It is possible that these four cantatas had been composed for performers of differing abilities. Unfortunately, first performance information is lacking for these pieces.





Music Example 1–1. Daniel Purcell, Love I Defy thee, opening aria, mm. 1–30.

John Eccles (*ca*.1668–1735) was another composer whose earliest cantatas appeared in the *Monthly Mask of Music*. Sir John Hawkins records that Eccles was the son of Solomon Eccles, a professional musician who taught his three sons the art of music.⁴⁷ In addition to a flourishing theatrical career, Eccles was appointed to the royal musical establishment in 1694, rising to become the Master of the King's Music in 1700. In the same year, Eccles finished in second place after John Weldon in the competition to write music for Congreve's masque *The Judgement of Paris*. During the 1690s, Eccles composed theatrical scores for performances at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and at Lincoln's Inn Fields. He composed two known English cantatas: *The Rich Rivall* and *Love kindled in a breast too young*. The first of these was published in the *Monthly Mask of Music* in March, 1709. ⁴⁸ As Jennifer Cable notes, this cantata contains numerous differences from the other early cantatas set to English texts that appeared in this source. ⁴⁹

The text of *The Rich Rivall* was not new and can be found in Abraham Cowley's collection of love verses called *The Mistress*, from 1647. The various poems are all separately titled and are highly varied in their rhyme schemes. That of *The Rich Rivall* consists of four verses in a Strambotto Romagnuolo rhyme scheme (ABABCCDD). The four verses lend themselves to two recitative/aria pairs, although Eccles's treatment of the text shows several older British traditions. Firstly, the opening recitative combines both Italian *recitativo secco* style with a heightened melodic profile that suggests *arioso*. Both of the arias are cast as multi-sectional songs in the manner of Henry Purcell. The first aria is not constructed in the motto tradition, further distancing the piece from Italian traditions. [Music Example 1–2.]



Music Example 1–2. Eccles, *The Rich Rivall*, first aria, mm. 1–21.

With only two extant cantatas by Eccles to examine, it is difficult to assess if he was attempting to find a different path for cantatas in the English language. The other possibility is that Eccles was clinging to the older traditions developed by Henry Purcell. Jennifer Cable notes the Purcellian similarities in *The Rich Rivall* and *Love kindled in a breast too young* and questions if the latter work was not composed before 1710 and only published later. ⁵⁰ It is an interesting conjecture, but the author can offer little proof to support it. It should be noted that the second cantata is cast as a single recitative/aria pair and that the aria is composed in a *da capo* form.

Johann Christoph Pepusch and Johann Ernst Galliard did much to lay the foundations for the future development of the solo cantata genre in Britain. While Pepusch may have composed as many as forty English cantatas, only twenty have survived.⁵¹ The large number of cantatas set to English texts might be surprising, given that German-born Pepusch was the least experienced in setting English texts to music of the early cantata composers. At the same time, he had the advantage of having composed within the Italian tradition while on the Continent. Sir John Hawkins made the claim that the cantatas of Alessandro Scarlatti were the principal influence on the works of Pepusch.⁵² Charles Burney disagreed with this statement, claiming that there was far more influence from the cantatas of Francesco Gasparini. Even more divergent opinions have emerged in the twentieth century. Richard Goodall states that it was the cantatas of Scarlatti "written between 1695 and 1705, together with those by Stradella and Bononcini, which most influenced the English branch of the genre in its earliest stages. These three are also the composers most frequently represented in English manuscripts of Italian vocal music dating from c1695 to c1725."53 The influence of Scarlatti's music may be strong, but Donald F. Cook suggests that "care must be taken that it is not interpreted to mean a wholesale assimilation of Scarlattian features."54 Cook notes that Pepusch's cantatas are shorter and that he rarely made use of the aria alla siciliana, which figured prominently in Scarlatti's works. Indeed, he believes that Pepusch adopted an "eclectic approach, fusing together vocal and structural technique from Italian opera and cantata (hardly any of which are exclusive to Scarlatti), with instrumental idioms typical of Corelli, and a choice of keys and instrumentation, which reflect an English influence."55

