THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
CLAVIER DANCE SUITE TO J. S. BACH

THESIS

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DANCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Dance has always been a natural means of human expression, usually associated with pleasure, mundane and sacred. In many of the earlier religions it was used as a part of services, and in festivities of all sorts. In Homer's accounts of the heroic age of Greece there is a description of the merry choral dance of young men, alone or together with maidens, at marriages, at vintage, or to give expression to the exuberance of youth. The history of the dance in Greece records little originality in the invention of dance for different functions, as the dances of all cultures follow closely the same themes—that of initiation, fertility, marriage, war, and death, and the history of dance shows that the forms of every civilization seem closely related—circular dances, processions, solo dances, and couple dances.

Pausanias describes a picture in the temple of Dionysus in Athens:

. . . Hephaestus with his hammer on his left shoulder and his tongs in his right hand, his tottering steps (for he is clearly drunk) supported by an ivy-crowned, bald-headed satyr. In front of him marches Dionysus in a spangled robe, holding a goblet in his right hand and a thyrsus in his left. He is looking back to see how his

1A thyrsus is a staff decorated with ivy leaves or vines with bunches of berries or grapes.
tipsy friend is coming along. The glad procession is headed by a bacchanal beating a tambourine and accompanied by a satyr.

On the famous Francois vase Hephaestus is depicted riding a mule, which Dionysus is leading by the bridle into the presence of Zeus and Hera. Behind Hephaestus, who looks tolerably sober, stalk two silensuses with horses' legs, and the rear is brought up by two women with castanets. 2

Plutarch gives an account of dancing in ancient Sparta:

The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty but possessed complete equality and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Hence, when they were not engaged in war their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise or converse. 3

And Curt Sachs says of the Greek dances:

The Dionysian cult itself conformed to the vintage festivals and permitted the men to take part. Disguised as satyrs and sileni with long beards, tails, and phalli, and accompanied by shrill oboes and inciting rattles, they appear in the vase pictures, completely abandoned to the god in drunken ecstasy, or tripping lasciviously around the resisting maenads. 4

The Romans were not greatly inclined towards the dance but they were enthusiastic from the objective point of view, never through participation. To them the dance was ecstasy, a restrained enhancement of life, but alien to their realism;


the Roman was held only by the dance which gave food for thought.\(^5\)

Group dances of the middle ages were filled with description. Maddened dancers haunted graveyards in which they supposedly attempted to ward evil spirits from the souls of the deceased, or mimiced descriptions of the daily tasks of ploughing, weaving, and spinning. Giraldus Cambrensis, who is noted for his historical works and was born about the year 1146 to one of the most distinguished families of South Wales, describes these dances in his country:

You may see men or girls, now in the church, now in the churchyard, now in the dance, which is led round the churchyard with a song, or a sudden falling on the ground as in a trance, then jumping up as in a frenzy, and representing with their hands and feet, before the people, whatever work they have unlawfully done on feast days; you may see one man put his hand to the plough, and another, as it were, goad on the oxen, mitigating their sense of labour, by the usual rude song.\(^6\)

The Moresque, a forerunner of the modern ballet, once represented the combat of the crusaders against the Saracens,

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\(^5\)Ibid., pp. 237-248: "One thing is noticeable in reviewing the customs of the ancient Egyptians, and that is, that the higher classes never seemed to have indulged in dancing, but always employed others to dance before them." Reginald St.-Johnston, *A History of Dancing* (London, 1906), p. 30.

and the Ballo, a distinguished social dance of the fifteenth century, often depicted characters or scenes with appropriate titles.\textsuperscript{7}

The dance had no class distinction during the middle ages. It was deeply rooted among all classes of people, and even the original purpose of songs was to accompany the dance. The ballades, estampies, rondeaux, all show rhythmical phrases sung by a singer and followed by a refrain, sung and danced by a chorus. This song that accompanied the dance was called the cantilena and consisted of an alternation of verses, called stantia, and refrain called responsorium.

\textsuperscript{7}Sachs, The Commonwealth of Art (New York, 1946), p. 226: "The Moresque, the most exotic element in the medieval dance, has in Europe given, if not its theme, at least its name to the national dance of a very un-Moorish and un-Spanish people. The English Morris dance is perhaps the dance most closely bound up with the life of the British people. "The Moresque must be understood primarily as the shape which the romantic memories of the Moorish period in Southern Europe took in the dance. It appears first in two forms: as a solo dance of approximately the type which might have been performed by dancers at the Moorish courts, and as a couple or group dance in which the motif was a sword combat between the Christians and the Mohammedans."

Also see Sachs, World History of the Dance, p. 333 (see Plate 20).

Thoinot Arbeau (real name: Jehan Tabourot), Orchesography (1588), translated by Mary Stewart Evans (New York, 1948), p. 127: "In fashionable society when I was young, a small boy, his face daubed with black and his forehead swathed in a white or yellow kerchief, would make an appearance after supper. He wore leggings covered with little bells and performed a morris [Moresque], wherein he advanced the length of the room, made a kind of passage and then moving backwards retraced his steps to the place from whence he had started. Then he executed a new passage and he continued thus making various passages which delighted the spectators."
The simplest form of the cantilena was the rotundellus. It contained "two melodic parts, one of which remains constant for the verse, the other for the refrain. In the form abba the cantilenas were called ballate or cantiones (chansons). The rotundelli are described as chorals or dances sung in rondo fashion, especially by the French."

Distribution of the songs and melodies throughout the countries of Europe is attributed to the minstrels, as well as the Troubadours and Trouveres. Most of these songs were secular, and the strolling players contributed greatly to the growth of these secular melodies. The instrument used to accompany the songs was called the vile, a bowed instrument, the most important instrument of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It had a drone and four fingered strings.

"The songs were often performed with the dancing in which roles were distributed leading to dramatic representation."

8Sachs, Our Musical Heritage (New York, 1948), p. 102: "The fourteenth century took polyphony seriously enough to elaborate the voice parts in its secular forms as much as in its masses, motets, and conductus.

"One of these secular forms, which Grocheo defines as 'bending back on itself like a circle,' was the rotundellus, rota, or rondeellus, a familiar type of piece like our Row, row, row, your boat, or the almost global Brother John, which we officially call a canon, and colloquially, a round."


That the melodies of the songs were usually sung instead of played is shown by the fact that the written music contains texts, and the original purpose of the dance song was to accompany the dance without the use of instruments. French tunes were sung at times in two part settings but since no such settings are preserved it is assumed that three part songs, from the repertoire of chansons known to have existed, were reduced to two parts or that this two part singing was improvised. There is little doubt that polyphonic music existed in those days but very little of it is preserved.

"The theoretical treatises and practice manuals on the dance yield a small collection of tunes, but all of them are in very simple form, in one part only."11

With the growth of secular melody there was a fusion of melody and rhythm to a greater extent, made possible through the song dances of the populace.

A momentus change occurred in Europe early in the century. The authority of both the church and the Holy Roman Empire weakened; the cities, the burghers, the common people came to the fore; and the arts turned to depicting the realities of earthly life beside the myths of heaven. A writer on music about 1300, the Frenchman Johannes de Grocheo, dared, as the first one, to discuss the *musica vulgaris* of Paris, with its songs and dances, along with the dignified chant of the church. The age-old barrier between the populace and the 'higher' music had been taken down.12

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With the people music held a more important part than before, for it practically became the director of the dance, and if accompanied by words it was necessary that the rhythmic periods should be clearly defined as a signal to the dancers of a change of step. Therefore it was necessary that a cadence be denoted, a pointer toward functional harmony.

Records of these dances in the medieval period include the round dance or reigen, also called chorea or carole, and derived either from choreola, the dance, or from corolla, the little wreath or crown. These dances were distinguished from the couple dances as early as the fourteenth century. The round dance, a refrain type, was that in which a leader sang the stanzas and the chorus of the dancers answered with the refrain. Three forms of this type, mentioned earlier, were the rondeau, virelai, and the ballade. But during the fourteenth century the two concepts of dancing, the danzare (couple dance) and carolare (reel or round dance) became confused. The virelai was derived from the old French vire (to veer) and lai (poem) suggested the turning movement of the round dances, with the same melodic phrase for each of its

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13 Sachs, World History of the Dance, p. 284: "The musicians fiddle an estampie, and the dancers give themselves up to it. No sooner is it over than the dancers, even before another piece is begun, join hands for the choral."


15 Sachs, Our Musical Heritage, p. 84.
lines except the last one, which anticipated the melody of
the refrain:

Refrain A  A
Stanza  bb a

The ballade of the Trouveres should not be confused with the
Italian ballata of the fourteenth century. It followed the
AAB form of the provencal canzo (song, closely resembling the
madrigal in style), but sometimes added a refrain which ended
the stanza on a melodic phrase of its own:

Stanza AAB
Refrain  C16

The firelans or fulefranz had some connection with the
French virelais, and may have taken its name from the probable
country of origin, Friulia, a province bordering the northern
boundaries of Italy.

Another dance is the houbetschotten, mentioned around
1230 by the Minnesinger Goli, and the heirlei, a kind of
shouting dance with "hei, hei" to accompany it; and the stampf,
noted by Neithardt, a popular minnesinger in the thirteenth
century, had a figure calling for the stamping of feet although
the characteristic tune of this dance did not seem so wild.
When playing for the dance itself the fiddler would play the

16Ibid., pp. 84-85; also G. Reese, Music in the Middle
Ages, pp. 223-224.
tune much faster than for the song. The stampf melody resembled a tune for singing with a certain church-like diction.\textsuperscript{17}

It is debatable as to whether the stampenie was a round dance or whether it was also a kind of medieval sonata. There are scholars who believe that both the stampenie and stantipes were originally one and the same, that is, dances, and later on lost this characteristic, merely becoming an instrumental form. The subdivision of the cantilena were no longer called versus and responsorium, but puncti (periods), a melodic section which rose to a semi-cadence and was then repeated to end with a full cadence. An example of the stantipes is recorded in the MS Harley 978 of the British Museum with endless discussion among musicologists concerning its name, origin, and character. Curt Sachs believes that the word stantipes is analogous to the stantia, a term used by Antonio da Tempo in his book on the art of poetry, where it means "verse" in the vulgar Latin of medieval times. For cantilenas which retained the melody in the refrain but had different melodies for the various verses or supplementary verses called addimenta, the special designations ductia and stantipes

\textsuperscript{17}Nettl, op. cit., pp. 62-63. (See example of a stampf melody.) See also an example of a medieval dance tune contained in W. Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time (London, 1955-59), p. 28: "This dance tune, dated 1300 in England, is taken from the Musica Antiqua by John Stafford Smith. He transcribed it from a manuscript then in the possession of Francis Douce, Esq. (who bequeathed the whole of his manuscripts to the Bodleian Library), and calls it a 'dance tune of the reign of Edward II or earlier.'"
were introduced. The ductia was distinguished from stantipes by a lightly flowing melody.  

The term stantipes was used when there were six or seven pedes or puncta. When there were three or four the term ductia appeared.

