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The Manuscript Source of Philippe II d'Orléans's *Cantates françaises*: A New Light on Early Eighteenth-Century Transnational Networks of Connoisseurship and Collecting

Don Fader

School of Music, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL, USA
djfader@ua.edu

Abstract

The rediscovery of a *unicum* manuscript source of *cantates françaises* by Philippe II d'Orléans in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, provokes a re-evaluation of not only the provenance of the collection to which it belongs, but also the role played by diplomacy, sociability and cultural exchange in the history of the *cantate française*. The manuscript's contents all reflect Philippe's use of international connections to acquire music and engage musicians in the period 1701–1706. The manuscript forms part of a corpus of French scores that belonged to Marie-Thérèse de Lannoy de La Motterie, an aristocratic amateur harpsichordist with an interest in both French and Italian music, and in *cantates*. As wife of Joseph Lothar von Königsegg und Rothenfels, representative of the Austrian emperor to Philippe, then regent of France, she was engaged in the cultural life of Paris during the period 1717–1719, not only acquiring *cantate* prints but also a copy of Philippe's own works in the genre. Her collection reflects both her personal interests and her diplomatic cultivation of the social circles around Philippe in which music connoisseurship was an important skill. The manuscript thus highlights the important role played in the international transmission of *cantates françaises* by diplomatic and familial connections of noble amateurs, especially those curious about musical developments beyond their own regional practices.

Keywords: *cantate française*; Philippe II d'Orléans; diplomacy by women; international relations; music collecting; courtly sociability

Pour Catherine Cessac, amie de la duchesse du Maine mais point ennemie

Several years ago, the programme for the national meeting of the American Musicological Society included an unusual feature: a tag cloud of the paper abstracts (a computer-generated diagram representing the frequency of particular words in the texts). Front and centre in the diagram, in the largest print, was the word 'opera', a metric that underlines the popularity of opera scholarship in recent times, especially in anglophone musicology. This predominance of interest in the genre

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has certainly spurred on major scholarly contributions, but it also has its dark side in the neglect of other areas, especially sacred and chamber music. Chamber music, by its very nature, implies a small select audience, and in the eighteenth century it was less likely to attract the attention of chroniclers or journalistic writers, which in turn makes its influence and significance difficult to assess today. Thus an overemphasis on opera can potentially distort our view not only of ‘music history’, but also of the sources and collections that inform it.

This observation is particularly relevant to the study of the *cantate française*, the initial scholarly description of which by Eugène Borrel in 1958 as an ‘opera in miniature’ (‘opéra en miniature’) has since been problematized.¹ While the genre enjoyed a vogue from 1706 to the 1730s, a period that saw a sudden explosion of published prints, we have little information about its social and material history: who bought these volumes, what were the size and contents of their collections, and how did they use the scores? Indeed – in contrast to French operas and ballets – we know relatively little about the circumstances in which *cantates* were originally performed. This problem was noted by David Tunley, who ascribed the popularity of the genre to salons; more recently, Laura Naudeix has made a similar observation, asserting a relationship of sociability between singers and listeners.² However, the few early descriptions largely document performances for high-ranking nobles, often in celebratory situations (particularly those in the circle of Philippe d’Orléans, the future regent of France³), or the inclusion of *cantates* in stage performances and, later, public concerts such as those of the Concert Spirituel.⁴ Sometimes the volumes themselves give titbits of

¹ Eugène Borrel, ‘Du milieu du XVII^e siècle a [sic] la disparition de la basse continue’, in *Précis de musicologie*, ed. Jacques Chailley (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 242. It was criticized as an oversimplification by David Tunley, *The French Baroque Cantata*, second edition (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 15. However, the term was actually used in the *Journal de Trévoux ou Mémoires pour servir l’histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts* (February 1709), 294: ‘[cantates] sont des petits Opéras qu’une seule voix peut exécuter’, and was employed by Natalie Berton-Blivet, ‘Le petit opéra (1668–1723): aux marges de la cantate et de l’opéra’ (PhD dissertation, Université de Tours, 1996). In fact, the connection between the two genres is a complicated issue; see Greer Garden, ‘A Link Between Opera and Cantata in France: Tonal Design in the Music of André Campra’, *Early Music* 21/3 (1993), 397–412; Catherine Cessac, ‘La cantate: avatar de l’opéra?’, in *De la rhétorique des passions à l’expression du sentiment: actes du colloque de Paris, Cité de la Musique, 14, 15 et 16 mai 2002*, ed. Frédéric Dassas and Barthélémy Jobert (Paris: Cité de la Musique, 2003), 1–8; Michele Cabrini, ‘Breaking Form through Sound: Instrumental Aesthetics, Tempête, and Temporality in the French Baroque Cantata’, *The Journal of Musicology* 26/3 (2009), 327–378; and Cabrini, ‘Upstaging the Voice: Diegetic Sound and Instrumental Interventions in the French Baroque Cantata’, *Early Music* 38/1 (2010), 73–90.

² Tunley, *The French Baroque Cantata*, 3–4; Laura Naudeix, ‘Le jeu du chanteur dans la cantate française’, *Revue de musicologie* 106/2 (2020), 373–406. While Naudeix may be right about the relationships involved in some *cantate* performances, the comparison to salons appears at least potentially problematic in cases where the singers were professional musicians rather than members who typically performed to please one another as an aspect of their social relationships; see Don Fader, ‘The *Honnête homme* as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and *Politesse* in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music’, *The Journal of Musicology* 20/1 (2003), 20–30. See also Jérôme Dorival, *La cantate française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), 34–37.

³ A few early instances are described in the *Mercure galant*, largely performances for figures in the circle of Philippe d’Orléans. The first ((November 1708), 288–290) is a performance of a now-lost ‘cantate’ by Jean-François Lalouette, set to a text by Antoine Danchet that employs at least one clearly identifiable da capo form and celebrates Philippe’s music-loving daughter, Louise-Adélaïde d’Orléans, abbesse de Chelles. It was sung ‘par d’excellentes voix’ after a performance of a play by the pensionary students at the Abbey. Other early reports describe the performance of both Italian and French cantatas by musicians of Philippe II d’Orléans for the visiting Elector of Bavaria ((November 1709), 306), discussed below, and a *cantate* entitled *Thetis*, ‘Sur le recouvrement de la santé de Monseigneur le Comte de Toulouse’ (on the recovery of the health of Monseigneur le Comte de Toulouse (an illegitimate son of Louis XIV)), which was ‘exécutée le 4 Janvier par la Musique de Monsieur le Comte de Toulouse, en presence de Madame la duchesse d’Orléans’ (performed on 4 January by the musical ensemble of Monsieur le Comte de Toulouse, in the presence of Madame the duchess of Orléans) ((January 1712), 5–12).

⁴ See Greer Garden, ‘*Les Amours de Vénus* (1712) et le *Second livre de cantates* (1714) de Campra’, *Revue de musicologie* 77/1 (1991), 96–107; Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 250–254; and William Weber, with Beverly Wilcox, *Canonic Repertories and the French Musical Press: Lully to Wagner* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2021), chapter 2, 37–72.

information about the particular circumstances in which pieces were written or performed, many of these again in public or semi-public social situations for high-ranking nobles.⁵

Furthermore, it is clear that the vogue went beyond Paris and its environs, and that *cantates* played an important role in the communication of culture and style across political boundaries. *Cantates* were available in print in francophone cities in the Low Countries, particularly in collections issued in Amsterdam by Étienne Roger and Charles Le Cène. Roger's serial *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire de différents auteurs*, for example, includes *cantates* found nowhere else today, among them important works by figures such as Charles-Hubert Gervais, Michel Pignolet de Montéclair and Giovanni Antonio Guido, to name but a few.⁶ Likewise, ongoing research in European libraries is still yielding evidence of the cultivation of *cantates* at francophile German courts, including new pieces attributed to Nicolas Bernier in Rostock.⁷ Interest in the genre during the period prompted the publication of a collection of *cantate* texts in The Hague by Jean Bachelier, *Recueil de cantates, contenant toutes celles qui se chantent dans les concerts: pour l'usage des amateurs de la musique et de la poésie* (1728). While these sources reveal the existence of an international network for the transmission of *cantates*, the private nature of their performance makes it difficult to know the extent of this network's reach. Who were these 'amateurs', and what were these 'concerts'? How did this repertoire – some of it even not publicly available in France – reach these centres? Who acquired these scores and how were they used?⁸

Because detailed records of performances of *cantates françaises* and documents concerning their international exchange are very rare, it is instructive to turn to the musical sources themselves – and to the collections of which they form a part – in order to answer such questions. The recent rediscovery of a *unicum* source of the *cantates françaises* by Philippe II, duc d'Orléans (1674–1723), in a manuscript in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart (D-SI), represents a starting-point for such an investigation. This volume (shelfmark HB XVII 783), hereafter referred to as MS 783, represents a major discovery, since Philippe was not only a key political figure (nephew of Louis XIV and regent of France), but also active as both an amateur composer and a musical patron, especially to the composers of the first *cantates*.⁹ Although Philippe's *tragédies en musique*

⁵ A few early *cantates* were written for various members of the royal family; for example, 'La Prise de Lerida' (Jean-Baptiste Stuck, *Cantates françaises à voix seule et basse continue*, book 2 (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1708), 41) celebrates the military victory by Philippe II d'Orléans in 1707, and Campra's *Le Lys et la rose* (*Cantates françaises, avec symphonie, & sans symphonie*, book 3 (Paris: l'auteur et Boivin, 1728), [68], was 'présentée à S. A. S. Madame La Duchesse d'Orléans par M^{rs} de l'Ordre Social'. Jean-Baptiste Rousseau dedicated his text of 'Les bains de Tomeri' to 'S. A. S. Madame la duchesse' (*Ceuvres diverses* (Soleure [Solothurn]: Ursus Heuberger, 1712), 315), and it was set to music by Stuck (*Cantates françaises à I. II. voix et basse continue, avec symphonies*, book 3 (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1711), 2). Likewise, Bernier's 'Les Jardins de Sceaux' (*Cantates françaises, ou musique de chambre . . .*, book 4 (Paris: Foucault, no date), 25) and all the contents of book 5 (*Les nuits de Sceaux*[.] *Concerts de chambre ou cantates françaises . . .*, book 5 (Paris: Foucault, 1715)) were performed at the château of the duchesse du Maine (illegitimate daughter of Louis XIV); see Catherine Cessac, Manuel Couvreur and Fabrice Preyat, eds, *La duchesse du Maine (1676–1753): une mécène à la croisée des arts et des siècles* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2003), especially the chapter by Cessac, 'La duchesse du Maine et la musique', 97–107.

⁶ See Rudolf Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène* (2018), <https://roger.sites.uu.nl/> (12 March 2023). In particular, Gervais's *cantate* is among the first of a tradition of comic subjects; see Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, 'Charles-Hubert Gervais's *Psiche burlesque* and the Birth of the Comic *Cantate française*', *The Journal of Musicology* 17/4 (1999), 520–545.

⁷ See Kaneez M. Munjee, 'Les Chants d'Orphée: The Figure of Orpheus in the Eighteenth-Century French Cantata' (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2011), 79–82. On transmission to German lands see Louis Delpech, *Ouvertures à la française: migrations musicales dans l'espace germanique, 1660–1730* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 193–194, 200–201.

⁸ One such collection has been investigated by Marie Cornaz, 'La cantate italienne et française au sein de la collection musicale des archives d'Arenberg: nouvelles perspectives', in *French Renaissance Music and Beyond: Studies in Memory of Frank Dobbins*, ed. Marie-Alexis Colin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 109–123.

⁹ On Philippe see Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, *Un mécène-musicien: Philippe d'Orléans, régent, 1674–1723* (Bourg-la-Reine: Éditions Zurfluh, 1996); Don Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style at the Court of Philippe II, duc d'Orléans (1674–1723)' (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2000); Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens", the Italian Cantata and the *Goûts-réunis* under Louis XIV', *Early Music* 35/2 (2007), 237–249; and Fader, 'Campra et le

have attracted attention – *La Suite d'Armide* having just received its modern premiere – his *cantates françaises* have been known only through their texts, printed in Bachelier's *Recueil de cantates*.¹⁰ In fact, MS 783 entered the Landesbibliothek collection in 1922, but it remained unknown until a catalogue of the library's manuscripts was published in 2004, and it has escaped musicological notice until now.¹¹

While Orléans's *cantates* have significant implications for the genre's early history, an understanding of their music requires resolving the complex problems raised by a number of curiosities about the source, particularly its unusually cosmopolitan contents (listed in Table 1) and its provenance. Why does MS 783 contain a well-known Italian cantata by Giovanni Bononcini, a heretofore unknown *cantate* and French air by Luigi Mancina – an Italian composer who is not known to have composed any other music to French texts – and three unique sources of *cantates* by a major historical figure? What was/were the original source(s) of these pieces and how did they end up together? Who had this unusual manuscript copied, when, and why? Furthermore, how did it end up in a library in southwestern Germany? Answering these questions requires an intensive investigation into the relationships between the repertoire preserved in MS 783 – along with its place in the Landesbibliothek collection – and the social contexts in which it was produced and used.

