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Reichart, Sarah Bennett

THE INFLUENCE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIAL DANCE ON THE
VIENNESE CLASSICAL STYLE

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1984

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THE INFLUENCE OF
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIAL DANCE
ON THE VIENNESE CLASSICAL STYLE

by

Sarah Bennett Reichart

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

1984

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1984

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

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartfelt thanks go above all to Professor Siegmund Levarie, from whose ideas this dissertation grew, and whose patience and understanding saw it through to its final stages. Special thanks go also to Professor Barry S. Brook who read the manuscript at various stages and offered encouragement and diverse references along the way, and to Professor Sherman Van Solkema who graciously accepted the responsibility of helping me prepare the final draft. I am indebted also to my readers, Professor Edward O. E. Downes, Professor Stoddard Lincoln, Professor Howard Brofsky, and Professor George Dorris, for their comments and suggestions. M. Jean-Pierre Michaud played devil's advocate and, I hope, kept me from making too many unsupportable claims.

The courteous and helpful staff of the New York Public Library's music and dance collections facilitated my research efforts at Lincoln Center. I am grateful to Professor William Shank, Music Librarian at the Graduate School and University Center, Nancy Wicklund of the Westminster Choir College, and Paula Morgan at Princeton University's Firestone Library, who were always ready to help with bibliographic detail. My thanks go also to the British Library for supplying microfilm copies of

Kirnberger's Recueil and the Breitkopf Terpsichore, and to the Bibliothèque Nationale for a copy of Vm⁷ 4865. I am grateful to Anna Bennett for bringing the Schreiber collection of dance fans to my attention.

My thanks also to Walter Tiedemann for help with the illustrations, to Molly Zweig for typing the first draft, and to Helen Vreeland for processing the later drafts with consistent good humor.

And I am especially grateful to the staff of the Princeton Public Library, who, for the past two years, have provided a much-needed anchor in reality, and to all the members of my family, who were consistently supportive and encouraging.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Whether instrumental or vocal, whether sacred or secular, eighteenth-century music is, in one sense, all dance music.

Stravinsky

The idea that most classical music is based on dance rhythms has become a truism. Stravinsky, in this case, was speaking of Pergolesi and of his own earlier misconception that, for Pulcinella, he would "somehow have to convert [Pergolesi's] operatic and concert pieces into dance music."¹ Performance tradition, he continued, has ignored the basic rhythmic component of eighteenth-century music. Conductors want only melody. "Sing," they ask the orchestra, but never "dance."

If dance music can be characterized by specificity and regularity of meter, rhythm, and tempo, then certainly Stravinsky's statement stands as a description of much eighteenth-century music. If we also include regularity of phrasing, we describe even better that music from the latter part of the century known as "classical."

¹Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, Expositions and developments (New York: Doubleday, 1962) 128.

What can be demonstrated in respect to Stravinsky's remark? Can sacred music, secular vocal music, and instrumental music all be shown to partake of elements of the dance?

Sacred music would seem to be furthest from the dance, yet the following more or less random selections from Haydn's Masses show how the familiar texts of the Ordinary have been rhythmically adjusted to fit the requirements of regular meter and phrasing:

Haydn. Mass No. 6, Missa Cellensis (1782)

1. From the "Gloria"

3
8
Gra - ti-as a-gi-mus ti-bi propter magnam q-loriam tuam
De-us Pa-ter omni-po-tens
Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di

2. "Credo"

3
4
Cre-do in un-um De-um
↑ 3 3 ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ x x x x ↑

3. "Sanctus"

3
4

San-ctus San-ctus sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth


Mass No. 10, Theresienmesse (1799)

4. "Gloria"

3
4

Glo-ri-a Glo-ri-a

in ex-cel-sis De-o

(with  in bass-line)

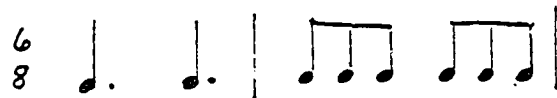
These four examples, furthermore, have specific rhythmic elements which are characteristic of the deutscher, the German menuet, the menuet, and the polonaise.² The

²The spelling of dance names follows, in the general text, the usual spelling of later eighteenth-century sources. Direct quotations may present earlier or variant spellings: e.g., "polonoise," "minuetto."

presence of such rhythmic patterns is easy to sense, but the patterns themselves are less easy to identify; we are not generally conversant with the popular dances of the classical period.

Eighteenth-century secular vocal music relates to the dance on all levels, from the simplest dance-song to the most sophisticated opera aria. The simple tune for dancing, with words, is popular in all countries. Three late eighteenth century dance-songs still familiar today are:

1. From England, Country dance (Dance fan, 1794)



"Oh, dear, what can the matter be"

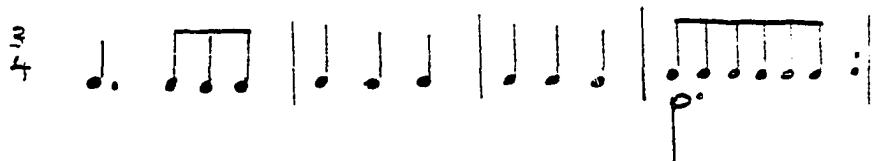
2. From France, Contredanse française (many collections of 1780s)



"Malbruch s'en va-t-en guerre"

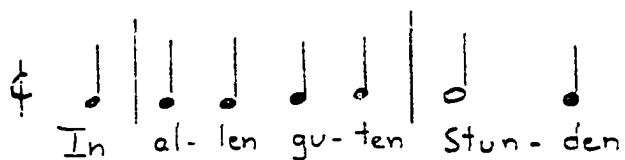
(To Americans, "The bear went over the mountain.")

3. From Austria, Walzer "La Viennoise" (Paris print, 179?)



[Ach, du lieber Augustin]

Distinguished poets and composers contributed to a repertoire of more cultivated dance songs. Among these is Beethoven's setting of Goethe's "Bundeslied," Opus 122 (1797/1822):



This is not only an excellent example of what H. C. Robbins Landon calls the German Lied form,³ it also represents

³H. C. Robbins Landon, Haydn: Chronicle and works, 5 vols. (London/Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1976-1980) IV, 384.

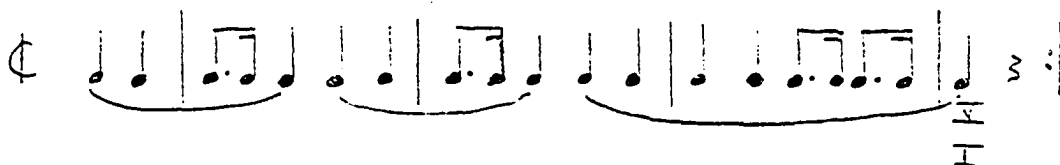
the Viennese contretanz as exemplified in those written by Beethoven himself. The tempo indication "In rascher geschwinder Bewegung" suggests a song fit for this dance. Other examples of the sophisticated dance-song would include the sonnet Burney described as written by Metastasio at the request of the King of Poland to "a favorite Polish minuet,"⁴ and Haydn's "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser," a typical gavotte-song.

Even opera arias could be based on dance patterns. The inclusion of a minuet-aria seems to have been obligatory throughout the eighteenth century; gavotte arias were also highly favored, especially in England.⁵ Familiar Mozart examples include "Se vuol ballare" from Figaro -- a minuet (unlabelled) in spite of its saucy "capriole" figure -- and the paired arias of Marcellina and Basilio from the same opera, both with sections labelled "Tempo di minuetto." Zerlina's "Batti, batti" from Don Giovanni is a representative gavotte aria.

⁴Charles Burney, Dr. Burney's musical tours in Europe, 2 vols., ed. Percy Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) II, 97. For a discussion of the polonaise as art song, see Wye Jamison Allenbrook, "Dance as expression in Mozart opera" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford, 1974) 90-91.

⁵Roger Fiske, English theatre music in the eighteenth century (London, Oxford University Press, 1973) minuet-songs, passim; gavotte-songs, esp. 291; borrowing of Haydn's "Minuet al Rovescio" (Piano Sonata in A major, Hob. XVI:26) for a song, 506.

In his Memoirs, Carlo Goldoni refers to the distribution of "bravura airs, airs of action, inferior airs, minuets, and rondeaus."⁶ By "rondeau" he cannot mean his opera buffa/vaudeville finale, for he goes on to say that one must "above all things, avoid giving impassioned airs, bravura airs, or rondeaus to inferior characters" ⁷ I suspect he is referring to gavotte-arias, for many rondeaus employ gavotte patterns, as in the "Rondò" from Mozart's Schauspieldirektor (1786):



Bester Jungling! Mit Entzücken, nehm ich deine Liebe an,
da in deinen holden Blicken, ich mein Glück entdecken kann.

⁶Carlo Goldoni, Mémoires de M. Goldoni (Paris, 1787), edited and annotated by Paul de Roux (Paris: Mercure de France, 1965) 126. ". . . les airs de bravoure, les airs d'action, les airs de demi-caractere, et les menuets, et les rondeaux." Early English edition: Memoirs of Goldoni, 2 vols., translated from the original French by John Black (London: Henry Colburn, 1814) I, 185-86. Quoted in Fiske, Theater music, 63. Translations are as noted, unless they are mine.

⁷Goldoni, Mémoires, 126. "Surtout, il faut bien prendre gard de ne pas donner d'airs passionnés ni d'airs de bravoure, ni des rondeaux aux seconds rôles" (English ed. quoted in Fiske, Theater music, 63.)

More popular dances also found their way into the opera, for example, the contredanse française which concludes Haydn's Orlando Paladino (1782):



Se volete esser felici, riamente ognor chi v'ama
con candor senz'artifici, e contento il cor sarà.

or the waltz in the Act II finale of Martin y Soler's
Una cosa rara (1786).



Even more do dance elements invade purely instrumental music. Certain generalizations may be made about the placement of such elements. For instance, the last movements of concertos are almost always dance-derived. As typical examples one could note the celebrated menuet finale of Fischer's Oboe Concerto, the gavotte finale of Mozart's Piano Concerto in C major, K 503 (used first in Idomeneo) and the finale of Beethoven's Triple Concerto, Opus 56, "Alla Polacca." The finale of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4 in

G, Opus 58 (1806), includes the pattern of another popular dance -- the *écossaise*:



A similar situation obtains with respect to the symphony. The minuet finale, common early in the history of the genre, came to be followed by another dance movement finale of a more popular sort. A well-known example is Beethoven's use of his own *Contretanz* No. 7 (1800-01) for the finale of the Third Symphony (1803). Typical Haydn dance-derived finales include that of Symphony No. 100 (London, 1794), a country dance in jig tempo:



and Symphony No. 88 (Paris, 1789), a *contredanse française*.



The dance-derived last movement is psychologically apt and can be found in all genres, not only in the concerto and symphony which appeal to large audiences, but also in more intimate chamber works. But dance-based movements were not restricted to finales. As the standard "minuetto"

movement began to incorporate elements of the more lively German dances, the sedate graceful menuet became available for slower inner movements. The polonaise was also available for such movements, or for stately introductions in triple meter. Popular dances even became the basis for lively first movements; a familiar labelled example is the "Presto alla tedesca" (deutscher) of Beethoven's Piano Sonata in G, Opus 79. And in sonata form movements, dance patterns appear as first themes, second themes and concluding themes.

It could be argued that these examples represent an extreme, and in a sense they do: one extreme of a musical continuum which has as its antitheses such free unmetrical forms as Gregorian Chant, the unmeasured prelude for lute or keyboard, improvised cadenzas, and much operatic recitative.

The rhythmic regularity which Stravinsky noted as being so pervasive in the eighteenth century is the culmination of a trend which began with the secularization of music around 1600, when the primary concern of composers began to move away from vocal music for the church toward instrumental and operatic forms. In this sense Goethe's maxim that all music tends toward the sacred or the dance,

applies.⁸ Not without reason did the Catholic Church attempt to ban, in 1783, this eighteenth-century music which used full orchestra, which included operatic-like arias, and which was based on the rhythmic regularity and phrasing of the dance.

⁸Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Maximen und Reflexionen, Vol. 18 of Werke, Berliner Ausgabe (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1972) 553, no. 489. ". . . eine unausbleibliche Wirkung: Andacht oder Tanz."

Present State of Research

The problem of identifying dance-based melodies or rhythmic patterns in the classical repertoire is not new. Some musicians of the nineteenth century were aware that Beethoven, at least, drew upon the dance in his symphonic works. Tchaikovsky, when criticized for including too much "ballet music" in his Fifth Symphony, wrote in reply:

Do you regard every melody in a lively dance rhythm as "ballet music"? If so, how can you reconcile yourself to the majority of Beethoven's symphonies, for in them you will find such melodies on every page?⁹

Berlioz, writing on the Beethoven symphonies, tried to make some specific identifications, calling the Scherzo of the Sixth Symphony a "musette," for example, and the Vivace of the Seventh Symphony a "ronde de paysans."¹⁰ And it was Wagner who called the Seventh Symphony "the apotheosis of the dance."¹¹

⁹The life and letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky, by Modeste Tchaikovsky, edited from the Russian with an introduction by Rosa Newmarch (London/New York, 1906) 293. Letter to Serge Taneiev, 27 March (8 April) 1878 .

¹⁰Hector Berlioz, Beethoven, with a foreword by J.-F. Prod'homme (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1970) 48, 51.

¹¹Richard Wagner, Das kunstwerk der Zukunft, Vol. III of Richard Wagners gesammelte Schrifte und Dichtungen (Leipzig: E. W. Frisch, 1897) 94.

The need for studying not just the music but also the choreography of eighteenth-century dance was noted by Wanda Landowska, who delineated the issues well when she wrote:

Now comes the most important problem, the concern of all modern musicians. How were these dances performed? What were their tempi, their character? What rapport was there between the choreography of the dance and its interpretation in purely instrumental form? How freely were these dances treated?

This problem becomes even more extensive when one realizes that the dance was so deeply anchored in the imagination of [composers] . . . that it created a special language. This is why we encounter so many pages of music that are dances, although it is not specified at the head of the piece. To discover and establish which particular dance is meant is possible only for someone who knows perfectly the form and cadence of all dances. This knowledge is indispensable. Reading the treatises of the time is but the first step. It is only through close examination and comparisons between a great many works of the period that one can hope to extract little by little the secret of the true cadence of the various dances.¹²

Landowska was referring primarily to baroque dances, but her remarks apply equally well to the music and dances of the classical period.

Twentieth-century scholarly works on the relationship of dance to classical music include studies of the Viennese classical style which concern or focus on the dance, studies of the dance music of the classical composers, genre studies of specific dance types, and special studies of individual works. Studies on baroque dance and on dance-derived

¹²Wanda Landowska. Landowska on music, collected, edited, and translated by Denise Restout, assisted by Robert Hawkins (New York: Stein and Day, 1964) 385. Translation of remarks from a previously unpublished notebook.

musical forms are also relevant.

Serious musicological inquiry into the development of the Viennese classical style, with reference to the incorporation of song or dance-type melody, began with Wilhelm Fischer's pioneering study "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener klassischen Stils," in 1915.¹³ Fischer showed, primarily by means of a thorough and detailed analysis of melodic forms, that many relationships exist between baroque (altklassischen) and classical (Wiener klassischen) instrumental forms and styles. He distinguished two basic melodic types (or methods of dealing with melodic material) in baroque forms which he called "Liedtypus" and "Fortspinnungstypus": that is, song dance type and spun-out type.¹⁴ The Liedtypus derives from folk song and dance and becomes especially prominent in French dance music around 1680.¹⁵ Music of the spun-out type is characterized by various means of extension: the elaboration of initial material with different types of sequences, or the addition of new material.¹⁶ Both structural types are found in the first sections of baroque dance forms. The balanced

¹³Wilhelm Fischer, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener klassischen Stils," in Vol. III of Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, ed. Guido Adler (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel/Vienna: Artaria, 1915) 24-84.

¹⁴Fischer, 25. ¹⁵Fischer, 29. ¹⁶Fischer, 29, 33ff.

Vordersatz and Nachsatz of the song type contrasts with the Vordersatz, the "Fortspinnung" and the Schlusssatz of the spun-out type.¹⁷ The three-part organization of the baroque spun-out type corresponds to the main theme (Hauptsatz), second theme (Seitensatz), and concluding theme (Epilog) of the classical sonata exposition.¹⁸ The baroque form evolves into the classical through the substitution of lied-type melodies in each of the three parts.¹⁹

In further discussion of sonata-form expositions in Mozart and Haydn, Fischer proposes that the former tends to incorporate the Liedtypus into second themes and the latter more frequently into concluding themes.²⁰

This last idea is explored by Charles Rosen in a chapter of The Classical Style devoted to a discussion of Haydn and "the popular style." Rosen finds that

The melodies with a marked popular flavor are most striking in three places of Haydn's symphonies and quartets (and, to a lesser extent, of Mozart's): toward the close of the expositions of the first movements, the opening of the finales, and the trios of the minuets.²¹

¹⁷Fischer, 26-29. ¹⁸Fischer, 52. ¹⁹Fischer, 63.

²⁰Fischer, 58-61.

²¹Charles Rosen, "The popular style," The classical style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven (New York: Norton, 1972) 333.

Rosen continues Fischer's melodic approach and speaks mainly of tunes and melodies. But many of his examples can be rhythmically identified. In his first category for instance, the concluding theme of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony, first movement, has the rhythm of a contretanz (a theme anticipated in the buffo aria "Un vacio di mano," K 541); that of Haydn's Quartet Opus 71, No. 2, an anglaise.²² Rosen himself identifies the Ländler rhythm of the concluding theme in the Drum Roll Symphony's first movement.²³ The rationale in these cases for "the 'popular' tune is that its squareness and symmetry . . . substitute for the banal cadence formulas, for the 'filling' that would otherwise have been needed in its place."²⁴

In a discussion of his second category, the rondo finale, Rosen suggests that themes with upbeats are useful, but without recognizing that these upbeats are characteristic of specific dance patterns. His examples are from Haydn's "Surprise" Symphony -- a Kehraus with anglaise effects -- and Haydn's Symphony No. 88 -- a contredanse française.²⁵ In a later chapter, Rosen points to the

²²Rosen, 335, 336. ²³Rosen, 337. ²⁴Rosen, 335.

²⁵Rosen, 337-38.

finales of the late piano trios, which he terms "minuets or German peasant dances."²⁶ Rosen describes the second (and last) movement of Hob. XV:31 in E-flat minor as a "German dance in elaborate and sophisticated style;"²⁷ it is rather, a formal menuet showing polonaise influence.

Rosen's remarks on Haydn's symphonic menuet trios, his third category, are not particularly relevant here. They deal with the transformation of rustic elements such as a yodel figure "into the world of high art."²⁸

A significant contribution is Rosen's identification of an additional area into which popular elements were introduced: the first theme of a work which starts with a slow introduction. His first example, Haydn's Quartet Opus 73, No. 3, shows a contretanz pattern particularly favored by Haydn.²⁹ Other examples, such as the "Drum Roll" Symphony, or Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, show how the weight of such an introduction allows for a lighter or dance-like principal theme. These excellent observations will be enhanced by a knowledge of what such dance-like themes really are.

²⁶Rosen, The classical style, 352.