The ballata usually consisted of four parts--ABBA. The two middle parts or mutations (change) were known as pedes and occasional supplementary parts were commonly known as stantia. Stantipes is a pleonistic formation of pes, which, being irregular, was called stantia.

It is Sachs' opinion that "the Estampie corresponds to the Stantipes of the thirteenth century. Sequence type of musical form used one melody to every two lines: AA, BB, CC, etc. The Lai was the simplest sequence form, although in later times it also provided one melody for three or four lines in various combinations." The instrumental estampie in $\frac{4}{4} \times 3$ or $\frac{12}{8}$ time did not always repeat the musical phrase (punctum) in the usual form, but utilized the overt (half cadence) of the first as a clos (full cadence) in the second line of its pairs.

21Sachs, Our Musical Heritage, p. 84.
According to Johannes de Grocheo in a treatise on the theory and forms of dance music of the thirteenth century the stantipes consisted of six movements. Some of these pieces found in the British Museum manuscript are for two parts and have a definite arrangement for the rhythm.22

The fifteenth century manuals deal with two kinds of dances that were court dances: the bassedanse and the ballo. When these dances originated is unknown, but the balli had characteristics similar to certain dances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The basic difference of the ballo and the bassedanse was that the latter did not fall into sections, but was continuous without any dramatic significance, and retained a pure musical measure throughout; on the other hand the balli were dramatic, with short distinct sections and occasional changes of musical measure, sometimes within one section. It may be remembered that the earlier moresque also held some dramatic significance, which might be comparable to this dance of the fifteenth century.23 Its measures may

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22Nettl, op. cit., p. 61. Examples of the ballade, rondeau, virelai, and lai, may be found in A. Davison and W. Apel, Historical Anthology of Music, a vols. (Cambridge, 1946), I, No. 19 A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and I.

23Combosi, "Dance Music in the Late Middle Ages," Musical Quarterly, XXVII (July, 1941), p. 299: "The word bassedanse is a general term for four different kinds of dance, differing from each other in tempo, measure, and steps. This means that the same music may be played in four different measures. The fastest of the dances is the piva, the measure of which may be compared to the present day 6/4 or sometimes 4/4. The second is the saltarello with our 3/2 (Footnote continued on next page.)
be compared to the later gavotte of France, in which there were a number of branles doubles or variations within the same piece. Another characteristic of the ballo was that it could include some sections composed in bassedanse measure, even using the notation of the bassedanse which consisted of equal notes; but the ballo, except in the bassedanse measures, usually had a song-like melody with a rhythm that was indicated in the notation. The skeleton tunes of the bassedanse were called tenori (notated in the lower clefs), and the melodies of the ballo were called canti (notated in the higher clefs).²⁴ In other words it may be said that when the ballo melody was arranged for four parts this melody formed the treble of the composition, while in the same process the tune of the bassedanse formed the lowest part of

²³(Continued) or 6/4 measure. The third is the quaternaria or salterello tedesco (German), a dance in 2 x 2/2. The fourth is the bassedanse proper, the 'imperial measure,' consisting of measures of 2 x 3/2. A bassedanse tune is notated in only one form, and adapting it to the different measures remains the task of the musicians. The tunes, as they appear on paper are only skeleton; they are the principal points of prospective melodies and are written in notes of equal value, mostly breves or semi-breves. One note of the tune corresponds to one step unit."

²⁴Otto Gombosi, editor, *Compositione Di Meser Vincenzo Capirola* (Neuilly-Sur-Seine, 1955), p. XXXVI: "The bassadanza is a cantus firmus dance. The cantus firmus, occupying, in most cases, and surely in the original form, the lowest structural part or tenor of a realization of dance music, was a skeleton tune either taken from a polyphonic composition or from a monodic source,--in which case the original melody was smoothed out to an isometric tune of long note values,--or was 'composed' for the occasion."
the four part arrangement. The ballo could have a free change of time within the same piece, a peculiarity of the balletto in the later dance suites.

E. Hertzmann (Studien Zur Basse Danse im 15 Jahrhundert, ZMW xi, 401ff) was probably the first to point out the possibility that the basse danse 'melodies' were not dance tunes in the usual sense of the word, but tenor parts of the cantus firmus type, and that the actual performance of the dance music called for the addition of higher voice parts in more lively motion and in a clearly marked rhythm. Since such voice parts are missing in all the sources, the natural assumption is that they were improvised.

Substantial support of this theory has been found in the fact that many pictorial representations of fifteenth century dance scenes show the use of different instruments. A particular frequent ensemble is one comprising a slide trumpet (buisine) and two or three shawms. Obviously, the slide trumpet played the long sustained notes, while the shawms improvised melodies in faster rhythms.

As mentioned before the basse danse consisted of four main parts. The metrical schemes were:

- **Piva**: \[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} \hline & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \]

- **Saltarello**: \[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} \hline & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \] or \[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} \hline & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \]

- **Quaternaria**: \[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} \hline & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \]

- **Bassedanse**: \[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} \hline & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \] or \[ \begin{array}{c|c|c|c} \hline & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \]

25Gombosi, "Dance Music in the Late Middle Ages," Musical Quarterly, XXXII, pp. 296-301.


27Willi Apel, "A Remark About the Basse Danse," Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music, I (June, 1946), p. 129: "The shawm is a primitive oboe with a conically bored wooden tube, a double reed, and finger holes."

See also Karl Geiringer, Musical Instruments (New York, 1945), p. 60.
"After the rigid separation of the court dance and the country dance, the saltarello became the dance which always followed the bassedanse."28

The piva and the quaternaria had not gained any favor as court dances, even though they were used occasionally for sections of the ballo. In Italy the repertoire consisted of balli, bassedanses followed by saltarelli. The latter two formed a regular dance pair, like the pavane and gagliarde or the allemande and courante of later centuries, thus showing that the Middle Ages or early Renaissance boasted of a contrasting dance pair, leaping and stepping dances.29 The istampita (estampie) and the saltarello have fused into the same dance, losing all individuality as far as melody is concerned, because the second dance was usually only a rhythmic abbreviation of the first. In Number 55 of the Brussels Manuscript, roti bouly, the second dance was not usually written out: the musician read it from the music of the first dance, transposing it into another rhythm (variation). The saltarello was gay in character but rarely a leaping dance in the true sense, and in triple time beginning on the upbeat.30

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28 Sachs, op. cit., p. 324. The piva and quaternaria are in two, the bassedanse and saltarello are in three.


Among the saltarelli recorded in the British Museum Manuscript (Add. 29987) there are two pieces with programmatic captions. One is the Lament di Tristano. (See No. 59 of the Historical Anthology of Music.)

In connection with the Lament, a piece for instruments in three parts, there is also a dance movement divided into three parts which was to be played fast. It was called a rotta (rota), a name derived from the word "rompere" meaning to break. The word rotta occurs in later documents (Caroso's manual of the dance, Il Ballerino, 1581). It was played after the gagliardi just as the old rotta was played after the lamento, a root of the variation suite. This rotta is probably the same as the ripresa which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries followed the saltarello and the galiard.

The aristocracy of this time fancied the masque and the ballet, dances that were executed in costumes and sometimes implied a story. Castil-Blaze gives an account of a masque in 1489 honoring Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, in which the

31 Nettl, op. cit., p. 66.

32 Sachs, World History of the Dance, pp. 294-295: "The parts of the rotta were probably not played in succession after the saltarello proper, but alternated with it. It is apparently just a remnant of the old 'procession' which came between the pantomime episodes of the original saltarello. In the contrast of the duple time of the rotta with the triple time of the saltarello, we undoubtedly have that Al Variare Del Suono, which in the Italian folk dance today still indicates the alternation of procession and pantomime."
musicians "changed their instruments according to the
class of the music played."33 The composition of the
dance orchestra seems to imply a complicated dance music,
but only one instrument, for example a flute, could play
one tune. A single viol or harp was able to play a tune,
and to add an accompaniment if it was desirable. But an
ensemble of different sizes and kinds performed music in
more than one part. Most instruments at that time were
used for dance music, but the choice of instruments was
evidently not at random for the various kinds of dances
differed from each other in tempo, measure, and steps, and
in the different instruments they required. The moreseque34
(a masked dance) seems to have required the particular
timbre of pipes and tabors, "Pifferi E Tamburim,"35 and
could have called for a certain style of execution since

p. 15.

Here is an illustration of a group of masked dancers, an
engraving by Israel Van Meckenem. See footnote No. 7.

35Willi Apel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge,
1955), pp. 584, 731-732. See also Kinsky, op. cit., p. 62.
The tabor, tamburim, or Tambourin[F] is "an oblong,
narrow drum (about double as deep as wide) of Provencal origin,
also called Tambour de Basque, Tambour the[sic]Provence
(English tabor). It is usually played together with the
galoubet, a small flute (English: pipe and tabor). In the
eighteenth century the tabor also denoted dances accompanied
by the galoubet and tambourin."
The pipe is "a small instrument of the recorder type
which was held and played with the left hand only, while the
right hand played the tabor, a diminutive drum."
the chronicler Molinet mentions the "Tambourin sonnant a Maniere Moresque" (sounding in the style of the moresque).

Festive dance music at the courts came to be confined during the course of the fifteenth century to the "Haults Menestrelz," that is, to the players of the loud sounding wind instruments. Stringed instruments or low (i.e. soft) instruments were not used for such occasions, but for the more intimate or chamber occasions. The favorite dance orchestra of this century consisted of two or three shawms and a slide trumpet. This combination of instruments seems to have answered the requirements of the polyphonic basse dance, for when the slide trumpet blew the theme, the single tones, to which the steps had to correspond, were heard very clearly. The figuration counterparts brought the shawms into use because of their ability to play rapid passages and the peculiar nasal timbre was in direct contrast to the sound of the slide trumpet. Paintings that have come to us from that period indicate that loud instruments were used for festivals and soft instruments for more intimate occasions. The artist of the Tournament at Santa Croce painted a Cassone or bride's chest which in one scene shows a wedding party in the street in front of the massive rustic palazzo, dancing to the music of four pifferi (wind instruments). The music for smaller gatherings was part music and the dance theorists of the time say that the performance of a dance tune had to be in at least two part arrangement.
"The roles of the Souvrano (treble) and Tinore (tenor) were clearly distinguished." 36

Trompettes et Clairons, Trompettes et Hauts Menestrelz were used in France and the Trombette e Pifferi, or Trombe, Tamburini e Zalamele (pipe and drum) e Pifferi (shawms) were popular in Italy. In addition to these instruments which form the loud group, there were the soft instruments such as the flute, lutes, viols, harps, and so on in various combinations. 37

Giraldus Cambrensis (ca 1180) writes:

It must be remarked that both Scotland and Wales strive to rival Ireland in the art of music; the former from its community of race, the latter from its contiguity and facility of communication. Ireland only uses and delights in two instruments, the harp and the tabor. Scotland has three, the harp, the pipes, and the crowth or crowd; and Wales, the harp, the pipes, and the crowd. 38

It is suggested that the most ancient instrument with strings and a keyboard was the clavichord and had its origins in England. Carl Krebs dates its approximate origin as far

37 Ibid., pp. 289-301.
38 Giraldus Cambrensis, The Historical Works (London, 1881), p. 127. Choro, the crowth or crowd, which was played upon by a sort of bow, is supposed to have been the origin of the violin.
back as the beginning of the thirteenth century while
Goehlinger contends for the first half of the twelfth century.
The available information is vague as to the development
stringed instruments with a keyboard underwent in England
from their remote origin until the beginning of the sixteenth
century, whether belonging to the type "clavichord" in which
the strings were struck, or to that of " clavecin," in which
the strings were plucked.39

The harpsichord represents the most complete form
of a group of keyboard instruments in which the strings
are plucked by means of a mechanism known as the 'jack.'
The simplest instrument of this group would have one
jack and one string to each note or key, and such in-
struments could be made very small and easily portable.
They are known as spinets or virginals nowadays; the
most complex of the group is the harpsichord.40

In its early form (1300) the clavichord was called the
monochord or monicordi, and the harpsichord was called the
schactbrett or eschiquier and through evidence gained in the
early treatises on musical theory it probably goes back as
far as 1250.41

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39 Charles Van Den Borren, The Sources of Keyboard Music in England (London, 1913), p. 1: "It is ascertained from the old Latin treatise by Henri Arnaut (d. 1466) that one form of the Doucemelle had a strip of wood, weighted with lead, standing on the keyshaft; the key-end, on rising struck a buffer; the sudden check threw the strip up to hit the pair of strings and rebound after the blow." See also Francis W. Galpin, A Textbook of European Musical Instruments (London, 1937), p. 119.