One approach to these questions begins in contemporary history, with MS 783's problematic provenance. MS 783 forms part of a collection that has long been known for its large component of French music but whose history and composition have been viewed largely through an operatic lens. According to Clytus Gottwald, the author of the catalogue made in 2004, the volume containing Philippe's *cantates* belongs to the collection of 'Lully manuscripts' in the library, an assertion that turns out to be quite misleading.¹² Gottwald's catalogue makes considerable use of an earlier study of the collection by Reiner Nägele, who viewed the *cantate française* as 'eine Modeerscheinung, die außerhalb der Grenzen Frankreichs zwar kurzfristig auf geringes, insgesamt aber kaum mehr als marginales Interesse stieß' (a fad that, although it briefly generated a limited interest outside the borders of France, was overall hardly more than marginal).¹³ The rediscovery of the *cantates* by Philippe d'Orléans – which had not yet been catalogued at the time of Nägele's analysis – prompts a re-evaluation of the contents of this collection by focusing on its very large (and heretofore unstudied) component of *cantates*, rather than its operas.

This re-evaluation reveals a particularly complex network of international connections revolving around social exchanges between high-ranking aristocratic musical amateurs: not only Philippe d'Orléans himself, from whose personal library the manuscript's contents were almost certainly drawn, but also the noble couple who had MS 783 copied. My examination consists of three parts, each employing circumstantial and contextual evidence of links between musical sources

Régent: querelles, rivalités et avancées de l'harmonie française', in *Itinéraires d'André Campra (1660–1744), d'Aix à Versailles, de l'Église à l'Opéra*, ed. Catherine Cessac (Wavre: Mardaga and Versailles: Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 2012), 15–29.

¹⁰ *La Suite d'Armide* (edited by Louis Castelain and published by the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 2023) was recorded in the same year by the Choeur de Chambre de Namur and Cappella Mediterranea. Jean Bachelier, *Recueil de cantates* (The Hague: Alberts and Vander Kloot, 1728), attributes the texts of the three cantates found in MS 783 to Philippe: 'L'Amant trahi' (299), 'La Résolution inutile' (284) and 'Le Dégout des grandeurs' (268). How Bachelier came into contact with Orléans's *cantates* is unknown.

¹¹ Clytus Gottwald, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Königlichen Hofbibliothek: Codices musici* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 347–348.

¹² Gottwald, *Die Handschriften*, 421–422. Its manuscripts of music by Jean-Baptiste Lully were the subject of study in the preparation of the complete edition of the composer's works; see Herbert Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully (LWV)* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1981), 7.

¹³ Reiner Nägele, 'Die Stuttgarter Musikalien der ehemaligen Deutsordensbibliothek Altshausen', *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 1 (1994), 187; my translation. (All translations in this article are my own.) This not uncommon view, however, ignores not only the international reach of the *cantate*, but also – among other things – its immense influence on the musical language of the post-Lully period, particularly on Rameau, who cut his musico-dramatic teeth on the genre.

Table 1. The contents of manuscript HB XVII 783, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart

Folio	Composer	Genre	Title
2r	Giovanni Bononcini	cantata	Ch'io ti manchi di fede
10v	Luigi Mancía	ariette	Vôte voix sonore, et tendre
12r	Mancía	cantate	O lis de nos jardins
18v	Philippe d'Orléans	cantate	La Sombre nuit venoit ^a
28v	d'Orléans	cantate	Toy dont j'abanndonay ^b
38v	d'Orléans	cantate	Qu'un coeur ambitieux ^c

^a Text attributed to Philippe d'Orléans with the title 'L'Amant trahi' in Jean Bachelier, *Recueil de cantates* (The Hague: Alberts and Vander Kloot, 1728), 299.

^b Text attributed to d'Orléans with the title 'La Résolution inutile' in Bachelier, *Recueil de cantates*, 284.

^c Text attributed to d'Orléans with the title 'Le Dégout des grandeurs' in Bachelier, *Recueil de cantates*, 268.

and practices of sociability, connoisseurship and collecting that were largely private and thus left a very limited trace. First, an investigation of the contents of MS 783 in the context of Philippe's activities reveals that this manuscript reflects characteristic aspects of his international musical connections during the period 1701–1706, when he was deeply involved in experiments that gave birth to the *cantate française*. Second, an analysis of the manuscript's provenance and its place in the Stuttgart collection – in particular its connections to four volumes that belonged to Marie-Thérèse de Lannoy de La Motterie (1692–1750) – indicates that MS 783 was most likely copied for her. These volumes demonstrate that La Motterie was an amateur harpsichordist and collector, and probably a singer as well. As the wife of Joseph Lothar Dominik von Königsegg und Rothenfels (1673–1751), the representative of the Holy Roman Emperor to France during Philippe's regency, she played an important diplomatic role via the sociability required by her position. The couple was in Paris from March 1717 to July 1719, during which time they actively participated in the cultural life of the city and court, purchasing the large group of *cantate* prints that are now a major part of the French collection at the Landesbibliothek. Finally, an examination of documents from the couple's period in Paris, considering the central role played by collecting and connoisseurship in the courtly life of the regent, indicates that La Motterie was permitted to make a copy of Philippe's *cantates* via her cultivation of members of his circle. Thus MS 783 highlights the important role played in the international transmission of *cantates françaises* and other chamber music via diplomatic and familial connections of noble amateurs, especially those curious about musical developments beyond their own regional practices.¹⁴

MS 783 and Philippe d'Orléans's International Contacts

The complex characteristics and contents of MS 783 play an important role in gaining a new understanding of the origins of the Stuttgart collection and of Philippe d'Orléans's international connections. The volume was copied on folio-size Dutch paper manufactured by Lubertus van Gerrevink in the early eighteenth century. It is bound in calf's leather with gold-stamped decorations, indicating a fairly wealthy owner.¹⁵ The unknown copyist seems not to have been a native French speaker, as, for example, he or she uses unorthodox terms for genres: not only are Orléans's *cantates* labelled variously 'Cantate Française', 'Cantata Française' and 'Cantata Françaises' (the last shown in Figure 1), there are also corrections of errors in the text in a second hand.¹⁶ However, a particular quirk helps identify its provenance as part of the large La Motterie collection: as is visible in the lowest staves of Figure 1, the

¹⁴ I am currently working on a critical edition of Philippe's *cantates* and a book on the musical culture of his court in the context of the post-Lully period.

¹⁵ On the paper and copyist see Gottwald, *Die Handschriften*, 347–348. It is unclear when the binding was made; it is certainly different from all of the other volumes in the collection.

¹⁶ The hand is not among those currently identified by the project AteCop (<https://atecop.hypotheses.org/>); Laurent Guillo, private communication.

74 *Decc;* *Cantata Françoises*
De M^{rs}. Le Duc d'Orléans.

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Figure 1. Philippe d'Orléans, *Le Dégout des grandeurs*, first page. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, HB XVII 783, fol. 38v. Used by permission

manuscript presents lines for voice and continuo, but simultaneous rests in both indicate that there were originally accompanying instrumental parts that were copied separately and are now missing.

The distinctly cosmopolitan contents of MS 783 (Table 1) reflect Philippe's obsession with music, his international connections and his patronage of experiments in combining the French and Italian styles during the development of the *cantate française*. In addition to the three *cantates* by Philippe himself, the manuscript includes an Italian cantata by Giovanni Bononcini, *Ch'io ti manchi di fede*, and a heretofore unknown French air and *cantate* by the Italian composer and

singer Luigi Mancina (c1665–after 1708), all for high voice and continuo.¹⁷ The three *cantates* attributed to Philippe in MS 783 employ the same texts attributed to him in Bachelier's *Recueil de cantates*, and thus it seems fairly secure that he composed the music.¹⁸ Although there is no way to date Philippe's *cantates* precisely, they almost certainly stem from the period prior to the beginning of his military service in 1706, when he was actively engaged in both composition and musical patronage. Reports of his musical activities peak in the period 1701–1706: after he inherited the Orléans fortune from his father, when he composed two operas and when his musicians were actively engaged in writing their first *cantates*.¹⁹

The other pieces in the manuscript all have links to Philippe and were almost certainly copied from his personal collection; they reflect other sources associated with his network as well as his practice of using international familial connections to acquire music and musicians in order to satisfy his curiosity about Italian and French musical styles.²⁰ These phenomena all formed part of his experiments with the development of the French *cantate*, a genre that made its debut in a series of prints issued from 1705–1706 by musicians in his orbit: Jean-Baptiste Morin, Nicolas Bernier and Jean-Baptiste Stuck.²¹ Around 1701, Philippe used his international contacts to bring two Neapolitan string player-composers to France: Stuck, who played cello, and the violinist Giovanni Antonio Guido. He also arranged for his violinist Jean-Baptiste Anet to study in Italy. In 1703 he organized the transfer of two castratos from cardinal Pietro Ottoboni in Rome (Pasquale Betti and Pasqualino Tiepoli) in order to fill out his ensemble of Italian musicians. This group certainly played a central role in concerts he hosted that involved 'combats' between the French and Italian styles, as reported by Hubert Le Blanc:

Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, depuis Régent, honoroit de sa présence, les combats de l'Harmonie Française et de l'Italienne, et tenoit la porte lui-même, pour ne laisser entrer que les Amateurs insignes ou l'élite de ceux qui exécutoient.²²

Monseigneur the duc d'Orléans, who has since become regent, honoured the combats between French and Italian harmony with his presence, and held the door himself in order to allow entrance only to exceptional amateurs and the elite among those who perform.

¹⁷ The attributions in the MS are as follows: fol. 2r, 'Del Sigr Bononcini'; fol. 10v, 'Del Sigr Mancina | p[aroles] d[e] M. B. D.'; fol. 12r, 'Cantate del Sigr Mancina | p[aroles] d[e] M. B. D.'; fol. 18v, 'Cantate Française de Msr le Duc d'Orléans'; fol. 28v, 'Cantata Française de Msr le Duc d'Orléans'; fol. 38v, 'Cantata Françaises [sic] de Msr le Duc d'Orléans'. The identity of the poet ('M. B. D.') is unclear.

¹⁸ The exception is 'La Rose', whose attribution Bachelier says he doubted (it was in fact set by Morin): 'Les paroles de cette cantate ont été mises en musique (à ce que l'on pretend) par feu Mgr. le duc d'Orléans Régent de France' (The words of this *cantate* were set to music (so it is claimed) by the late duc d'Orléans, regent of France). *Recueil des cantates*, 225.

¹⁹ See Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"' and 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style', 302–324. Between 1706 and 1709 Philippe devoted his entire energy (and finances) to his military campaigns, producing stunning victories that established his military reputation.

²⁰ There survive very few volumes that have connections to what must have been a remarkably large music library owned by Philippe. There is no listing of music books in the inventories taken after the regent's death, aside from liturgical books housed in his chapel. Archives nationales, Paris (F-Pan), X^{1a} 9162 and AP1 752.

²¹ Jean-Baptiste Morin, *Cantates françaises à une et deux voix, mêlées de simphonies* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1706); Nicolas Bernier, *Cantates françaises, ou musique de chambre* (Paris: Foucault marchand[, 1706]); and Jean-Baptiste Stuck, *Cantates françaises à voix seule avec simphonies* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1706). See Dorival, *La cantate française*, 21–25, and Don Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style', 308–323. One wrinkle in this story was introduced by Greer Garden, who pointed out that Jean-Baptiste Bousset – a composer with no known connection to Philippe in the period – had already published a *cantate* in 1705; see Garden, 'A Little-Known Contributor to the Early French Cantata: Jean-Baptiste de Bousset (1662–1725)', *Liber amicorum John Steele: A Musicological Tribute*, ed. Warren Drake (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1997), 357–377.

²² Hubert Le Blanc, *Défense de la Basse de Viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétensions du violoncelle* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1740), 2. On these 'combats' see Fader, 'Campra et le Régent'.

The two castratos stayed in France for two years, from 1703 to 1705, during what was probably the height of the experimentation with French *cantates* in his circle of musicians.²³

The first item in MS 783, a frequently copied Italian cantata by Giovanni Bononcini, might seem a surprising inclusion in a volume that otherwise contains French-texted music found in no other source, but in fact it reflects not only the popularity of Bononcini's cantatas in Paris but also their central place in the repertoire performed by Orléans's ensemble and in the early experiments with *cantates*.²⁴ Composed during Bononcini's period in Rome from 1692 to 1698 (and probably brought to France by Betti and Tiepoli), *Ch'io ti manchi di fede* played a critical role in these experiments because it employs a very rare and therefore characteristic feature that served as an important model for cantatas by Philippe, Stuck and Guido: a form Bertrand Porot dubbed the 'air contrasté' (contrast aria), a da capo aria with a B section in a different metre and/or tempo.²⁵ It was a notable feature of the first *cantates* in Philippe's orbit because it appears in seven out of the nineteen arias in Stuck's first book of *cantates* (1706), quickly disappearing from his subsequent publications. Contrast arias are likewise a feature of Guido's Italian cantatas, which were probably written for Philippe's Italian ensemble because they are found at the end of D-11588 in the Conservatoire collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (F-Pc) – a miscellany of arias stemming largely from Neapolitan and Milanese operas performed in 1700–1703, probably collected by Guido on his travels to France in 1702–1703.²⁶ Furthermore, MS 783 reveals that Philippe's *cantates* were also dominated by this form, which accounts for five of their thirteen arias. These are unprecedented proportions for either the French or the Italian cantata repertoire, in which the usage of such arias was otherwise very rare, reflecting the important place of *Ch'io ti manchi di fede* among Philippe's circle of musicians, and therefore in his collection of music.