²⁷Rosen, 362. ²⁸Rosen, 341. ²⁹Rosen, 345.

Leonard Ratner could not emphasize more strongly the importance of the dance in understanding classical music.

In his Classic music one reads:

Dance rhythms virtually saturate classic music; therefore, one of the principal points of attention for the student, listener, and performer is the recognition of specific dance patterns that can provide important clue to the expressive quality of a composition.³⁰

Ratner is the first musicologist to deal with classic dance patterns in a systematic and comprehensive way. He arranges his dances by meter: triple, duple, compound; and presents them in the following order: Minuet and related types (Passepied, Sarabande, Popular dances: waltzes, Ländler, allamandes, Schleifer, Swabian allemandes), Polonaise, Bourrée, Contredanse (Angloise), Gavotte, Gigue, Siciliana, and March.³¹

This scheme and this selection of dances is based on the writings and examples of eighteenth-century theorists. Some issues which this selection and arrangement fail to clarify are: 1) National types. French, English and German contredanses differ both musically and choreographically. 2) Meter. In some dances a duple or triple subdivision of the beat is irrelevant (but in Ratner's scheme would be in

³⁰Leonard G. Ratner, Classic music: Expression, form, and style (New York: Schirmer, 1980) 9.

³¹Ratner, 9-16.

separate categories). 3) Tempo. A dance done with French steps is necessarily slower than the same dance done with English or German steps. And the example of a passepied (Moderato) should probably not be used as a prototype of Haydn's 3/8 finales, for many of these are "Presto" and probably represent the deutsche. 4) Phrasing. As examples under "the expressive range of minuets" Ratner presents the minuet from Haydn's Symphony No. 102 in B-flat and that from Beethoven's First Symphony. His point would be even clearer with specifics: tempo and phrasing of the Ländler and deutsche, respectively.

Some important dances are missing from the list. Mozart's "Teutsche" may have been subsumed under waltzes, but if so, why does Ratner later mistake the "teich" in Don Giovanni's ball for a gigue? German dances in duple meter are not included -- neither the Strassburg, nor the "well-known German national dance in 2/4."³² And were the 6/8 finales of Haydn's London Symphonies meant to refer back to the baroque gigue? Or were they perhaps intended to be examples of lively English country dance tunes "in jig time" or even the Scottish jig itself?

Particularly confusing is Ratner's statement "If we quicken the bourrée, the music will be in the style of a

³²Heinrich Christoph Koch, "Allemande," Musikalisches Lexikon (Frankfurt, 1802), reissued (Heidelberg: J. C. B. Mohr, 1865) 42.

contredanse, also called angloise."³³ I have found no eighteenth-century justification for relating the bourrée to the contredanse. Only by examining the dance music and choreography could one say that, around 1760, in France, the gavotte tempo was quickened (2 becoming 2/4) for the dance called the contredanse française. But this dance was never called angloise, a term used only in reference to dances of the English type.

Lack of familiarity with the popular French dances leads to another error. Ratner describes the finale theme (Rondo) of Mozart's Quintet in G minor, K 516, as "a Ländler with a typical off-beat waltz accompaniment,"³⁴ whereas it is an excellent example of a contredanse française in 6/8, typical of the tunes which the French choreographies direct to be played "en rondeau." Also, the "off-beat accompaniment" belongs rather more to the Ländler than the early waltz.

Ratner espouses a secondary organization into "styles." The minuet, sarabande, and gavotte represent the high style (elegant and courtly), the bourrée and gigue the middle style (pleasant and often lively), the contredanse and Ländler the low style (rustic and buoyant).³⁵ He could be referring to musical styles here, or social class, or both. But this scheme reflects insufficient knowledge of

³³Ratner, Classic music, 13.

³⁴Ratner, 253-54. ³⁵Ratner, 9.

what the popular social dances really were, and who danced them. Ratner would have missed the point of Don Giovanni's ball as social commentary: the masked aristocrats dance a courtly menuet, the servants a "teich" (deutscher/waltz), and the Don and Zerlina meet at the democratic middle ground of the contradanza. But Ratner has the servants dance a gigue (middle style) and the Don and Zerlina a contredanse (low style)!

The idea that Mozart used dance types for characterization was first proposed by Siegmund Levarie in his analysis of Figaro in 1952.³⁶ In this study Levarie suggested, for example, that the menuet rhythm of "Se vuol ballare" represents the Spanish aristocracy whereas the rebellious presto section uses the rhythm of English dance tunes. This idea of musical characterization through dance types was further explored by Robert Moberly in Three Mozart operas,³⁷ and especially by Wye Jamison Allenbrook, whose study of thirteen social dances and their application to Mozart's Figaro³⁸ most closely approximates the aim and compass of the present study. Allenbrook's work suffers

³⁶Siegmund Levarie, Mozart's Le Nozze di Figaro: A critical analysis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) 34-35.

³⁷Robert B. Moberly, Three Mozart operas (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1968).

³⁸Wye Jamison Allenbrook, "Dance as expression in Mozart opera" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford, 1974).

however, from the same flaw as the Ratner study: an undue reliance on theorists. Her exhaustive survey of theoretical writings provides the following dances (again categorized by meter): minuet, sarabande, passepied, polonaise, gigue, pastoral, siciliano, march, bourrée, gavotte, contredanse (allemande, waltz), musette. This is a somewhat misleading list of social dances. Some are baroque court dances still used in the theatre but not in the ballroom (gavotte, passepied); some are no longer real dances of any sort, but styles (siciliano, musette). Again there is insufficient awareness of the actual social dances of the time. Furthermore, when contredanse, allemande, and waltz are treated together, no clear understanding of their separate identities can emerge.

Little attention has been paid to the actual dance music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Paul Nettl, however, has written extensively on eighteenth-century dance, both theatrical and social, and supplied much useful historical and sociological background material. He has also explored the early history of the waltz and other German dances. Yet even so, Nettl follows Liebeskind, Einstein, and others in misidentifying Mozart's Strassburg concerto;³⁹ he is not aware of differences in the rhythmic patterns of the

³⁹Paul Nettl, The dance in classical music (London: Peter Owen, 1963) 101-02.

Strassburg dance (rondeau episode, K 216) and the contredanse française (rondeau episode, K 218). Again, in discussing the influence of Czech folk music, Nettl claims No. 32 in Mozart's London notebook of 1764 as a "genuine Czech polka."⁴⁰ Speculation of this sort leads to error when the full context is not considered and information is incomplete. For Nettl's "polka" is a perfectly normal English tune in 2/4 which happens to have the same rhythmic pattern as some Czech and Hungarian tunes. It seems more probable that the eight-year old Mozart was trying his hand at an English country dance.

Of the few genre studies available, by far the most useful is Jean-Michel Guilcher's dissertation on the contredanse.⁴¹ He uses primary dance material which complements my own. He discovers the origin of the contredanse française in the interrelations and interactions of French and English popular dances in the first half of the eighteenth century. (Previously, it was thought that the French contribution was minimal.) He gives a history of the contredanse, with an accounting of publishers, up through the French revolution. But the significance of the (French) contredanse allemande is not noted nor are its

⁴⁰Nettl, Dance, 119.

⁴¹Jean-Michel Guilcher, La contredanse et les renouvellements de la danse française (Paris: Mouton, 1969).

choreographic and musical distinctions from the contredanse française discussed.

A statistical study by Eugene Beenk of Ländler elements -- melodic, harmonic, rhythmic -- in Haydn's Symphonic minuets⁴² is based on 97 folk Ländler collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A twentieth-century choreography is included. I have used this material to confirm a basic rhythmic pattern for the Ländler, but have otherwise treated it with discretion.

A study by Reingard Witzmann, Der Ländler in Wien,⁴³ complements the Beenk work, for Witzmann is concerned with choreography, not music. Because he has searched the Viennese archives, Witzmann provides eighteenth-century source material not otherwise accessible, and since he uses "Ländler" as a generic term to cover all German dances of the times, his discussions include the deutsche and the Strassburger as well.

A miniature study concerned with an individual work is Siegmund Levarie's "The closing numbers of

⁴²Eugene Lester Beenk, "Laendler elements in the symphonic minuets of Joseph Haydn" (Ph.D. dissertation, Iowa University, 1969).

⁴³Reingard Witzmann, Der Ländler in Wien: ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener Walzers bis in die Zeit des Wiener Kongresses (Vienna: Arbeitsstelle für den Volkskundeatlas in Österreich, 1976).

Die Schöpfung."⁴⁴ He points out that the final duet for Adam and Eve, in B-flat is in the rhythm of a popular écossaise. This duet is often not performed, for it seems like an anticlimax after the great C major chorus. Levarie explains the presence of this duet in terms of contemporary aesthetics and in terms of symbolism: man's dual nature, his fall from grace, the realms of divine creation and man's more earthy creation.

Baroque dances have received much more scholarly attention than have the later dances of the eighteenth century. A particularly instructive study in this field is "The contribution of dance steps to musical analysis and performance: La Bourgogne" by Meredith Ellis Little.⁴⁵ This essay examines the relationship of music and dance in a French dance suite of 1700 and explores "some of its implications for the analysis and performance of stylized dance music."⁴⁶ This same author's dissertation on "The dances of J. B. Lully"⁴⁷ and Wendy Hilton's Dance of court and theater: The French

⁴⁴Siegmund Levarie, "The closing numbers of Die Schöpfung," in Studies in eighteenth-century music (Festschrift Geiringer), ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) 315-22.

⁴⁵Meredith Ellis Little, "The contribution of dance steps to musical analysis and performance: La Bourgogne," JAMS XXVIII/1 (Spring 1975) 112-24.

⁴⁶Little, "Contribution," 112.

⁴⁷Helen M. Ellis (Meredith Ellis Little), "The dances of J. B. Lully (1632-1687)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford, 1967).

noble style, 1690-1725⁴⁸ have clarified the intricacies of baroque choreographic notation. This information is of use in studying the menuet and some later dances which retained French steps.

Two studies in musical form are helpful in understanding how the menuet (and other dances) were used as a basis for instrumental composition. Walter Kob presents a survey of eighteenth-century theoretical literature on the subject of periodic structure, with special attention to the works of Mattheson, Riepel, and Koch. This is followed by a statistical study of the dance-based works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.⁴⁹ Robert Nicolosi investigates the variety of instrumental finale forms which retain the tempo and meter of the menuet -- a variety which ranges from simple binary through ternary, sonata, variation, rondo, and concerto ritornello forms.⁵⁰ With this work we can

⁴⁸Wendy Hilton, Dance of court and theater: The French noble style, 1690-1725 (Princeton: Princeton Book Co., 1981).

⁴⁹Walter Kob, "The smaller homophonic forms of instrumental music, 1740-1815, in relation to theories of musical form" (Ph.D. dissertation, Eastman, 1965).

⁵⁰Robert Joseph Nicolosi, "Formal aspects of the minuet and 'Tempo di Minuetto' finale in instrumental music of the eighteenth century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1971).

justify, in general, the separation of formal dance structure from metrical content. (The matter of dance form will be found germane, however, to a discussion of the relationship of the classical rondo to the contredanse française.)

Purpose and Procedure

It is evident from the foregoing survey that a comprehensive yet detailed study of late eighteenth-century dance is needed. A new approach based not on the metric classificatory scheme of eighteenth-century theorists but on dance choreographies and music leads to a clarification of national dance styles and national tune types. The existence of such a typology has not been hitherto demonstrated, and the precise formulation of such dance types has not been previously shown. Such a study will then demonstrate how elements of many of these popular dances were incorporated into the art music of the Viennese classical composers, and that this practice extended far beyond the obviously titled dance movements.

The writings of theorists, composers, and performers are consulted to verify the use of dances as a compositional framework, and to show that composers were aware of a need to appeal to public taste. Memoirs, autobiographies, letters, music publishers' catalogues, newspapers, paintings and engravings, and "musical balls" help to convey the ambiance of the eighteenth-century ball and to ascertain what dances were actually in use. For each dance considered in detail (polonaise, menuet, French contredanses, English

country dances, different types of German dances) an historical setting is presented; the writings of dancing-masters (mostly from the 1770s) give a basic outline of its choreography: format, steps, and figures. Music for each dance type is then considered, and possible criteria for meter, tempo, and phrasing are deduced. These principles are then applied to unlabelled, stylized selections, mostly from the instrumental works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. A final chapter demonstrates how the use of more than one dance rhythm in a single musical movement or in different movements of a single work can be understood in terms of the dances popular at a given place and time, and shows intentionality on the part of the composer.

Complete consistency of presentation cannot be maintained, however, for certain dances require different approaches. The best approach to minuets seems to be first by tempo and affect (the serious and the gay) and then by country. The discovery of an interrelationship between polonaise and minuet makes it necessary to consider them in conjunction. French dances are best approached through genre (gavotte tunes, chasse tunes), English country dances by meter (2/4, 6/8) and upbeat patterns, German dances first by Vortanz and Nachtanz affiliation (duple or triple meter). Dances such as the French allemande submit to an historical developmental approach whereas others do not. In other

cases a digression from the main topic is necessary: for instance, the study of English ballad meter to try to explain the peculiar rhythmic emphasis of English tunes.

In spite of some deviation from the basic format the purpose of each analysis is fulfilled in the identification of basic patterns of rhythm, meter, phrasing, and tempo for each dance or dance type, which are then referred to the serious musical repertoire.

Baroque dances figure in this study only as they persist into later eighteenth-century social dance. These include the menuet, which was danced at least until 1812 in Vienna, the gavotte, which figures as the prototype for the contredanse française, and the gigue, which continued in England and Scotland as a type of country dance, and reappears in the classical repertoire as a popular form. Nor are theatrical dances of primary concern to this study, except as they represent examples of more popular styles transferred to the stage. I have further limited the scope of this study by excluding Eastern European dances -- Hungarian and Russian types, "gypsy" music, etc. I have also excluded marches, although they are certainly part of the ball-scene, deserve consideration as dances, and are incorporated into serious music (marches for opening movements, funeral marches, Turkish marches). Both marches and Eastern European dances could benefit from their own separate studies.

A New Approach to Eighteenth-century Dance

This study of eighteenth-century dance is based on practical rather than theoretical sources. These include descriptions of particular dances by choreographers, actual choreographies with instructions and music, and collections of music for dancing.⁵¹ In studying these materials we come to understand how the music of a dance often relates directly to its choreography. For example, the one-measure step of the polonaise and the two-measure step of the menuet are expressed in musical phrasing. Choreography also tells something about tempo, or its possible limitations. The polonaise, for example, is slower than the menuet; the contredanse française, which uses French steps, is slower than the contredanse allemande, which does not.

The study of these materials leads to another realization: that eighteenth-century dances (except the menuet) fall into categories defined by national origin. This dance repertoire can be viewed as a succession of popular national types, as the following preview will show.

⁵¹A bibliography of dance materials compiled by Carol Marsh [Carol Rowan], "Eighteenth-century dance: A bibliography for the scholar/performer" (seminar paper, CUNY Graduate School, 1974), has made exploratory work in this area infinitely easier.

First to become fashionable were the English country dances which swept over Europe early in the century. These were "longways" or column dances. They differed from French baroque theater dances in stressing "figures" or patterns made by the dancers rather than complex steps. They also represented a more democratic form, being open to "as many as will" and open, in England, often to master and servant alike. The French dancing-masters made their own adaptations of the English dances, introducing French steps and changing the English double-line format to the French round for eight. By 1760, this new French contredanse itself had returned to England and spread over the rest of Europe as far as St. Petersburg. At this time then, the two types of contredanses were equally popular: English and French.

After the end of the Seven-Years War in 1763, German dances became popular in France; this trend gained momentum with the arrival of Marie Antoinette in 1770. German figures were incorporated into the contredanse, forcing a further distinction between contredanses French and German. In Germany also, in the 1770's, dances such as the deutscher, Ländler, and others began to join the menuet and contredanse in the ballroom. A dance known as allemande in France and Strassburger in Germany became popular in both countries.

Towards the end of the century the polonaise, long popular in Saxony, began to enlarge its sphere of influence, replacing the menuet as the most formal dance. In Vienna a merger of deutscher/waltz and Ländler elements produced the 19th century waltz, poised to take over the dance world. In the meantime another wave of English (or rather Scottish) country dances had been moving across to Germany and beyond. Soon after the turn of the century the écossaise and the waltz had become the standard ballroom dances.

Dances are frequently named after their supposed place of origin or, equivalently, after the people who dance them. This was particularly true in the eighteenth century, for we find that practically every dance bears a national title. Thus the English country dance is called englische or angloise; a German dance becomes a deutscher, allemande

or tedesco; the major Polish dance is the polonaise. French contredanses (from the English "country dance") are themselves of different types: française, anglaise, or allemande. This typology was used in the eighteenth century (by the dancing public, if not by theorists), and it has been adopted here.

But the naming of dances can also cause much difficulty. First, the same dance may have more than one name: the anglaise in Dittersdorf's Carnaval Symphonie is Goethe's englische, and the dance is called simply contretanz by Mozart and Beethoven. Secondly, the same name may refer to different dances: Parisian allemandes could be either a type French contredanse or what the Germans referred to as the Strassburger; allemande in Germany could denote a slow waltz in 3/4, or Koch's "well-known German national dance in 2/4." Mixed dance types also appear: the German polonaise, and the Polish menuet. A word such as quadrille can have different meanings based on its derivation or what its derivation was thought to be. And all are subject to variations in time and place. Assumptions made by translators and catalogue compilers compound this confusion. It is essential, in a study such as this, to use the original, primary-source name in whatever language and then to deal with the complexities which may arise from such a rigorous practice.

I have used in addition a second classificatory scheme, ordering dances by their position in a ball program; this in turn is a function of their place in the social structure. Balls are opened by the highest-ranking individuals present, hence the menuet and polonaise, dances of the aristocracy, are presented first. These are followed by the contredanses, French and English, which could be danced by anyone. Specifically German dances, the waltz and the finale, follow at the end.

Dance Music and Art Music

There would seem to be three recognizable stages in the historical development of any particular dance. What begins as a simple folk dance is taken up and refined by the aristocracy and then moves over into the realm of serious music as a stylized art form. But actual development is often more complex. Dances do not always move upward socially, but may filter down, encouraged by the tendency of other classes to imitate the manners of the court. One may find that the peasant form and the aristocratic form of a dance exist simultaneously. or, if the moment of artistic stylization is early, the period of popularity as a dance

will overlap that of the stylized form.

What makes this later eighteenth-century dance music so interesting, in the terms of the widely-accepted three-stage development stated above, is that the moment of musical stylization -- the moment of acceptance of a dance into the realm of serious music -- seems to be practically synchronous with the moment of its arrival in the ballroom. The following dance chapters will show that, like the menuet, the newer social dances and their derived art forms existed side by side. This phenomenon is one of the unique characteristics of the period of music history we call classical.