In a manuscript known as the Robertsbridge Fragment (Add. 28550) in the British Museum, there are three specimens which have a few letters for the tenor instead of ordinary notes, leading to the belief that this is organ tablature.\textsuperscript{42} The so-called Estampies found in this famous fragment are supposedly for large organ, but with an obvious secular nature they may have been also played on the smaller (portative) organ or the eschaquier. The date of these manuscripts is thought to be about 1325.\textsuperscript{43}

The fundamental interest of the Robertsbridge Fragment is the fact that it contains six pieces, the earliest known keyboard compositions. The Estampies are probably instrumental solos; the others seem to be motets in arrangements for the keyboard with standardized figurations.

The historical accounts of King John I of Aragon seem to confirm that these dances were probably played on the organ. He seemed particularly anxious in gaining the services of a certain famous organist and "his book in which were written the estampies and other pieces he played."

"King John seems to have been the first eminent patron of keyboard music. He described the eschaquier as an instrument 'like an organ that sounds the strings.'"\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{42}Gerald Stares Bedbrook, Keyboard Music from the Middle Ages to the Baroque (London, 1949), pp. 9-11.

\textsuperscript{43}For an example of the organ estampie see The Historical Anthology of Music, No. 58.

\textsuperscript{44}Bedbrook, op. cit., p. 11.
CHAPTER II

DANCE AND DANCE FORMS OF THE RENAISSANCE

The period from 1450 to the end of the sixteenth century, that of the earliest keyboard music in Germany, contributed greatly towards the keyboard music of the Renaissance. At the close of this period there are found musicians such as Jan Pietersoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) in the Netherlands and Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654) in Germany, who anticipated the Baroque style.

The beginnings of keyboard music are obscure and the oldest documents merely mark the start, not the history itself. The earliest evidences of this literature come from England and Germany in the fifteenth century but as seen in Chapter I there was activity throughout Europe: the literary references to the organ in the earliest middle ages, the paintings show that the instruments were used, and they are mentioned in musical treatises even before 1000 A. D.¹

¹Apel, "Early German Keyboard Music," Musical Quarterly, XXIII, p. 210: "Until recently the FUNDAMENTUM ORGANISANDI (1452) of Conrad Paumann was generally considered the first monument in the history of German keyboard music. But investigations made in the last few years enable us to push a little farther back. First, there is a compilation of sermons by Ludolf Wilkin von Winsem (State Library, Berlin), dating from 1432 and containing some pieces written in the same kind of organ tablature (using notes and letters) that we meet with, in Paumann's work, twenty years later. There is another early (Footnote continued on next page.)
The older composers of the fifteenth century utilized melodies of chansons or the Mass and paraphrased (i.e. colored) them in their transcriptions. This process was known as the colorist movement which continued in Germany until 1600. Among the composers that involved in this process were Jacob Paix (Fl. 1570), Woltz (F. 1580-90), and above all Nicholas Ammerbach (1530-1597). Tablatures such as Ammerbach's ORGEL ODER INSTRUMENT TABLATUR give evidence of this coloration.

"Transcriptions are not the sole contents of these tablatures since there are dances which are more deserving of consideration, works of originality and artistic value. It is these rather than the transcriptions that present the colorists in their true light."2

With the advent of the Renaissance, there is a greater degree of musical activity in Italy, England, France, and Spain, as well as in Germany. New musical forms, such as the Toccata, the organ chorale, the ricercare, the canzona, and numerous dance types contributed to make the Renaissance more

1(Continued) manuscript, the organ tablature of Adam Idleborgh, dating from 1448. See also Historical Anthology of Music (I), No. 84.

Even more recently D. Plamenac has discovered a document of Italian keyboard transcriptions (the so-called "Faenza Codex") dating from before 1420. See Kongressbericht der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, 1952.

2Apel, op. cit., pp. 234-5.
Examples of the works of the colorists are to be found in Wilhelm Merian, Der Tanz in Den Deutschen Tablaturbuchern (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 44-75.
outstanding and productive than the Medieval period. In comparison with the preceding period the Renaissance leaned more towards the secular rather than the sacred fields, although the motets and Masses continued to play an important role in the music of the sixteenth century. In the field of keyboard music the rise to prominence of a style with a distinctly secular background, dance music, became the contributing factor to the change from vocal music.3

Evidences of dance music in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are rare, but this fact, along with disclosures in literary sources, show that dancing and dance music were severely opposed by the church. With the rebirth of the arts in the sixteenth century this situation was reversed. The new taste for dancing can be attributed to the spiritual emancipation of the Renaissance, for with this new era mankind took advantage of the shift and kindled the desires of a natural instinct. Dance fashions became flippant and shifted from country to country, and it was during this period that the ceremonial dance of the French-Burgundian court, the basse dance, was the most prominent.4


4Ibid., pp. 42-3.
Also see Sachs, World History of the Dance, p. 300.
Curt Sachs points out that in the fifteenth century the establishments of dance teaching began, and, with this, the beginning of dance theory.
Hans Kotter, a sixteenth century representative of German Humanism, left a collection of dances in manuscript—two tablatures of about 1513 (Library of the University, Basle, FI.X 58 and FI.X 22). It is in Kotter's manuscripts that dances are included for the first time.

Willi Apel says of the Kotter manuscripts:

They are characterized by a fluent, well-coordinated melody above simple chords; a clearly measured, steady rhythm, evoking an impression of high spirits and robust health; there are seven dances in the two manuscripts and most of them are written in a slow triple rhythm.

In these noteworthy manuscripts there occur dances paired with a nachtanz ("after dance") in three instances, all in a different rhythm, a style that was customary in the dance music of the succeeding years. It was from this practice of coupling dances that the suite of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries derived.

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According to Lloyd Hibberd, Ph. D., Professor of Music, North Texas State College, Merian's dissertation (not available for present study) states, p. 77, that the Spanieler is the only dance expressly attributed to Kotter himself. This is on the basis of Hibberd's annotations from the dissertation of Merian.

This Kotter Spanieler is either composed on the model of a Spanish freely invented dance or composed to a Spanish tenor (cantus firmus), for this piece, like both the anonymous Kochersperg Spanielers and the Spaniol which is attributed to Hans or H. von Constanz (all in Kotter's manuscript), uses a tenor which probably goes back to a common form for all three.

6 Apel, "Early German Keyboard Music," p. 229. Examination of the thematic index to Kotter's tablature (Merian, Der Tanz, pp. 44-75) shows of the seven dances that only the Dantz Moss Benczenauher is in duple time. Another available example from Kotter's manuscripts is found in Hans Weck, Ein ander Tanz.
"Among the nachtanz in Kotter's tablature, the Ander Tanz to the Hans Weck Hopper Tanz is a true variation at a faster pace of the dance to which it is appended." 7

The sixteenth century was the century of lute music, which included much dance music and which spread and multiplied in all parts of Europe. The lute was by far the most popular instrument of the day, and it greatly influenced the techniques for the clavichord and the virginal. The early pieces for domestic keyboards have a great similarity to the lute style.

In the thirteenth century—as happened a century earlier in the case of the small viele—the division of the lute into two distinct parts, the body and the neck, was effected. Perhaps at the same time, the other most important step was taken, whereby the back of the instrument was no longer made from one piece of wood, but from a number of separate staves glued together. This meant a great gain in resonance, and with that the possibility of a different, subjective kind of playing, more in keeping with the spirit of a new age. The strings had now increased in number, and were tuned in pairs: there might be six to ten of them, with each pair tuned to the same note, or in octaves. The multiplication of the strings resulted in greater loudness—as with our present mandoline and pianoforte. 8

The Renaissance produced four great literary works treating the dance. Antonius de Arena's AD COMPAGNONES QUI SUNT DE PERSONA FRIANTIS BASSA DANSAS ET BRANLOS PRACTICONTE of 1556, written in Macaronic Latin verse with scraps of Provençal, 7

7Ibid., p. 230. This idea was utilized by the virginalists of England, noted later in this chapter.

Italian, and French, deals with the contemporary dance. However Arbeau's ORCHESOGRAPHIE (1588) is considered the more serious work. The basse dance was the greatest of all dances throughout the period from the fifteenth through part of the sixteenth centuries. Cornazzano, a choreographer of that day called it "the queen of all dances."

There are two kinds of basse dance. One common and regular, and the other irregular. The regular one was set to a tune in like form and the irregular one to an irregular tune. The musicians of that time composed their ballade in sixteen bars which they repeated, making thirty-two bars for the beginning, and for the middle section they wrote sixteen bars, and for the end sixteen bars with a repetition. Thus, the common and regular basse dance contained eighty bars. And if it happened that the ballade exceeded these eighty bars the basse dance performed to it was called irregular.

The music of the basse dance is played in triple time, and in each bar the tabor also beats triple time to harmonize with the flute. In tapping the said eighty tabor rhythms with his little stick, each bar consists of one minim and four crochets. And to each bar the dancer moves his feet and body according to the rules of the dance. The first movement is the reverence, the second movement is the branle. The third kind of movement comprises two simples, the fourth movement is the double, and the fifth movement is the reprise.

The complete basse dance contains three parts. The first is called the basse dance, the second is called the retour of the basse dance, and the third and last part is called the tordon.

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9Sachs, World History of the Dance, p. 344.

10Nettl, Story of Dance Music, p. 74. An example of the basse dance may be found in Nettl, op. cit., p. 118. Also see Historical Anthology of Music (1), No. 137.

11Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, translated by Mary Stewart Evans (New York, 1948), pp. 51-52. (The underlinings are not contained in the translation.)