The connection between Philippe and the two French pieces by Mancina in MS 783 is more circumstantial, but also reflects a very unusual phenomenon: the composition of a French *cantate* by an Italian composer. This phenomenon is in fact largely found in sources associated with Philippe. Besides *cantates* by Stuck and Guido, there are three such works known today: Mancina's *O lis de nos jardins* in MS 783, Pietro Antonio Fiocco's *Philomèle* in Rés 1451 (F-Pc) and Handel's *Sans y penser* (in the British Library (GB-Lbl), R.M.20.d.11, fols 61–66). All three can be traced to Philippe via his practice of using international contacts in the service of his experiments with the *cantate française*, albeit indirectly in the case of the Handel piece, the origins of which are unknown but probably resulted from the composer's contacts with Orléans's two former singers, Betti and Tiepoli, during his stay in Rome. The two castratos not only both sang in Handel's Italian cantatas, but – according to a memoir attributed to Denis Nolhac – they maintained an interest in French culture that might have stimulated the composer's curiosity about *cantates*:

J'eus occasion de le [Handel] voir chez les fameux Musiciens du Pape nommez *Pasqualini*; comme ils avaient été long tems à Paris au service du Duc d'Orleans, ils étoient charmez

²³ See Fader, 'Philippe II d'Orléans's "chanteurs italiens"'. On Guido's formation in Naples see Guido Olivieri, *String Virtuosi in Eighteenth-Century Naples: Culture, Power, and Music Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), 148–158.

²⁴ See Lowell Lindgren, 'Bononcini's "agreeable and easie style and those fine inventions in his basses"', in *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy*, ed. Michael Talbot (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 154–162.

²⁵ Bertrand Porot, 'Les airs contrastés: un procédé d'écriture dans le premier livre de cantates de Jean-Baptiste Stuck, musicien du duc d'Orléans', in *Topographie du plaisir sous la Régence*, ed. Roland Mortier and Hervé Hasquin (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1998), 153–168.

²⁶ D-11588 has two main sections, the second of which presents three Italian cantatas, one duetto and two Italian arias attributed to Guido in a single hand; the first section contains the opera excerpts in a different hand. See Don Fader, *Music, Dance, and Franco-Italian Cultural Exchange c. 1700: Michel Pignolet de Montéclair and the Prince de Vaudémont* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021), 172. A second manuscript in F-Pc (L-14247–14251), this time French and containing Guido's cantata *Il rossignuolo*, also preserves excerpts from French operas of this same period: Gatti's *Scylla* (1701) and Rebel's *Ulysse* (1703).

quand ils rencontroient des François[;] ils leur faisoient mille honnêtetez; ils venoient même quelquefois chez moi manger la soupe à la Française. Monsieur Haindel rendoit visite à Rome à tous ces Messieurs Musiciens qui avoient quelque réputation, il vint par consequent chez ceuxci, qui m'invitèrent à cette occasion.²⁷

I had occasion to see Handel at the home of the famous musicians of the pope, named Pasqualini. As they were in Paris for a long time in the service of the duc d'Orléans, they were charmed when they met Frenchmen; they did them many good turns; they even sometimes came to my home to eat French soup. Mr Handel made visits to all these Messieurs musicians who had earned some reputation in Rome, and consequently came to visit these two, who invited me on that occasion.

Not only did Philippe use his international contacts to acquire Italian musicians who wrote *cantates* (Stuck and Guido), but he employed them in the service of at least one long-distance 'combat': between his composer Jean-Baptiste Morin and Fiocco, a Venetian based in Brussels who had composed new French prologues for performances of Lully's operas in the city.²⁸ The results of this 'combat' can be found in Rés 1451, which preserves – side by side – the two composers' competing settings of *Philomèle*, one of the earliest *cantate* texts by the genre's literary inventor, Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, who was also a protégé of Philippe.²⁹ The other contents of Rés 1451 demonstrate that the manuscript stems from the early period of experimentation with the *cantate* occurring in Philippe's circle, as it comprises *unica* copies of Stuck's Italian cantatas as well as early unpublished versions of *cantates* by Morin and several of his *ariettes*, French airs in da capo form that played a central role in early efforts in creating *cantates*.³⁰

This 'combat' between Morin and Fiocco would have required an international exchange: the receipt of Rousseau's text and the return of Fiocco's setting. This exchange may have occurred via Philippe's shared interest in the controversies concerning the French and Italian styles with Fiocco's patron, Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria (1662–1726).³¹ Although any correspondence between the two patrons has yet to surface, Maximilian Emanuel was not only a major connoisseur of both Italian and French music, but Philippe's cousin by marriage, and he had fought

²⁷ Denis Nolhac (attributed), *Voyage historique et politique de Suisse[,] d'Italie et d'Allemagne*, three volumes, volume 2 (Frankfurt: François Verrenttrapp, 1737), 176–177. See Arnold Geering, 'Georg Friderich Händels französische Kantate', in *Musicae scientiae collectanea: Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1972*, ed. Heinrich Hüschen (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1973), 126–140, and Karl Böhmer, 'Zum Kontext und den ersten Interpreten von Händels *Delirio amoroso*', in *Georg Friedrich Händel in Rom*, ed. Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Matthias Schnettger (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), 232–253.

²⁸ See Manuel Couvreur, 'Pietro Antonio Fiocco, un musicien vénitien à Bruxelles (1682–1714)', *Revue belge de musicologie* 55 (2001), 147–164; Rudolph Rasch, 'A Venetian Goes North: Pietro Antonio Fiocco in Amsterdam, Hanover and Brussels', *Revue belge de musicologie* 56 (2002), 177–207; Couvreur, 'Henry Desmarest à Bruxelles: aperçu sur la vie artistique dans la capitale des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au tournant des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', in *Henry Desmarest (1661–1741): exils d'un musicien dans l'Europe du grand siècle*, ed. Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 13–32.

²⁹ On Rousseau's protectors at Versailles see Don Fader, 'La duchesse de Bourgogne, le mécénat des Noailles, et les arts dramatiques à la cour autour de 1700', in *Marie-Adélaïde de Savoie (1685–1712): Duchesse de Bourgogne, enfant terrible de Versailles*, ed. Fabrice Preyat (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2014), 175–190.

³⁰ See François Turellier, 'Des cantates anonymes attribuables à Jean-Baptiste Morin (1677–1745) dans le manuscrit F-Pc. Rés 1451: cantates de Mancin[i]', *Ostinato rigore*, 8/9 (1997), 329–339. On the importance of *ariettes* in the development of the *cantate* see Don Fader, 'The *Goûts-réunis* in French Vocal Music through the Lens of the *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* (1695–1710)', *Revue de musicologie* 96/2 (2010), 321–363.

³¹ The literature on the patronage of Max Emanuel is vast; see Stephan Hörner und Sebastian Werr, eds, *Das Musikleben am Hof von Kurfürst Max Emanuel* (Tutzing: Schneider 2012). His curiosity about the two styles is described by Margret Scharer, "'Pour le chante je suis du goust Italien, mais pour quelques instruments on exèle en France": Bayerisch-französische Musikerbeziehungen unter Kurfürst Max Emanuel', in *Das Musikleben am Hof von Kurfürst Max Emanuel*, 41–52.

alongside Philippe during Louis XIV's Dutch campaigns of the 1690s.³² Their common musical interests were evident during Maximilian Emanuel's visit to France in 1709, when he was the guest of honour at a two-hour concert hosted by Philippe at his château at Saint-Cloud, during which both Italian music and French *cantates* were performed, according to the *Mercure*:

La Musique commença à cinq heures & demie. Il y en eut d'Italienne & de François; Mademoiselle Hullot fut fort applaudie, & apres quelques Cantates Françaises la Musique finit à sept heures & demie.³³

The music began at 5.30 [p. m.]. There was both French and Italian music; Mademoiselle Hulot was greatly applauded, and after a few French *cantates*, the music finished at 7.30.

During this same period the Elector acquired Philippe's violinist, Jean-Baptiste Anet.

The inclusion of Mancina's *O lis de nos jardins* and his *ariette* 'Vôtre voix sonore, et tendre' in MS 783 thus reflects what we know of Philippe's interests and transnational collecting practices. Like Fiocco, Mancina was a well-travelled musician fluent in French, Italian and German. There is no record of his travel to France, but in 1702–1703 he worked for another of Philippe's familial contacts: his cousin, Sophie Charlotte of Hanover (1668–1705).³⁴ Sophie Charlotte's courts in Hanover and Berlin – like those of Maximilian Emanuel – were known for their mixture of French and Italian musical influences, and Philippe cultivated her as another of his international connections, sending her a portable harpsichord as a gift, perhaps in recompense for the music by Mancina.³⁵ This instrument, a *clavecin brisé* (folding harpsichord) by Jean Marius, dated to exactly this period (c1700–1704), survives in the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung in Berlin.³⁶

³² On the links between Philippe and Maximilian Emanuel see Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style', 339–340.

³³ *Mercure galant* (November 1709), 306. The concert was also reported by Philippe de Courcillon, marquis de Dangeau on 20 November 1709. *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau publié en entier pour la première fois par MM. Eud. Soulié et L. Dussieux avec les additions inédites du duc de Saint-Simon publiées par M. Feuillet de Conches*, ed. E. Soulié, L. Dussieux and others, nineteen volumes, volume 13 (Paris: Firmin Didot frères, fils et c[ompagn]ie, 1860), 65. On Hulot see Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style', 339–340.

³⁴ Born in Hanover, Sophie Charlotte married Frederick III of Brandenburg (1657–1713) in 1684 and became Queen of Prussia after the elevation of Brandenburg-Prussia to a kingdom in 1701. She was the daughter of Élisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans's aunt and frequent correspondent, Sophie of Hanover (1630–1714). Mancina, although largely occupied with singing and composing in various Italian cities in the 1680s and 90s, probably encountered her in 1687, when his Italian opera, *Paride in Ida*, was performed in Hanover. He returned to Germany several times in the late 1690s and was a member of a group of Italian musicians Sophie Charlotte employed that included Giovanni Bononcini, Francesco Pistocchi and Attilio Ariosti. She probably arranged for Mancina to compose the pastoral *La costanza nelle selve*, the subject of which was suggested by Sophie Charlotte herself, and which was performed in Hanover in 1697. In 1702 Mancina journeyed to her court in Berlin/Ansbach, where he sang in Pistocchi's pastoral *Il Narciso* and in a cantata written by Ariosti, before moving on to Dusseldorf to compose a serenata for the Elector of the Palatinate in 1703. See Andrea Garavaglia, 'Mancina, Luigi', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 68 (2007) [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-mancina_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-mancina_(Dizionario-Biografico)); Lowell Lindgren, 'Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–1705', *Studi musicali* 11 (1982), 237; Norbert Dubow, 'Markgraf Georg Friedrich, Pistocchi, Torelli: Fakten und Interpretationen zu Ansbachs "italienische Periode"', in *Italienische Musiker und Musikpflege an deutschen Höfen der Barockzeit*, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak (Cologne: Studio, 1995), 80; and Rashid-S. Pegah, "'Hir ist nichts als operen undt comedien": Sophie Charlottes Musik- und Theatrepflege in den Jahren 1699 bis 1705', in *Sophie Charlotte und ihr Schloss: Ein Musenhof des Barock in Brandenburg-Preussen*, ed. Gerd Bartoschek (Munich: Prestel, 1999), 83–89.

³⁵ Élisabeth Charlotte d'Orléans mentions in a letter to the Raugräfin of the Pfalz, dated 18 June 1712, that Philippe had sent a *clavecin brisé* to Sophie Charlotte: 'Le clavesin brisses . . . so mein sohn einsmahl ahn die königin in Preussen geschickt hatte' (the *clavecin brisé* . . . that my son had once sent to the queen of Prussia). In Wilhelm Ludwig Holland, *Briefe der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans* (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1867), 279.

³⁶ Musikinstrumenten-Museum des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung, Berlin, cat. No. 288. The instrument is described in Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord, 1440–1840*, third edition (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 502.

The *ariette* by Mancia also represents a parallel to the contents of Rés 1451, which includes *ariettes* by Morin and reflects the experimentation with settings of French texts via Italian forms that was central both to the musical life at Philippe's court and to the invention of the *cantate*. Therefore the pieces in MS 783 reflect Philippe's international connections, his collecting practices and his personal interest in a *réunion des goûts* during the period 1701–1706. These connections, considered alongside the unique stylistic links between the Bononcini and *cantates* composed in Philippe's circle, together with the rarity and exclusivity of the rest of the contents of MS 783, represent strong circumstantial evidence that the manuscript was copied from elements in Philippe's personal collection.