In the later eighteenth-century musical idioms were exchanged freely. On the one hand, dance music was taken "seriously." Not only could a popular dance pattern be used in a serious piece; there were attempts to turn the dance "set" itself into a coherent and unified whole. Mozart's 6 Teutsche for Prague, K 509 (1787), are an early example in which connecting links between the dances are written out and a concluding coda is supplied. A similar pattern of dance repetition (1,2,1; 3,4,3; etc.) unites the écossaises, for instance, of Schubert's set D. 299 (1815). Transferred to art music, the same process yields pieces such as Weber's Aufforderung zum Tanz (1819). Other attempts to impose order on collections of stylized dances

can be seen, for example in the waltzes, polonaises, and mazurka of Schumann's Papillons, Opus 2 (1829-31).⁵² This inclination to take contemporary social dance music seriously can be recognized up through the dances of Johann Strauss and Brahms.

Not only did dance music become immediately available for stylization; the reverse process was equally possible: tunes were extracted from opera or symphony and adapted for dancing. There is Mozart's well-known remark about the ball at Prague where he looked on "with the greatest of pleasure while all these people flew about in sheer delight to the music of my Figaro, arranged for [Contretänze und Teutsche]"⁵² In addition, we have Mozart's own setting of "Non più andrai" as a contretanz, K 609, No. 1 (1791). From orchestral music we have the example of twelve menuets from Haydn's symphonies adapted for dancing and presented

⁵²W. A. Mozart, Letter to Gottfried Jacquin (Prague, 15 Jan. 1787). The letters of Mozart and his family, 3 vols., tr. Emily Anderson, 2nd ed. prepared by A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966) III, letter no. 544. Anderson translation: "quadrilles and waltzes." Mozart, Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, Gesamtausgabe, herausgegeben von der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, gesammelt und erläutert von Wilhelm A. Bauer und Otto Erich Deutsch, 7 vols. (Kassel/Basel/London/New York: Bärenreiter, 1962) IV, 10: 17-18. ". . . ich sah aber mit ganzem Vernügen zu, wie alle diese Leute auf die Musick meines figaro, in lauter Contretänze und teutsche verwandelt"

as "12 Deutsche und Coda."⁵³ Alexander Weinmann has mentioned some other cases in his study of the Wiener Zeitung: twelve deutsche from der Zauberflöte (3 Dec. 1791); Hoffmeister's Cosa rara deutsche and menuets, along with deutsche and menuets from Martin's "Arbore di Diana" (31 Jan 1789).⁵⁴

This reverse phenomenon, of course, is not restricted to the eighteenth century. From the beginning, publishers have been eager to arrange art music for dancing. One of the earliest examples may be Susato's simplification of the Josquin chanson "Mille regrez" for publication as a pavane (1551).⁵⁵ In more recent times this practice led to results which, when not deliberate parodies, seem both ridiculous and in poor taste: waltzes from "Tristan;" a "Tannhäuser" foxtrot or a "Samson and Delilah" tango.⁵⁶

⁵³Hob. IX Anhang. Hortus Musicus, No. 41, ed. Paumgartner (1949).

⁵⁴Alexander Weinmann, Der Alt-Weiner Musikverlag im Spiegel der "Weiner Zeitung" (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976) 46.

⁵⁵Tielman Susato, Danserye (Her derte musyck boexken . . .) (Antwerp, 1551), ed. F.J. Giesbert (Manz: Schott, n.d.) Pavane no. 1; Compare: Josquin, Weltische Werke, no. 24.

⁵⁶Weinmann, Der Alt-Weiner Musikverlag, 46.

Similar efforts today have led irate citizens to complain about Musak: "Every musical composition, whether composed by Mozart, John Lennon, Cole Porter, Duke Ellington or the ancient Greeks, is twisted into either a cha-cha or a waltz."⁵⁷

It is true that this intimate relationship between dance and art music existed to some degree not only in the early eighteenth century, but even before, and that the desire to please a noble patron led to the incorporation of preferred dance elements into serious music, sacred or secular, prepared for presentation at court. It seems clear, however, that in the nineteenth century this tie was weakened, and today remains tenuous at best. In the later eighteenth century, composer and audience were in unusually close rapport. In order for this bond uniting music and dance to return, there would have to be a single public for dance music as well as art music -- a situation which obtained par excellence with the aristocracy and the growing middle class of the eighteenth century, but which is not likely to recur.

⁵⁷"The Letters Column," Paterson News (N.J. Newspaper), 12 Nov. 1979.

Chapter II
CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE

It might be well to establish at the very outset what sort of contemporary evidence exists to justify the hypothesis that composers used dance material for their musical constructions, and, more generally, that composers were intentionally using dance and other popular elements in an effort to please their growing middle-class public.

Theorists who deal with composition in terms of periodicity are the most explicit on this use of dance material. Walter Kob, who has made an exhaustive study of this eighteenth-century literature, concludes that "The theorists of the late eighteenth century . . . were quite conscious of the fact that dance pieces, and particularly the minuet, not only constituted the principal genre of short pieces but also could be considered as sources and miniature models for the larger forms."¹

One of the more influential theorists of the later eighteenth century,² and the first to explore periodic musical form in a systemic way, was Joseph Riepel. Riepel

¹Kob, "The smaller forms," 15.

²See Kob, 54-58.

announces in large bold-face type on the first page of his Anfangsgründe (1752): "And a menuet, in its working-out, is nothing other than a concerto, an aria, or a symphony."³ Riepel's exposition of compositional principles, both here and in the Grundregeln zur Tonordnung⁴ uses the menuet as a structural framework.⁵ Riepel's works present the first systematic exploration of periodicity, and they would seem to have been held in high regard by his contemporaries. Leopold Mozart owned a copy of at least one Riepel work (it had been loaned out, and he wrote to inquire after its return),⁶ and Beethoven's small library of books on music included the complete set of five volumes.⁷

But we are especially concerned here to note that other dance types, in addition to the menuet, were used as

³Joseph Riepel, Anfangsgründe zur musikalischen Setzkunst . . . De Rhythmpoezia oder von der Tactordnung (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1752) I. "Da aber ein Menuet, der Ausführung nach, nicht anders ist als ein Concert, eine Arie, oder Simphonie" Cited in Kob, 62.

⁴Volume II (Kapital II) of the Anfangsgründe (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1755).

⁵For an analysis of Riepel's ideas see Kob, "The smaller forms," 54-91.

⁶Leopold Mozart to his wife, Vienna, 15 Sept. 1773. Deutsch, Briefe I, 501: 31. Not in Anderson.

⁷Elliot Forbes, Thayer's Life of Beethoven, revised and edited by Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) 1070.

the basis for larger constructions. Johann Mattheson is the earliest eighteenth-century theorist to discuss periodic constructions in relation to the dance. His awareness of contemporary trends and his ability to express his ideas in practical terms make his work especially pertinent, in spite of its early date. In Kern melodischer Wissenschaft (1737) Mattheson discusses principles of composition which use the menuet as a model but are intended as a basis for composition using other dance types as well:

The phrase and periodic structure . . . as well as the thematic, metrical organization . . . are both indispensable in all dance types, and give them proper substance and shape. Our description of the minuet is intended as an example of analysis which can be applied to all other types.⁸

Mattheson takes a menuet for analysis, using punctuation symbols to show the geometrical relationship of phrases, sections, and periods.⁹ He follows this with brief

⁸Johann Mattheson, Kern melodischer Wissenschaft (Hamburg: Christian Harold, 1737) 109.

"Der numerus sectionalis . . . und der rhythmus . . . sind beyde unentbehrliche Dinge bey allen Tantz-Arten, und geben denselben die rechte Maasse und Gestalt. Wir wollen an der Minuetta hievon ein solches Exempel zeigen, welches bey allen übrigen, gnugsamen Anlass zur Zergliederung geben kan." Paraphrase and translation by Kob, 50.

⁹Mattheson, Kern, 109-11. Also in Der vollkommene Capellmeister (Hamburg: Christian Harold, 1739) 224-25.

discussions of different dance types: Menuet, Gavotta, Bourrée, Rigaudon, Marche, Entrée, Gigue, Polonoise, Angloise, Passepied, Rondeau, Sarabande, Courante, Allemanda, and then other non-dance categories.¹⁰ The clear intent here is to show that different sorts of characteristic rhythms may be employed in the composition of periodic structures.

The use of dance-based material has a recognizable public appeal. The theorist Antoniotto (1760) specifies the affects of certain dances and the appropriate movements for which they may be used:

All melody allegro, grave, or pathetic, may be partaking a little of the taste of those which serve for dances, and those are the most pleasant to the public; as for example, the movements of jig, borree, correntes, for the brisk and lively; of sicilianes sarabandas for the adagio, or affetuoso; and of minuettos for the allegro gratio.¹¹

A knowledge of characteristic dances is essential not only for periodic constructions; but for other forms as well. Johann Philipp Kirnberger even proposed that such knowledge was necessary in order to perform or compose fugues properly. In the Preface to his Recueil d'airs de danse caracteristiques (c. 1777) he writes:

¹⁰Mattheson, Kern, 111ff. Same series appears in Capellmeister, 224-34.

¹¹Giorgio Antoniotto. L'arte armonico or: A treatise on the composition of musick . . . tr. from Italian into English (London: J. Johnson, 1760) 104. Quoted in Allenbrook, "Dance as expression," 39-40.

In order to acquire the necessary qualities for a good performance, the musician can do nothing better than diligently play all sorts of characteristic dances. Each of these dance types has its own rhythm, its phrases of equal length, its accents at the same places in each motif; thus one identifies them easily, and through repeated practice one unconsciously becomes accustomed to distinguishing the proper rhythm of each dance type, defining motifs and accents, so that finally one easily recognizes in a long piece the various intermingling rhythms, phrases, and accents. Furthermore, one becomes accustomed to giving each piece its proper expression, since each kind of dance melody has its own characteristic measure and note values.

On the other hand, if one neglects to practice the composition of characteristic dances, one will only with difficulty or not at all achieve a good melody. Above all, it is impossible to compose or to perform a fugue well if one does not know every type of rhythm

. . . . 12

¹²Recueil d'airs de danse caractéristiques, pour servir de modele aux jeunes compositeurs et d'exercice à ceux qui touchent du clavecin (Berlin, J. J. Hummel, c. 1777) 1-2. "Um die zu guten Vortrag nothwendigen Eigenschaften zu erlangen, kann der Tonkünstler nichts besser thun, als fleissig allerhand charakteristische Tänze spielen. Jede dieser Tanzmusiken hat ihren eignen Rhythmus, ihre Einschnitte von gleicher Länge, ihre Accente auf einerley Stelle in jeden Satz [sic]; man erkennet sie also leicht, und durch das öftere Executiren gewohnt man sich unvermerkt, den einer jeden eigenen Rhythmus zu unterscheiden, und desen Sätze und Accente zu bezeichnen, so dass man endlich leicht in einem langen Musikstücke die noch so verschiednen und durch einander gemischten Rhythmen, Einschnitte und Accente erkennet. Man gewöhnt sich ferner jedem Stücke den eigenthumlichen Ausdruck zu geben, weil jede Art dieser Tänzmelodien ihren eignen charakteristischen Tact und Wehrt der Noten hat.

Versäumt man, auf der andern Seite, sich im Componiren von charakteristischen Tänzen zu üben, so gelangt man schwerlich, oder wol gar nicht, zu einer guten melodie. Vornemlich ist es unmöglich, eine Fuge gut zu componiren oder zu executiren, wenn man nicht alle verscheidenen Rhythmen kent" Translation by Newman W. Powell in "Kirnberger on dance rhythms, fugues, and characterization," Festschrift Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (Valparaiso Ind.: Valparaiso University, 1967) 67.

Kirnberger's collection of dances is by far the most comprehensive. An Entrée is followed by twenty-six dances and character pieces: Courante, Menuetto, Bourée, Chaconne, Sarabande, Forlane, Fanfare and Rondeau, Passepiéd, Gavotte, Gigue, Loure, Musette, Rigaudon, Polonoise, Canarie, Souabe (3/8), Souabe (3/4), Marche, Corente, Les Carillons, Les Tambourins, Menuet Allemande, Les Complimenteurs, Les Forgerons -- gigue à l'angloise (Handel), L'Arlequin grotesquement (Couperin), and Cosack. This collection is a mixture of stage dances, ballroom dances, folk or national dances, and characteristic keyboard pieces.

Another theorist to be considered here is Heinrich Koch, who, like Mattheson and Riepel, deals specifically with dance-based periodic structure. In volume III of his Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition (1793) Koch groups small instrumental forms into three categories: 1) the usual dance melodies, 2) the melodies of odes and songs, and 3) all other small pieces of a similar nature.¹³ Koch then

¹³Koch, Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition III (Leipzig, 1793) 39-40. "1) die gebräuchlichen Tanzmelodien 2) die melodien zu Oden und Liedern, und 3) alle, in Ansehung der Tactart, des Rhythmus, des Umfanges, der Interpunction und der Bewegung des Tactes willkührlich eingerichtete Ganze von kleinem Umfange."

offers six dance types: Gavotte (with musical example), Bourée (with example), Polonoise, Angloise or Contertanz, Menuet, and Marsch.¹⁴ Koch then specifies that "dance melodies not intended for functional use can have the same expansion of the parts (extra phrases, extensions, etc.) as the other types, therefore he intends to continue to illustrate his compositional principles mainly with dance melodies."¹⁵ These further illustrations include menuet, polonoise and other unlabelled examples.

In spite of what appears to be a well-established mode of pedagogical instruction based on dance forms and characteristic meters, the references to such practices or to specific dance types by composers or practicing musicians are frustratingly few. Is this because it was not actually done? Or was it such a commonplace and obvious procedure that it was not considered worth mentioning?

¹⁴Koch, Versuch III, 40ff.

¹⁵Kob, "The smaller forms," 15. The paraphrase is of Koch, Versuch III, 130-31.

The casual reference in the Mozart correspondence to the "Concerto with the Strassburg"¹⁶ is exceptional; Presumably it was clear at the time what this meant. There is a less well-known instance where Leopold Mozart describes how the last two movements of a symphony (the overture to Ascanio in Alba) are to be danced:

"The Andante of the symphony is danced by eleven women. . . . The last Allegro of the symphony, which is a chorus of 32 voices . . . is danced by sixteen persons at the same time, eight men and eight women. . . ." ¹⁷

Although this overture is called a symphony, the "movements" as we have them now are short simple dance pieces, and the issue seems to have been one of integrating the overture into the action that followed, rather than a reference to dance-derived symphonic movements.

¹⁶Letters of Leopold Mozart to his wife and son, Salzburg, 6 Oct. 1777. Anderson, Letters I, no. 216 (Oct. 5). Deutsch, Briefe II, 36: 21-23. ". . . so musste der Brunetti . . . ein Concert spielen, und das war das deinige mit dem Strassburger . . ." Letter of W. A. Mozart to his father, Augsburg, 24 Oct. 1777. Anderson, Letters II, no. 228b. Deutsch, Briefe II, 82: 40-41. "auf die Nacht beym soupée spielte ich das strasbourger-Concert. es ging wie Öhl."

¹⁷Letter of Leopold Mozart to his wife, Milan, 13 Sept. 1771. Anderson, Letters I, no. 143. Deutsch, Briefe I, 436: 9-13. "Das Andante der Symphonie wird schon von eilf Weibspersonen getanzt das letzte Allegro der Symphonie ist ein Chor von 32 Choristen . . . und wird vom 16 Personen zugleich getanzt, acht Frauen, acht Männern."

In her dissertation "Dance as expression in Mozart opera," W. J. Allenbrook presents a few cases in which writers have commented on the use or misuse of a dance meter for an operatic aria. She quotes the French writer Garcin (1772) on Jomelli's misuse of a menuet to express agitation and a contredanse to express the nobility of chivalry; Hiller (1774) on the superiority of a Hasse setting of a melancholy text over two others, one of which is a "siciliane dance"; and Grétry (1792) on his own "fine taste for fitting dance with affect": a musette for innocence, a menuet for two lovers, the Spanish follies for local color.¹⁸

Instead of referring to dance types, composers mention characteristic "themes" or "songs." Beethoven wrote, in a letter to the London publisher George Thomson (1803):

". . . I am ready to compose six sonatas of the sort you want, even introducing Scottish airs in a way that the Scottish nation will find most pleasing and most in accordance with the spirit of its songs."¹⁹

¹⁸Allanbrook, "Dance as expression," 40-44.

¹⁹The letters of Beethoven, tr. Emily Anderson, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1961), letter no. 83 (5 Oct. 1803).
". . . je suis prêt de composer pour vous six sonates telles que vous les desirez, y introduisant même les airs ecossais d'une manière laquelle la nation ecossaise trouvera la plus favorable et le plus d'accord avec le genie de ses chansons."

A decade later Beethoven wrote him again about three proposed violin sonatas:

"I will take for each of these three sonatas a characteristic national theme, whether Austrian, Scottish or Hungarian; or if you wish others, please let me know."²⁰

We can assume not only that Beethoven was completely familiar with the characteristics of these national airs, but also that he was willing to employ these or any other types the publisher might desire.

The English oboist, W. T. Parke, gives numerous examples in his Musical Memoirs of the successful introduction of popular tunes into his works:

I also played a concerto . . . in which I introduced as the subject of my rondo Dibdin's "Poor Jack," which received enthusiastic applause. (1793)

I played a concerto on the oboe, in which was introduced "Auld Robin Gray" [which was] much applauded. (1797)

[Quoting a critic]: the oboe concerto by Mr. W. T. Parke, (in which were introduced variations on "Rule Britannia") was brilliant and effective. (1801)

[In the gala at the opening of Vauxhall Gardens,] Mr. Hook, in his organ concerto, played "God save the King with great ability. (1801)

[In discussing a new stage work, a critic says]: The

²⁰Beethoven, Letters, no. 405 (19 Feb. 1813). "J'y prendrais pour chaque de ces 3 Sonates un thème caractéristique national ou Autrichien, ou Eccose, ou Hongrois; ou si vous souhaitez d'autres celui qu'il vous plaira de me notifier."

popular Swiss ranz des vaches, neatly introduced into the overture, afforded ample scope for the sweet tones and brilliant execution of W. T. Parke's oboe.
(1805)²¹

It is much easier to find general remarks on the need to appeal to popular taste. In advising his son on the composition of Idomeneo, Leopold Mozart warned him "to consider not only the musical, but the unmusical public. You must remember that to every ten real connoisseurs there are a hundred ignoramuses. So do not neglect the so-called popular style, which tickles long ears."²² To which the son replied, "As for what is called popular taste, do not be uneasy, for there is music in my opera for all kinds of people, but not for the long-eared."²³

Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven were all aware of the

²¹W. T. Parke, Musical memoirs: An account of the general state of music in England from the first commemoration of Handel, in 1784, to the year 1830, (London, 1830), reprint (New York: Da Capo, 1970) 173, 249, 291, 293, 341.

²²Letter of Leopold Mozart to his son, Salzburg, 11 Dec. 1780. Anderson, Letters II, no. 373. Deutsch, Briefe III, 53: 55-58.
"Ich empfehle dir Bey deiner Arbeit nicht enzig und allein für das musikalische, sondern auch für das ohnemusikalische Publikum zu denken, -- du weisst es sind 100 ohnwissende gegen 10 wahre Kenner -- vergisst also das so genannte populare nicht, das auch die langen Ohren Kitzelt."