See Kinsky, op. cit., p. 116, for an illustration from the Orchesographie of Arbeau. This work is the principle source for the study of sixteenth century dancing.
Italy's social culture began to decline during the sixteenth century and France prepared to take over the cultural leadership, including the dance forms of the nobility. Arena (1536) mentions the two most popular dances of the time, the *basse dance* and the *brando*; couple and choral dances were still distinct but the *basse dance* had lost favor and was soon to leave the field owing to the constant evolution of taste during the Renaissance. There was now a desire for a more definite division of types and the *basse dance* included too many patterns within one form. This was found to be true in all forms of intellectual life. In religion there was the reformation and the counter-reformation; in scholarship there was a separation of worldly knowledge from religious dogma and a definite division of fields of knowledge. In the arts the mingling of the sacred and the mundane came to an abrupt end; heaven and earth were two separate entities and serious subjects were no longer brightened with divertisements. In music vocal and instrumental forms were severed, and within these forms there was a division of the religious and worldly, the serious and gay, feelings that created their own plains. This was the time to reject mixed forms in the dance such as the free interpolation of *saltarello* measures in the midst of a stately procession, and there was to be no further mixing of gliding or leaping dances with pantomimic scenes.\[12\]

\[12\] Sachs, op. cit., pp. 345-6.
"About 1520 the basse dance was replaced by the Spanish court dance, the pavane, while about 1550, the Italians took the lead with the passemezzo. Side by side with these were numerous others—the French branle, the Italian saltarello, the German hoftanz." ¹³

Actually the German dance forms can be reduced to two main groups: the schreittanz, a slow "walking" dance in binary time, and the springtanz, a ternary rhythm. These dances were characterized by a period of eight measures, repeated with a different cadence at the end which constituted a musical form that became the groundwork of instrumental and vocal forms of the following centuries. The desire to avoid repetition of the periods led to a variation technique in which the Italian lute composers of the mid-sixteenth century exhibited great prowess, but it was the Elizabethan composers of England who brought this technique to its peak of glory.¹⁴

¹³ Apel, Masters of the Keyboard, p. 43.

¹⁴ Paul H. Lang, Music in Western Civilization, p. 246.

The Italian dances, the passemezzo, saltarello, canario, piva, and the ballo and balletto seem to be more purely instrumental than the French, as there are few titles in the Italian tablatures which would suggest vocal derivation. (The underlinings have been added to this quotation.)

See Simone Molinaro, Intavolatura Di Liuto (Firenze, 1940), pp. 1-72, for examples of saltarello, ballo, passemezzo, gagliardi in Italian forms.

See Historical Anthology of Music (I), Nos. 122 and 124.

Also see David Lumsden, editor, English Lute Music (London, 1953).
However the composers were not satisfied with completion of this technique. They began to amplify their works by supplementing them with additional dances, a principle that was to gain momentum in the development of instrumental suite. As mentioned earlier, the germ of this procedure came about in the German lute pieces in which a dance was followed by a "post-dance" (nachtanz), a rhythmic variation of the first, but the real origin of this form was established by the people who knew only two sorts of dances: the slow measures, danced in duple time, and the fast, in triple. They too had used one as a contrast to the other. There was a pairing of simple dances in France but neither the French nor the Germans went much beyond the dance-couple. It was Italy that developed the suite further, beginning with the first instrumental publications of Petrucci. His fourth lute book (1508) already contained a more genuine form of three contrasting dances: pavane, saltarello, and piva, always in the same order, indicating a definite plan. And, a quarter of a century later, there are found several well-developed suite plans consisting of from two to five dances. As might be expected, the French and the Germans followed suit. They added the Italian species to their own dances and also the popular Spanish sarabande, which had been adopted by most of the European countries. The tuning of the lute—a delicate procedure—evolved into a short introduction with simple chords
that gave the player a chance to tune the instrument.15
This short piece, which had already appeared in the "limbering up" runs of the fifteenth century organ pieces (prelude or preambulum), later became the stylized opening of the suite.16

The pavane originated in Spain, where it formed an important part of the court ceremonies under Emperors Charles V and Phillip II. It is generally assumed that the name originated from the Latin pavo (peacock), suggested by the stately grace of that strutting bird. In slow duple meter, it was executed with numerous intricate steps. The form became popular with all the countries of Europe and ironically enough it became the most popular with Spain's greatest antagonist, England. It was often accompanied by a song, with hautboys, while drums accented the rhythm.17 The musical form was simple: slow 4/4 or 2/2 rhythm, beginning on the

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See also Dalza, Tastar de Corda (1508).

16Lang, op. cit., p. 247.
"During the second half of the century there appeared those types which were destined to form the bases of the seventeenth and eighteenth century suite: the German allemande, the French courante, the Spanish sarabande, and the English gigue."
Also see Apel, Masters of the Keyboard, p. 43.

17Louis Horst, Preclassic Forms (New York, 1940), p. 11.
first beat and containing no filigree or vivacious passages.

To be more explicit Curt Sachs defines the form:

It consisted of two or three strains of eight, twelve, or sixteen bars each. In comparison with the basse danse the pavane represented a considerable simplification. Instead of the many movements in everchanging succession, the dancers had only one group of steps: two single steps and one double step forward, or, if desired, also backward.\textsuperscript{18}

Owing to the frivolity of the age, gay dances increased to a great extent with origins in the country districts. These supplied elements that were deficient in the court dances. They were the chain choral dances, and notably, the galliard. But the carole was now called the branle and it specified any number of things: branle des lavandières (the washerwoman's dance), des pois (the pea dance), des sabots (the clog dance), and there were also designations of locales: branle de Bourgogne, du Haut Barrois, du Poiter. The gavotte originated in the Gapencais district, the triori in Brittany; the bourée is taken from the Auvergne. The movement did not stop at international boundaries; there was the branle d'Ecosse (Scotland) and a branle de Malte (Malta).\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{18}Sach, op. cit., p. 356. (Underlinings added to quote.)

\textsuperscript{19}Arbeau, op. cit., p. 151: "This Branle is seldom ever performed in these parts. Should it befall you to dance it someday it will be in light duple time as the tabulation shows you." See also The Maltese Branle, p. 153; The Washervman's Branle, p. 155; and The Pease Branle, p. 157.
The galliard is labelled as the dance of "uncontrollable zest." In this period it is the after-dance, the pavane being the main or introductory dance. But the pavane seems to have been of such slight importance that it soon became extinct, and the galliard absorbed all of the dancer's attention. The branles, whose choral movements outlined the pantomimic couple dance, gradually discarded the choral round and retained only the dramatic episodes.20

The courante was danced in the sixteenth century with single and double straight steps, in the seventeenth with the coupé, and the gliding step. In Auvergne the bourée was stamped, and of the sarabande is known that it was danced with gliding steps. In the peasant round of poitou came the creation of the bending step, the minuet. There was in the transformation of the dance an ingenious change of rhythm because in the sixteenth century 4/4 time predominated: basse dance and pavane, passemezzo and canarie, courante, bouffons, and most of the branles were in quadruple time; only the tourdion, galliard, volta, and a few of the branles were in triple time. However towards the end of the century

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"The Spanish dances, sarabanda, chacona, pasacalle, polia became familiar dances north of the Pyrenees. The sarabande and the chaconne are truly exotic dances. They originated in the melting pot of central America, were brought home to Andalusia by the colonists, stripped of their cruder suggestions on Spanish soil, polished, painfully adapted to European non-imitativeness and close movement, and in this transformation introduced into courtly dances north of the pyrenees."
the rhythms of some of the dances were altered. The courante changed over to 6/4 time, the passepie to 3/8; the padovane, minuet, and sarabande were written in triple time. The intrada and polonaise, although characterized by the march, followed the tendency towards triple time. Only the bourée, gigue, rigaudon, and some of the branles retained their duple rhythm.21

The passamezzo (pass e mezzo), "a step and a half," of Italian origin, was analogous to the pavane. In France it was danced along with the pavane in single couples by young people.22 The pavane disappeared in Italy in 1546 with the appearance of passamezzo in Antonio Rotta's INTABULATURA DEL LAUTO. In 1603 J. B. Besard said in his THESAURUS HARMONICUS that a passamezzo was "the same dance that the French call the pavane." By 1636 it had passed into obscurity.23

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21 Ibid., pp. 351-352, 356.
22 Arbeau, Orchesography, p. 66.
The galliard first made its appearance at the end of the fifteenth century in Lombardy and was, throughout the life of the pavane its regular after-dance. It was a bold and lively dance but without gliding steps, constituting a series of leg thrusts and leaps.

The galliard is so called because one must be gay and nimble to dance it, as, even when performed reasonably slowly, the movements are light-hearted. And it needs must be slower for a man of large stature than for a small man, inasmuch as the tall one takes longer to execute his steps and in moving his feet backwards and forwards than the short one. The galliard comprises the tordion, which should be danced after the retour of the basse dance. But the said tordion is danced more slowly and with less extreme movements and gestures.24

The measure consisted usually of twice three minims (half notes), equivalent approximately to 6/8 in modern notation and tempo. The dance had a tendency towards pantomine and the tempo could not have been overwhelmingly fast for it took time to execute the required leaps. The tordion was performed by the French in the sixteenth century as an after-dance to the basse dance, and was a variation of the galliard with the same 6/8 rhythm.25 The origin of the galliard is attributed to Italy where it was also known as the romanesca, supposedly derived from the word gigolone (kicking).26

24Arbeau, op. cit., p. 78.

25Sachs, op. cit., pp. 300-301.

26Arbeau, op. cit., p. 99. Arbeau gives an example of the galliard. Capirol, Arbeau's young student says: "When we gave our aubades at Orleans we always played a galliard called 'romanesque' on our lutes and cithers but I found it hackneyed and trite."
When the galliard in $3/4$ time came to follow the pavane in $4/4$ time for contrast, it lead to a still closer development of the suite as the former was usually constructed from the melodic materials of the latter. Another variety of the galliard was the volté. Arbeau describes the spirit of the volté and its deviation from refinement and grace:

"The lavolta is a kind of galliard familiar to the people of Provence, which like the tordion, is danced in triple time."\(^{27}\)

The courante, attributed to the French, was in its beginning a wooing dance in pantomine. It is characterized by coyness and amorous flirtation with ritardando. Its foundation remained simple, untouched by rhythmic variations, and consisted of an alternation of two simple steps and one double step to the left, and the same steps to the right--two measures to the left and two measures to the right.\(^{28}\)

These dances were written in great number, all with a combination of three rhythms in common. Bach placed the courante after the allemande in his dance suites but the opposite is found with Arbeau. He quotes four measures of music for a

\(^{27}\) Arbeau, op. cit., p. 119. (Underlinings added.)

\(^{28}\) Sachs, op. cit., pp. 361-363.