The French Collection at Stuttgart and the Problem(s) of Its Provenance

How and why did a manuscript copy of *cantates* by such a famous figure end up surviving in Stuttgart and nowhere else? The cosmopolitan mixing of French and Italian chamber music in MS 783 is a key to the re-evaluation of the collection of French scores at Stuttgart in which it is found. The core of this collection includes a large number of exclusively French scores dating from 1678 to 1733 that stem from the library of the Teutonic Order (Deutschordensbibliothek) at Altshausen (Swabia).³⁷ Although no catalogue from the period exists (the earliest, dated 1806, was compiled from a larger group of libraries), most of the volumes from the Deutschordensbibliothek are identifiable because they were numbered by a single hand on the upper-right corner of their flyleaves. Other identifying marks (or the lack thereof) divide the collection into two main halves, each with its own particular origins. The first half is formed from volumes dating from 1678 to 1702 that bear marks of ownership by Henry Wingfield (died 1712), a member of the exiled court of James II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. This part of the collection is composed entirely of opera and ballet scores, both prints and manuscripts, and includes the well-known Lully sources. The other half, largely without indications of ownership, is more complex in composition but includes mostly prints. The seventeen opera scores in this group date from as early as 1686 (a print of Lully's *Acis et Galatée*, labelled no. '6') to as late as 1733 (a print of Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie*, no. '11'). However, this group is dominated by no fewer than thirty-two *cantate* collections bound together into eleven volumes (listed in Table 2). They include virtually all of the works by the major composers in the genre up to and including 1717, and comprise a complete series of publications by Morin, Bernier, Stuck, Campra and Clérambault – all protégés of Philippe d'Orléans – up to that year. This collection is therefore an important one; few modern libraries can boast such a set. In addition, of course, there is the manuscript volume containing Philippe d'Orléans's own *cantates*, which bears the number 37 from the Deutschordensbibliothek. Thus it is in fact the *cantates* (that is, chamber music, not operas) that mark this group of later volumes as special and unusual.

It is this aspect of the collection that provides the clues to its origins: it was marked by its collector's interest in *cantates françaises*, to which he or she had access up to – but not much later than – 1718, a point that has so far been largely overlooked in discussions of its provenance. Gottwald points out that the collection had probably been assembled by the music-loving Austrian nobleman Christian Moritz von Königsegg und Rothenfels (1705–1778), who was *Landkomtur* (provincial commander) of Alsace and Burgundy at Altshausen from 1758 until his death.³⁸ During his tenure, Christian Moritz purchased two libraries for the Order, consisting of both scores and books (the catalogues of which have unfortunately not been preserved). One was that of his predecessor, Philipp Joseph Anton Eusebius von Froberg (1688–1757), who served as a *Landkomtur* in

³⁷ For a listing of the collection see Nägele, 'Die Stuttgarter Musikalien', 205–215. The manuscript bears the number 37 from the Deutschordensbibliothek, but was listed as 'missing' in Nägele's study. On the Deutsche Orden see Udo Arnold, *Kreuz und Schwert: Der Deutsche Orden in Südwestdeutschland, in der Schweiz und im Elsass* (Mainau: Blumeninsel Mainau, 1991).

³⁸ On the musical patronage of Christian Moritz at the Teutonic Order see Eberhard Fritz, 'Musik am Hof des Landkomturs in Altshausen: Ein Beitrag zur oberschwäbischen Musikkultur', *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 15 (2008), 45–64.

Table 2. Volumes of *cantate* prints stemming from the Deutschordensbibliothek, in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart

No.	Shelfmark	Composer(s)	Binding	Contents and dates
49	Mor 550/50	Morin	oblong	livre 1 (second edition, 1709); livre 2 (1707); <i>La chasse du cerf</i> (1709)
33	Mor 550/60	Morin	folio	livre 3 (1712); <i>L'Hymen et l'Amour</i> (1714)
36	Ber 730-100/1	Bernier	folio	livre 1 (no date [1706])
34	Ber 730-100/2.3	Bernier	folio	livre 2 (no date); livre 3 (no date)
35	Ber 730-100/4.5	Bernier	folio	livre 4 (no date); livre 5 (1715)
38	Stu 290/250	Stuck	oblong	livre 1 (second edition, 1713); livre 2 (1708), livre 3 (1711), livre 4 (1714)
50	Cam 430/3000	Campra	oblong	livre 1 (second edition, 1713); livre 2 (1714)
30	Cle 115/400-1.2	Clérambault	folio	livre 1 (1710); livre 2 (1713)
31	Cle 114/400-3	Clérambault	folio	<i>Le bouclier de Minerve</i> (1714); livre 3 (1716); <i>La muse de l'Opéra</i> (1716)
24	S 120/8000	Montéclair	folio	livre 1 (1714 ^a)
		Bourgeois		livre 1 (no date [1709]); livre 2 (1715)
		Courbois		livre 1 (third edition, 1710)
16	S 120/8002	Destouches	folio	<i>Oenone</i> (1716)
		Néron		<i>Le papillon</i> (1716), <i>Les charmes de la voix</i> (1717)
		Piperau		<i>L'isle de Délos</i> (1715)
		Piroy		<i>Le retour d'Eurydice</i> (1717)
		Chauvon		<i>Cantates</i> (1717)

^a Montéclair's first book, although issued in 1714, must have been purchased after 1716, because it contains a handwritten addition to the list of the composer's works: the ballet *Les Fêtes de l'été*, which premiered that year.

Altshausen from c1734 until his death; the second, for which the Orden paid 6,500 florins (a very high price), was probably that of his uncle and aunt, Joseph Lothar Dominik and Marie-Thérèse de La Motterie. One likely candidate for the source of the French scores was Froberg, who was originally from Savoy but lived in Paris for a good part of his life (acting as representative of the Elector of Bavaria) and died there in 1757.³⁹

For Nägele, the crucial piece of evidence in favour of Froberg as the originator of the collection was its latest item: a printed copy of Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1733), whose date precedes Froberg's assumption of the position of *Landkomtur* by one year. Nägele claimed that its binding was similar to that of virtually all of the other printed volumes, meaning that they must have all been bound at the same time, after 1733. However, the binding of the Rameau is in fact distinctly different: it employs thick dark leather, whereas all of the *cantate* volumes (and most of the later operas) are bound in the thin mottled leather characteristic of commercial music binding in Paris during this period.⁴⁰ Furthermore, *Hippolyte* is an outlier in another crucial way: all of the other items in the collection were published before 1718. Why would an avid collector of French *cantates* and operas suddenly stop buying and then resume again fifteen years later with a single opera volume? Surely a better explanation is that the copy of *Hippolyte*, an opera that created a storm of interest, was bought later by someone else who was not necessarily a connoisseur of *cantates*.

Marie-Thérèse de Lannoy de La Motterie: Musical Amateur and Collector

An answer to these questions lies in the connections between this large cache of *cantate* prints and the contents of four other volumes in the collection of the Teutonic Order – of which three are manuscripts – that belonged to Christian Moritz's aunt, Marie-Thérèse de La Motterie. Among these is a print of André Cardinal Destouches's opera *Amadis de Grèce* (1699), with the following inscription:

Ce Livre est a Mademoiselle De La Mottry Chanoinesse De L'hilustre chapitre De Nivelles, souvenez vous je vous prie de celle qui vous à ecrite cela car elle vous aime beaucoup – De Reims le 29 Octobre 1706.⁴¹

This book belongs to Mademoiselle de La Mottry, canoness of the illustrious chapter of Nivelles; remember, I pray you, her who wrote this to you because she loves you very much – Reims, 29 October 1706.

Given the terms of endearment in this inscription, this volume was probably given to the then thirteen-year-old canoness by her mother, who had likewise been a member of a convent before her marriage. Marie-Thérèse's father – François-Hyacinthe de Lannoy, comte de La Motterie (1648–1725), whose lands spanned both France and the Low Countries – served as envoy to both Charles II of Spain and, after 1701, to the Elector Palatine.⁴²

³⁹ Madga Fischer, 'Zur Geschichte der Deutschordensbibliothek in Altshausen: Die Bücherschätze im Schloß von Altshausen am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für württembergische Landesgeschichte* 47 (1988), 246–247, and Eduard Maria Oettinger and Hugo Schramm, *Moniteur des dates: contenant un million de renseignements bibliographiques, géologiques et historiques. Supplément*, three volumes, volume 2 (Dresden: Oettinger, 1866), 100.

⁴⁰ Nägele, 'Die Stuttgarter Musikalien', 197 and 203.

⁴¹ *Amadis de Grèce, tragédie en musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1699), copy in D-Sl, Sch.K.M.qt. Des 265/61, flyleaf. Reims was part of the region that is today north-eastern France and western Belgium, within which the family moved between various domiciles.

⁴² Anselme de Sainte-Marie, August Déchaussé and Honoré Du Fournay, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, third edition, nine volumes, volume 7 (Paris: Compagnie de Libraires Associés, 1733), 82. It seems unlikely that the inscription was written to someone by Marie-Thérèse herself, as she was thirteen at the time, a bit young to be offering volumes of music as gifts.

Table 3. Volumes in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, belonging to Marie-Thérèse de La Motterie

No.	Shelfmark	Volume
47	Des 265/61	Destouches, <i>Amadis de Grèce</i> , revised edition (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1699)
40	HB XVII 718	MS copy of Bernier's first book of <i>cantates</i>
39	HB XVII 719	MS: Italian and French airs
58	HB XVII 720	MS: Italian and French airs, keyboard pieces/exercises

Marie-Thérèse had received a prebendary in Nivelles (south of Brussels, where her father had a house) on 20 September 1697, at the age of five; she gave this up in March 1720 because she had married Joseph Lothar von Königsegg und Rothenfels in Brussels in 1716, when he was serving as governor of the Austrian Netherlands. Königsegg spoke fluent French and was familiar with French culture, having been educated at a Jesuit school in Besançon; he had been intended for a career in the priesthood, but went into military and diplomatic service instead.⁴³ According to the Marquis de Dangeau, their marriage was made ‘for love’ (‘qui s’est fait par amour’) rather than duty.⁴⁴ In 1717 the newlyweds journeyed to Paris, where Königsegg acted as emissary of the emperor to the regent until the middle of 1719.⁴⁵ He then moved on to other diplomatic missions in Dresden and Warsaw before continuing his military career, dying childless in Vienna in 1751, one year after Marie-Thérèse.⁴⁶ At that point their library was inherited by their nephew, Christian Moritz, who presumably moved it with him to Altshausen when he took over as *Landkomtur* in 1757, eventually selling it to the Teutonic Order. Christian Moritz, an avid music-lover like his aunt, then played a major role in reinvigorating the musical life at the Teutonic Order by hiring musicians and acquiring new music.⁴⁷

Although little documentary evidence of Marie-Thérèse’s musical life has come to light, her volumes of music bear witness to her performance of music as an amateur. Her copy of Destouches’s *Amadis de Grèce* bears numerous markings and several inky fingerprints at page edges, suggesting its use by an adolescent amateur musician.⁴⁸ The contents of the other three volumes, with virtually identical bindings bearing Marie-Thérèse’s maiden name (see Table 3 and Figure 2), indicate not only that she was a competent amateur harpsichordist (and probably singer), but also that she developed extensive interests in contemporary Italian and French music, especially *cantates françaises*. While it is not clear where or how the items in these manuscripts were copied, most of the pieces for which dates can be established were composed in the period 1699–1711. This is consistent with the fact that the bindings of the volumes are all inscribed with the stamp ‘Mad[emois]elle de La Motterie’ (shown in Figure 2), meaning they must have been bound sometime before her marriage in 1716.

Like the Destouches print, at least one other volume shows signs of use. D-Sl HB XVII 720 (hereafter MS 720) begins with four pages of exercises in figured-bass realization and ends with a section

⁴³ Karl Friedrich Hermann Albrecht, ‘Königsegg und Rothenfels, Lothar Joseph Dominik Graf von’, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, fifty-six volumes, volume 16 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1882), 523–525.

⁴⁴ Dangeau, *Journal*, volume 18, 80.

⁴⁵ Marie-Thérèse departed around 18 July 1719, returning to Nivelles, ‘où elle a été chanoinesse, et où M. de la Motterie, son père, a une belle maison’ (where she was canoness, and where M. de la Motterie, her father, has a beautiful house), whereas her husband departed for Vienna, to which city he would soon recall her. Dangeau, *Journal*, volume 18, 80.

⁴⁶ Max Braubach, ‘Königsegg-Rothenfels, Joseph Lothar Graf von’, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 12 (1980), 356–358.

⁴⁷ The partial purchase by the library of ‘some musical items’ (‘einige Musikalien’) from his personal collection may also explain why the vocal/continuo score to Orléans’s *cantates* was preserved, but not the instrumental parts; the *Rechnungsbände* of the Orden record a payment of more than eight florins in 1779 for ‘Musikalienkasten und einige Musikalien aus dem Nachlass des Landkomtur von Königsegg’ (some musical items and cases from the estate of the Landkomtur von Königsegg). See Fritz, ‘Musik am Hof des Landkomtur in Altshausen’, 63.

⁴⁸ A digital copy of the score can be accessed online: <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz485177439>.