²³Letter of Mozart to his father, Munich, 16 Dec. 1780. Anderson, Letters II, no. 376. Deutsch, Briefe III, 60: 53-55. ". . . wegen dem sogenannten Popolare sorgen sie nichts, denn, in meiner Oper ist Musick für aller Gattung leute; -- ausgenommen für lange ohren nicht."

need to please. Mozart, referring to the Piano Concertos K 413, K 414, and K 415, composed soon after his arrival in Vienna, wrote home about them:

These concertos are a happy medium between what is too easy and too difficult; they are very brilliant, pleasing to the ear, and natural, without being too vapid. There are passages here and there from which connoisseurs alone can derive satisfaction; but these passages are written in such a way that the less learned cannot fail to be pleased, though not knowing why.²⁴

When Haydn arrived in London in 1791, he

told Solomon that he should stay the summer in England, and that as he heard there were to be twelve concerts and two benefits during the season there would be ample time for him to compose his first symphonies after he had had an opportunity of studying the taste of the English. He was determined that the first production should both amuse and please the musical public and rivet him in their favor²⁵

Beethoven was less elegant in his remarks to the publisher Hoffmeister about his Septet:

²⁴Letter of Mozart to his father, Vienna, 28 Dec. 1782. Anderson, Letters III, no. 376. Deutsch, Briefe III, 245-46: 9-13. "Die Concerten sind eben das Mittelding zwischen zu schwer, und zu leicht -- sind sehr Brillant -- angenehm in die ohren -- Natürlich, ohne in das leere zu fallen -- hie und da -- können auch kenner allein satisfaction erhalten -- doch so -- dass die nichtkenner damit zufrieden seyn müssen, ohne zu wissen warum."

²⁵The diary of Charlotte Papendiek, quoted in Landon, Chronicle III, 51.

It would be very nice if my dear brother . . . besides publishing the septet as it stands, were to arrange it too for a flute, for instance, and perhaps as a quintet. This would satisfy the lovers of the flute who have already entreated me to do this; and they would swarm around it and feed on it like insects.²⁶

and later:

Do send my septet into the world a little more quickly -- because the rabble is waiting for it²⁷

But the appeal to public taste was not without pitfalls, as we learn from one of Parke's anecdotes. Around 1775, he relates, Lenten oratorios were strictly sacred; performers and public wore mourning dress.

So much fastidiousness did then exist . . . that when Giardini . . . performed a concerto between the acts of the "Messiah" and introduced in it as the subject of his rondo Dr. Arne's favorite air, "Come, haste to the wedding," the audience considered it a novelty fraught with levity, opposed it with such violence, that the greater part could not be heard.²⁸

The composer had to be aware of changes in public taste; to know what was suitable at any one time, country, or situation.

It would seem possible, on the basis of this external evidence alone, to make a general case for the use

²⁶Beethoven, Letters, no. 47 (22 April 1801).

²⁷Beethoven, Letters, no. 57 (8 April 1802).

²⁸Parke, Musical memoirs, 209.

of popular material by composers as a means of making their music pleasing and therefore successful. It seems likely, in this general context, that popular dance-derived elements would also have been adopted towards this end -- particularly if using dances as a framework for larger instrumental pieces was an accepted compositional practice.

Chapter III
THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BALL

Types of Balls

Eighteenth-century balls, whether ceremonial or for pleasure, whether aristocratic or middle class, whether public or private, were modelled on those established at the Court of Versailles by Louis XIV.

Ceremonial Balls

The most formal prototype, as described first by Pierre Rameau (1725)¹ and later by Compan (1787),² was the Grand Bal du Roi. Here only Princes and Princesses 'of the blood' and members of the court were invited. Every step of the ritual was prescribed. The Ladies were seated in front; the Gentlemen stood behind them. When the King rose, all lined up double file, in order of rank, to dance. The dance was led by the King and Queen, and then by each couple in turn. The first dance was a branle; this was followed by a gavotte danced in the same ranking order.

¹Pierre Rameau, Le maître à danser (Paris, 1725) 36-39.

²Charles Compan, Dictionnaire de danse (Paris, 1787) "Bal."

The branle was originally a French round or chain folk dance which may have incorporated the sideways-moving "branle" step of the basse-danse. During the sixteenth century a number of branles were danced in succession, forming together a miniature dance suite. These dances were the branle double, the branle simple, the branle gai, followed by variations from different localities such as Champagne, Bourgogne, Poitou. The set of branles continued to be popular throughout the seventeenth century. The branle double had been dropped by 1623, for at that time the set was made up of six: the branle simple, the branle gai, the branle de Poitou, the double de Poitou, the branle de Montirandé, and the gavotte.³ Presumably the set was further simplified towards the end of the century.

At the Grand Bal of Louis XIV the branle and gavotte were followed by "dances à deux" -- courantes and menuets. Well before the middle of the eighteenth century both branles and courantes had gone out of fashion, and the ball started directly with the menuet. The menuet proceeded with rigid protocol: the King and Queen danced the first menuet:

³Daniel Heartz, "Sources and forms of the French instrumental dance in the sixteenth century." (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1967) 266-67.

then all sat down but the Queen, who then danced with the second-ranking gentlemen; then this man danced with the second highest-ranking lady, and so forth. Thus each person (except the King and the lowest-ranking lady) danced two successive minuets with different partners, all under the watchful eyes of the assembled company. This Grand Bal, along with the strictly ceremonial ball for visiting nobility, seems to have been rather a bore and perhaps a strain, but it served an important purpose: it reminded everyone of his or her position in relation to other members of the court.

This type of ball was imitated at all levels of society. Rameau says that a "King and Queen" were chosen for all balls, and that the same ceremony governed even family affairs.⁴ The formal procedures persisted up to the end of the century, as we learn from Haydn's description of a ball given by the Lord Mayor of London in 1791:

At 9 o'clock[those at table] No. 1 rose and went to a small room, at which point the ball began: in this room there is, a parte, an elevated place for the high Nobles where the Lord Mayor is seated on a throne together with his wife. Then the dancing begins according to rank, just as at court on the King's birthday, 6th January Nothing but minuets are danced in this room⁵

⁴Rameau, Maître, 39, 40.

⁵Quoted by Landon, Chronicle III, 106.

Carnival Balls

But not all balls were so solemn. Compan tells us: "One saves the serious balls for grand occasions, and one gives masked balls when one wants to have a good time."⁶ By far the most popular time for masked balls was during the carnival season.

Carnival was of far greater significance in eighteenth century European life than today, and the season extended over many weeks. Dancing was proscribed during Advent and also during the Christmas season; carnival began officially on January 7, the day after Epiphany, and lasted through January and February, until midnight on Shrove Tuesday. Operas, balls, and other entertainments went on night after night in a general atmosphere of gaiety, if not licentiousness. During the day parades of masqueraders filled the streets. Leopold Mozart described the atmosphere in Milan in 1770:

Today, March 3rd, is the last day of carnival. Every day during the week whole companies of masqueraders have paraded through the town. Of these, the most important were: firstly, the faccinata or faccin-maschera; secondly, the mascherata of the petits-mâtres; and finally, the mascherata of the so-called chiccera, which took place to-day and which is only another procession of the petits mâtres, but this time they all

⁶Compan, Dictionnaire, "Bal masqué." "On garda les Bals sérieux pour les occasions de grande representation et on donna des Bals masqués dans les circonstances où l'on vouloit rire."

ride either in carriages or on horseback. It was not at all a bad show. Further, there were today a number of carriages with cavaliers en masque; and a great many other masked persons were to be seen on the streets. In a word, everyone is either in the street or at a window.⁷

To which letter young Wolfgang added his own description and explanation:

I think we have been to the opera six or seven times and then to the festa di balle which, as in Vienna, begins after the opera, but with the difference that there the dancing is more orderly. We have also seen the facchinata and the chiccherata. The facchinata is a mascherata, a beautiful sight, so called because people dress up as facchini or valets. There was a barca with a number of people in it, and many persons went on foot, and there were four to six bands of trumpeters and drummers and a few companies of fiddlers and of players on other instruments. The chiccherata which we saw to-day is also a mascherata. Chicceri is the Milanese word for the people we call petits-maitres or, let us say, coxcombs. They all rode on

⁷Letter of Leopold Mozart to his wife, Milan, 3 March 1770. Anderson, Letters, no. 82. Deutsch, Briefe I, 317: 1-10. "Heut den 3 Merz ist der letzte faschinstag. Diese ganze Woche hindurch waren alle Täge ganze Compagnien Masqueraden, die durch die ganze Statt zogen. Die Hauptsächlichste waren: die Faquinada, oder Faquin-Masquera; die 2te die Masquerada der petits Maitres, heut die Masquerada der so genannten chiquera, welches eben nichts anderes ist, als eine versammlung der petits-Maitres. aber alles in Wägen und zu Pferd. Es war nicht übl zu sehen: und Überdas waren heute viele Wägen mit Cavagliers en Masque, und eine grosse Menge anderer Masquierter Personen auf allen Strassen. Kurz! alles ist auf der Gasse oder am Fenster."

horseback and it was a charming affair.⁸

Vienna, however, had no carnival processions nor public revelry such as could be found even in other Austrian cities. Regulations of all kinds were enforced by Maria Theresa's "chastity guards." The wearing of masks and costumes was severely restricted: costumes could be worn only going to and from the balls, and no masks were allowed on the streets. Anyone who disobeyed was picked up by the police, regardless of class.⁹ Costumes themselves were circumscribed; they were to be "respectable." According to an ordinance of 1773 one might not dress as a priest, a Fledermaus, a Zuckerhut, [sugarloaf?], or as a character

⁸Letter of Mozart to his sister, Milan, 3 March 1770. Anderson, Letters, no. 82a. Deutsch, Briefe I, 319: 4-14. "wir sind 6 oder 7 Mahl in der opera und dan in den festa di balo gewesen, welcher wie zu wien nach der opera anfängt, aber mit dem unterschied, das zu wien mehr ordnung ist, mit den Tanzen. die facchinad, und die chicherad haben wir auch gesehen, dass ist: eine Mascherada, die facchinad, welche schön zu sehen ist, weil sich leute anlegen als facchin oder als hausknecht, und da ist ein barca gewesen, wo vielle drin waren, und viel sind auch zu fusse gegangen, 4 oder 6 kör Trompeten und paucken, und auch etlichekör geigen und andere Instrumenten. die chicherad, dass ist auch eine Mascaerad, die sehen wir heunt, das ist: chichera heissen die Milanenser, selbe, die wir petits maitre heissen, oder windmacher halt. welche dan alle zu pferde giengen, welche aber recht hübsch war."

⁹Fasching in Wien: Der Wiener Walzer 1750-1850, Exhibition catalogue, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 14 Dec. 1978 through 25 Feb. 1979.

from the Italian Theatre.¹⁰ These constraints were politically motivated: they functioned to prevent subversive gatherings or displays of political satire, to assure that everyone was easily identifiable, and to keep down the level of general rowdiness. These restrictions on street dress and behavior were not lifted after the death of Maria Theresa, in spite of Joseph II's more liberal approach to the monarchy. The year of 1789 was evidently an exception, for the success of Count Loudon in defeating the Turks at the battle of Belgrade engendered such a display of national exuberance that the police did not enforce the rules.¹¹

And yet such rules may have often been honored more in the breach, for we know that in 1783 Mozart and his friends arranged to give a small pantomime before one of the balls, and that Mozart had sent to Salzburg for his Harlequin costume.¹² What the rules did seem to

¹⁰Fasching in Wien, 6.

¹¹Fasching in Wien, 6.

¹²Letter of Mozart to his father, Vienna, 22 Jan. 1783. Anderson, Letters III, no. 479. Deutsch, Briefe III, 251-52: 18-21. ". . . da möchte ich gern . . . als Harlequin gehn . . . folglich möchte ich sie bitten mir ihr Harlequin kleid zukommen zu lasen." Letter of Mozart to his father, Vienna, 12 March 1783. Anderson, Letters III, no. 483. Deutsch, Briefe III, 259, 33-36. "wir haben am fasching Monntag unsere Compagnie Masquerade auf der Redoute aufgeführt Meine schwägerin war die Columbine, ich der Harlequin"

accomplish, was to focus the energy of the Viennese indoors, and particularly on the large public masked balls given at the Redoutensäle.

Michael Kelly gives a less restrictive view of Vienna during the carnival season of this time (1784-87). He reports that

The people of Vienna were in my time dancing mad; as the Carnival approached, gayety began to display itself on all sides, and when it really came, nothing could exceed its brilliancy The ridotto rooms, where the masquerades took place, were in the palace, and spacious and commodious as they were, they were actually crammed with masqueraders I never saw, or indeed heard, of any suite of rooms, where elegance and convenience were more considered; for the propensity of the Viennese ladies for dancing and going to carnival masquerades was so determined, that nothing was permitted to interfere with their enjoyment of their favorite amusement -- nay, so notorious was it, that, for the sake of ladies in the family way, who could not be persuaded to stay at home, there were apartments prepared, with every convenience, for their accouchement, should they be unfortunately required And I have been gravely told, and almost believe, that there have actually been instances of the utility of the arrangement¹³

¹³Michael Kelly, Reminiscences of Michael Kelly (London, 1820), reissued (New York/London: Benjamin Blom, 1969) 131.

The Ridotto or Opera Ball

Many carnival festivities had centuries-old traditions behind them, but the grand masked ball open to the public (for an admission fee) is probably an eighteenth-century innovation. This is the Ridotto, Redoute, or Opera Ball, an institution of Italian origin, but picked up and spread also by the French.

The word Ridotto or Redoute is used in two ways in eighteenth-century sources. It refers to a place -- usually an opera house, and to an event -- a masked ball of the carnival season, particularly one open to the public. These meanings seem to derive from Italian practices. Describing the theater at Padua, Charles Burney noted that "Between the grand escaliers and the theater is a room for play called Camera di Ridotto."¹⁴ Many activities took place in the Ridotto room: socializing, gambling, dancing. This Italian custom was imitated abroad, especially in cities under the spell of Italian opera. In Munich,

¹⁴Burney, Musical tours I, 105.

for example, during carnival,

light and short operettas were performed on a small stage, which is rigged up in the Salle de Redoute. Here people gather in masks, here there are numbers of gambling tables and there is perpetual noise, conversation and gambling.¹⁵

But the main events with which this "play room" became associated were the public masked balls. In some cities the very stage of the opera house became the focus for these carnival events.

The first public masked balls in France were instituted for the carnival season of 1716 (the year following the death of Louis XIV). They were to be held three times a week at the Paris Opera House.¹⁶ Admission was open to anyone of any class who could pay the fee.¹⁷ These balls were elaborate affairs. According to Compan, a monk had invented a machine to raise the Parterre and the orchestra to the level of the stage, making one large room; there were

¹⁵Letter of Leopold Mozart to his wife, Munich, 14 Dec. 1774. Anderson, Letters I, no. 190. Deutsch, Briefe I, 505: 18-22. "dann wenn einmahl der Carneval recht angehet, so werden nur leichte kleine operetten auf einem kleinen Theater, das auf dem Reduttensaal aufgemacht wird, gespielt, wo eine versammlung von Masqueren ist, und wo eine Menge spieltische sind, wo nichts als Lermen, Masquen Conversation, und auf viele Tischen gespielt wird."

¹⁶Compan, Dictionnaire, "Bal masqué."

¹⁷Simone Poignant, Les filles de Louis XV (Paris: Arthaud, 1970) 194.

two orchestras, one at each end, and a buffet in the middle.¹⁸

The stage of an opera house was a choice place for such a ball. Why the opera house? Why the stage? The opera house was traditionally a public place, and the stage was large. A look at the plans of eighteenth-century theaters will show that the stage area is often larger than the seating area;¹⁹ for, even if the audience was small, the spectacle was always to be as grand as possible. When more space was needed for balls, some way was found to include the seating area. In addition, the opera boxes provided places for sitting and watching (and probably other pastimes.) In France, also, the separation of court and theater dancing was barely fifty years old, and the setting allowed the participants to "play at" being on stage.

The greatest significance of these public masked balls lay in that they gave an opportunity for all classes to mingle -- an opportunity provided by no other eighteenth-century institution. Louis XV could and did attend the Opera Balls incognito.²⁰ In fact, French ball etiquette allowed maskers to dance first, as they were more likely to

¹⁸Compan, "Bal masqué."

¹⁹See: Margarete Baur-Heinhold, The baroque theater: A cultural history of the 17th and 18th centuries (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967) 161-84.

²⁰Poignant, Les filles, 194.

be nobility.²¹

The Opera Ball was adopted in other countries. According to the English oboeist W. T. Parke,

The first ridotto . . . given in this country was at the Opera House in the year 1722. It is described in the 'Freeholders' Journal' of that day in the following manner: "It was opened with twenty-four select songs from the late operas, which lasted about two hours, after which the company passed over a bridge, from the pit to the stage, where a duke and duchess led up the ball, which lasted till daylight the next morning."²²

The origin of the two Redoutensäle in Vienna is described by Otto Jahn:

These Redoutensäle are situated in the wing of the Hofburg which forms the right side of the Josephplatz, and originally contained a theater, where, upon festive occasions, operas and ballets were performed before the court. After the erection of the Burgtheater, in 1752, the old Hoftheater was converted into the large and small Redoutensaal now existing, and concerts, balls and other entertainments were given there.²³

Presumably the stage was converted into one Redoutensale, and the seating area into another (see Illustration 1, p. 66).

Clemens Augustus, Archbishop, Elector of Cologne, loved dancing and gave lavish masked balls twice a week

²¹Compan, "Bal masqué."

²²Parke, Musical memoirs I, 253.

²³Otto Jahn, The life of Mozart, tr. Pauline D. Townsend, 3 vols., (New York: Kalmus, 1882) III, 216-18.