Also see Arbeau, op. cit., p. 123, where Arbeau said of the courante: "It differs greatly from the lavolta and is danced in a light duple time. It consists of two simples and a double to the left and the same to the right, either moving forward to the side, or sometimes backwards, as it pleases the dancer."
courante in 2/2 time (Orchesography, p. 124). The duple rhythm was evidently changed to 3/4 time before this dance gained its success at court for there is no evidence in the works of the composers that the rhythm was anything other than triple.\textsuperscript{29} In Germany the courante was the abtanz (after-dance) to the hauptanz (allemande), still retaining this position in the later artistic dance suites: allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue.\textsuperscript{30}

The branle, in Italy called the brando and in England the brawl, received its name from an old balancing movement.\textsuperscript{31} Its essential traits lay in the chain-like joining of hands and an oblique movement of the couples in an open file or closed circle. There was a variance of theme and steps in the number of different branles but in this choral dance the types and forms of the middle ages were best preserved.\textsuperscript{32}

The gavotte was composed of a number of these branles and could have been called a suite within itself. Arbeau says of the dance:

\textsuperscript{29}Horst, op. cit., p. 47. See Bach, First Courante of the First English Suite.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., p. 53.

\textsuperscript{31}Arbeau, op. cit., p. 55. "Arena (1536) calls the branle the congedium, and I think he has done so because from the gesture of the dancer it appears as if he were about to finish and take leave of the damsel, although in fact he proceeds with the steps and movements as set down in the memorandum."

\textsuperscript{32}Sachs, op. cit., pp. 383-384.
Gavottes are a miscellany of double branles, selected by musicians and arranged in a sequence, which you can either learn from them or from your companions. They have named this suite the gavotte.33

It takes its name from the Gavots, the inhabitants of Gapencais in upper Dauphine. It was a succession of branles intermingled with galliard movements.

After dancing for awhile one couple stepped into the center, and the gentlemen kissed all the ladies, and ladies all the gentlemen. Either that was the end of it, or couple after couple followed the first with the same kissing procedure. At the conclusion the host's partner handed bouquet to the person who was to arrange the next ball.34

One of the royal pastimes at the French court was to dance in the costumes of the provinces from whence a particular dance descended, and it was supposedly for this purpose that the gavotte was introduced. The usual two-part dance form was used for the music with an occasional third part or trio. Its rhythm was a fast 2/2 or 4/4 time and usually started on the third quarter which often resulted in a mild syncopation. This could account for the "little springs" in the dance. Arbeau speaks of this:

It is danced in duple time with little springs in the manner of the Haut Barrois, and, like the common branle, consists of a double a droit and a double a gauche. But the dancers divide up the doubles, both those to the right and those to the left, by passages borrowed at will from the galliard.35

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33Arbeau, op. cit., p. 175. See also Ibid., pp. 151-157.
34Sachs, op. cit., p. 388.
35Arbeau, op. cit., p. 175. Speaking of the Haut Barrois: "Spring sideways off both feet, moving towards the left, and alight pied largi gauche." See also p. 135.
The *allemande*, as aforementioned, was of an allemanic or German character and was the only contribution to the suite by that country. It was known in the medieval period and in accordance with German character of that time was not performed with any great grace. Its musical form consisted of two sections (often with an uneven number of measures) in duple time, beginning with a short eighth or sixteenth note upbeat. Although slow and dignified, it gave a sense of many sixteenth notes in its melodic structure. As a German invention, it preceded the *courante*, just as the latter preceded the *sarabande* and *gigue*.36

The alman is a simple rather sedate dance, familiar to the Germans, and, I believe, one of our oldest since we are descendents from them. You can dance it in company, because when you have joined hands with a damsel several others may fall into line behind you, each with his partner. And you will all dance together in duple time, moving forwards, or, if you wish, backwards.37

A true picture of the early life of the *sarabande* is gained from a chapter "On the dancing and singing Llamado Zarabanda" by Padre Mariana (1563-1623):

"Amongst other inventions there has appeared during late years a dance and song so lascivious in its word, so ugly in its movements, that it is enough to inflame even very modest people."38

37Arbeau, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
38Horst, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
The musical structure is simple, slow, and in $3/4$ time, beginning, like the pavane, definitely on the first beat; and was divided into two parts, the first of which was usually eight measures and the second twelve measures. It gained the position of third place in the suite and was also the slow movement when the suite gave rise to the sonata plan of movements. Many of the andantes in the sonatas of Haydn, Mozart, and other classic composers were distinctly derived from the sarabande style.

The gigue was the quickest of the dance forms in the Baroque period. This speed was largely due to its melodic basis written in $3/8$, $6/8$, $9/8$, or $12/8$ time.\(^{39}\) Owing to the restless energy of its movement it gained the distinction of closing the suite, and afterwards became the basis for the final movement of the sonata.\(^{40}\) It contained two sections and was occasionally in the style of a fugue.\(^{41}\)

Other dances of the period, usually treated in the suite as optional pieces, consists of the bourée, in a lively $2/2$ or $4/4$ time, beginning with an upbeat on the fourth quarter note. The composer frequently followed the first bourée with a second one and sometimes this second bourée was \textit{à la}

\(^{39}\)Horst, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 63-69.

\(^{40}\)Observing the Haydn Sonata No. 2 in G major the closing movement is found to be in $3/8$ time and has somewhat the character of a gigue. It is in two sections, each repeated.

\(^{41}\)Horst, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 75-76. See the Bach Suites for illustrations of the gigue.
musette (French form of the bagpipe). The rigaudon was also in 2/2 or 4/4 time and like the bourée started on the fourth quarter note which was divided into two eighth notes. The form of the passepied consisted of two or four parts of eight or sixteen measures in a fairly rapid 3/8 time, beginning with an eighth note up-beat. In many of them there is found a characteristic use of syncopation.

From 1570 the paired dances pavane and galliard were supplanted in favor by the allemande and courante. The latter two began to occur more frequently and from 1620 the French lute books show the addition of the Spanish sarabande to the pair. This sequence first appeared in a manuscript from the Library at Copenhagen and was further developed by the Parisian lutenist Denis Gaultier (see Chapter III).

Turning to England in the early part of the sixteenth century there is found a rather ingenious composition by a composer named Hugh Ashton. The piece was the Hornpipe, found in the Royal MSS App. 58, and is considered a unique contribution to keyboard technique. The Lady Carey's Domp is probably also his. In these compositions Ashton differentiated between keyboard and vocal techniques, and all the effects known to the succeeding generation of remarkable

\[^{42}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 76.}\]
\[^{43}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 112-123.}\]
\[^{44}\text{For examples of Gaultier's music see La Rhetorique Des Denis Gaultier transcrites par Andre Tessier (Paris, 1932-33).}\]
English keyboard composers are said to be traced to these two compositions, excepting double runs. The Hornpipe is lengthy, with an irregular structure and apart from some passing notes, it rests mostly on the alternative pedals of F tonic and C dominant. The bass is based on the drone, borrowed from instruments of the bagpipe variety.

The period of the Elizabethan keyboard music appears to be one of the most original in the history of keyboard music. Its chief characteristic lies in the fact that it is one of the greatest expressions of English character that has ever taken place with both simple and complex harmonies and a strong triadic basis. It is often more chromatic than Bach, but in a different manner. These composers had the advantage over Bach however with their large amount of the finest folk-melody that can be boasted of any country, and it was through this medium that they were able to include a great national expression. This music was almost completely original in style, far ahead of any art form of that day. It was not considered an experimentation, but work of artists who fore-shadowed keyboard technique for two or three centuries to come, not only in performance but also in the instrument it required.

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The music seems to demand the expressive pianoforte rather than the less expressive virginal.

This term virginal seems to apply to all instruments of the plucked string type during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Most of these instruments had a compass of four octaves, A above the stave being the extreme treble note in English instruments.1+7

Dances formed the basis of many theme-and-variations as treated by the virginalists, with the dance theme as variation I. Margaret Glyn gives a clear picture of this:

"There is seldom in Elizabethan variation writing an entirely unvaried statement of a melody. Instead, we find it numbered as the first variation, and so treated, though with comparative simplicity."48

The foremost characteristic of the suite with these composers was the coupling of the pavane and galliard, that is, in the sense of grouping pieces. There were no strict forms in English counterpoint, and those forms found on the continent such as the polyphonic ricercare and canzona were adaptations of the vocal style of the motet and the French chanson for organ and clavier, obeying the laws of strict counterpoint. The English had their own conceptions of instrumental music that should best suit the instrument; consequently they developed a technique that disregarded vocal idioms.49

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48 Ibid., p. 29.
49 Ibid., p. 9.
The outstanding form cultivated by the virginalists was the dances with variations. They exhausted the form that was extensively cultivated in many countries throughout the sixteenth century. The following dance forms were treated: (1) pavans and galliards, (2) allemands, (3) courantes, (4) gigues or jigs, (5) voltes, (6) rondes, (7) marches, (8) toyes, (9) spagnolettas, (10) morescas, and dances sine nomine. 50

The most noteworthy of the English virginalists were: William Byrd (1543-1623), John Bull (1562-1628), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), and Giles Farnaby (c. 1560-c. 1600). Of the lesser composers were Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Tomkins, and Benjamin Cosyn.

With composers like Byrd, Bull, and Gibbons dance music was not merely a respectable craft but an artistic creation. Their dances form the final link in a process of idealization similar to the one which led, more than one hundred years later to the allemandes, courantes, and sarabandes in the suites of Bach. However Bach used the types that were developed before his time whereas the Englishmen concentrated their efforts on one particular form, the pavane, combining it with the contrasting dance in triple time and faster speed, the galliard. 51

50 Van Den Borren, op. cit., p. 251: "Dances Sine Nomine are dances bearing titles that lead one to think they are variations of songs, but are actually dance variations."

51 Apel, Masters of the Keyboard, pp. 67-68.
The style of the pavane with Elizabethan composers was a slow dignified movement in three sections. In comparison with the fantasy, another popular form in England, the sections of the pavane had a definite close, sometimes with a varied repeat of the section running to outstanding length. Even with no real melody the effect depended on melodic treatment as much as on harmony and imitation.

According to Margaret Glyn the highest achievement of the Elizabethan school, of which Byrd laid the foundations, was the pavane and the greatest examples are those of Bull and Gibbons.52

The fullest development of the English pavane is perhaps found in the compositions of Orlando Gibbons. His Lord of Salisbury, His Pavin consists of three sections, each of which develops a different thought. He treats the musical phrase with great ingenuity, not in the usual stereotyped pattern of a four measure unit, but as an extended and continuous flow of energy which carries the musical thought beyond its boundaries.53

Leigh Henry, in his biography of John Bull, gives an account of that composer's close association with Queen Elizabeth I:

52 Glyn, op. cit.

The pavanes of Bull and Gibbons and the other pieces of the virginalists may be found in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, the Parthenia, and in some of the individual works such as Byrd's My Ladye Nevells Booke.