Figure 2. Binding of manuscript HB XVII 719. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. Used by permission

containing four solo harpsichord pieces, including a sarabande and a gigue by Jacques Hardel, a partially unmeasured prelude and a ‘très belle pièsse’.⁴⁹ These pieces do not all seem to be copied in a French notational style, and the prelude in fact employs ornaments notated as a double slash on the note stems, indicating a Dutch or English source, not surprising for a copy used by a girl who grew up not far from Brussels.⁵⁰

The repertoire in these volumes (Table 4) demonstrates Marie-Thérèse’s interest in both French and Italian music as well as French *cantates*, as one of them (HB XVII 718, hereafter MS 718) is a complete copy of Bernier’s first book (originally published in 1706). The manuscripts include solo music for soprano and continuo as well as arias for soprano and between one and three accompanying string parts. HB XVII 719 (hereafter MS 719) is a miscellany of fifty-one French and Italian items in the hands of two different copyists. As demonstrated in Table 4, it includes arias from Roman, Neapolitan, Milanese and Viennese operas from the period 1699–1707 and a combination of Italian-texted arias and French *ariettes* copied from Parisian printed sources, including Christophe Ballard’s *Recueil des Meilleurs airs italiens* (book 1, 1699) and several *ariettes* by Campra from the *Airs nouveaux . . . de Thetis et Pelée* (1708).⁵¹ MS 720, written in several different hands, includes arias from Caldara’s *L’Anagilda, ovvero La fede ne’ tradimenti* (Rome, 1711), a solo

⁴⁹ The four pieces are found on fols 94r–96r. The gigue and the sarabande are both by Hardel, according to Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century: A Thematic Catalog of the Sources with Commentary*, three volumes (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1979), volume 2, 204 and 213.

⁵⁰ Bruce Gustafson, personal communication. In the middle of the manuscript are forty-three folios of empty music paper, perhaps designated for music to be copied in for Marie-Thérèse’s lessons.

⁵¹ The first hand copied the first part of the MS, all Italian-texted music; the second, which begins on page 185 (fol. 94v), copied the French music by Campra and Stuck with all of the instrumental parts as well as Italian music by Albinoni, Scarlatti and Mancina from Milan and Naples. The volumes are all oblong quartos but of different sizes (MS 718 is 22 × 28 cm with eight staves, MS 719 is 22.5 × 32 cm with eight staves and MS 720 is 19 × 25 cm with six staves), all bound in identical leather with similar decorations.

Table 4. Attributable Items in the La Motterie miscellanies, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart⁵²

HB XVII 719 Title	Composer	Concordant source ^a
<i>Hand 1</i>		
O felice schiave d'amor Pargoletti faretrati	Grandval Campra	Text: <i>Le port de mer (comédie française, May 1704)</i> <i>La sérénade vénitienne . . . ajoutée aux Fragments</i> (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1703), pages 45–55
Si scherzi si rida	Campra	<i>Recueil des Meilleurs airs italiens</i> , five books, book 1 (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1699), page 11
Al fin diviene [cantata]	A. Scarlatti	US-NHub, Osborn Music MS.22 (29), pages 229–235
Amore con la speme	A. Scarlatti	<i>Odoardo</i> (Naples, 1701), I-Nc, Rari 7.1.10, page 4
Di pastorella oh quanto è bella	Torri	<i>Trastulli</i> (Brussels, 1692–1701), ^b D-Mbs, Mus.ms. 178, fols 20v–23r
Un'altra volta ancor	Mancia	<i>Partenope</i> (Naples, 1699), F-Pn, Vm ⁴ 12, no. 25
Mostrati più crudele	Bononcini	<i>Etearco</i> (Vienna, 1707; Naples, 1708), B-Bc, 579/2, pages 3–4
In sembianza di lieta donzella	Bononcini	<i>Turno Aricino</i> (Vienna, 1707), D-MElr, Ed 115i, 1.45.2
Penso di vendicarmi	A. Scarlatti	<i>Tiberio imperatore d'oriente</i> (Venice, 1702), F-Pn, D-11903, fol. 51
<i>Hand 2</i>		
Regnez belle Thétis	Campra	<i>Airs nouveaux . . . de Thetis et Pelée</i> (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1708), pages 1–13
Trompettes eclatez	Campra	<i>Airs nouveaux . . . de Thetis et Pelée</i> , pages 14–33
Venez regnez aimables jeux	Campra	<i>Airs nouveaux . . . de Thetis et Pelée</i> , pages 34–46
Non sempre guerriero	Stuck	<i>Airs nouveaux . . . de Thetis et Pelée</i> , pages 47–64
Spera ancor l'antico nido	?	<i>Venceslao</i> (Milan, December 1705), D-SWl, Mus. 5534, fol. 32v
Se ben voi fulminate	A. Scarlatti	<i>L'umanità nelle fiere</i> (Naples, 1708), I-Nc, Rari 6.6.17
Come di fronda in fronda	?	<i>Vinceslao</i> , D-SWl, Mus. 5534, fol. 20r
Solo solo per te	Mancia	<i>Partenope</i> (Naples, 1699), I-Nc, Rari 6.7.4, fol. 44v
L'amour s'envole au bruit des armes	Campra	<i>Airs nouveaux ajoutés à l'opéra d'Hésione</i> (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1709), pages 20–25
<hr/>		
HB XVII 720 Title	Composer	Concordant source
Dans un bois je rencontrais climène	?	Text: <i>Œuvres de [René] Le Pays</i> (1636–1690)
Senza il sol che la mia luce lo non vorrei morir	Perti Caldara	<i>Nerone fatto Cesare</i> (Venice, 1693), D-SWl, Mus.4189, 1.4.1 <i>L'Anagilda, ovvero La fede ne' tradimenti</i> (Rome, 1711), D-Hs, ND VI 1076 (No. 31)
Dolce speme lusinghiera	Caldara	<i>L'Anagilda</i> (No. 21)
Averti cor mio	Caldara	<i>L'Anagilda</i> (No. 24)
La Tortorella mentre si lagna	D. Scarlatti	Text: <i>Tolomeo et Alessandro ovvero La corona disprezzata</i> (Rome, 1711), Act 1 No. 7
Qual nocchiero abbandonato	?	Text: <i>L'amor tirannico</i> (Venice, 1710; Florence, 1712), Act 3 Scene 9
Se rimirò nei campi [cantata]	Mancini	I-PLcon, Arm. I Pis. 6(5), fols 27r–33v
Sorge l'alba in oriente [cantata]	Torri	(Attributed in the MS itself)

^a These sources were identified through searches in RISM, the CLORI database and various library catalogues. The Milanese excerpts are identified in Don Fader, *Music, Dance, and Franco-Italian Cultural Exchange c. 1700: Michel Pignolet de Montéclair and the Prince de Vaudémont* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021), 172.

^b See Marie Cornaz, 'Inventaire complet du fonds musical des archives privées de la famille d'Arenberg à Enghien', *Revue belge de musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 58 (2004), 117–118.

Abbreviations:

B-Bc	Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, Bibliothèque – Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel, Bibliotheek
D-Hs	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg
D-Mbs	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
D-MElr	Meininger Museen, Sammlung Musikgeschichte, Max-Reger-Archiv, Meiningen
D-SWl	Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Günther Uecker, Musikaliensammlung, Schwerin
F-Pn	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
I-Nc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella, Naples
I-PLcon	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Vincenzo Bellini, Palermo
US-NHub	Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven

⁵² For a complete listing of the contents in the order they are found in the manuscripts (but without most of the identifications found here) see Gottwald, *Die Handschriften*, 265–276.

cantata by Francesco Mancini (*Se rimiro nei campi*) and a cantata attributed to Pietro Torri for soprano and bass (*Sorge l'alba in oriente*). It also features several arias with orchestral accompaniment, including one from Pietro Torri's *Trastulli* collection (Brussels, 1701) and two attributed to Domenico Scarlatti (one is from his *Tolomeo e Alessandro*, which was – like *L'Anagilda* – given in Rome in 1711). The combined presence of arias from private commissions – *L'Anagilda* by Francesca Maria Ruspoli and *Trastulli* by Maximilian Emanuel – indicates that whoever assembled the manuscripts had ample access to Parisian sources and connections to various important patrons throughout Europe.⁵³

This interest in French *ariettes* and *cantates* as well as Italian arias is key to understanding the nature of the Stuttgart collection and also the provenance of the volume of Philippe's *cantates*. In particular, the many *cantate* prints in the Stuttgart library that stem from the Deutschordensbibliothek were almost certainly purchased by the couple during their stay in Paris in 1717–1719. The printed volumes all have virtually identical standard thin leather bindings, and several were purchased together as bound sets. For example, the volume labelled No. 49 contains Morin's first two books of *cantates* plus his *La Chasse du cerf* bound together by the Ballard firm, who added an additional communal title-page.⁵⁴ In Destouches's *Oenone* (1716), Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard inserted a list of available *cantate* books (Figure 3), indicating those that could be purchased bound together, including three of the groups found in the Deutschordensbibliothek collection: the two books by Campra, four books by Stuck and three books by Morin.⁵⁵ Likewise, many of the early volumes in the collection are second editions (including those of Morin, Stuck, Campra and Courbois), indicating that they were all purchased after copies from the first print runs were exhausted. In other words, the purchaser of these volumes, although clearly an avid collector, bought many of them as bound sets well after the first *cantate* publications came out. Critically, all the *cantate* prints in the collection date from before 1718. Thus these *cantate* volumes, and probably the operas as well, seem to have been purchased around the same time shortly after 1717, which corresponds to the arrival of the Königsegg in Paris.

Finally, and most critically, there are a number of important links between the La Motterie manuscripts and MS 783, although the respective bindings, page sizes and hands in all these manuscripts are different. The watermarks (Figure 4) reveal some overlaps in the paper used, and, like MS 783, MS 718 and MS 719, use paper from Dutch mills, particularly from that of Lubertus van Gerrevink.⁵⁶

⁵³ See Ayana Smith, 'The Mock-Heroic, an Intruder in Arcadia: Girolamo Gigli, Antonio Caldara and *L'Anagilda* (Rome, 1711)', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 7/1 (2010), 35–62.

⁵⁴ 'CANTATES | FRANÇOISES | A UNE ET DEUX VOIX, | MÉLÉES DE SYMPHONIES; | *Par Monsieur Morin, Ordinaire de la Musique de S. A. R. | Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans* | Le Premier Livre imprimé en 1706. | & reimprimé en 1709. | Le second livre imprimé en 1707. | ENSEMBLE | LA CHASSE DU CERF, | DIVERTISSEMENT | Chanté devant le Roy. | *Ce Recueil relié se vend dix livres*'. D-Sl, Sch.K.M.qt. Mor 550/50. Indeed, the list of 'Oeuvres de Mr Morin' included in the Stuttgart copy of *La Chasse du Cerf* (7) also indicates that the Ballard firm specifically offered the three books bound together for ten livres. Similarly, volume 33 from the Deutschordensbibliothek collection (Sch.K.M.qt. Mor 550/60), which includes both Morin's third book of *cantates* and his *L'Himen et l'Amour*, have handwritten indications on the title-pages: '8 ft, 10 s. Les deux volumes 15 ft' (third book) and '15 ft: 2 volumes' (*L'Himen*). Presumably they were purchased 'en blanc' (unbound) and bound together afterward. Both include Morin's *paraphe* (official signature).

⁵⁵ André Cardinal Destouches, *Oenone* (Paris: J.-B.-Christophe Ballard, 1716), D-Sl, Sch.K.M.fol. S 120/8002, [4]. Interestingly, no binding combination was suggested for *Oenone* itself; the purchaser (or Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard himself) combined it with other volumes that had become available around the same time, 1716.

⁵⁶ See Gottwald, *Die Handschriften*, 273. Diverse watermarks were visible on the manuscripts, and it is worth considering each source in turn.

MS 783: (fol. 17) a lion in a circle with a lily and (fol. 2) countermark 'LVG' (Lubertus van Gerrevink, Egmont a/d Hoef, Holland, c1700; see William A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935), No. 115, and Hendrick Voorn, *De Papiermolens in de Provincie Nord-Holland* (Haarlem: De Papierwereld, 1960), 133 and No. 64). The flyleaf shows a lion with a sword and hat with the indication 'VRYHEYT', which was used by van Gerrevink in the 1710s (see Churchill, No. 79, and page 28, and Voorn, *De Papiermolens*, page 173 and Nos 104–106), along with the countermark 'V' (flyleaf).

MS 718: a Strasbourg fleur de lys in a shield with crown on top with a 'RW' hanging from the bottom (fol. 78; table of contents; see Edward Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society,

(4)

P R I X
DES CANTATES FRANCOISES.