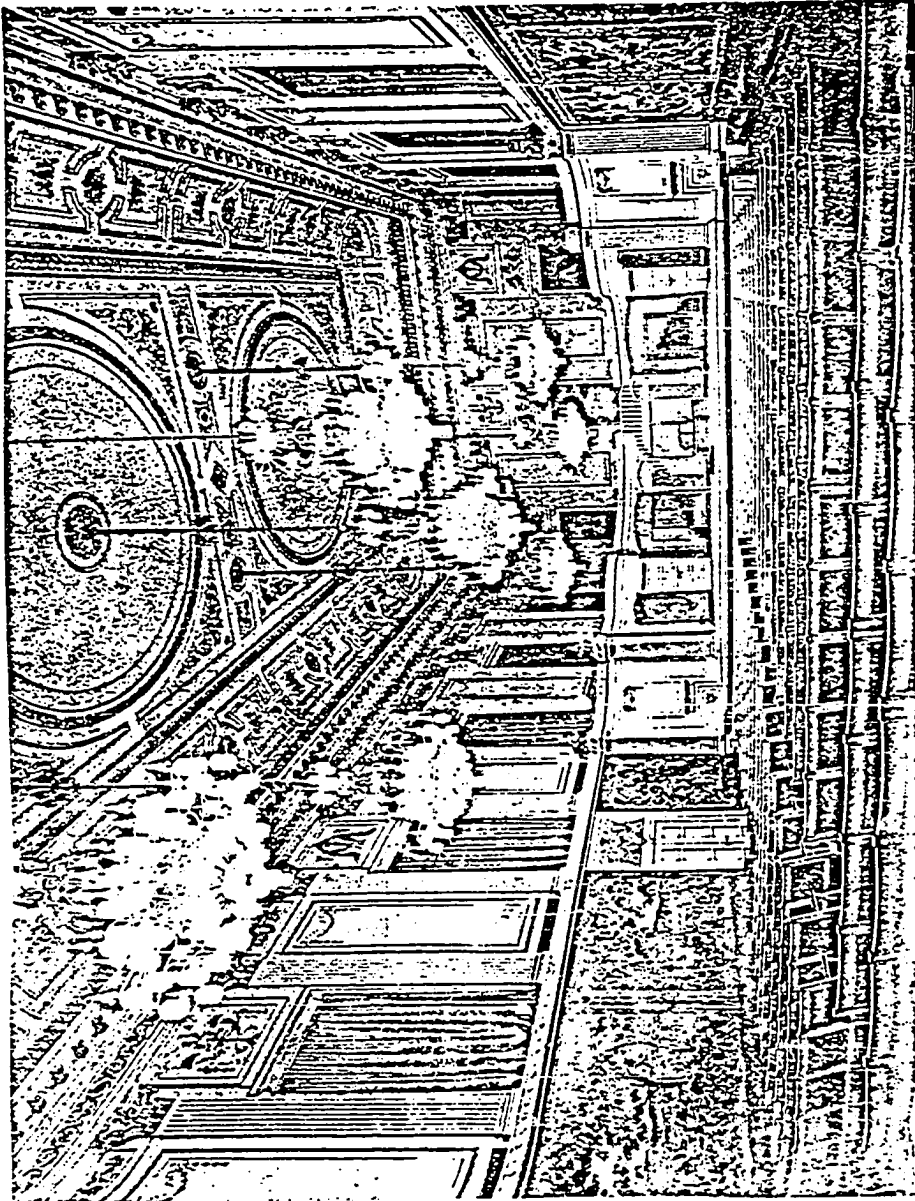


Illustration 1. Vienna, the grosser Redoutensaal.
From Margarete Baur-Heinhold, The baroque theatre
(New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967) ill. 122, p. 201.

during carnival.²⁴ One of these, on the stage of the Court Theater at Bonn, is preserved in a painting by Franz J. Rousseau (see Illustration 2, p. 68). Here we see depicted vividly the costumes, the masks, the dancers (a menuet is in progress), and the musicians for such an affair around 1760. (The Elector died during carnival in 1761, evidently from too much dancing.²⁵) The two orchestras will be discussed in detail below (see p. 81).

The Ridotto was also popular in Berlin. When Charles Burney visited in 1772 he found that a "Ridotta" or masked ball took place every Tuesday at the Opera House.²⁶

Salzburg received its first Ridotto room in 1775, when "a spacious hall . . . [was] added to the town hall, and there, during the carnival, masked balls were given under the supervision of the magistrate, as well as concerts and

²⁴Forbes, Beethoven, 8.

²⁵Forbes, 9.

²⁶Burney, Musical tours II, 168.

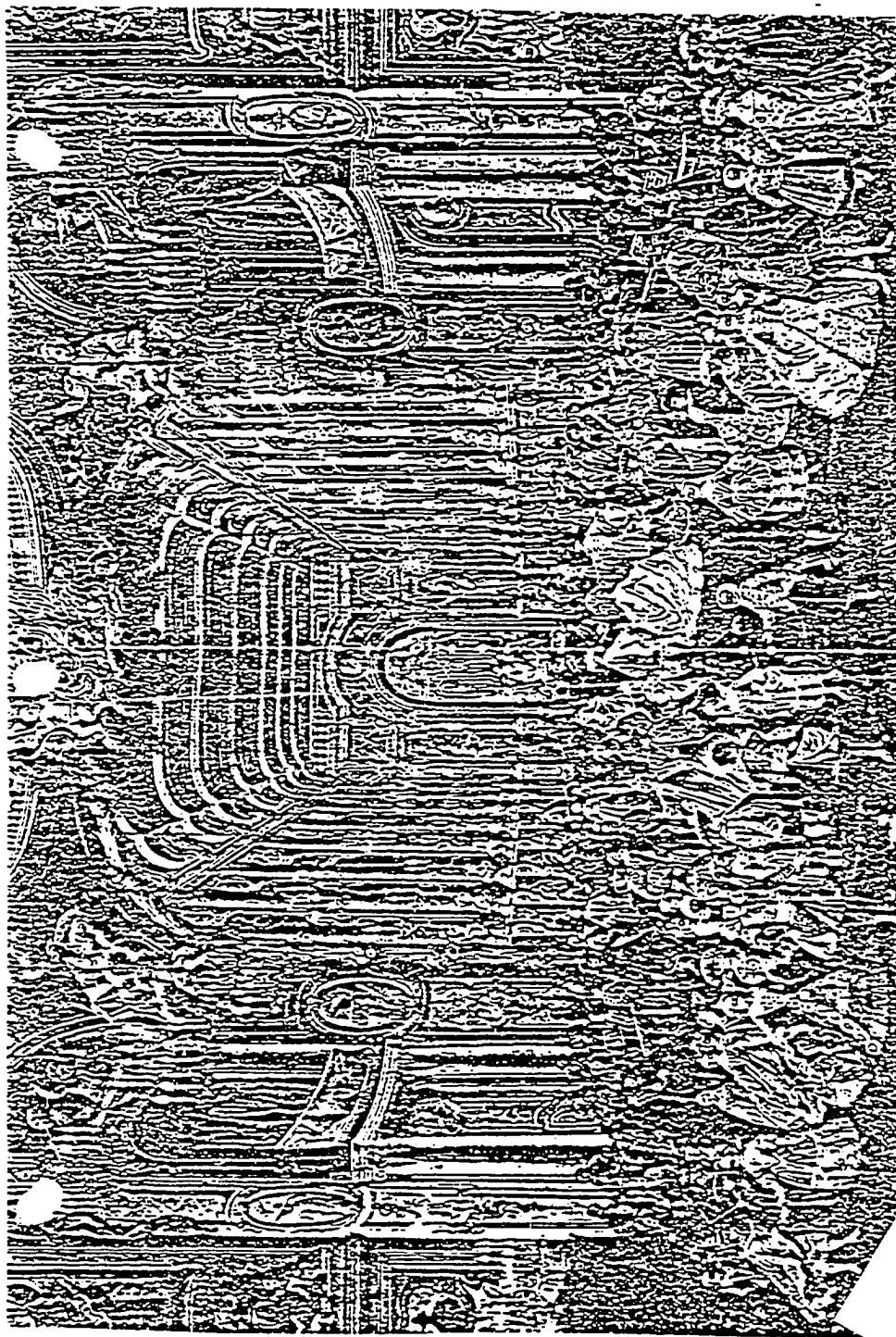


Illustration 2. F. J. Rousseau,
Bonnischer Ballstück (c. 1760).

as concerts and other entertainments."²⁷ The new room must have been ready for carnival that year, for Leopold Mozart wrote his wife from Munich on 21 February 1775: "The first masked Redoute in Salzburg will have gone off well. You simply must go to one!"²⁸

Perhaps the most extravagant of these public masked balls was that given each winter at the palace in St. Petersburg. Casanova witnessed this event in 1764. He reported that 5000 people attended, that the ball lasted for 60 hours, that there were orchestras in several rooms, and that food was served continuously.²⁹ It is easy to dismiss all this as exaggeration, but an even more extravagant report dates from a half-century later:

The Emperor's carriages came to take us to the bal masqué. 130,000 people were said to be assembled. The Empress told Mr. D. that upwards of four thousand carriages came to Peterhof that day, and the Emperor had four thousand horses of his own employed in the service of the court

²⁷Jahn, Mozart I, 337.

²⁸Letter of Leopold Mozart to his wife, Munich, 21 Feb., 1775. Anderson, Letters II, no. 202. Deutsch, Briefe I, 524: 36-37. "die erste Masquierte Redutte wird in Salzb. gut abgelauffen seyn. du must doch auch auf eine gehen!"

²⁹Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, Vénitien, Histoire de ma vie, édition intégrale, 12 vol. in 6 (Wiesbaden, F.A. Brockhaus/Paris: Librairie Plon, 1960) X, 503.

People of every class were admitted to the palace, and it was a striking spectacle to see courtly dames in gold and jewels, Emperor, Grand Dukes and Duchesses, Princes and Counts, whirling through crowds of rustics, men with long beards, women with russet gowns, who gazed with respectful astonishment, and though in close contact with these grandees, showed no symptoms of rudeness, and were as quiet and unassuming as if they had been bred to palaces and balls I should think that such a fête could only be given in Russia, where the people are so docile and orderly.³⁰

Whatever the truth of the figures, this annual winter ball was the Imperial Russian version of "bread and circuses."

The Italian Camera di Ridotto, the play room and game room of the Opera theater, became, under the aegis of the Parisian Opera Ball, an institution which spread all over Europe in the eighteenth century -- from England to Russia. Finally it retained only the essence of its meaning: a grand public festivity which included dancing. One could even speak of a 'Ridotto al fresco' -- not indoors, not at carnival time, not even in masquerade:

Vauxhall Gardens opened on the 19th of May [1797], with a grand 'Ridotto al fresco.' The gardens on this occasion were splendidly illuminated; a grand concert of vocal and instrumental music was performed, at the end of which bands of wind instruments played in different parts of the Gardens, and a large temporary saloon was erected for dancing. The company, who appeared in strict evening dresses, were very numerous and elegant;

³⁰Mrs. C. A. A. Disbrowe, Original letters from Russia, 1825-28, quoted in In the Russian style, ed. J. Onassis (New York: Viking, 1976) 138.

and the splendor and novelty of the scene proved so attractive, as to detain them till a late hour.³¹

Other Types of Balls

Other forms of aristocratic pastimes centered around the dances of the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Two of these were the Wirtschaft and the Pastorale -- stylizations of the lower class life in which the nobility "played at" being innkeepers and their guests, or peasants at a wedding. In other cases, dances by the peasants themselves, whether coached or not, were used for entertainments.

The Wirtschaften were particularly popular in German lands. For this type of costume ball the hosts dressed as owners of an inn and the guests came as visitors. Such a ball was given during the carnival season of 1760 by Clemens Augustus, Elector of Cologne. The Elector kept a supply of appropriate costumes which he lent to his guests for such occasions.³² Casanova reports of this ball that "they danced only contredanses and ballets in the style of several German Provinces, very curious [intricate?]."³³ The implication is that menuets were not included; one danced

³¹Parke, Musical memoirs I, 253.

³²Casanova, Histoire VI, 47, footnote.

³³Casanova, Histoire VI, 47. "On ne danse que des contredanses et des ballets dans le gout de plusieurs provinces de l'Allemagne, très curieux."

only dances which belonged to a bourgeoisie or lower-class affair. As Casanova uses the word ballet, however, we cannot be sure whether the company were dancing actual German provincial dances, or versions arranged by a dancing-master.

The Pastorale or Country Wedding type of costume ball was popular in France and in areas strongly influenced by French culture. The wedding festivities of Anna Leopoldovna, niece of the Empress Anna, in 1739, represent such an occasion.

Friday, after dinner, there was a masquerade; there were four quadrilles, as they are called, consisting of twelve ladies each, besides a leader of each quadrille. The first was led by the bride and bridegroom, who were dressed in orange-coloured dominoes, and little caps of the same, with a silver cockade, and a little laced ruff round the neck, tied with the same ribbon The second was led by the princess Elizabeth and prince Peter, in green dominoes and gold cockades, and their twelve couples the same. The third by the duchess of Courland and count Soltikoff . . . in blue dominoes and pink and silver cockades. The fourth by her daughter and youngest son, in pink dominoes and green and silver cockades There was a supper for the four quadrilles only, in the long gallery; the table had benches round it, so placed as to look like a turf bank, and the table the same; the table and benches were covered with moss and flowers, stuck in as if growing, and the supper, though very magnificent, was served to look like a rural entertainment. The empress walked about all the evening unmasked.³⁴

One might suppose that the dances themselves, along with the

³⁴Letters from A Lady Who Resided Some Years in Russia, quoted in In the Russian Style, 47.

setting and food service, were also meant to look like a "rural entertainment." As in the Wirtschaft, there is no mention of minuets, and they probably have been excluded for the same reason. Quadrilles, in this case, can refer to the "squadrons" of dancers dressed alike, but more particularly, may refer to a type of English country dance.

Sometimes peasants were coached and rehearsed for the presentation of a "peasant ballet" to amuse a visiting dignitary. Dittersdorf was entrusted with such a task while in the employ of Prince von Hildburghausen (before 1765).³⁵ He mentions the accompaniment of bagpipes which implies rustic dances, but so much rehearsal was required that these could hardly have been true peasant dances.

At Esterházy, peasant dances on a large scale were customarily presented as entertainment for visiting nobility. H. C. Robbins Landon documents a number of these affairs, including the visit of Prince Louis de Rohan, Envoy of Louis XV to the court of Vienna:

On 15 July [1772] . . . after souper there was a popular gathering (Volkfest) Two thousand peasants . . . foregathered to drink, carouse, dance and cheer the Prince Three hundred joyful peasant couples descended on the French guests, each group arriving

³⁵Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Lebensschreibung 1801), ed. Norbert Miller (Munich: Kösel, 1967) 68-69. The Autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf, tr. A. D. Coleridge (London: R. Bently, 1896) 56-67.

from its own village under its own flag with their own musicians.³⁶

It is difficult to realize, today, how important dancing was to all people in eighteenth-century Europe. Hardly a social occasion existed which did not include a ball. And if there was no occasion, one was invented -- for fun (or for profit). Anyone could give a ball. Madame Cornelys (the former dancer, Therese Imer) settled in London and became a professional hostess. "I give," she reported to Casanova in 1762, "twelve suppers and balls a year for the nobility and twelve for the citizenry at two guineas a head, and I often have five or six hundred people"37

All classes danced, and although class distinctions in dance existed, there was much opportunity for mobility both upward and downward. All classes danced the minuets³⁸ (the pretensions of the nobility notwithstanding). And the nobility could observe or take part in peasant dances, even if on their own terms. A Mozart could

³⁶Landon, Chronicle II, 179. Other such events are documented on pp. 163, 165, 195, 223.

³⁷Casanova, Histoire IX, 168.

³⁸C. J. von Feldtenstein, Erweiterung der Kunst nach der Chorographie zu tanzen, 2 vols. (Brunswick, 1772, 75) II, 73.

give his own ball³⁹ and dance courtly minuets or take on the role of a peasant bridegroom at a carnival ball.⁴⁰ If the different dances had such mobility, it may be assumed that they, and their characteristic music, were known to all members of society. Not only did Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven have ample exposure to all types of dance; so did the public for which they wrote.

The eighteenth-century development of the Opera Ball is reiterated in its main outline at the end of the nineteenth century:

In Vienna today the Opera Ball is the culmination of the Carnival season. The idea of holding an Opera Ball originally came from Paris where in the days of the can-can the proceedings sometimes became so lively that the police had to be called in to remove over-enthusiastic revellers. This sort of thing was frowned upon in Vienna, so in the 1877/78 season three Opera Soirées were held, at which, to discourage over-exuberance, the dancing was preceded by a concert of light symphonic music. In March 1878 the occasion was promoted to the status of an 'Opera Redoute' at which Eduard Strauss and his band provided the music. As time went on the Soirées gave way to the 'Redoutes', which became a permanent feature of Carnival every year until 1899 The old tradition was revived briefly in 1924, but the first real Opera Ball was in 1935. Up to then it only existed in Heuberger's operetta [Der Opernball, 1898].⁴¹

³⁹Letter of Mozart to his father, Vienna, 22 Jan. 1783. Anderson, Letters III, no. 479. Deutsch, Briefe III, 252: 23-38.

⁴⁰Jahn, Mozart I, 337.

⁴¹Marcel Prawy, The Vienna opera (New York: Praeger, 1970), text to plate XXII, following p. 160.

The Dance Orchestra

The minimal musical forces needed to accompany dancing at a ball appear to be two violins and bass. This 3-part string texture can be found alone; it also remains the core of dance music for all larger orchestras. This basic dance orchestra of 2 violins and bass can be found in Mozart's early set of seven minuets for Salzburg, (K 61b, 1769), and in Beethoven's 6 menuette for Vienna, (Wo09, c. 1795). It is also characteristic of the *ländlerische* written by Mozart (K 606, 1791) and Beethoven (Wo011, 1798; and Wo015, 1802).

Expansion by adding string parts is most unusual, the sole Mozart example being dances nos. 3 and 4 of K 609. These call for divided second violins and add a cello part. (Of course a cello always could be used instead of a bass, or merely to double the bass line.) The basic forces were expanded instead by adding woodwinds, as in Beethoven's "Contredances [sic] pour 2 Violons et Basse et instruments à vent ad libitum . . ." (Wo014, 1802). These might be: flute, as in Mozart's K 609; 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns (K 463); or any other likely combination. "Special effects" could be achieved by adding Turkish instruments, a hurdy-gurdy, or posthorns.

For grander effects trumpets and drums were also included. The full Viennese orchestra "mit allen stimmen" (Mozart, K 600) for which Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven wrote called for the obligatory 2 violins and bass, plus 2 flutes and sometimes piccolo, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets and tympani.

Orchestras large and small probably existed in all countries. Both Leopold Mozart and Haydn, however, found cause for complaint in the small or inadequate orchestras they found elsewhere.

Leopold Mozart wrote home about the Parisian balls of 1764 that

It has never occurred to me to attend the [carnival] balls, which only begin after midnight. Here there are balls in every quarter, but you must know that they are for thirty or forty people and that one or two or, at most, three violins without a violoncello play the minuets"42

⁴²Letter of Leopold Mozart to Lorenz Hagenauer, Paris, 4 March 1764. Anderson, Letters I, no. 24 (omits 3 violins). Deutsch, Briefe I, 134: 82-85. "Es fiel mir gar nichts bey einem Ball, der erst nach mitternacht enfängt, beyzuwohnen. Hier sind in allen Eggen Balls; aber sie müssen wissen, das hier Balls zu 30, 40 Personen sind, wo ein oder 2. Höchstens 3. Violinen, ohne Bass die Menuet spielen"

Yet large orchestras may have existed elsewhere in Paris. Mozart does not mention the opera balls, which should have had two orchestras (see above, p. 64). And at Versailles, as early as 1737, balls took place where "violins were distributed in every room where there was dancing; these were the instrumentalists of the Musique du Roi to which were added the violinists of the city. There were twelve in each dance room, with bassoon, bass, and oboe(s)."43

Haydn's remarks on the Lord Mayor's ball in London (1791) are vivid and acerbic:

I couldn't stand the room where the minuets were being danced longer than a quarter of an hour; first, because the heat caused by so many people in such a small room was so great; and secondly, because of the wretched dance band, the entire orchestra consisting only of two violins and a violoncello From there I went to another room which was more like a subterranean cavern and where the dance was English; the music a little better, because there was a drum in the band which drowned the misery of the violins. I went on to the great hall where we had eaten, and there the band was larger and more bearable. The dance was English, but only on the raised platform where the Lord Mayor . . . had dined (at the other tables, men were drinking, yelling songs, etc. The dancers went on without being able to hear the music).44

43Poignant, Les filles, 192.