53 Apel, Masters of the Keyboard, p. 69. Examples of these compositions are found in same source pp. 68-70-71.
The Queen was in an overbearing mood and nothing played satisfied her until at last Bull, desperate but catching her spirit, commenced to improvise, using a martial trumpet call as this theme. This caught the spirit of the moment, and the Queen, delighted, led the company in the pavan, on which Bull was basing his impromptu dance. There was something of the exaltation of the time in this stately measure, designed for dancing by Kings, Princes, and grave Siegneurs, with their grand mantles; and by Queens, Princesses, and Ladies with their long trains. Elizabeth paced with full majesty; but when Bull turned the measure and followed with the usual galliard on the same theme she bore not only the company, but the music, along on the momentum of gaiety.54

Regarding the notation used in Elizabethan England, the editors of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book have this to say:

In the history of musical notation, there is no more important document than the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Transcribed from MSS. of widely different dates and degrees of correctness, by one writer, the pieces which range from about 1550 to 1620, are so varied in style that almost all the resources of the time, as regards the writing down of music, must have been exhausted. The period is a peculiarly interesting one, since it marks the point when the old systems of musical theory, as well as of musical notation, were beginning to give place to those which are now observed, and when the modern laws were only in a very incomplete stage of development.55

There was certainly no artistic elaboration for the keyboard in Germany at this time. The German composers were content with very simple dance tunes of a folk-like nature, such as were found among the peasants, burghers, and noblemen.56

56Apel, op. cit., p. 69.
About 1600 the German keyboard notation was revised in all the tablatures of this period and was called the "new German organ tablature." Notes became extinct and both right- and left-hand parts were written entirely in letters.\(^5\)

The most noteworthy feature of the new notation was the numerous strokes and crossbeams which indicated time-values and the octaves within which the notes lay. This notation was invented at a time when the other countries--England, Italy, and France--had long since used the piano score that is known today. The Germans used this notation until the middle of the eighteenth century and boasted one great advantage over the foreign tablatures: there was absolutely no doubt with regard to chromatic alteration.\(^5\)8


CHAPTER III

THE CLAVIER DANCE SUITE OF THE BAROQUE PERIOD

According to Willi Apel, the suite is "a composite musical form consisting of a number of movements each in the character of a dance, and all in the same key." In the final stage of development as represented by J. S. Bach, the suite is characterized by the plan: allemande, courante, sarabande, optional dance(s), and gigue.¹

Heretofore this work has been concerned with the forms utilized before the actual development of the suite. However those dances had a direct influence on the classic suite and some were even used in the suite as Bach knew it. This, the baroque period, brings the suite into full flower starting with such composers as Pasquini in Italy, Schein, Rosenmüller, Pachelbel, and Froberger, who supposedly created the suite as a fixed musical form, in Germany; Chambonnières, D'Anglebert, Gaultier, and Couperin in France; Jenkins, Simpson, Dowland, Locke, and Purcell in England. Some of the suites written by these composers were for an ensemble of instruments.

¹There is an optional group after the sarabande. This consists of one or several dances of various types, chiefly the minuet, bouree, gavotte, passepied, polonaise, rigaudon, and anglaise. For example, Bach's French Suite No. 6 consists of the following eight movements: allemande, courante, sarabande, gavotte, polonaise, bouree, minuet, and gigue.
Similar dance collections for four, five or six string or wind instruments without continuo were published.\(^2\)

Toward the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the Baroque the set of dances used with such great enthusiasm by the lute and keyboard composers were utilized as a pattern. However they are now seen as a strictly stylized plan. The preferred dance types included the (by now old-fashioned) pair of *pavane* and *galliard*, and *allemande* and *courante*, and the *intrada* or entrance piece. Ballets held in the court assemblies began with an *intrada* and were concluded with a *retirada*. *Intradas* occurred in duple meter or triple, duple meter being more frequent. The dances were sometimes grouped in pairs as varied couples, as in the days of Queen Elizabeth (reg. 1558-1603) and in the Kotter manuscripts of 1513 where the after-dance was always a variation of the dance to which it was appended. Sometimes only a single dance was printed and its rhythmic transformation to triple time was left to improvisation and the discretion of the performer.\(^3\) Dance types such as the *allemande* and *sarabande* as constituent members of the suite play a great role in baroque music. Extensive

\(^2\)Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York, 1947), p. 112. Bukofzer also states (p. 74): "The simple dance music of Thomas Simpson, Harding, Rowe, Holborne, Edward Johnson, and Dowland, was widely disseminated through German collections since many of the composers were active on the continent. Their consorts consisted of varied couples, or single dances loosely strung together, exerted a considerable influence on the development of the orchestral suite."

\(^3\)Ibid.
collections of these dances appear in the lute and keyboard books of the early baroque period. Although in these collections there are the same arrangement of dances as found in the classical suite, the idea of the suite as a definite musical form is lacking. Besard's Lute Book of 1603 falls into different sections, the first of which contains all the allemandes, the second all the courantes, etc., in various keys.

In reviewing what has been said in the two previous chapters, it can be safely deduced that the development leading to Bach's suites was a scene of international cooperation, for Italy contributed the basic idea of combining several dances into a larger unit, with England providing the gigue, Spain the sarabande, France most of the remaining dance types, and Germany not only the allemande but the conception of the suite as a unified and definite musical form. In Italy around 1600 there was a kind of suite that could be both played and sung. In Pisa there was an Italian ballet by Antonio Brunelli a Tuscan musician, that was dedicated "to the noble ladies of Pisa" which could be both played and sung. At the beginning there is a five-part chorus that sings a "grave," a "galliard," and a "courante," and the whole thing is played by a musician...

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4 See Yella Pessl, editor, The Art of the Suite (New York, 1947), for examples of suites by Chambonnières, Froberger, Purcell, Fischer, Couperin, Dieupart, D'Aquin, Muffat.

5 Apel, Masters of the Keyboard, pp. 97-100.
on his guitar. It seems that such vocalized suites were prevalent in Italy at that time. There is a dance suite by Monteverdi in *Scherzi Musicali* (1607) called *Balletto* for two violins, two sopranos, vocal and instrumental bass. The various parts of the suite are not designated by name but Hugo Riemann recognized the parts as *entrata* for instruments, and *pavana*, *gagliardi*, *corrente*, *volta*, *allemande*, *giga*, for voices.⁶

There were other forms, closely related to the suite, that were slowly coming into their own in the early baroque period. For instance the *Sonata da Camera* was called a suite performed with a figured bass. Marpurg, an eminent German writer on music, in a description of various kinds of pieces in *Clavierstücke*, published in Berlin, 1762, says:

Sonatas are pieces in three or four movements, marked merely Allegro, Adagio, Presto, etc., although in character they may be really an allemande, Courante, and Gigue.⁷

The *Sonata da Camera* was in the form of a dance suite but was not restricted to dance music. "Da Camera" denotes "fit for a chamber" as opposite to the *Sonata da Chiesa*, music "fit for a church." Dances were the only type of instrumental music not tolerated in the church of that time.⁸

⁶Nettl, op. cit., pp. 122-123.
⁸Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 45. Corelli gave dance titles in addition to Allegro, Adagio, etc. For example see J. S. Shedlock, *The Pianoforte Sonata* (London, 1895), pp. 2-3.
The Sonata da Chiesa followed a slow-fast, slow-fast plan in its movements. The second slow movement was usually in tessitura, that is, encompassed within a certain range. The general effect of this movement was not dissimilar to the sarabande of the Lautenclavier suite. All of the movements of this sonata were in the same key, and one or both of the fast movements was a fugued allegro, usually written for a solo instrument or instruments and figured bass. If there were no harpsichord available, it demanded an organ.9

The suite of the early baroque did not observe any stereotyped order and all combinations of dances were used. Pavanes and galliards usually opened the suite as the leading pair, and formal variations of the passamezzo stood outside the suite because of their length. They are found in the lute collections as an independent set of variations. Schein (1586-1630) adopted in his courantes the French type, characterized by a

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9Kenyon, op. cit., p. 159.

Kenyon also states (pp. 138-9): "The Lautenclavier was an instrument with an ordinary keyboard but wired with lute strings, and plucked like an ordinary flugel. It was not only furnished with lute strings but gut strings as well, the lute strings sounding an octave above the latter. When the lute stop was drawn, the instrument sounded like a real lute provided the sound was immediately damped by falling jacks felted with cloth. When the lute stop was silent, the gut strings, two to each note, sounded like the gloomy large bass flute, usually called a theorbo. These theorbo strings, undamped, gave a greater possibility of legato playing, while the four-foot metal strings gave the necessary brilliancy."
slow tempo and a hemiola rhythm. The variation suite formed only a small part of the entire suite literature, its technique gradually falling into disuse in the middle baroque and only survived sporadically in the late baroque.

An Italian composer of the early baroque who contributed greatly towards keyboard literature was Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643). His keyboard compositions were chiefly of three types: toccatas, variations, and fugal pieces, and therefore he was not greatly instrumental in the development of the keyboard suite. His toccatas reflect the nervous excitement of the early baroque, with a severe style, contrapuntal and organistic. Actually his keyboard music was advertised as "di cembalo et organo" but was essentially for the domestic instrument (cembalo). His first partita includes four correntes: the first in d minor with no flat in the signature, the second one in a minor, the third in F major with a flat in the signature, the fourth one in g minor with only one flat in the signature. Each one is in binary form, about 32 bars long and essentially they are homophonic. The second partita consists of ballettos, pieces with four minims to a bar leading to correntes with 6/4 time signatures. All the

10 Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 39: "One of the most intriguing patterns of the dance song was the hemiola rhythm, an old feature of the Burgundian chanson, faithfully preserved in baroque music. It consists of a more or less regular alternation between 3/4 and 6/8, or 3/2 and 6/4 time, not indicated by the meter signature. Since six units in a bar can always be felt as either 3 x 2 or 2 x 3 beats, the hemiola should not be misrepresented as syncopation."
movements are related: by movement of the bass, harmonically and melodically, and by a series of interlinked short movements.11

Another outstanding composer of the middle phase of the baroque was Bernado Pasquini (1637-1710), who contributed some short suites, which have few and short movements. The Partita in B Flat starts with an allemande, follows with a corrente and finishes with a giga, with only fourteen bars for the whole suite. There is a complex rhythm and it seems to be rambling as to have no bar rhythm at all.12

Domenico Zipoli (1688-1726), of the late baroque, published sonatas under the term Sonata da Chiesa, which were, in actuality, suites comprising a succession of toccatas with versos—therefore not dance suites—suitable only for the organ, although the title page bears the inscription "per organo e cembalo."13

11Kenyon, op. cit., p. 128.

See also J. A. Fuller-Maitland, The Keyboard Suites of Bach (London, 1925), pp. 41-2: "The words 'Partie' and Partita are used by Bach and by some of his predecessors as equivalent to our 'variation,' and as in the organ works, where we have 'partite' used of successive variations on a chorale.

The more usual meaning of the term, and one that is universally recognized in later times, is as the exact equivalent of suite, and it is doubtless due to the six harpsichord partite of Bach that the name has at last become definite."

Close examination of Pasquini's Partitas, cited above, will show that the dances are variations; the one in B flat has only one flat in the signature.