L E premier Livre de Monsieur <i>MORIN</i> , broché.	4. livres.
—Le second.	4. livres.
La Chasse du Cerf, <i>du même Auteur.</i>	4. livres.
Le tout relié ensemble.	13. livres 10. fols.
Les Accompagnemens des deux Livres de Cantates cy-dessus, en parties separées.	1. livre.
Le premier Livre de Monsieur <i>CAMPRA</i> , broché.	4. livres.
—Le second.	4. livres.
Reliez ensemble.	9. livres 10. fols.
Le premier Livre <i>gravé</i> , de M ^r <i>BATISTIN</i> , en blanc.	9. livres.
—Le second.	5. livres.
—Le troisiéme.	3. l. 10. f.
—Le quatriéme.	6. livres.
Les quatre reliez ensemble.	26. livres.
Les Cantates de Monsieur <i>GERVAIS</i> .	4. livres, cy 4. livres.
L'Isle de Délos, <i>CONCERT</i> en forme de <i>CANTATE</i> , de Monsieur <i>PIPEREAU</i> .	2. livres, cy 2. livres.
<i>OENONE</i> , <i>Cantate à voix seule</i> , de M ^r <i>DESTOUCHES</i> .	2. livres, cy. 2. livres.
Les Cantates de Mademoiselle <i>DE LA GUERRE</i> , sur des Sujets tirez de l'Escriture, Livre I.	5. livres.
—Livre Deuxiéme.	5. livres.
Reliez ensemble.	12. livres 10. fols.
<i>On a imprimé un Recueil des meilleurs Airs Italiens qui ont paru depuis dix ans au nombre de cent treize</i> , Partition in-quarto, <i>reliée.</i>	12. livres.
<i>Ce Recueil est composé de cinq differents Livres: On les vend séparément</i> , brochez.	2. livres.
<i>On vend aussi les CANTATES gravées de tous les autres Auteurs.</i>	<i>O E N O N E</i> ,

Figure 3. Table of *cantate* volumes offered by Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, in André Cardinal Destouches's *Oenone* (Paris: J.-B.-Christophe Ballard, 1716). Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. Used by permission

1957), Nos 1786–1835, many variations, largely from Holland and England) and the countermark 'IV' (fol. 22) used by many Dutch makers.

MS 719: a large lily (fols 86, 87, 99, 100), the same Strasbourg fleur de lys as MUS 718, and 'VILLEDARY' (Jean Villedary, employed during the period 1668–1758, and also used as a countermark by Lubertus van Gerrevink; see Voorn, *De Papiermolens*, 132–133 and 155).

MS 720: the only clearly visible mark was (fol. 97; the table of contents) 'C [heart] B' in a cartouche with crown on top and grapes below (a French mark; dated 1729/1737 in Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), 286; see also Heawood, *Watermarks*, No. 2364).

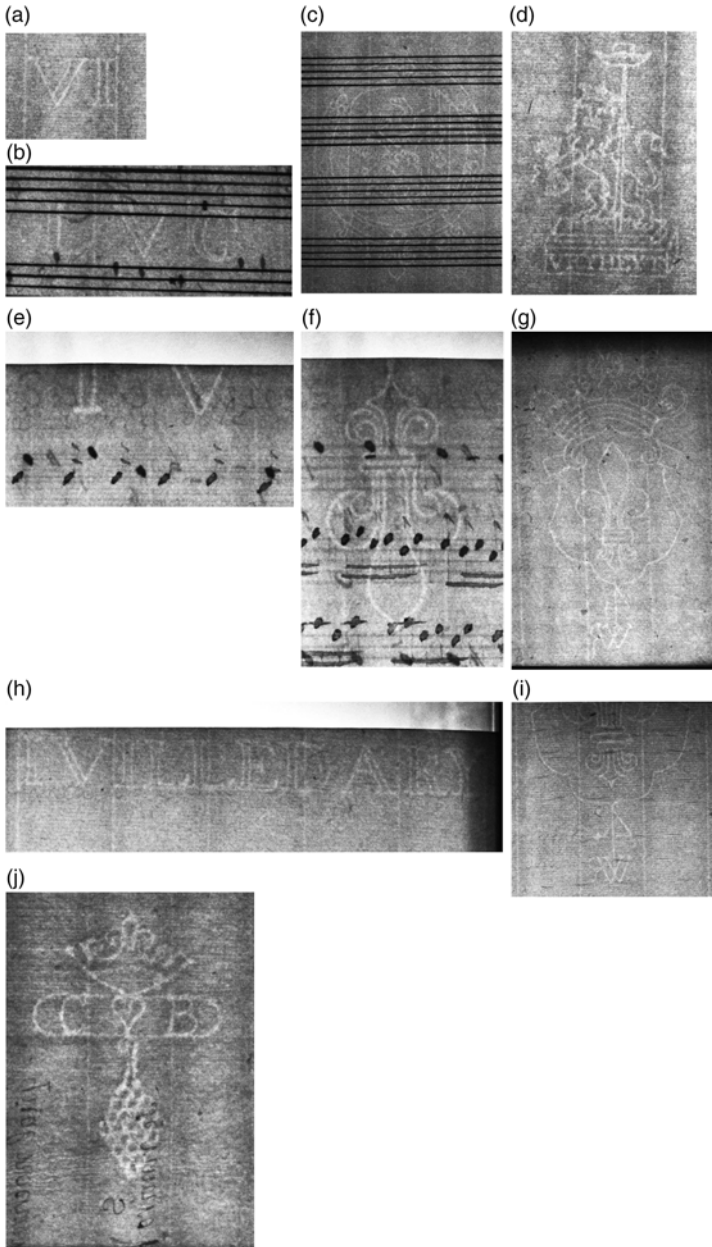


Figure 4. Watermarks visible in the manuscript of Orléans's cantates (HB XVII 783, hereafter MS 783) and the La Motterie manuscripts (HB XVII 718, 719 and 720, hereafter MS 718, MS 719 and MS 720 respectively): (a) MS 783, fol. 1; (b) MS 783, fol. 2; (c) MS 783, fol. 17; (d) MS 783, fol. 50; (e) MS 718, fol. 22; (f) MS 718, fol. 23; (g) MS 718, fol. 78; (h) MS 719, fol. 142; (i) MS 719, fol. 143; (j) MS 720, fol. 97. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. Used by permission

However, the most important connection relates to the aria 'Se ben voi fulminate' in MS 719, which was originally written for alto voice and strings but has an indication of transposition for soprano, along with an annotation referring to the accompanying string parts: 'Les 3. Parties de cet air sont transportées à la quarte dans les 3. cayers des accompagnemens' (the three [instrumental] parts of this air are transposed by a fourth in the three volumes of accompaniments).⁵⁷ These three volumes

⁵⁷ Fol. 120r. The aria appears in the libretto to *L'humanité nelle fiere, ovvero Il Lucullo* (Naples: Salvatore Votto, 1708), Act 3 Scene 8. The score, in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella (I-Nc), Rari 6.6.17, attributes the music to Giuseppe Vignola, according to RISM A/II.

are nowhere to be found in the library's current collection, but are likely to have been where the missing accompanying instrumental parts of Orléans's *cantates* in MS 783 were copied. This practice was extremely unusual for either print or manuscript sources of *cantates*, which almost invariably present all parts in score, even in the case of heavily orchestrated works like Nicolas Bernier's *Les Nuits de Sceaux* (1715). Given that the copying of instrumental parts separately from the voice and continuo in *cantates* was a practice that seems to have been virtually unique to MS 783, it very likely belonged to the La Motterie collection. This method of copying was evidently employed to facilitate the performance of the *cantates* by a singer-harpsichordist with an accompaniment of instruments, rather than merely to create an object that preserved the works in score, for a collector. Therefore, Marie-Thérèse presumably intended to have them performed, perhaps with herself at the harpsichord, accompanying side by side with professional instrumentalists, a phenomenon that Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville complains was all too common for noble amateurs of the period.⁵⁸ She would also have had enough musical knowledge to understand what the direction 'transposed by a fourth' meant.

The Königseggs in Paris: Diplomacy, Sociability, Musical Connoisseurship and the *Cantate française*

How did Marie-Thérèse come into contact with Philippe d'Orléans's *cantates*? Unfortunately (but not surprisingly) for today's scholar, the few and fragmentary records of her and her husband's involvement in social activities during their stay in Paris contain no direct mention of chamber music. Although Königsegg had extensive private meetings with the regent, his dispatches to the emperor focus entirely on diplomatic issues, demonstrating an obsession with protocol and containing little information concerning cultural activities, even his visit to the Opéra with the regent and the tsar (Peter I).⁵⁹ The answer to the question of how the couple came into possession of MS 783 will, therefore, require consideration of broader contexts. These include, in particular, the important role of sociability and the arts in aristocratic diplomacy of the period and the central place occupied by music and connoisseurship in the courtly life of the regent, his family and many of his peers.

The recorded activities of the Königseggs during their Parisian sojourn reflect the social changes in the culture of diplomacy described by Ellen R. Welch.⁶⁰ At Versailles under Louis XIV, diplomats were supervised by official 'introduceurs d'ambassadeurs' who tightly controlled their access to important figures and who shepherded diplomats and their wives to highly scripted events and meetings. These activities gave way to a freer social life in Paris during the Regency, which Welch describes as having played out in theatres such as the Opéra. As Welch demonstrates, belief in the universality of the performing arts, and their place in shared values of European aristocratic sociability, gave them an important role in diplomatic rituals of confrontation between representatives of national interests.⁶¹ Several scholars have pointed out that this element of sociability played

⁵⁸ 'Se cloüer trois ou quatre ans sur un Clavessin, pour parvenir enfin à la gloire d'être membre d'un concert, d'être assis entre deux violons et une basse de violon de l'Opera, et de brocher, bien ou mal, quelques accords, qui ne seront entendus de personne: violà leur noble ambition' (Nailing oneself for three or four years to a harpsichord in order finally to attain the honour of being a member of an ensemble, to be seated between two violins and a bass violin from the Opéra, and to insert, for better or worse, a few chords that will be heard by no one; that is their noble ambition). Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française*, three volumes, volume 2 (Brussels: Foppens, 1705), 104–105.

⁵⁹ Dangeau reports, for example, on 8 June 1717: 'S. A. R. [Philippe d'Orléans] donna une audience . . . ensuite à tous les ministres étrangers et une assez longue au comte de Königsegg' (His Royal Highness gave an audience . . . thereafter to all the foreign ministers and a quite long one to the comte de Königsegg). *Journal*, volume 17, 103. See Steven Müller, 'Der Aufenthalt Peters I in Paris 1717 aus Sicht des Wiener Hofes', *Quaestio Rossica* 5/2 (2017), 363–364.

⁶⁰ Ellen R. Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy: International Relations and the Performing Arts in Early Modern France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 190–194.

⁶¹ Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, chapter 8, 'Diplomacy on the Public Stage', 199–221; see also Welch, 'Constructing Universality in Early Modern French Treatises on Music and Dance', in *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern*

important roles in international exchanges of music and musicians, and even collaborations with composers, as the international contacts employed by Philippe d'Orléans also attest.⁶²

Because of the central role of aristocratic sociability in the diplomatic practice of the period, women played important – if often private and hidden – roles in international musical exchanges.⁶³ It makes perfect sense that a French-speaking noble amateur musician who collected both Italian and French music prior to her arrival in France would want to employ her talents as musical amateur, connoisseur and collector in the diplomatic world in which she found herself. Indeed, musical connoisseurship permeated the courtly sociability in this period, particularly in the circles in which Philippe d'Orléans and his family moved.⁶⁴

The importance of music in French courtly circles had been established by Louis XIV, who not only was a music-lover but had his children and grandchildren trained by his best musicians; many of them grew up to become major patrons of the art.⁶⁵ In his youth, Philippe d'Orléans had been involved in organizing musical events for a group of young members of the royal family who gathered around Louis, the Grand Dauphin (1661–1711). Individuals in this courtly group acted as connoisseurs and patrons, and many of them continued to play important roles at court and in government during the Regency.⁶⁶ The importance of connoisseurship in their interactions was reported in an extraordinary letter written by Philippe's mother, Élisabeth-Charlotte, who complained about the young courtiers' use of technical details during lengthy conversations in 1695:

Rien n'est tant à la mode présentement que la musique. Je dis souvent à mon fils qu'il en deviendra fou, quand je l'entends parler sans cesse de bémol, bécar, béfa, bémi, et autres choses de ce genre auxquelles je n'entends rien; mais Monsieur le Dauphin, mon fils et la princesse de Conti en parlent durant des heures entières.⁶⁷

Nothing is so fashionable at the moment as music. I often tell my son that he will go mad when I hear him talking endlessly of major and minor, flats and sharps and other things of this type of which I understand nothing; but the Dauphin, my son and the princesse de Conti discuss this for hours at a time.

Era to the Present, ed. Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto and Damien Mahiet (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 104–123.

⁶² The important role and mechanisms of such diplomatic musical connections have been the focus of a number of studies, in particular two contributions to a recent volume on the subject: *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage*, ed. Frédéric Ramel and Cécile Prévost-Thomas (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). See the chapters by Mark Ferraguto, 'Eighteenth-Century Diplomats as Musical Agents', 43–64, and Michela Berti, 'Europe in Rome/Rome in Europe: Diplomacy as a Network of Cultural Exchanges', 23–41.

⁶³ On the importance of sociability and music in the diplomatic roles of women in France and Italy in this period see Anne-Madeleine Goulet, 'The Princesse des Ursins, Loyal Subject of the King of France and Foreign Princess in Rome', in *Music and Diplomacy*, ed. Ahrendt, Ferraguto and Mahiet, 191–207. Another important example of a woman engaging in international musical exchanges via her social and courtly connections was Sophie Charlotte. She corresponded with Agostino Steffani, who was acting as a diplomat during this period; see Colin Timms, *Polymath of the Baroque: Agostino Steffani and His Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 75–82.

⁶⁴ The importance of connoisseurship was particularly palpable in the dedications of collections of sacred music during the late reign of Louis XIV, which evoke the musical taste and knowledge of princely dedicatees (including Philippe d'Orléans) rather than their piety; see Thierry Favier, 'Foyers et dynamique des genres musicaux à la fin du règne de Louis XIV', in *Les foyers artistiques à la fin du règne de Louis XIV (1682–1715): musique et spectacles*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 227–250.