44Landon, Chronicle III, 106.

Yet larger or better dance bands must have existed in London also; perhaps for the king's birthday, which occasioned the commission of new minuets each year.

Iconographic evidence is often useful in analyzing the size and make-up of an orchestra, for printed (or manuscript) music is likely to indicate only the minimal forces employed. A painting or other graphic representation, on the other hand, may show us additional types of instruments or show doubling of the string parts.

In a detail of the French engraving Le Bal Paré (1773-74) by St. Aubin, (see Illustration 3, p. 80), we see five musicians situated on a low balcony. Three violinists sit in front, a bass player and a player of a woodwind and drum combination (stylized pipe and tabor?) stand behind. The five musicians read from a score that rests on the railing of the balcony. This is a small select band; they play for a gathering of French aristocrats in a fashionable Parisian salon. The flute and drum might be playing discrete ad lib parts like those in Mozart's dance K 609 No. 1. This is a contredanse for two violins and bass with flute and drum (no drum parts written out) which Mozart arranged himself from "Non più andrai." Or their music might very well be a tune set, like the Strassburger in Mozart's Violin Concerto in G, K 216, for three violins and bass, with the additional instruments joining in on the repeats. This



Illustration 3. St. Aubin, Le Bal paré (1773).
Enlargement of musicians.

very same tune was of a type called "almande" in France; the dancers for whom the musicians play perform a-contre-danse with allemande figures (see Chapter VII, p. 300ff).

A ball scene which shows much larger forces is Franz J. Rousseau's Bonnischer Ballstück (1756-60), a depiction of a masked ball given by the Elector Clemens Augustus on the stage of his Hoftheater (see above, p. 68). There are two orchestras, one on either side of the stage. Both play together, for the group at stage left is being conducted by a man facing them from the group at the right; he conducts with a rolled up sheet of paper held in his upraised right hand. In these orchestras we can see both doubling of the strings and extra instruments. On each side are at least 5 violins, bass and celio(?), flute, bassoon and horn, (see schematic diagrams, p. 82). The orchestra to the right is enlarged by three musicians in military uniform who play two fifes (piccolos) and a portable kettledrum. They represent either municipal or military participation. The Elector seems to have engaged all the forces he could command for this festive occasion. The dance portrayed is a menuet; the musical forces should thus represent those employed for such a dance.

It would be interesting to know if the artist intended portraits, for this is the musical establishment to which Beethoven's father and grandfather then belonged, and other members are also known. (Solomon, of later London

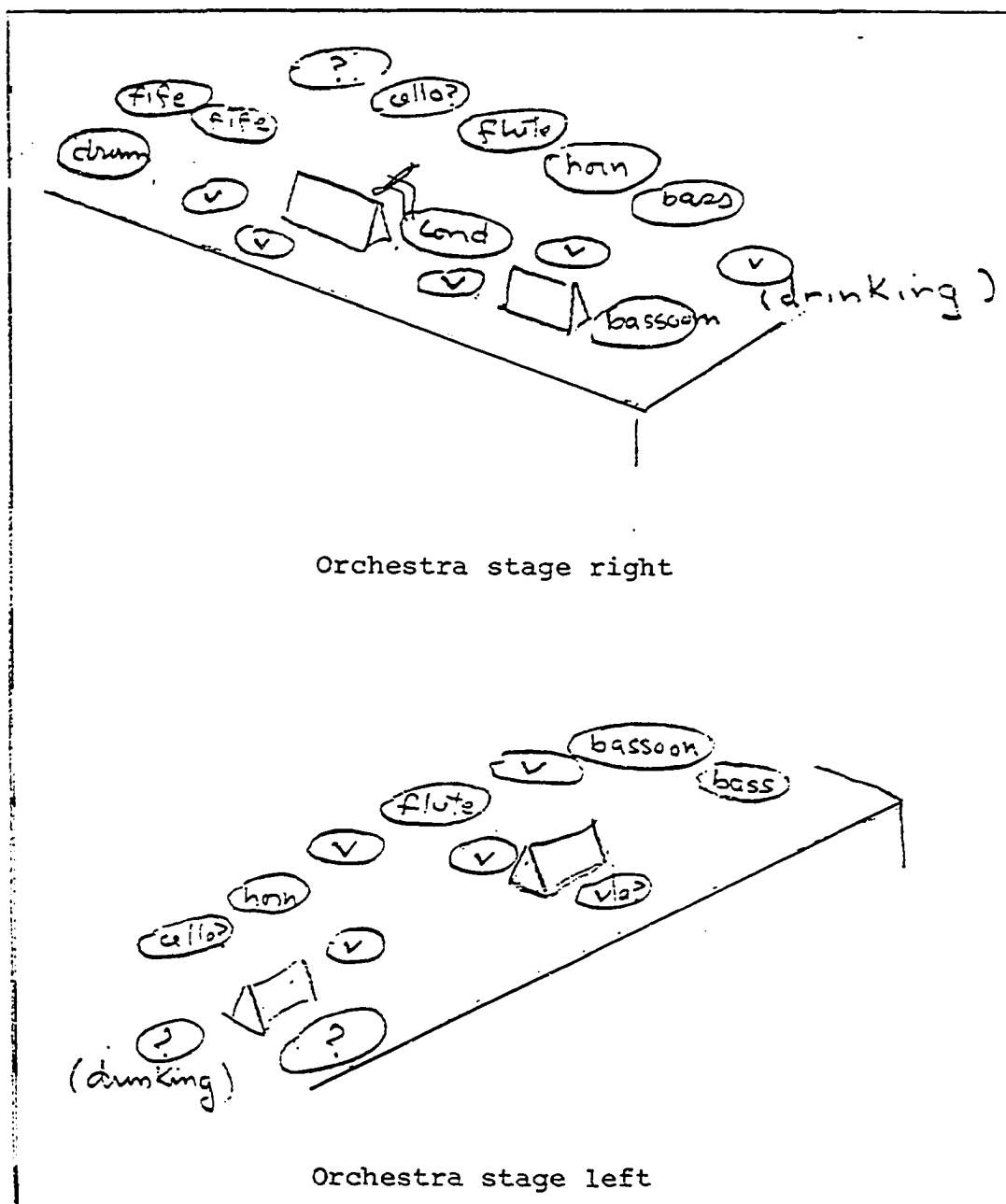


Illustration 4. After Rousseau, Bonnischer Ballstücke. Diagrams of orchestras.

fame, joined a few years after the painting was done.)

Another ball scene with large orchestra can be seen in an engraving of the Venetian Teatro San Benedetto set up to honor a visiting Russian Duke and Duchess in 1781 (see Illustration 5, p. 84). Here both the stage and the floor of the house are in use; a stairway connects them. Special guests are seated on the stage. (Perhaps supper is being served?). Again there are two orchestras, to the right, and to the left of the staircase, but only the musicians on the left are playing. Fifteen violinists appear in the front row; behind them at least five basses, two horns, and two flutes can be made out, making twenty-four musicians or more in all. An equal number relax on the right side of the stairs. Presumably the orchestras alternate. This would probably be the opera orchestra of the Teatro San Benedetto, perhaps supplemented with extra violinists. The numbers are as large as, or larger than, any of the famous orchestras of the day.⁴⁵

It is curious that no harpsichords appear, for the Opera orchestra had at least one, and probably two. Nor were harpsichords in evidence in the Bonn dance orchestra. Harpsichords could have been omitted from dance orchestras for many reasons, some perhaps practical (they used up space

⁴⁵See Adam Carse, The history of orchestration, (London: Kegan Paul, 1925; N.Y.: Dover, 1964) 171, 338.

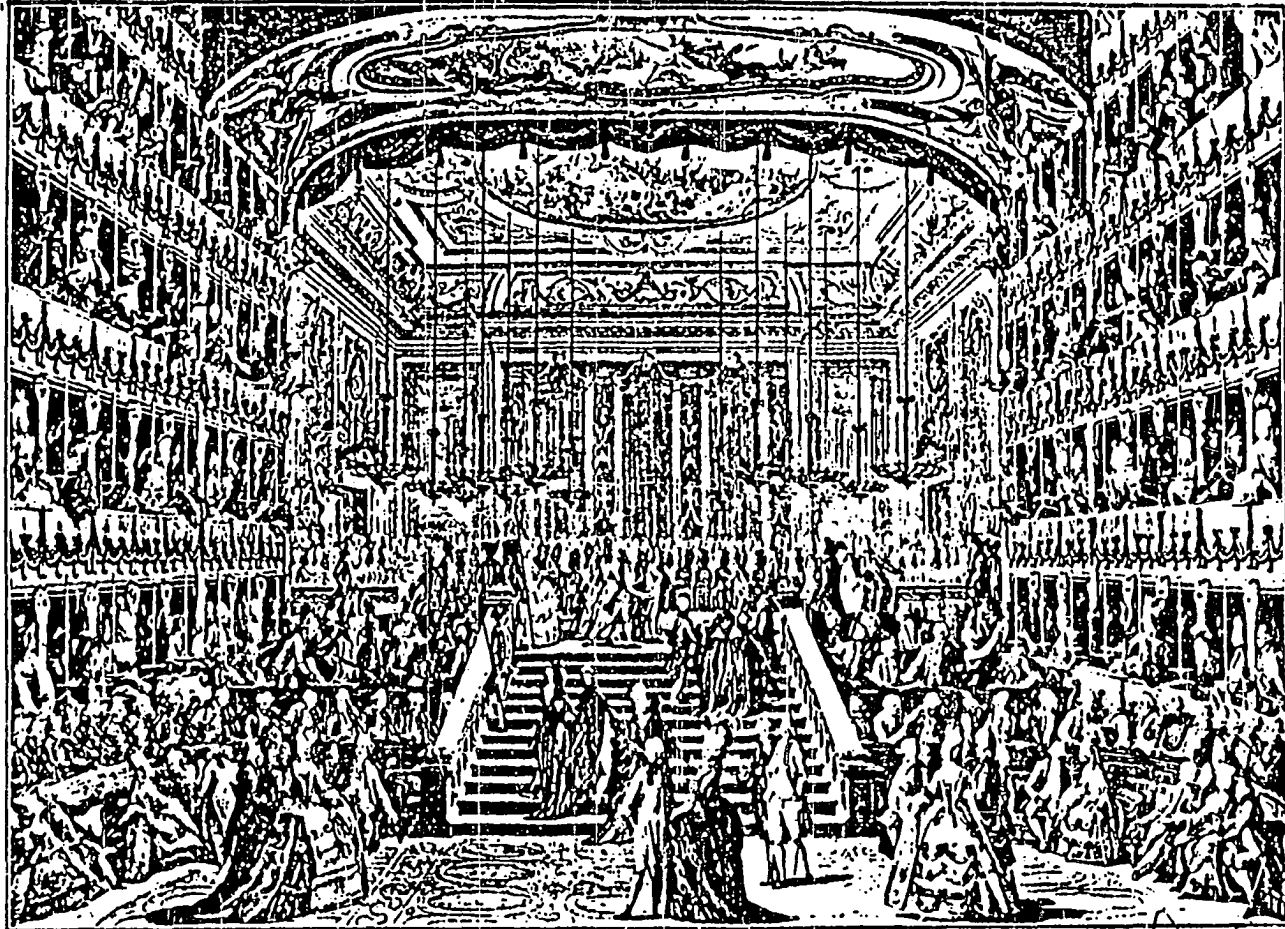


Illustration 5. Venice, Teatro San Benedetto arranged for a ball, 1781. Engraving by Baretta, 1782. From The baroque theatre, ill. 110, p. 193.

needed for dancers; they lacked portability). Is it possible that, having found the continuo to be dispensable in the dance orchestra, musicians then decided to abandon it in the symphonic orchestra as well? We do know that the use of the continuo was declining at this time, its function as harmonic filler being taken over by the woodwinds.

The orchestras for the Viennese Redoutensäle balls were equally large, and probably also had as their core members of the opera orchestra. According to Otto Jahn,

The management of the Redoute was generally in the same hands as that of the Opera-Theatre, the two being farmed out together. The court monopolized the Opera-Theatre in 1778 and the Kärnthnertheater in 1785, and kept the control over them until August 1794.⁴⁶

Jahn also enumerates the players of the Vienna opera orchestra in the years 1781-83. He notes 12 violins, 4 violas, 3 cellos, 3 basses, 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 4 horns, trumpeters and tympani.⁴⁷ This makeup is only slightly different from the standard forces "mit allen Stimmen" used for the balls, in which doubling of the string parts may now be assumed. Account sheets for the Imperial Balls in the Redoutensäle for the years 1777 and 1780 published by H. C. Robbins Landon confirm the size of the dance orchestra. In each case we find payments "for the

⁴⁶Jahn, Mozart III, 217.

⁴⁷Tabulation in Carse, Orchestration, 238.

musicians, 43 in the large and 27 in the small rooms,
together 70"48

These are large numbers for the times, even if we propose that each group was divided and two sections played alternately, thus giving 21 or 22 for the large room and 13 or 14 for the small (an unlikely condition, as the band does not divide evenly). Because the large balls took place at the opera houses, or were, as in Vienna, under the same management, the opera orchestra was available to play the music for dancing. These large orchestras reflect the importance of large balls as a social institution and perhaps the importance of dance music itself.

⁴⁸Landon, Chronicle II, 404-5, 430-1. "Expenses and income from thirteen masked balls held at Carnival time in the I.R. Redoutensaal rooms Jan 9 - Feb 11, 1777; Expenses for the musicians in the I.R. Redoutensaal rooms, 1780."

Dances for Balls

Information on the types of dances popular at any given time and place, and their order in a ball, can be found in literary references, in music publishers' catalogues, and in the occasional self-referential "musical ball."

Of all the memoirs, letters, and other literary works consulted, the Histoire de ma Vie by Casanova de Seingalt is by far the most useful in giving an overview of European social dance from 1742 to 1784. Casanova danced his way across Europe and back, describing balls everywhere and taking particular note of national and regional dances. Table I presents a chronological compilation of the balls he attended, with specific dances listed in the order of mention (see Table I, p. 88). From those balls in which the succession of dances is given, we can see that the usual procedure everywhere is menuets first, followed by contredanses, although in Grenoble and Turin menuets alternate with the contredanses rather than precede them. It is useful to find special mention of contredanses of the French type in St. Petersburg, because we may then presume that others (outside of France) were likely to be English. Exceptions to the basic format are the ball in Mitau, Poland, where the dance of the Polish nobility takes precedence over the menuet, and

Table I. Casanova's Dances

| | | |
|---------|----------------|---|
| 1742 | Venice | ↓ menuets ↓ contredanses |
| 1742 | Venice | contredanse |
| ? | Ancona | sequidillas |
| 1744 | Constantinople | Calabreses furlanes |
| 1751 | Paris | menuet contredanses |
| 1752 | Vicenza | ↓ menuet ↓ contredanse |
| 1754 | Venice | menuet |
| 1754 | Venice | ↓ menuet ↓ furlanes ↓ contredanse |
| 1759/60 | Amsterdam | contredanse |
| 1759 | Paris | contredanses |
| 1760 | Cologne | contredanse |
| 1760 | Cologne | menuet |
| 1760 | Bonn | contredanses ballets dans le gout d'Allemagne |
| 1760 | Soleur | ↓ menuet ↓ contredanses |
| 1761 | Grenoble | ∩ menuets ∩ contredanses |
| 1761 | Turin | ∩ menuets ∩ contredanses |
| 1761 | Milan | ↓ menuet ↓ contredanses |
| 1762/3 | London | menuets |
| 1764 | Mitau | ↓ polonaise ↓ menuets ↓ l'aimable Vanqueur ↓ contredanse |
| 1764 | St. Petersburg | ↓ contredanse en quadrille à la française |
| 1768 | Madrid | ↓ menuets ↓ contredanses ↓ fandango |
| 1771 | Florence | ↓ menuets ↓ contredanse |
| 1784 | Vienna | menuets contredanses |

A descending arrow indicates the order of dances at a ball.
Entries with wavy lines are balls at which dances alternated.

the Wirtschaft ball in Bonn where no menuets are danced, probably in order to preserve the rustic flavor of the occasion. In addition to the polonaise and the German dances, we find the Venetian furlana and the Spanish fandango added to the menuet and contredanse plan.

The pattern of menuets followed by contredanses is remarkably consistent throughout Europe for the forty years covered by this autobiography. Occasional descriptions by others confirm this arrangement. Leopold Mozart wrote home from Paris in 1764 that at the carnival balls that season they danced old-fashioned menuets "but above all, contredanses or what we call English dances are danced."⁴⁹

(Unfortunately, Mozart did not attend any balls -- this report was only hearsay. If he had, he would have found also contredanses; he might even have seen some figures imported from Germany in the fashionable "first contredanse allemande known in Paris" which appeared that season.) And

⁴⁹Letter of Leopold Mozart to Lorenz Hagenauer, Paris, 4 March 1764. Anderson, Letters I, no. 24. Deutsch, Briefe I, 134: 85-92. " . . . und was für Menuet? --- Menuets, die zur Zeit Heinrich des 4.ten schon sind getanzet worden, und in der ganzen Stadt sind etwa 2. oder 3. favorit Menuet, die immer müssen gespiellet werden, weil die Personen keinen anderen Danzen können, ausser den ienigen Menuet, bey dessen Abspiellung sie das Danzen gelehret haben. Am meisten aber werden Contra dances, oder die bey uns so genannten englischen Tänzegetantzet! alles dieses weis ich aus der Erzählung, denn ich habe noch nichts gesehen."

as late as 1791 Haydn found a similar pattern in London: one room for minuets and two more rooms devoted to English dances.⁵⁰

Other references confirm exceptions, in either order of dances, or dances added. For example, Otto Jahn mentions that "at Hamburg, members of the noble families required that minuets should be played alternately with the country dances"; this is the arrangement that Casanova found in Turin and Grenoble in 1761.

Goethe describes a ball in Werther (1774) which is particularly instructive.⁵¹ This ball can be taken as representative of such affairs at Strassburg around 1770-74, since this partially autobiographical novel reflects Goethe's own experiences in Strassburg at that time. Minuets open the ball; then follow an englische, a second contretanz, deutsche tanzen/walzen, and a third englische. Because of the succession englische, second contretanz, and third englische, englische and contretanz must refer to the same dance type. The basic format is augmented with what Goethe describes as dancing the deutsche or waltzing (deutsche tanzen or das Walzen). We will see that the

⁵⁰Landon, Chronicle III, 106.

⁵¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Die Leiden des jungen Werthers, Vol. 9 of the Berliner Ausgabe, 23-15. Book I, entry for June 16.

see that the inclusion of such German dancing, as in Casanova's ball at Bonn, becomes a characteristic feature of German and Austrian balls.

Another approach to an overall view of European social dance is to examine the catalogs of eighteenth century music publishers. These are likely to show which dances were most popular in specific cities. Most valuable is The Breitkopf thematic catalogue⁵² with its musical incipits. Also useful are the facsimile reprints of French music publishers' catalogues.⁵³ A summary of their information appears in Table II (see p. 92).

In Paris the standard menuets and contredanses were all published during the 1760s, 70s, and early 80s. The last menuets appear at the last minute -- 1793. In addition, a dance called allemande becomes very popular during the 1770s: this is the contredanse allemande.