13Kenyon, op. cit., p. 129.
In the middle baroque phase of the ensemble suite, pavanes and galliards disappeared while other dances, growing stronger, replaced them. After the model of the French suite, allemande and courante became the leading pair, treated as a varied couple. These dances were followed by gigues, sarabandes, and other dances which were, on the most part, taken from the French lute and harpsichord music. Also stylized introductory movements began to precede the dance suite proper. In one of the earliest instances of this practice, the suites of Johann Jakob Loewe (1658), the introductions were designated as Sinfonie. In other collections they were called Prelude, Sonata, Toccata, or even Pavane which by this time had completely renounced its dance character.\textsuperscript{14} These independent introductions paved the way for the overture in the late baroque suite.\textsuperscript{15}

German harpsichord and clavichord music assumed distinctive features only in the middle baroque period. An idiomatic style developed after the suite had been transferred from the chamber ensemble, and the lute to the keyboard. The transfer originated in France and quickly spread over Europe. The German utilized a kind of suite more intricate in its composition than the purely melodic variations

\textsuperscript{14} This practice was mentioned in Chapter II, in which the introductory piece came out of the tuning up and was designated as "prelude."

\textsuperscript{15} Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 50.
of Italy. The most important contribution of the Germans to the development of the suite was the expansion of the form by progressive variation, a procedure that closely corresponds to the variation canzona.16 The varied couple could be considered as a cyclic form and a combination of two varied couples led to the organization of the variation suite. This cyclic form was unified by the same key and by the use of the same thematic material for all the dances of the suite.

Johann Hermann Schein (1586-1630) was one of the most important German musicians of the baroque period. He was partly responsible for the development of the variation suite and the order of his dances was: paduane, gagliardi, courante, allemande, and tripla. Each is a fully developed polyphonic movement and consists of three repetitions. In Schein's Banchetto Musicale (1617) the variation suite assumed its classic form. Schein made a sharp contrast between stylized dances and straight dance music by scoring the pavane, galliard, and courante for a five voice ensemble in polyphonic texture,

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16 Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 48: "The motet and the French chanson served as prototypes for the ricercare and the Canzon (Canzon da Sonar) respectively. Both forms finally merged into what we call the fugue today, after the fugal procedure had crystallized in late baroque music."

See also Ibid., p. 50: "The canzona differed from the ricercare in its sprightly themes which favored repetitions, typically "pianistic" figuration, and the stereotyped rhythm of the chanson beginning. Less rigidly contrapuntal than the ricercare, it contained several contrasted sections of imitative and chordal texture. The early baroque composers, especially Frescobaldi, pushed this contrast to such an extreme point that the canzona fell into a variegated quilt pattern of ten or more sections in varying character, tempo, and texture."
the allemande and the tripla for only four instruments in a simple chordal texture. While the last pair was always very clearly a varied couple, the first three dances were not exactly variations of an entire piece but more or less a closely related transformation of the same initial motive and a free continuation.17

Johann Rosenmüller (1620-1624) made an effort to include in the dance suites new forms of dances. In 1645 he published a suite with the following order of dances: paduanen, allemanden, couranten, ballette, sarabanden. He favored the order of paduane, courante, ballo, and sarabande, and occasionally made modifications such as having two courantes following each other. In his choice of keys for the dances of the suite he was guided by a strict rule and in following a consistent plan created a definite unity for each suite. The keys in the order of the suites were: C major, d minor, e minor, F major, G major, g minor, a minor, c minor, and D major. This was in conformity to the then prevailing system of keys and points directly to the concept of the Well-Tempered Clavichord.

With Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-1667) the suite started out as a three-movement form, allemande, courante, and sarabande, but his later suites include the gigue, which appears

17See Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 113, for an example of Schein's use of the suite from the Banchetto Musicale: "That Schein consciously applied the variation to the entire suite clearly transpires from the preface which asserts that the dances 'well correspond to each other in tono and inventione.'"
either before or after the courante, with the sarabande retaining its position as concluding movement. His dance music for harpsichord and clavichord was adapted to the flexible pattern of the French suite as he found it in Chambonnières (1602?-1672?). The late suites foreshadowed the four-movement form of the late baroque suite but differed in the order of the dances. Only in the posthumously printed edition (1693) did the gigue become the final dance. He derived these ideas in style by travelling extensively throughout Europe, studying the music of the Italian, English, and French lute and harpsichord masters. There is a free-voice style (i.e. no strict maintenance of a given number of voice parts), with the delicate agréments of French dance music and a bold harmonic language of the Italians. There is found in the music of Froberger a sporadic survival of the variation suite, but the rhythmic transformations are usually restricted to the allemande and the courante.  

The suites of Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706) are historically interesting since among them is found some of the earliest examples showing the addition of an optional dance to the four standard movements. They are markedly different

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See also Guido Adler, Johann Jakob Froberger Werke Für Orgel und Klavier, Band II of Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Oesterreich, 90 vols. (Leipzig, 1903).  
In observing the suites of Froberger one finds, for example, the following arrangements: allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue; allemande, la double, courante, double, sarabande, double, and gigue.
in style from the others in that the musical texture is less elaborate, and the melody and rhythm are more in the character of real dance music.\textsuperscript{19}

Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722) made great contributions to the literature of the keyboard in his sonatas, although he does not figure greatly in the development of the suite. He used the sonata as a group of pieces, each a vehicle of program music, the movements portraying scenes or chapters of a continuous narrative. In 1700 he published \textit{Musikalische Vorstellung Einiger Biblischen Historien} (Presentation of Sundry Biblical Stories). They were "Combat of David and Goliath," "Marriage of Jacob," "Saul's Melancholy Cured by Music;" each was described in detail with considerable success. In these "Bible" sonatas, Kuhnau adopted the \textit{Sonate de Chiesa} form to the clavichord.\textsuperscript{20}

Johann Kasper Ferdinand Fischer (c. 1650-1746) was among the earliest of the composers to have a prelude preceding his dance movements. He lived and worked in the southwestern part of Germany as court conductor to the Margrave of Baden. This proximity to France accounts for the strong French flavor in Fischer's music, an amalgamation of French refinement and

\textsuperscript{19}\textsuperscript{19}Apel, op. cit., p. 127.
Examples of these suites are found in Max Seiffert, editor, \textit{Klavierwerke Von Johann Pachelbel}, Vol. 2 of \textit{Denkmaler Der Tonkunst In Bayern}, 18 vols. (Leipzig, 1901), p. 52.

\textsuperscript{20}\textsuperscript{20}Kenyon, op. cit., p. 187.
German solidity. This influence is particularly noticeable in his suites where he discards the traditional standard types, except for the allemande. He uses the more recent ballet dances; thus, for example, one of his suites contains prélude, allemande, passepied, rondeaux, chaconne, gigue, bourée, and two minuets; another consists of prélude, passacaille, bourée, and minuet. These suites are in miniature form, which the musical motive being fully exploited in within twenty or thirty measures, its harmony modulated, and brought back to the beginning.  

Johann Cousser (1660-1727) in his collection, Composition De Musique Suivant La Methode Francaise enriched the German suite by the French overture, which since his day was frequently used as a pompous introduction to the subsequent chain of dances.  

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21 Bukofzer, op. cit., pp. 152-153: "Jean Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) adopted in his instrumental ballet music the rhythmic style of the French dance. The dances were in part freely composed in correspondence with the choreography of the ballets, but we find besides the older ball-room dances like the galliard and courante several important dance patterns of a more recent origin. Although they appeared in the ballet de cour sometime before Lully, it was he who gave them the stamp that made them famous. They include the Passepied in lively 3/8 time, the Rigaudon and Bourée in vigorous duple time, the Louré in dotted rhythm and moderate 6/4 time, the Gavotte in graceful duple time, and, above all, the Minuet in stately 3/4 time with typical soft syncopations and hemiolas." For example of Fischer's music see Historical Anthology of Music (I), No. 248, and Complete Works of Johann Kaspar Ferdinand Fischer, edited by Ernst V. Werra (Leipzig, Breitkop and Härtel, 1901).

There were numerous suite composers in Germany during the late baroque, among whom, besides some of those already discussed, were Johann Krieger (1651-1735), Georg Böhm (1661-1733), who represented both the French and the German aspects of the suite and was equally noteworthy for his thorough command of the French agréments (ornaments) and resources of tonal harmony; Buxtehude, whose suites were arranged strictly according to the four main types, occasionally with a few doubles but none of the inserted dances which gave variety to the main types; Johann Adam Reinken (1623-1722), Johann Heinrich Buttstedt (1666-1727), Gottlieb Muffat (1645-1704), who introduced in his Componimenti a sonata finale into the suite, and prepared the ground for a fusion of suite and sonata in the classic period; and Georg Phillip Telemann (1681-1767), who neglected the traditional patterned variation and tended to merge forms that other composers had kept distinct.

The chorale partita was obligated to the secular variation technique of the German suite, for the chorale took the place ordinarily held by a secular aria or dance. This reveals close interactions between secular and sacred spheres in protestant music. Böhm, Pachelbel, and Buxtehude utilized the chorale partita.

To the French the suite was an anthology rather than a strict sequence of dances. For example the basic movements were freely interspersed with other dance types—pavane,
chacconne, canarie, gigue, and in a single suite several courantes with their doubles were included. Yella Pessl in the *Art of the Suite* lists a suite by the French composer Louis Claude d'Aquin (1694-1772) in which all of the movements are rondeaux with various titles such as *Le Coucou, Le Joyeuse, L'Amusante*, etc. It seems that the French lutenists and clavecinists were more partial to the courante than were the composers of other nations. Observing a suite of J. Henry D'Anglebert there is found the order of prelude, allemande, courante, double de la courante, second courante, third courante, sarabande, gigue, galliarde, chacconne, rondeau, gavotte, menuet. In contrast with the quick 3/4 time of the straightforward melodic style of the Italian corrente, the French courante was characterized by sophistication. Written in 6/4 and 3/2 time it favored hemiola rhythms, subtle syncopations, and intricate melodic patterns, which made a rather slow tempo necessary so as to make these subleties more noticeable. This style would hold proof to the fact that the courante had discarded its ballroom heritage. With Denis Gaultier (c. 1603-1672) the French type of suite appeared in highly developed form and lute music gained its final independence from the usual connotation of accompanying

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23Prout, Ebenezer, "Double," *Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Eric Blom, 5th ed., II, 745: "Double--this word is the old name for 'variation,' especially in harpsichord music, of the kind which changes the melody by mere embellishment with ornamentation. Such variations were never accompanied by any change in the supporting harmonies."

24Pessl, op. cit.
instrument. Gaultier descended from a family of lute virtuosi, and true to French tradition gathered in his lute collections mainly dances. The movements in the suites were in no rigidly established order, but the allemande, courante, and sarabande formed the basis of the suites, the gigue at this time still being in use as an optional movement. He used cycles of three or four movements, sometimes unified by variation in which no dance of the same type occurred more than once, except for the double. Gaultier is responsible for the creation of the tombeau which was a piece in miniature composed in the memory of noble persons, relatives, or friends, and based, in spite of its grave character, on the stylized pattern of the allemande. This form was utilized to a great extent by the succeeding lutenists and harpsichordists. Even Maurice Ravel, as late as the present century, used it for the piano in paying homage to Couperin. There were three features that the French lute music shared with the virginal music and those were the patterned variation, the fanciful titles, and the adoption of symbols for ornaments.