⁶⁵ See Jean Duron, ed., *Le prince et la musique: les passions musicales de Louis XIV* (Wavre: Mardaga, 2009).

⁶⁶ On the group around the Dauphin see Don Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin", Campra, and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Musical Patronage around 1700', *Music & Letters* 86/3 (2005), 380–413.

⁶⁷ Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, *Lettres de Madame duchesse d'Orléans née princesse de Palatine*, ed. Olivier Amiel (Paris: Mercure de France, 1981), letter of 24 March 1695, 117.

These figures were highly trained amateur musicians: the princesse had been the harpsichord student of Jean-Henri D'Anglebert, who dedicated his *Pièces de clavecin* to her, and Philippe had been a composition student of Marc-Antoine Charpentier.⁶⁸

Musical performances were an important social pastime for this group in the years before the War of the Spanish Succession (which began in 1701), when they created their own private production of Lully's *Alceste* and performed chamber motets composed by Philippe and the son of the Duke of Noailles.⁶⁹ Philippe remained an avid connoisseur and patron of music, as demonstrated by his activities prior to his military service and his concert for Maximilian Emanuel in 1709. His interest in music continued into the period in which the Königsegg were in Paris, even if his official duties took up most of his time. Not only did he continue to be the object of dedications by musicians who praised his musical knowledge, but he also acted to advance the careers of his favourite musicians, and he regularly attended the opera, where Dangeau saw him frequently in his box, largely at work on papers rather than paying attention to the action.⁷⁰ Thus the ability to take a knowledgeable part in discussions about music would have remained a useful social skill for those entering the circle around the regent.

The important place of music and connoisseurship in the society in which the Königsegg moved, taken together with Marie-Thérèse's collecting activities revealed by the Stuttgart collection, provides important context for her acquisition of music during her stay. Indeed, reports of Königsegg's and Marie-Thérèse's activities – recorded in the *Mercure* and in the journals of the marquis de Dangeau and the duc de Saint-Simon, who was a member of the regent's inner circle – indicate that the couple was highly engaged in the cultural life of Paris. Saint-Simon, although noting that Königsegg played the typical Austrian diplomatic card of questioning French motives in negotiations, complimented him on his ability to fit into Parisian society and praised his 'lovely but prudent' expenditures for this purpose:

Il se mêla fort avec la bonne compagnie, fit belle, mais sage dépense . . . Par sa conduite dans le monde, et l'agrément de la société, il se fit fort estimer et compter.⁷¹

He frequently mixed with good company, made lovely but prudent expenditures . . . By his conduct in good society, and by his social qualities, he made himself quite esteemed and valued.

This expenditure included sponsoring events in which the arts played a role. After his introduction to court on 30 March 1717 Königsegg organized 'several magnificent celebrations' over the next

⁶⁸ The princess was a major patron in her own right; see Thomas Vernet, 'Musique et théâtre dans la "maison de ville" de Marie-Anne de Bourbon Conti à Versailles', in *Les foyers artistiques à la fin du règne de Louis XIV*, ed. Goulet, 65–78.

⁶⁹ Fader, 'The "Cabale du Dauphin"', 394–395.

⁷⁰ 'Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans va assez souvent à l'Opéra dans sa petite loge, mais il y travaille presque toujours et voit fort peu le spectacle' (The duc d'Orléans goes quite often to the Opera in his little loge, but he works practically all the time, and watches very little of the action). Dangeau, *Journal* (5 December 1715). On Philippe's patronage as regent see Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style', 344–354. Gervais, an important protégé, wrote in the dedication to his *Cantates françaises avec et sans symphonie* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1712), 'Je crains plus mon protecteur que le public même: Et ce seroit principalement contre la finesse de votre goût que j'aurois besoin d'être défendu; Personne ne connoît plus à fond que V. A. R. l'Art dont je me suis mêlé' (I fear my protector more than the public itself, and it would principally be against the subtlety of your taste that I would need to be defended; no one knows the art that I practise more deeply than Your Royal Highness).

⁷¹ Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, ed. Arthur de Boislisle, forty-one volumes (Paris: Hachette, 1923), volume 35, 310. Saint-Simon's portrait of Königsegg also states: 'Le comte de Koenigseck, ambassadeur de l'empereur, suivant le génie des ministres autrichiens, voulait, quoique d'ailleurs honnête homme, trouver à redire et donner un tour de mauvaise foi à toute la conduite du régent' (The comte de Königsegg, ambassador of the emperor, following the practice of Austrian ministers, wanted – although he acted as a gentleman elsewhere – to object to, and to complain about, the bad faith with which the regent conducted negotiations). *Mémoires*, volume 34, 151.

months that ‘left nothing to be desired’, and which included music (since at least one report of such a celebration mentions a ball).⁷² Financial problems delayed his official entry to Paris until October of 1718, but then attracted considerable attention and involved commissions to various Parisian workshops.⁷³ It was celebrated in an engraving printed in Amsterdam (Figure 5) and in an eight-page printed booklet that describes the elaborate pictures painted on the carriages for the occasion by ‘les plus fameux maîtres de Paris’, including the workshop of Jean Berain the Younger (1678–1726), who was also in charge of decorations for the Paris Opéra.⁷⁴ At that point, Königsegg’s position would evidently have allowed him to afford the ‘lovely but prudent’ purchase of the large number of *cantate* prints found in the collection – presumably for his new wife, an amateur musician and connoisseur of both French and Italian cantatas – as part of his mission to cultivate a Parisian society in which *cantates françaises* were currently *en vogue*. Indeed, employing repertoire that was currently fashionable in the cities to which ambassadors were assigned was a common practice in the period.⁷⁵

While most reports of the couple’s activities focus on Königsegg’s actions as ambassador, Marie-Thérèse – as his wife – played an important social and ceremonial role in court circles permeated by interest in music, and particularly in *cantates*. According to reports in the *Mercure*, she was officially presented to members of the court and was given the honour in court protocol of sitting on a *tabouret* (stool) in gatherings:

Le 28. du passé, M. le Chevalier de Sanctot, Introduceur d’Ambassadeurs, alla prendre dans le Carosse du Roy Madame la Comtesse de Kinigseg, épouse de M. le comte de Kinigseg, Ambassadeur de S. M. I. Il la conduisit à l’appartement du Roy, où Madame la Duchesse de Ventadour la reçût, & l’accompagna dans le cabinet de S.M., qui la salua. Ensuite Madame l’Ambassatrice vint au diner du Roy, où elle eu le tabouret.⁷⁶

⁷² *Nouveau Mercure* (August 1717), 189: ‘M. de Kinisegh, Ambassadeur de l’Empereur en France, donna Samedi dans son Hôtel une Magnifique fête pour la victoire remportée par l’Armée Impériale sur celle des Turcs’; *Nouveau Mercure* (September 1717), 173: ‘M. le Comte de Kinigsegk Ambassadeur de l’Empereur, a donné plusieurs fêtes magnifiques, à l’occasion de la Victoire remportée par les Armes Impériales sur les Infideles’ (these almost identical descriptions can be glossed as: M. the comte de Königsegg, ambassador of His Imperial Majesty [to France], gave on Saturday in his mansion a magnificent celebration to mark the victory obtained by the Imperial Army over the Turks). *Nouveau Mercure* (November 1717), 182: ‘Le 4^e fête de S. Charles, dont l’Empereur porte le nom, M. le comte de Kinigsech, Ambassadeur de S. M. I., donna dans son hotel, un repas superbe, qui fut précédé et suivi par une fête magnifique, où il n’y avoit rien à desirer’ (On 4 [November], the Feast of St Charles, whose name the emperor bears, the comte de Königsegg, ambassador of His Imperial Majesty, gave a superb meal, which was preceded and followed by a magnificent celebration, which left nothing to be desired). The marquis de Dangeau mentions on 23 October 1718 that ‘il y eut chez lui un grand souper et bal’ (there was a grand supper and ball at his house). *Journal*, volume 17, 407.

⁷³ On his financial resources see Müller, ‘Der Aufenthalt Peters I in Paris 1717’, 356.

⁷⁴ *Relation de l’entrée de son excellence Mgr. le comte de Kinigsegg, chambellan de Sa Majesté Impériale . . . ambassadeur près de sa Majesté très-chrétienne, etc. qui se fera dimanche 23 octobre 1718* (Paris: V[eu]ve Mergé, 1718), 7. (A rare copy of this publication is in F-Pn, F-21081 (84).) It lists the carriages of the figures who participated, including the regent, his daughter, his mother and many other important members of the court (1). See also Rudolf H. Wackernagel, *Der Französische Kronungswagon von 1696–1825: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Repräsentativen Zeremonienwagens* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 133–135.

⁷⁵ The approach of La Motterie and von Königsegg, at least in terms of repertoire, was similar to that of the French ambassador to the Austrian emperor, Louis-François du Plessis, duc de Richelieu (1696–1788), who cultivated Viennese society by arranging performances of music from the best composers of that city; see Lawrence Bennett, ‘Musical Celebrations of the 1720s in the Viennese Palaces of the French and Spanish Ambassadors’, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 53 (2007), 31–60. A similar cultural programme was adopted by the French ambassador in Rome in the mid-eighteenth century; see Berti, ‘Europe in Rome/Rome in Europe’.

⁷⁶ *Nouveau Mercure* (December 1718), 159–160. At the same time, the *Mercure* noted that the delay in her husband’s official entrance meant that while she was invited to numerous court events, her presence was not considered part of her official public duties: ‘Madame [dowager duchesse d’Orléans] . . . a aussi trouvé bon que M^d la Comtesse de Kinigsech Espouse de l’ambassadeur de l’Empereur eut le même honneur [de lui aller voir]; mais comme ce Seigneur n’a pas fait son entrée publique, cette Dame ne peut pas encore être reçue en cérémonie’ (Madame [dowager duchesse d’Orléans] also found it



Figure 5. The entrance of Joseph Lothar von Königsegg und Rothenfels to Paris as ambassador on 23 October 1718. Copperplate engraving by Pieter Schenk, 1718. Wien Museum, inv. no. 199060. Used by permission

On the 28th of the past month the Chevalier de Sanctot, *introduceur d'ambassadeurs*, went in the King's carriage to collect Madame la Comtesse de Königsegg, wife of M. le comte de Königsegg, Ambassador of His Imperial Majesty. He conducted her to the apartment of the King, where Madame la duchesse de Ventadour received her, and accompanied her to the study of His Majesty, who greeted her. After that, Madame Ambassador went to the supper of the King, where she had a stool.

These reports indicate that she not only met the future Louis XV, the regent and his mother, but that she also participated in the 'circle' of Philippe's music-loving daughter, Marie-Louise, duchesse de Berry (1695–1719), at her Luxembourg palace, where the latter held regular gatherings, including both a *toilette* (the courtly ritual of dressing for ladies, at which music was a well-established entertainment) and *appartements* (gatherings initiated by Louis XIV at Versailles that involved gambling, dancing, music and refreshments):

Le premier de ce mois, Madame l'Ambassatrice se rendit au Palais de Luxembourg à six heures du soir, où l'on tenit appartement. Madame la Duchesse de Saint-Simon, Dame d'Honneur de Madame la Duchesse de Berry, alla la recevoir à la porte de la chambre où étoit le cercle, & la

appropriate that Madame la comtesse de Königsegg, wife of the Ambassador from the Emperor, had the same honour [of visiting her]; but as this nobleman has not made his public entrance, this lady cannot yet be received with full ceremony). *Nouveau mercure* (December 1717), 195.

présenta à cette Princesse qui lui fit l'honneur de la baiser, & elle eu le Tabouret. . . Cette Princesse tient Toilette toutes les Fêtes et Dimanches, & il y a trois fois Appartement par semaine, où l'on joue.⁷⁷

The first of this month, Madame the Ambassador went to the Luxembourg Palace at 6 in the evening, where an *appartement* took place. The duchesse de Saint-Simon, lady-in-waiting to the duchesse de Berry, went to receive her at the door to the chamber in which the circle was held, and presented her to the princess, who did her the honour of kissing her, and she had a *tabouret*. . . This princess holds *toilette* every holiday and Sunday, and *appartement* three times a week, where there is gambling.

While these reports dwell on matters of court protocol and make no specific mention of music, the duchess was an avid amateur singer, following her father in having 'studied music in depth' (according to Élisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans).⁷⁸ She had been trained by the singer and composer Jacques Cochereau (c1680–1734), who showed particular interest in mixing Italian and French musical characteristics and who wrote a short cantata (*cantatille*) in the duchess's honour in September of 1718.⁷⁹ Thus if Marie-Thérèse had searched for a topic of conversation she had in common with the regent and his daughter, Italian and French cantatas would clearly have been an obvious choice.