The Leipzig house of Breitkopf published dances for the Redoutes of Dresden, then for Hanover and Vienna. The dances were published in advance -- those for the season of 1780 appearing in 1779, for example -- so that the dancers and musicians could be prepared before the balls actually

⁵²Barry S. Brook, ed. The Breitkopf thematic catalogue and supplements (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1762-1787/ New York: Dover, 1966).

⁵³Cari Johansson, French music publishers' catalogues of the second half of the eighteenth century (Stockholm, 1955).

Table II. Dances in Music Publishers' Catalogues

| | 1760 | 65 | 70 | 75 | 80 | 85 | 90 |
|-----------------------------|------|---------|---------|---------|--------------------|------------|----|
| PARIS | | | | | | | |
| Menuet | ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ |
| Contre-danse | ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | |
| Allemande | | | ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ | |
| DRESDEN | | | | | | | |
| Menuetten | | ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| Polonoisen | | ✓ ✓ | ✓ ✓ | ✓ | | | |
| Angloisen | | 1) 2) | | ✓ | | | |
| Quatrillen | | | | ✓ | | | |
| HANOVER | | | | | | | |
| Menuetten | | | | | 3) 4) 5) | | |
| Angloisen | | | | | ✓ → ✓ ✓ | ✓ — | |
| Cottillon | | | | | ✓ — ✓ — ✓ — ✓ — | ✓ — ✓ — | |
| VIENNA | | | | | | | |
| Menuetti | | | | | ✓ — | ✓ — | |
| Contredanses | | | | | ✓ ✓ — | | |
| Tedeschi | | | | | ✓ — | | |
| Deutsche Tänze | | | | | | ✓ — | |
| Allemandes | | | | | | ✓ — | |
| Ländlerische deutsche Tänze | | | | | | ✓ — | |

1) Stereyisch, Mazur Cosac, Strasburg
2) Steyerisch, Mazur

3) Angloise for Turkish band
4) 32 Böhmishe menuetten
5) Marsch

took place. In Dresden, a city with long-standing political and cultural ties to Poland, the polonaise holds a place second only to the menuet. In 1767-68 characteristic dances from German provinces and eastern Europe are represented. The publications for 1778 include a full complement of contredanses, both English (angloise) and French (quatrillen). The Hanover dances also follow the menuet, contredanse format with both English and French types again represented. Also featured is a representative of a special genre of English dance: a programmatic dance depicting a storm or battle and often characterized by the inclusion of Turkish instruments. The Bohemian menuets of 1781 for Hanover may represent the introduction of south German provincial dances perhaps similar to the allemandes/menuettini tedeschi of Haydn (Hob. IX:9) in 1785-87.

A collection of dances published in the early 1790s by Breitkopf, Terpsichore im Clavierauszuge, may be mentioned here. This collection includes menuets, anglaisen, a storm dance ("Gewitter - Anglaise," with text), françaisen and quadrillen, and deutsche. A subscription list includes representatives from Leipzig, Dresden, Hanover, Berlin, etc. (but not Vienna).

The Viennese dances, in addition to menuets and contretänze, include deutsche, allemandes, and Ländlerische. As these three dances appear together in the

years 1785-87, they must, at that time anyway, have represented separate entities.

Further information on dances for Vienna appears in Table III (see pp. 100-02). Here there is an even more "German" emphasis. Menuet is paired with deutscher rather than contredanse throughout, from 1777 through 1812. This is both surprisingly early for the ballroom deutscher, and surprisingly late for the menuet. Contretänze appear in the 1780's and again around 1800. From a choreography published by Witzmann, we know that they were fashionable in Vienna around 1794.⁵⁴ And Otto Jahn reports that in Vienna, in the time of Joseph II (1780-1790), "the usual dances were menuets, country dances and waltzes . . . just as is the case in 'Don Giovanni.'"⁵⁵

A third way of investigating the dances at these balls is to consider those instances in which they are actually depicted in music. As Otto Jahn pointed out, the ball scene in Don Giovanni is just such a case. Here a ball is arranged where different social classes attend, the masked aristocrats dance a court menuet, the servants a "teich" (deutscher) and the Don and Zerlina a contradanza.

⁵⁴Witzmann, Der Ländler, 82.

⁵⁵Jahn, Mozart III, 218.

Mozart has distilled the musical and sociological essence of the current social scene and reflected it back to his audience from the stage. Having the three dances going simultaneously is a musical tour-de-force, but the relationship to reality is not the least forced. In fact Diderot states that at the Paris opera balls "they dance different contredanses at the ends of the room" -- evidently at the same time!⁵⁶

The musical ball sometimes includes items that are taken for granted and thus not mentioned elsewhere. Such is the case with Leopold Mozart's Schlittenfahrt or "Musical sleighride," a piece of program music probably written to amuse the residents of Augsburg. The ball that follows the sleighride begins predictably with a menuet and trio (Anfang des balles). This is followed by a Teutscher Tanz; the ball concludes with a Kehraus. The Kehraus is the final dance of German balls; it is the grand finale which clears everyone out, as its name implies.

⁵⁶Denis Diderot and Jean D'Alembert, Encyclopédie (Paris, 1751/ New York: Readex Microprint, 1969), "Contredanse." "Au bal de L'Opera on danse dans les deux bouts de la salle des contredanses différentes."

The "Carnival Symphony" of Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf represents another musical ball. The date and provenance of this work are uncertain, but one might guess Vienna in the 1780s or later. The full title is: Le Carnaval ou la Redoute, Grande Symphonie. Its movements are:

- I Minuetto, Tempo di Minuetto
- II Anglaise, Allegretto
- III Concerto, Allegro vivace
- IV Ballo Strassburghese, Andante grazioso
- V Polonaise, Tempo di Polacca
- VI Ballo tedesco, Allegro
- VII Kehraus, Allegro molto

We can now recognize the introductory menuet, the contredanse (Anglaise), and the deutsche (Ballo tedesco) as the standard items in a German or Viennese ball like Don Giovanni's; the Kehraus again appears as the standard but seldom mentioned finale. Movements III, IV and V (Concerto, Ballo strassburghese, Polonaise) can be read as interpolations. Movement III, which looks out of place, is actually a march. Each of these dances (except the march) will be discussed in detail in the body of the present work.

Composers for the Vienna Balls

In late eighteenth-century Vienna, unlike today, composers of serious music were the same ones who composed dances for the popular balls. Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven were commissioned to write dance music, as were many other composers who were major figures in Vienna at the time. Table III (pp. 100-02) is a chronological compilation of information on composers and their dances for the Vienna balls. In compiling this table three thematic catalogues have been used: those for Mozart, (III C), Beethoven (III E) and Hummel III F).⁵⁷ Information on the Pensionsgesellschaft balls is from Thayer's biography of Beethoven (III D).⁵⁸ Also used were the Viennese entries in the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue (III B)⁵⁹ and the two Imperial account sheets published by Landon (III A).⁶⁰

⁵⁷Ludwig Köchel, Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amade Mozarts (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955); Georg Kinsky, Das Werk Beethovens München/Duisberg: G. Henle, 1955; Dieter Zimmerschied, Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johan Nepomuk Hummel (Hofheim: Hofmeister, 1971).

⁵⁸A. W. Thayer, Ludwig van Beethovens Leben, 2 vols. (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider, 1866), I, 297.

⁵⁹Breitkopf Catalogue, 764-65, 844.

⁶⁰Landon, Chronicle II, 405, 431.

While undoubtedly sketchy and incomplete, these diverse sources join together without overlap to give a chronological picture which extends from 1777 to 1812.

Of the three major Viennese composers, only Mozart is known to have been himself a dancer. Mozart's own ball and his appearance at a Redoutensaal ball in 1783 have already been mentioned (see above, pp. 60,75). Mozart is reported to have danced the menuet very beautifully.⁶¹ Of the evening when he was introduced to Mozart, Michael Kelly wrote that "After supper the young branches of our host [Kozeluch] had a dance, and Mozart joined them. Madame Mozart told me, that great as his genius was, he was an enthusiast in dancing, and often said his taste lay in that art, rather than in music."⁶² However that may be, it is true that Mozart wrote a great deal of dance music, especially in the last years of his life. This was the result of an Imperial appointment as Kapellmeister on 7 December 1787, following the death of Gluck on November 17 of that year. Mozart's main duty was to compose music for the carnival balls. His dances exist for the 1788 and 1789 seasons, and for 1791. (Carnival celebrations were cancelled in 1790, due to the illness and death of the Emperor on 20 February 1790.)

⁶¹Jahn, Mozart II, 304.

⁶²Kelly, Reminiscences, 142.

In 1792, Haydn was commissioned to write the dances for the first annual ball established by the Gesellschaft der bildener Künstler to raise money for artists' widows and orphans. These balls took place on or around November 25 and thus also became known as the St. Catherine Redoutes. They were held in the two Redoutensäle and used the same orchestra as the carnival balls. Haydn offered 12 menuets and 12 deutsche (Hob. IX:11, 12) to the society without fee; Artaria then brought them out on 22 December 1792 (rather more expeditiously than usual)⁶³ no doubt so that they might be available for the carnival balls of that same winter. According to Landon, Haydn conducted the dances himself, the orchestra for the large room being expanded to 47 players.⁶⁴ Other composers who contributed dances to this charity occasion in subsequent years included Kozeluch, Dittersdorf, Eybler, Süßmayer, and Beethoven.⁶⁵

Unlike Mozart, Haydn did not catalogue his dance music. Much has disappeared, including sets of menuets and contredances known to have been written for the Queen of Spain. Beethoven likewise treated his dance music casually; most of the autographs are lost or missing. Of the sets of

⁶³Landon, Chronicle III, 206.

⁶⁴Landon, Chronicle III, 205.

⁶⁵Forbes, Beethoven, 177.

Table III
Music for the Vienna Balls

M=Menuet
 D=Deutsche
 CD=Contretanz

| | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------|
| A | 1777 | Pangratz Huber | 36 M | Hob. IX: 6 |
| | | " | 12 D | |
| | | Joseph Heiden [sic] | 12 M | |
| | 1780 | Franz Aspelmaier | 18 M | |
| | | " | 12 D | |
| | | Pangratz Huber | 36 M | |
| B | 1782-4 | F.A. Hofmeister[Vienna?] | 6 M | Hob. IX: 9 |
| | | " | 6 D (Tedeski) | |
| | | " | 6 CD | |
| | 1785-7 | Joseph Stadler, Vienna | 12 M | |
| | | Huber, Vienna | 12 D (Tedeski) | |
| | 1785-7 | Huber, Vienna | 8 CD | |
| | | Ign Pleyl, Vienna [sic] | 12 M | |
| | | Giov. Vanhal, Vienna | 12 M | |
| | | Jof Haydn, Vienna | 6 D (Allemandes) | |
| Vanhall, Vienna | | 6D (") | | |
| " | | 12 Deutsche Tanze | | |
| " | 12 Landerische D.T. | | | |
| " | 12 " " | | | |
| " | " | | | |
| " | " | | | |

Table III Continued

| | | | |
|--------|--------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| C 1788 | Jan 14 | CD "Das Donnerwetter" | K 534 |
| | Jan 23 | CD "La Bataille" | K 535 |
| | ? | 3 CD | K 535a |
| | Jan 27 | 6 Teutsche | K 536 |
| | Oct 30 | 2CD | K 565 |
| | Dec 6 | 6 Teutsche | K 567 |
| | Dec 24 | 12 Menuette | K 568 |
| 1789 | Feb 21 | 6 Teutsche | K 571 |
| | Dec | 12 Menuette | K 585 |
| | " | 12 Teutsche | K 586 |
| | " | 1 CD "Der Sieg vom Helden Coburg" | K 587 |
| [1790 | Jan | Overture + 3 CD | K 588 |
| 1791 | Jan 23 | 6 Menuette | K 599 |
| | Jan 29 | 6 Teutsche | K 600 |
| | Feb 5 | 4 Menuette | K 601 |
| | " | 4 Teutsche | K 602 |
| | " | 2 CD | K 603 |
| | Feb 12 | 2 Menuette | K 604 |
| | " | 2 Teutsche | K 605 |
| | Feb 29 | 1 CD "Il trionfo delle Donne" | K 605a |
| | " | 6 Landlerische | K 606 |
| | ? | 5 CD | K 609 |
| Mar 6 | | 1 CD "Les filles milicieuses" | K 610 |
| | " | 1 Teutsche mit Leyerer Trio | K 611 |

Table III Continued

| | | | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------------|--|--|------------------|
| D | 1792 (Nov 25) | Haydn | Gesellschaft der bildenden Künstler first annual Nov. Ball | 12 M, 12 D | Hob:IX: 12 |
| | 1793 | Kozeluch | " " " | 12 M, 12 D | |
| | 1794 | Dittersdorf Eybler | " Lge. Saal Sm. Saal | 12 M, 12 D 12 M, 12 D | |
| | 1795 (Nov 22) | Süssmeyer Beethoven | " Lge. Saal Sm. Saal | 12 M, 12 D 12 M, 12 D | WoO 7,8 |
| | 1796 | | | | |
| | 1797 (Nov 26) | Hennenberg Beethoven | " Lge. Saal Sm. Saal | M, D repeat | WoO 7,8 |
| E | 1798 | Beethoven | | 7 Ländlerische | WoO 11 |
| | 1799 | Beethoven | | 12 M | WoO 12 |
| | 1800? | Beethoven | | 12 D | WoO 13 |
| | 1800/1 | Beethoven | | 12 CD | WoO 14 |
| | 1802 | Beethoven | | 6 Ländlerische | WoO 15 |
| | 1806 | Beethoven | | [12 Ecossaisen | WoO 85] |
| F | 1807 | Hummel | Carnival Sm. Saal | 12 M Trios 12 D (Balli Tedeschi) | Op. 24 Op. 25 |
| | 1808 | Hummel | Opening of Apollo Saal | 12 M + Trios 12 D (Balli Tedeschi) | Op. 27 Op. 28 |
| | | Hummel | Lge. Saal | 12 D (Allemandes) | Op. 30 |
| | 1809 | Hummel | Apollo Saal | 6 M, 6 D | Op. 31 |
| | 1810 | | | | |
| | 1811 | Hummel | St. Catherine's Redoute | 12 D 12 D | Op. 40 Op. 44 |
| | 1812 | Hummel | Apollo Saal | Intrada [4M] | Op. 45 |

dances for the Pensionsgesellschaft balls (menuets, deutsche, contretänze, écosssaisen, and Ländler), a set of twelve écosssaisen for orchestra, probably for the balls of 1806, is lost. The losses of the Haydn contredances and the Beethoven écosssaises are particularly unfortunate. Haydn left hundreds of menuets and deutsche but only one other "englischer." Beethoven's écosssaises might have helped to clarify the uncertainty surrounding this dance in its early days.

Johan Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837) studied with Mozart, Clementi, Albrechtsberger, and Salieri. He held the position of Kapellmeister at Esterházy from 1804-1811. During this time he also took up the composition of dance music for the Vienna balls, as Zimmerschied's catalogue shows. He wrote dances for the carnival balls of 1807 and 1808, and for the November St. Catherine Redoute in 1811. He was evidently commissioned to write the dances for the opening of the Apollo Saal, a large public dance hall, on 6 January 1808.⁶⁶ The Redoutensäle were still in use (the aristocracy held a reunion there on 10 January 1808),⁶⁷ but the old rooms could handle only about three thousand

⁶⁶Witzmann, Der Ländler, 11.

⁶⁷Robert André, L'idée national autrichienne (Paris, 1933) 208.

persons. More space was clearly necessary for the dancing public. According to Eduard Reeser, "the Apollo Palace surpassed everything, by its enormous size -- it contained five large and thirty-one smaller dancing rooms in which balls for 6000 persons at a time could be given -- and its unparalleled magnificence remained for four years (from 1806 to 1812) the center of amusement"68

Although only some of the composers listed in Table III are well known today, most of the others were also major figures in Vienna at the time. Franz Anton Hoffmeister (1754-1812) was the well-known Viennese music publisher. Ignaz Joseph Pleyel (1757-1831) was Kapellmeister to the Hungarian Count Erdödy in 1777 and had not yet started on his more varied career as entrepreneur, music seller, and piano manufacturer. Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799) was Kapellmeister to the Prince Bishop of Breslau (1769-1795) a position which enabled him to spend time writing for the Vienna stage. He and his student, Johan Baptist Vanhal (1739-1813) were friends of the Mozarts; Michael Kelly reported hearing a quartet played by Dittersdorf, Vanhal, Mozart and Haydn. Of the same age was Leopold Anton Kozeluch (1787-1814), teacher of the Archduchess

⁶⁸Eduard Reeser, The History of the waltz (Stockholm: Continental Book Co., n.d.) 26.

Elizabeth in 1778, and successor to Mozart as Imperial court composer in 1792. All these men were prolific and well known composers, especially of operas and symphonies.

Other composers of dance music were court and theater musicians. Joseph Stadler was a bass player in the Vienna Hofkapelle from 1772 until his death in 1777. Pangratz Huber was a violist in the Vienna Theater orchestra around 1772, and also ballet master. From the court records published by Landon we know that he conducted the dance band for the Imperial balls in 1777 and 1780. Franz Aspelmayr (1728-1786) was a court musician and ballet composer for the Italian opera in Vienna. Both Aspelmayr and Huber were sufficiently good as composers to have their works attributed on occasion to Haydn.

Joseph Eybler (1765-1846), Franz Xavier Süssmayer (1766-1803), and Johann Baptist Hennenberg (1768-1822) represented a new generation of composers. Süssmayer and Eybler were students of Mozart; Hennenberg was already conductor of the Theater auf der Wieden under Schikaneder in the days of The Magic Flute. Undoubtedly other composers also wrote for the Vienna balls. Jahn mentions Gyrowetz along with Haydn, Eybler, Hummel and Beethoven,⁶⁹ and

⁶⁹Jahn, Mozart III, 217.

Witzmann includes two archival references to Haselbeck. Adelbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850) was another Mozart protégé. Some of his dance music exists for 1797 season. Haselbeck's dances in manuscript include 12 Deutsche for the small room in 1786 (with Turkish instruments), 12 Deutsche for the large room in 1791, and another set for the small in 1794.⁷⁰

⁷⁰Witzmann, Der Ländler, 57; 93, notes 6, 7.

Chapter IV

INTRODUCTION TO THE BALL

Polonaise¹

The polish nobility have a dance, to which the magnificence of their dress, and the elegance of the steps, the gracefulness of the attitudes, the fitness of the music all contribute to produce a great effect . . . were it performed here in the theater, it would hardly fail of general applause.²

Thus did the London dancing-master Gallini describe, in 1770, the dance called the polonaise. This dance was then hardly known in England; for example, even Charles Burney first became familiar with it as he travelled across Europe in 1772.

Originally Dr. Burney seemed not to know what such dances were called. When he arrived in Vienna he described how the papal nuncio at the Imperial court gave him "an Italian sonnet, which Metastasio had written at the desire of the present King of Poland, to a favorite Polish minuet, sent by that prince from Warsaw to Vienna for that

¹Some of the material in this chapter parallels some of that in Allenbrook, "Dance as expression," 84-91 (on the polonaise) and 64-77 (on the menuet). But my purpose differs from hers: I am attempting to show how and why these two dances interacted with each other.