With the death of Gaultier in 1672 there began a decline in French lute music. However its musical achievements

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25 An example of the tombeau is the Froberger, Lamentation, in Apel, Masters of the Keyboard, p. 105.

continued in the clavecin music, as most of the lute idioms were studiously imitated and the clavecin did not have the technical limitations of the lute.

Jacques de Chambonnières (1602?-1672?) was the first great representative of the French school and exerted a strong influence on Froberger, thus indirectly on the south German school of keyboard composers. His suites consisted of three main types: the allemande, the courante, the sarabande, and an optional gigue.27 In using a great number of courantes with ornamental doubles, and freely inserted dance types in a single suite, was proof that each dance was more important separately than the order of the cycle as a whole. Neither Chambonnières nor his successors unified their dances in the German manner by means of a common thematic material, but tried for as much contrast as possible between the single movements, observing only the unity of key.28

Chambonnières posed as a gentleman of leisure and did not bother with church music or the intricate problems of counterpoint. His sole aim and purpose was the entertainment of court society whose main interest was dance music, until the opera came to Paris. But Chambonnières did write great

27Pessl, op. cit., p. 10, see example of a suite by Chambonnières. This suite in F major includes the allemande, two courantes, and a sarabande.

See also Geschichte der Music in Beispielen, No. 218, p. 284. Also see Complete Works of Chambonnières, edited by Paul Brunold and Andre Tessier (Paris, 1925).

28Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 170.
music in a small area of thought, for, like Gibbons, in his pavanes, he frequently carried the musical phrase considerably farther than the commonplace scheme of four measures, and instead of using normal cadential endings in a harmonic structure employed an unexpected modulation (see footnote 23). His compositions were expressly written for clavecin or harpsichord. A trait of French harpsichord music of that period is the numerous ornaments, such as trills, mordents, and appogiaturas. These ornaments seem to be an integral part of the compositions and should not be omitted as mere decoration. However they are not part of the basic structure, only an embroidery. Chambonnières' Allemande la Rare may serve as an illustration.29

Chambonnières' dances, as found in the earliest source (1650), are arranged according to keys, but in such large numbers as to exclude the idea of definite form. For instance, the C major group of the manuscript consists of five Allemandes, eleven Courantes, four Sarabandes, two Gigue, five Courantes, and one Chaconne. Chambonnières' successors reduced these accumulations to smaller numbers and, eventually, to a single representative of each form, but pursued the trend towards a loose aggregation of free types rather than towards a standard arrangement. This trend found its fullest realization in the suites—if they can thus be called—of François Couperin, which rarely include an Allemande, Courante, or Sarabande, but consists mostly of a succession of descriptive pieces with titles such as "The Shepherds," "The Mosquito," and "The Reapers."30

29 Apel, op. cit., pp. 95-97. For an example of this allemande see p. 96.

Jean Henri d'Anglebert (1628-1691) was a pupil of Chambonnieres and court clavecinist to Louis XIV. He represents the highest achievement of French harpsichord music, even more than Francois Couperin, who is usually considered the most outstanding of the French clavecinists. Couperin's works for the keyboard are not free from the characteristics of the decline of the baroque and beginnings of the Rococo style, whereas in d'Anglebert the grandeur of baroque mentality found greater realization, equal to the artistic achievements of the other outstanding masters of this period.\(^{31}\) He substituted a symbol $\sqrt{}$ a slanted stroke (see footnote 31) for the measured arpeggio which Chambonnieres was careful to write out, and transferred the sonorities of the Lullian orchestra to the clavecin, a parallel to the colorists of the sixteenth century and the orchestral expansion of piano technique by Lizst. D'Anglebert included many transcriptions of airs and overtures by Lully in his *Pieces de Clavecin* (1689). The clavecin arrangements of the overture to *Cadmus et Hermione* represented the first step toward the independent keyboard overture which served in late baroque as the opening movement.\(^{32}\)

\(^{31}\) *Ibid.*, p. 97. Also see p. 98 for an example of d'Anglebert's *allemande* in g minor. Also see *Pieces De Clavecin Composees Par J. Henry D'Anglebert*, transcriites par Marguerite Roessen-Champion (Paris, 1934), and *Historical Anthology of Music* (I), No. 232.

\(^{32}\) Bukofzer, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
The works of Francois Couperin (1668-1735) bring a close to the French school of the baroque. In style Couperin leans toward the succeeding period of the Rococo. In the *Pieces de Clavecin* he wrote something on the order of suites in that they were a number of pieces grouped together. He designated these suites as *Ordres*, utilized the dance patterns but abandoned the titles and instead replaced them with fanciful designations or names of allegorical or real persons that the music supposedly portrayed. These pieces were held together only through key, but even this was observed laxly enough to allow for the opposite mode or relative keys.33

With Couperin the *gigue* and *sarabande* survived in their Italianized version (a variation style); and the *pavane* was replaced by the *allemande*. His dance rhythms were absorbed into the binary principles of the baroque sonata, the first section ending in the dominant or relative major, the complimentary section returning to the tonic.34


34 Wilfrid Mellers, *Francois Couperin and the French Classical Tradition* (New York, 1951), p. 206: "All the pieces which are not basically dance movements of this type are rondeaux or chaconne-rondeaux—an extension of the old technique of dance tune with couplets, whereby the symmetrical theme is stated, followed by a short episode of allied but distinct material possibly involving a simple modulation, followed by a restatement of the tune in its original form (Footnote continued on next page.)
The first book of the clavecin pieces was published in 1713. In the second Ordre there are a number of dances, simple and undeveloped, similar to those danced to in the ballets (see footnote 21). There are more sophisticated dances--Italian, as well as French in style--and pastorals with a very distinct French flavor. Some of the pieces too are influenced by the more powerful aspects of lute technique. Couperin also used the dance suite for instrumental combinations in the Concerts Royaux and Suites for Viols. It might be said of Couperin's clavecin pieces that they are among the most remarkable feats of creative craftsmanship in the history of music and he should not be relegated as second best in this field to any composer, not even Bach.

English music for keyboard instruments in the seventeenth century did not measure up to the great tradition of the virginalists. The harpsichord music consisted chiefly of single dance movements, grounds, and freely combined suites. The Fancy often served in the suites as opening movement, giving the arrangement an English stamp. The pavane also survived

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34 (continued) always without modulation, followed by another episode, and so on, ad libitum. Both techniques were in the first place functional, arising out of the practical exigencies of the dance; and both, especially the rondeau, may seem to be extremely limited.


36 Bukofzer, op. cit., pp. 193-194: "The Fantasia, or Fancy, combined traits of the Italian ricercare, canzona, and toccata. The English composers paid particular attention to the return of the main idea."
as an opening movement in England longer than in Italy. The English somewhat followed the French style in their disregard for a fixed order of movements.37

A steady influx of English comedians and violists into Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century brought orchestral dance music to the continent where it developed at a very fast pace.38 English music of this period is known principally through compositions printed and played in Germany. These musicians were more concerned with ensemble music, in which they used dances in suite style. This work is not greatly concerned with the suite in that aspect but to name a few of the musicians, there was John Jenkins (1592-1678) who liked to conclude the suite with a slow "drag" or coda which emphasized the cyclic unity of the form, although there were no thematic relations between the movements. Thomas Simpson published in Frankfort, Germany an extreme work dealing with dance music, without observing any strict rules, and combined dances of the same key into suites. His Consort, first part of all kinds of new musical matters in four-parts—together with a thorough bass, collected, recorded and published by T. S. Englishman in Hamburg, contained pieces by Robert Bateman, John Dowland, Edward and Robert Johnson, and others.39

38 Ibid., p. 112.
39 Nettl, op. cit., p. 130.
John Dowland (1563-1626) was greatly concerned with songs and lute accompaniment. However he did write many pieces for the keyboard. His chromatic fancies in character are passionately lugubrious, but the tone of the pieces, however restrained, is elegiac, tenderly melancholy or dream-ily noble.\textsuperscript{40} He had a brilliant continental reputation and for a time was in residence at the court of Henri IV. It seems that Dowland's dolorous temperament influenced a comparable gloom on the part of the French composers. This elegiac quality, native to the Frenchmen, was also encouraged by the development of the lute with eleven strings instead of the usual nine, for the additional strings gave increased opportunity for a grave solemnity of harmony and for richness of part-writing.\textsuperscript{41}

Matthew Locke (1633?-1677) was one of the most notable harpsichord composers of this period. His Melothesia (1673) for harpsichord gave a number of lessons and suites by Locke himself, Gregory, Bannister, and others. This work was preceded by some directions for playing from figured bass, and the short pieces were principally preludes, sarabands, almains, corants, jigs, and gavots, though not entitled as suites.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40}\textsuperscript{Mellers, op. cit., p. 190 (for example of Dowland's works).

\textsuperscript{41}\textsuperscript{Ibid., p. 189.}

\textsuperscript{42}\textsuperscript{Davey, op. cit., p. 309.}
The most gifted Englishman of the age was Henry Purcell (1659-1695). Although a genius on almost every aspect of music, his harpsichord pieces are the least representative of his talents. Several of them are merely arrangements of other compositions and his suites or lessons are written in the French style. But his skill in inventing canons and grounds was without limits. The ground-basses show a wide variety of types, the most frequent being the chromatic type, the triadic, the running or patterned, and the widely spaced types.\textsuperscript{43}

The only compositions for the harpsichord or spinet published by Purcell in his lifetime were the little lessons which he contributed to the second part of Playford's \textit{Musick's Hand-maid}, and which were reprinted by Stafford Smith in the second volume of his \textit{Musica Antiqua}. The \textit{Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord} was published by his widow after his death. The latter, though not so entitled in the early editions, forms a regular series of suites. Some of the forms are: \textit{prelude, almand, corant, minuet; prelude, almand, corant, and saraband}. He uses the \textit{hornpipe} rather frequently and there is a form of a suite in which he uses the \textit{overture, air, and jig}.\textsuperscript{44} Purcell seemed to have been more concerned with dramatic music and instrumental ensemble music for various combinations.

Late baroque music differed from that of the earlier baroque style in being written in fully established tonality.

\textsuperscript{43}Bukofzer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 216; also examples are found on p. 217. Also see G. Tagliapietra, editor, \textit{Antologia Di Musica Antica E Moderna Per Pianoforte}, 18 vols. (Milano, 1931), VIII.

After the pre-tonal experimentation of the early baroque and the use of rudimentary tonality in the middle baroque period, there came a definite realization of tonality in Italy about 1680, a decisive turning point in the history of harmony. Tonality established a graduated system of chordal relations between a tonal center (the tonic triad in major or minor) and the other triads (or seventh chords) of the diatonic scale. These chords were not new but now they served the function of establishing the key.\textsuperscript{45}

With J. S. Bach the suite reached its crowning achievement and with him the order of movements remained constant. It cannot be said that Bach developed the suite, for this work proves that all of the dances utilized in the suite were brought to their peak long before Bach, but with him the suite at last became a strict stylized form.

\textsuperscript{45}Bukofzer, op. cit., pp. 219-220.
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