Examination of Pepusch's Six English Cantatas (1710) reveals that they were likely intended for domestic performance, rather than for professional singers. Although most of the arias in the collection are set as da capo forms, the vocal requirements are quite modest. The arias are brief; their range rarely exceeds a tenth and there are no passages of extended coloratura. In this regard, Pepusch demonstrated his understanding that the British public was not yet embraced the florid school of Italian singing. To have written English cantatas in that style would only have discouraged the purchase of the published volumes by a general audience. Given that British audiences had similarly not taken kindly to Italian-styled recitative, Pepusch wisely kept his recitative sections brief, mostly between eight to ten measures in length. Furthermore, the demands on the number of accompanying instruments would not have been a discouragement in domestic performances. The first three cantatas in the collection are set for basso continuo, although

there are separate bass lines for a cello and keyboard in the second aria of *Alexis*. The fourth cantata requires the addition of a solo violin; the fifth requires a solo flute. Only the final cantata is set for a larger ensemble of two oboes, two violins and *basso continuo*. It is possible that Pepusch envisioned a performance with a full string ensemble in this work.

The second cantata in the collection, *Alexis*, appears to have been the most popular. Numerous manuscript copies can be found, and the cantata was much republished throughout the century. While John Hughes's text is suited to a male singer, the work was regularly performed by female singers. The cantata is cast as a pair of recitative/*da capo* aria units, none of which is long. The vocal demands are modest, the vocal range is e'-a'' and the tessitura sits largely in a span of f '-f''. The first aria contains triplets and a single brief instance of passagework of one measure. The second aria, containing much syllabic writing with simple rhythms, has some of the qualities of popular song of the period. It is the written-out part for the left hand of the second aria in the style of an Alberti-bass accompaniment that gives the aria setting its rhythmic interest. ⁵⁶ [Music Example 1–3.]



Music Example 1–3. Pepusch, *Alexis*, second aria, mm. 17–37.

Johann Ernst Galliard (1687–1747) was a German-born oboist and composer who made his way to London in 1706. Galliard had first-hand knowledge of the Italian style through his studies with Agostino Steffani (1654–1728) in Hanover, a background that informed his 1716 publication of *Six English Cantatas After the Italian Manner*. Given that these cantatas were published after the introduction of Italian opera in London and during a time when professional singers were performing cantatas in the London theatres, one might reasonably expect to find a more florid melodic style in these works. Yet, only in the final cantata, *Young Strephon by his folded Sheep*, is there passage work of any difficulty. Otherwise, the works in the collection contain little more than the occasional vocal melisma, and much of the text setting is syllabic.

Pepusch released a second set of six cantatas in 1720.⁵⁷ While the first four in the series are similar to his earlier works in their vocal demands and modest accompaniment requirements (basso continuo and flute), the final two cantatas reveal likely origins in professional concerts. Not only are these cantatas longer and more musically developed, their accompaniments are for four-part string orchestra and trumpet. The vocal demands are also greater with notes values of shorter values and an increased amount of coloratura passage work. The opening of the fifth cantata, Kindly Fate at Length Release Me, even begins with a twomeasure melisma on the word, "Kindly." The introduction to the final aria, "Rouse and Conquest lies before you," is an extended symphony for strings and trumpet lasting twenty measures. The vocal line contains coloratura passages of up to eleven measures, all pointing to performances by a trained singer in a concert situation. As Richard Goodall observes, both the fifth and sixth cantatas in Pepusch's 1720 collection demand "that same forthright manner of delivery which is generally associated with London pleasure gardens performances at a much later date in the century."58

Of particular interest is the final cantata in the collection, *While pale Britannia pensive sate*, which also exists in a manuscript version. ⁵⁹ The differences between the two versions are significant. By 1720, Italian opera had firmly established itself in London and it would appear that Pepusch could not escape its influence. The manuscript version is pitched higher, has held notes (that end in trills) lasting sixteen measures and the final aria has passagework of up to ten measures. By comparison, the published score reveals the need to simplify the vocal line for the domestic market by lowering the pitch of cantata so that the range becomes e'-g'' and by eliminating most of the coloratura passages. Furthermore, the recitatives are much rewritten. It appears possible that Pepusch simplified both the fifth and sixth cantatas to make them more amenable for domestic