It must have been through such conversations that Marie-Thérèse obtained permission to copy Philippe's *cantates*, a favour that would have required very strong social connections. Noble amateur musicians did not publicly advertise their skills and they generally performed to entertain and amuse one another, as had the group around the Dauphin, who were all members of the royal family.⁸⁰ Given that Philippe's *cantates* were intended for his private recreation, they would only have been available to a select few connoisseurs who had close social connections to him. Indeed, the only extant manuscript copies of Philippe's operas were preserved by Antoine-René Voyer d'Argenson, marquis de Paulmy (1722–1787), whose father, René-Louis de Voyer de Paulmy d'Argenson (1694–1757), had such access, having served Philippe in various posts during the Regency.⁸¹ Moreover, the marquis de Paulmy, a major connoisseur of theatrical books and

⁷⁷ *Nouveau mercure* (December 1718), 160. The mention of gambling ('on joue') rather than other activities is not surprising, because the princess was infamous for her love of gaming. On the importance of the *toilette* as a musical venue see Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse François* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard fils, 1732), 658, in his article on Salomon: 'Il n'avoit nullement l'air petit-Maitre et de ces musiciens, qui vont aux toilettes des Dames et au lever des seigneurs pour faire valoir leurs ouvrages' (He had nothing of the air of a *petit-maitre* or of those musicians who go to the *toilettes* of ladies and to the *lever* [a morning ceremony of dressing] of gentlemen in order to show off their works).

⁷⁸ 'Elle sait fort bien la musique qu'elle a étudiée à fond; sa voix n'est pas forte mais agréable, et elle chante avec beaucoup de justesse' (She knows music very well, and she has studied it in depth; her voice is not strong but [it is] agreeable, and she sings with very good intonation). Letter dated 25 September 1716, published in Elisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, *Correspondance complète de Madame duchesse d'Orléans*, ed. G. Brunet, two volumes (Paris: Charpentier, 1855), volume 1, 271. On the musical tastes of the duchess see Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style', 341. Although there are no records of her engaging in musical patronage, she died in childbirth in 1719 at the age of twenty-four, and thus had little time to establish a reputation as a patron.

⁷⁹ Cochereau was one of the first composers to publish an *ariette*, 'L'Autre jour sur le fougeré', in Christophe Ballard's *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* (1705); see Fader, 'The Goûts-réunis in French Vocal Music', 351. The *Nouveau Mercure* (October 1718), 152–153, describes the *cantatille* composed by Cochereau for the duchesse, 'De quels nouveaux attraits sont embellis ces lieux?', and gives its text, which had three movements.

⁸⁰ A report of a public performance of Orléans's *La Suite d'Armide* in the *Mercure* ((February 1705), 64), for example, made no mention of his name, indicating only that the performance was directed by Charles-Hubert Gervais, and stating of the composer that 'it seems that Apollo, god of music, poured his knowledge into the breast of another god' ('il semble qu'Apollon Dieu de la Musique ait versé ses connoissances dans le sein de quelqu'autre Dieu'), a winking and nodding reference to those in the know.

⁸¹ See Fader, 'Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style', 235–256.

manuscripts, noted their ‘rare’ and ‘precious’ character in his annotations in the volumes, Philippe ‘never having ever permitted that [*Penthée*] be performed publicly, engraved or printed’ (‘M le duc d’Orléans n’ayant jamais permis que cet opera fut donné au public, gravé, ni imprimé’).⁸² As unique rare objects and *curiosités* of interest to other musical amateurs, *cantates* composed by the regent of France would thus certainly have been valuable to a couple who combined a connoisseur of French and Italian music with a diplomat who understood the importance of cultivating social connections.

The important place of musicians in the social networks surrounding Philippe d’Orléans also probably played a role in the Königseggs’ acquisition of a copy of Philippe’s *cantates*. In fact, a musician may have served as intermediary: the composer and wind-player François Chauvon (fl. 1710–1740). In 1717 Chauvon was ‘Usher to the Chamber of His Royal Highness Monseigneur le Régent’ (‘Huissier de Chambre de S. A. R. Monseigneur le Régent’), and he certainly encountered the Königseggs in his role of admitting visitors.⁸³ Chauvon was likewise intimately familiar with the musical life of Philippe’s court, having cultivated contacts with a number of its noble amateurs: Chauvon’s *Tibiades*, a collection of instrumental suites published in 1717, includes two pieces named for members of Philippe’s household, one of whom, Jean-Louis du Rieu du Fargis (1682–1742), was a close acquaintance and Chamberlain to the regent in addition to being an amateur flautist.⁸⁴ Chauvon was likewise certainly familiar with the regent’s *cantates*, because he set most of the text of Philippe’s *Le Dégout des grands* under the title *Le Philosophe amoureux*, which he published in his 1717 book of *cantates*.⁸⁵ Although Chauvon was not a well-known composer, his *cantates* volume was nevertheless one of those acquired by the Königseggs during their stay, perhaps as a memento. So although there is no written record of a contact between Chauvon and the Königseggs, their intertwined interests and common personal connections – together with their knowledge of the regent’s musical collection – form a strong web of circumstantial evidence not only for the central place of music in the social networks around the regent but also for the cooperation between a diplomat-collector and a musician in the creation of MS 783.

The particular circumstances of Marie-Thérèse’s life and travels – taken in the context of the music-infused culture in which she found herself – thus explain the unusual characteristics of the collection, albeit a case based on circumstantial evidence. Trained from an early age as an amateur harpsichordist and probably as a singer, she collected both French- and Italian-style vocal music, bound into volumes stamped with her maiden name, and her collection also comprised other now-lost volumes, including the three partbooks mentioned in MS 719. During her sojourn in Paris with her husband, the two worked together to cultivate the social connections required for a successful diplomatic mission, which included involvement in events at the court of the regent, who was a central instigator of the fad for the *cantate* (a genre with which Marie-Thérèse was already familiar, having had Bernier’s first book copied in MS 718). She and Königsegg acquired a sizeable corpus of *cantate* prints, including multiple volumes by a single composer that had been bound together for purchase. She shared a common interest in French and Italian music, and in *cantates*,

⁸² Annotation on the flyleaf of *Penthée* (Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal (F-Pa), MS 6639). His annotation in the score of *La Suite d’Armide* (F-Pa, M. 900) indicates that it was ‘rare’; at least two more copies were known to have survived in the eighteenth century, but are now lost. Paulmy’s collection in fact formed the kernel of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal as it exists today.

⁸³ *Nouveau mercure* (January 1717), 178. This position was an unusual honour for a mere musician, as the holder of the post was allowed to wear a sword and needed a knowledge of titles and court precedence. On the duties and privileges of the post of *huissier de chambre* (usher to the chamber) at the royal court, who often came from a family of magistrates or financiers (rather than musicians), see Vivien Richard, ‘La chambre du roi aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: une institution et ses officiers au service quotidien de la majesté’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 170 (2012), 109 and 116.

⁸⁴ Chauvon, *Tibiades, Nouveau genre de pieces pour la flûte, et le hautbois* (Paris: Foucault, 1717); ‘Rondeau Le Fargis’ (23), to whom Jacques-Martin Hotteterre dedicated his *Deuxième suite de pièces à deux dessus* (1717), referring to him as a student. Another gentleman of Orléans’s chamber, the marquis de Simiane, is the namesake of the prelude in the sixth suite (30).

⁸⁵ Chauvon, *Le Philosophe amoureux et Le Tendre solitaire; première et seconde cantates françoises à voix seule & symphonies* (Paris: J.-B.-Christophe Ballard, 1717). Two of the eleven movements from Orléans’s *cantate* do not appear in Chauvon’s version: the recitative ‘L’avidé soif de l’or’ and the air ‘Pour moy toujours content’.

with her social contacts: Philippe d'Orléans, the duchesse de Berry and Chauvon. Having heard about the regent's *cantates*, she must have asked Philippe for permission to make a copy of them. She had the vocal and continuo parts copied into MS 783, along with the works by Bononcini and Mancini that had served as important models for Philippe and his musicians, while adding the instrumental parts of Philippe's *cantates* to the now-lost part books.

Conclusion: Sociability, Collecting and the European Dissemination of the *Cantate française*

The private character of the composition, performance and collecting of *cantates françaises* has complicated the writing of the genre's musical, social and material histories. Unless more documents of *cantate* performances come to light, these histories will need to be written via circumstantial evidence in order to establish connections between particular musical sources and their contexts: the repertoire concordances of their contents, traces of their use, the provenance of the volumes and their place in collections. The analysis of the contents of MS 783 in the context of Philippe d'Orléans's patronage, music collecting and personal involvement in the compositional developments surrounding the *cantate française* considerably expands our understanding of the web of international relations that influenced the genre. Furthermore, the various strains of evidence provided by the Deutschordensbibliothek collection as it exists today not only point to Marie-Thérèse as the original owner of MS 783, but also characterize her as a collector of a major cache of *cantate* prints, which complemented volumes acquired before her marriage. Finally, viewing the repertoire in these sources in the context of the important role played by music connoisseurship in circles around Philippe d'Orléans indicates the central place of the genre in courtly sociability during the Königseggs' assignment to Paris.

The scores assembled by the Königseggs represent an unusual example of a private collection rich in *cantates françaises* that has survived largely intact. Although its precise scope is uncertain because its contents were evidently mixed with other materials in the Deutschordensbibliothek, the collection nevertheless provides a unique window onto the tastes of a francophone aristocratic audience for music across Europe in the period. In contrast to sale catalogues or *inventaires après décès* (post-mortem inventories), this collection not only allows a listing of titles, but the volumes themselves are also available for study.⁸⁶ Unlike many large and well-known French collections – such as that of Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse (1678–1637) – that were often dominated by operas, the one assembled by the pair represents a snapshot of the important place of the *cantate* in the musical life of *le monde* (high society) during the Regency in which they moved, and in the circle of Philippe d'Orléans himself.⁸⁷ Likewise, the size of the collection serves as an indication of the extent to which the *cantate* repertoire was transmitted beyond France during the period via diplomatic exchanges.⁸⁸

Finally, the case of MS 783 demonstrates the important place of collecting via private interactions among privileged and broadly educated members of the nobility. These figures had experience of – and great interest in – various European cultures, languages and musical styles via extensive

⁸⁶ On these issues see Albert Cohen, 'Musicians, Amateurs and Collectors: Early French Auction Catalogues as Musical Sources', *Music & Letters* 81/1 (2000), 1–12, and Laurent Guillo, 'Les bibliothèques de musique privées au miroir des catalogues de vente', *Revue de musicologie* 106/2 (2020), 407–452. The *cantate* prints can be downloaded from the library's website via its online catalogue: <https://wlb.boss.bsz-bw.de/>.

⁸⁷ The collection of the comte de Toulouse included some *cantates* and motets, as well as Italian cantatas, many of which seem to have been copied from the collection of the exiled Jacobite kings; see Catherine Massip, 'La collection musicale Toulouse-Philidor à la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 30/4 (1983), 184–207. The inventory of the library of the duchesse du Maine contains a similar distribution; see Cessac, 'La Duchesse du Maine et la musique', 98.

⁸⁸ Some recent work has focused on connections between francophone centres and those in Germany; for example, Delpéch, *Ouvertures à la française*; Tomasz Górny, 'Estienne Roger and His Agent Adam Christoph Sellius: New Light on Italian and French Music in Bach's World', *Early Music* 47/3 (2019), 361–370; and Górny, 'Arnaud du Sarrat and the International Music Trade in Halle and Leipzig c.1700', *Early Music* 51/3 (2023), 451–460.

international contacts and travel. Philippe's and Marie-Thérèse's collecting practices, as revealed by the Stuttgart collection, indicate that these interests played out in a form of sociability in which connoisseurship played an important role. The importance of connoisseurship – and the knowledge and sensitivity to musical style that it implies on the part of elite *cantate* audiences – therefore has implications for the modes of listening and appreciation involved in *cantate* composition and performance. Likewise, the private character of the exchanges of repertoire in these contexts helps explain the European transmission and publication of *cantates* that were not publicly available in Paris, especially those by Gervais and Guido, musicians employed by Philippe.

As the relationships cultivated by Philippe d'Orléans and Marie-Thérèse de La Motterie demonstrate, diplomacy was certainly an important vehicle for such exchanges, but it was clearly not the only one. Contacts that made transmission possible certainly also included webs of European noble familial relations as well as the phenomenon of the 'Grand Tour'.⁸⁹ This European distribution of *cantate* sources serves to demonstrate not only that the *cantate* was more than 'a fad' that 'generated a limited interest outside the borders of France', but also that its international influence requires further study and attention.

Don Fader is Professor of Musicology at the University of Alabama. His research takes in a broad spectrum of issues in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French and Italian music. A recipient of the Bourse Chateaubriand, the Westrup Prize and a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, he is the author of numerous articles and essays and has published four editions. His book *Music, Dance and Franco-Italian Cultural Exchange c. 1700: Michel Pignolet de Montéclair and the Prince de Vaudémont* was published in 2021 (Woodbridge: Boydell). He is currently working on editions of several newly discovered pieces – trios by Montéclair for A-R Editions and French cantatas by Philippe d'Orléans for the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles – as well as a book on Philippe II d'Orléans and the mixing of national styles in French court contexts.

⁸⁹ Connections to France forged by travelling nobles formed another important route for the transmission of *cantates*. For example, after Johann Friedrich von Uffenbach visited Jacques-Martin Hotteterre during his sojourn in France, Hotteterre offered to send volumes by Bernier, of which Uffenbach already possessed three, according to a letter dated 18 October 1723, in Delpha LeAnne House, 'Jacques Hotteterre "le Romain": A Study of His Life and Compositional Style' (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, 1991), 66–67.