²Giovanni-Andrea Gallini [Later Sir John], A treatise on the art of dancing (London, 1770) 193.

purpose"3 Later, when he reached Dresden, Dr. Burney explained that "musical airs, known by the name of Polonaises,⁴ are very much in vogue at Dresden, as well as in many other parts of Saxony" Burney also came across polonaises at Prague, but found them to be no longer fashionable at Berlin.⁵

Burney suggested that the popularity of the polonaise in Saxony "was brought about during the long intercourse between the Poles and the Saxons, during the reigns of Augustus the second and third."⁶ Burney's observation is astute and to the point, for the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus II, was crowned King of Poland in 1697. In 1733, he was succeeded by his son, Augustus III, who held both positions (Elector of Saxony and King of Poland) until his death in 1763. During this time Dresden functioned, essentially, as the capital of Poland, and the polonaise was brought to a position of importance not just in Dresden, but throughout Saxony.

In 1763 the Polish crown passed to others and Poland itself was gradually divided up between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, so that by 1796 Poland ceased to exist as a

³Burney, Musical tours II, 97.

⁴For spelling, see above, page 4, note 2.

⁵Burney, Musical tours II, 150, 133, 204.

⁶Burney, Musical tours II, 150.

national entity. As the nobility were dispersed (or their lands became parts of other countries) the influence of the Polish national dance became even more widespread, affecting not only Western Europe, but Russia as well.

Thus the fluctuation in the popularity of the polonaise in Germany mirrors political changes. Heinrich Koch gives an overview of the situation in his Musikalisches Lexikon of 1802:

Until the second half of the preceding century, the Polonoise was much loved in Germany, both as a dance and as an independent instrumental piece; then for a long time it was forgotten; at the beginning of this century, however, it has come more and more into fashion, and serves now commonly as the introductory dance at the more important society balls.⁷

Another factor contributing to the enhanced status of the polonaise was the diminishing popularity of the menuet. We know that throughout the eighteenth century the menuet had traditionally opened balls (except perhaps in Poland). But after the French Revolution interest in the menuet declined. The polonaise, which served the same sociological function, was available to take its place. Koch documents this transitional period in which the

⁷Koch, Lexikon, 690. "Bis in die zweite Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts war die Polonoise, sowohl als Tanz wie als selbständiges Instrumentalstück, in Deutschland sehr beliebt, dann ist sie eine Zeit lang in Vergessenheit gerathen, mit Anfang des Jahrhunderts aber wieder mehr und mehr in Aufnahme gekommen und dient gegenwärtig gemeinhin als Einleitungstanz grösser gesellschaftlicher Tanzvernügungen."

polonaise took over the position and the functions of the menuet. The polonaise became well-liked and well-established in its new position. By 1811 it was reported from Leipzig that "everything that is pleasing nowadays may be converted into a polonaise."⁸ And the polonaise maintained its status: "at Leipzig, in the late 1870's, all balls opened with a Polonaise, which was purely processional."⁹

Koch's description of the popularity of the polonaise also corresponds with what we know of the stylized forms. These seem to have flourished both early in the eighteenth century, for example, the "Polonoise" (authentic title) in Bach's Suite for flute and orchestra in B minor (1721), and again in the early nineteenth, for example, with Beethoven's Opus 89 "alla polacca" for the Empress of Russia (1814).

This study will explore the nature of the polonaise in the interim between Bach and Beethoven -- the dance noted by Gallini and Burney in the 1770s. It was not totally forgotten at this time; there are not only some choreographic descriptions, but also theoretical analyses and

⁸Jozef W. Reiss/Maurice J. E. Brown, "Polonaise," The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) XV, 51.

⁹Percy A. Scholes, "Polonaise," The Oxford companion to music, 10th ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) 819. Quoted from a Mr. Egerton Lowe.

numerous musical examples covering the years from around 1760 to 1800.

Choreography

The Leipzig dancing-master Pauli (1756) reports that the polonaise

is a dance, serious, grave and masculine. It is danced by a large company at the same time, in couples, with the men leading their ladies. It consists in a march around in a circle which the first couple begins and directs. Several "tours" can follow where (the man never leaving the side of his lady) each couple follows what is done by the one before.¹⁰

In his Histoire Casanova describes a polonaise he led at a masked ball given by the Duchess of Courland in Mitau, Poland (1764):

A quarter of an hour after my arrival the ball began with a polonoise It is simply a procession composed of a number of couples, the first of which has the privilege of directing the turns to right or left. Despite the uniformity of the steps and gestures, the dance helps the couples to display their grace. It is the most majestic and simplest of all dances in which all the persons present at a ball can show

¹⁰Charles Pauli, Elemens de la danse, (Leipzig, 1756) 64.
"c'est une danse serieuse, grave et mâle. Elle est fait pour une grande compagnie a la fois, qui danse par couples, les hommes menant les dames; le tour est une marche en rond que le premier couple entame et dirige, par le changement de quelque tours, ou l'homme ne quitte jamais la dame; chaque couple, suivant son chef de file fait comme le premier."

themselves.¹¹

According to Casanova, the person of highest rank leads this processional dance. The Brunswick dancing-master Feldtenstein (1772) suggests it should be the most experienced dancer.¹² Feldtenstein also gives variations in the basic processional format. Following the leader,

one can, for example, make a lot of snake-line movements, if the room is large enough for all the couples to form a circle, and if the circle is large enough. [The dancer] gives his arm for turning (drehen) and proceeds alternately exchanging places, with turns (wechselweise) like making a chaine through the whole circle; and when each couple has returned to place, the first couple separates the circle by leading through (durch eine Führung) which the second and third couples, etc., follow In this way the dance is given another configuration.¹³

¹¹Casanova, Histoire X, 86. Un quart d'heure après mon arrivée, le bal commença par une polonaise C'est une procession véritable composée de plusieurs couples, dont le premier est le maître de diriger les tours à droite ou à gauche. Malgré la conformité du pas et du geste, cette danse aide le couple à étaler des grâces. C'est la plus majestueuse et la plus simple de toutes les danses où toutes les personnes qui composent le bal peuvent se montrer.

¹²Feldtenstein, Erweiterung I, 86.

¹³Feldtenstein, Erweiterung I, 86-87. "Man kan zum Exempel ein Menge Schlangenlinien-Gänge machen, auch wenn es der Raum erlaubet mit allen Paaren einen Kraiss formiren, auch wann der Kraiss noch so gross ist, dem Arm im drehen geben und damit wechselweise fortfahren, gleich der Ketten oder Chaine durch den ganzen Kraiss machen, und wann jedes Paar an seinen Platz ist, das erste durch eine Führung den Kraiss entzweyen, worauf das zweite und dritte, u.s.w. Paar folget, um sogleich den Tanz . . . eine andere Gestalt zu geben."

From Feldtenstein we also get a description of the step or pas of the polonaise, in terms of French baroque choreography:

The main step of the Polish dance is a pas de bourée, or a bending and two rising steps, only with the difference that the last rising step . . . is more like a falling than a rising step Since the Polonoise is in 3/4 time . . . and the step also has three parts, it is easy to coordinate each part of the step with one quarternote of the measure.¹⁴

What is important here is the clear understanding that there are three steps to the pas which correspond to the three beats of the measure, a situation quite different from the menuet, where four steps of the pas cover two measures.¹⁵ Whether it was a simple procession organized by rank, or more complex figures led by a skilled dancer, the polonaise was always danced with its own particular step.

¹⁴Feldtenstein, Erweiterung I, 85-86. "Der Schritt also der zum polnischen Tanz hauptsächlich erfordert wird, bestehet in einem Pas de Bourée, oder in einen gebegenen und zwey gehobenen Schritten, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass der letzte gehobene Schritt am Ende desselben, mehr einen gefallenen als gehobenen Schritt ähnlich wird . . . dann da die Polonoise aus dreyviertel Takt bestehet . . . und dessen Schritt ebenfalls aus drey Theilen ist, so kann ja leicht ein jeder Theil des Schritts auf ein Viertel von dem Takt eingerichtet werden."

Music (German and Polish)

As pointed out by Wye Jamison Allenbrook, German theorists consider in some detail the differences between what they call the true polonaise and the German polonaise.

J. G. Sulzer is the most explicit:

The Polonoises set by German composers and known in Germany have very little to do with true Polish dances, but are generally known in Poland under the name German Polonoise. In a correct Polonoise two sixteenth notes are never connected to an eighth-note in the following and similar ways:



This procedure belongs strictly to the German Polonoise.¹⁶

Sulzer's further remarks and musical examples¹⁷ are repeated, with little change, by Heinrich Koch, some thirty

¹⁶Johan Georg Sulzer, Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste. (Leipzig, 1771-1774) vol. III, 716-17. Quoted in Allenbrook, "Dance as expression," text, p. 332; music example p. 86. "Die Polonoisen, die von deutschen Componisten gesetzt und in Deutschland bekannt sind, sind nichts weniger, als wahre polnische Tänze; sondern werden in Polen unter dem Namen Deutschpolnischen allgemein verachtet. In einer ächten Polonoise sind niemals zwey Sechzehntel an eine Achtelnote angehängt, auf folgende und ähnliche Art: (Example). Und dieser Gang ist der deutschen Polonoise eigenthümlich."

¹⁷Sulzer, Theorie III, 716-17. Quoted in Allenbrook, "Dance as expression," 86.

years later (1802):

The true polonoise has a characteristic full cadence, in which four sixteenth-notes, the last of which being the leading-tone, precede the last note (Example a). Further, the German piece of the same name often contains the dactylic figure of an eighth note followed by two sixteenths (Example b). The half-cadence with a quarter note vorschlag is little loved by the Poles (Example c), their half-cadence is always similar to those in figure d.¹⁸

[Polish] a)



[German] b)






[Polish] d)



[German] c)



¹⁸Koch, Lexikon, 690. "Den Ganzschluss bilden die Polen stets so, dass dem eigentlichen Schlussakkorde vier Sechszehnteile vorausgehen, von denen das letzte das Semitonium modi ist, welches vor den Schlusston vorgehalten wird (Beis. a). Ferner anthält die ächte Polonoise niemals in deutschen gleichnamigen Tonstücken gerade sehrhäufige dactylische, aus zweien auf ein Achtel folgenden Sechszehntheilen bestehende Notenfigur (b); ebensowenig ist die Halbcadenz mit einem Viertelvorschlage (c) bei den Polen beliebt, sondern ihre Halbcadenzen sind immer auf die under (d) angeführte und ähnliche Art gebildet.

Musical examples tend to display elements of both types. Feldtenstein's "polnische Tanz," for instance, is of the German type, although his full cadences are properly Polish (Example 1, measures 4, 12). German is the predominant rhythmic motif , the pattern  of Sulzer and Koch (measure 2) and the half-note on the half cadence (measure 8). Also noteworthy are the measures which repeat the pattern  (measures 5-6, 9-11).

1772



Example 1. Feldtenstein, Erweiterung II,
Table I, No. 2. "polnische Tanz."¹⁹

¹⁹Dates have been extracted from the legend for easier comparison. Quotes indicate the original title. Brackets indicate rhythmic units based on the dance. When necessary, music source will be given with the example, not in an accompanying footnote.

Leopold Mozart included many "German" polonaises in the 1762 notebook for his son, such as the following (Example 2):




Example 2. Leopold Mozart, Notenbuch of 1762, Polonaise, measures 1-4.

This example also shows the measure-long rhythmic units which derive from the 1-measure pas of the dance. Two editorial appoggiaturas give the last measure its proper form.

These simple pieces are without rhythmic or ornamental complexity. Perhaps more typical is one of the many polonaises which C. P. E. Bach published in Berlin in the 1760s (Example 3).

1765-6

Example 3. C. P. E. Bach, "Polacca," in Tanzmusik von der Renaissance bis zum Biedermeier, perf. by Ulsamer-Collegium, Ensemble Eduard Melkus (Archive 2723 051, 1975) record IV, side 2, band 1 Wq. 190: 1.

This example shows a clearly defined phrase structure with repeated 1-measure rhythmic patterns, the German motif , the characteristic cadences, and in addition, a syncopated rhythmic pattern (measures 1-2, 5-6, 13-14).

In the polonaise from Kirnberger's collection of characteristic dances we see in addition how this syncopated figure can lead to caesuras in the middle of the measure,

as well as at the end (Example 4):



Example 4. Kirnberger, Recueil de Danses caractéristiques, "Polonoise," measures 1-4.

The polonaise which J. F. Reichardt published in his Musikalisches Kunstmagazin (1782) was intended to instruct his fellow Germans in the true nature of the polonaise (Example 5, p. 120). He chose one written by a Pole -- "Grabewieki, I believe -- which, if somewhat finer than that usually played in Poland, yet altogether displays the true national character."²⁰ Reichardt makes no objection to the "German" rhythm which dominates measures 19 to 23, nor does he mention half-cadences, although they fit the proper "Polish" pattern (measures 4, 24). In discussing the characteristic Polish cadence, he notes that, although the cadence is on the second beat of the measure, "the final note of the melody is really first heard on the last and

²⁰J. F. Reichardt, Musikalisches Kunstmagazin (Berlin, 1782) 97. ". . . mich dünkt sie ist von Grabewiecki, -- die wenn gleich etwas feiner als sie der gemeinste Pole spielt, doch ganz und gar den wahren Nationalcharakter hat, auch in Polen sehr häufig zum Tanz gespielt wird."

Violine.

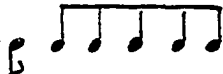

Polonoise.

Dal Seguo.

Trio.

Polonoise da Capo.

Example 5. J. F. Reichardt, Musikalisches
Kunstmagazin (1782) 98, "Polonoise."

also weakest beat, and then only faintly, as the Vorschlag receives the accent, and the last note is cut off -so short that one hardly hears it."²¹ Most importantly, Reichardt brings attention to other features of the polonaise not mentioned by the theorists: "the drawn-out 3/4 time, the many syncopated notes, the often free and rapid melodic passages, the frequent strong accents, the quick alteration of forte and piano"²² The strong accents, brought about by dynamics or bowing, fall on the syncopations (measures 1-3), the second beats (measures 9-12), and on the first note of the pattern  found in the Trio. In addition to this last rhythmic pattern, the following arrangement  should also be noted as characteristic.

²¹Reichardt, Kunstmagazin, 97.

"Ja die melodischen Schlussnote wird eigentlich erst auf dem letzten, also schlechtesten Taktheil, und zwar nur sehr schwach gehört, den der Vorschlag von der letzten Note, bekömmt den Akzent, und die letzte Note selbst wird so kurz abgezogen, das man sie fast gar nicht hört."

²²Reichardt, Kunstmagazin, 97.

"Die lange dreivierteltakt, die vielen singkopierten [sic] Noten, der oft freye und schnell melodische Gang, die häufigen starken Akzents, . . . mit dem schnell und oft abwechselnden forte und piano"

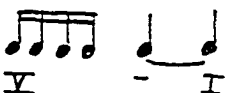
However much the theorists wished to distinguish between the true polonaise and its German counterpart, the music they wrote about more often than not contained elements of both types. Other important features of the polonaise are pointed out only by Reichardt. Additional recurring rhythmic patterns are to be observed in examining the music. A summary of all such characteristics is found in the following table.

Characteristics of the Polonaise

Meter: 3/4; no upbeat

Phrasing: 1 + 1 + 2

Tempo: slow

Full cadences: 

(melody resolving on 3rd beat; harmony resolving on 2nd or 3rd beat)


Caesuras: ends of measures or half-way through


Rhythmic patterns:  (German)

 (often in half-cadences)





 (syncopation)

 (half-measure caesura)



One-measure rhythmic patterns repeated

Frequent strong accents

Quick alternation of forte and piano

Free and rapid melodic passages

Labelled examples

The polonaise, when taken over into stylized art music, often retained its label (usually "alla polacca"). A few of these will be examined to see how the features of the dance were also retained.


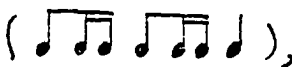
Mozart, Divertimento in E-flat major, K 252, Polonaise. The first four measures of Mozart's Divertimento exhibit, in addition to the proper meter and tempo, a typical rhythmic pattern, the 1 + 1 + 2 phrase structure, and characteristic cadence (Example 6).

Andante

1776



Example 6. Mozart. Divertimento in E-flat, K 252, polonaise, measures 1-4.

Measure 3 is typically "German." The second section offers the accented syncopations (, forte-piano alternations throughout, half-cadence patterns, (, and both end and mid-measure caesuras.

Every measure of the piece includes some characteristic feature.

Mozart, Piano Sonata, K 284, Rondeau en Polonaise.

Polonaise features also occur throughout the Rondeau en Polonaise of Mozart's Piano Sonata, K 284 (Example 7). We find the polonaise cadence (measure 8), the 1 + 1 + 2 phrase structure (measures 4-8) with the repeated one measure unit. The forte-piano alternations are evident, and the characteristic rhythmic pattern of Reichardt's trio

() also appears:

Andante 1777?

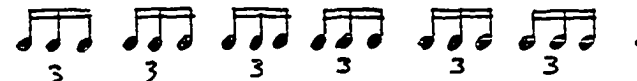


Example 7. Mozart, Piano Sonata in D major, K 284, Rondeau en Polonaise, measures 1-8.

In later measures Reichardt's free and rapid melodic passages are represented by running sixteenth notes

(measures 25-29, etc.), dotted rhythms (measures 21-22),

 and triplet figurations,

(measures 78-81)  .





Beethoven, Serenade, Opus 8. This work includes an "Allegretto alla Polacca" (Example 8) which incorporates the most obvious features of the dance: the syncopated rhythm, the 1+1+2-measure phrasing, the cadence on the third beat (measure 8). The German figure is rhythmically sharpened (measure 3).

Allegretto alla Polacca

1797



Example 8. Beethoven, Serenade for violin, viola, and cello in C major, Opus 8, "Allegretto alla Polacca," measures 1-8.

Beethoven, Triple Concerto, Opus 56, "Rondo alla Polacca." The opening phrase of the "Rondo alla Polacca," the finale of Beethoven's Triple Concerto Opus 56 (Example 9a), includes the now familiar rhythms  and  and  .

1803-4



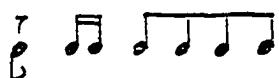
Example 9a. Beethoven, Concerto for Piano, Violin,
and Cello in C major, Opus 56, "Rondo alla
Polacca," measures 1-4.

The pattern of the second theme (Example 9b)



Example 9b. Beethoven, "Rondo alla Polacca,"
measures 203-206.



is merely a reversal of standard form (but see also the first polonaise of Table IV, p. 144). Other rhythmic features include the Scotch snaps and the triplet subdivisions used by Mozart in K 284. The repetitive

pattern 

appears in its familiar nineteenth-century guise.

Unlabelled Polonaises

There should be little difficulty in identifying unlabelled polonaise-derived movements; there are so many characteristic elements, both rhythmic and otherwise, that even the use of a few of them should be indicative.

Mozart, Quartet No. 1, K 80, first movement (1770). A slow introductory movement in 3/4 time is not an unlikely candidate for polonaise derivation. In Example 10 (see p. 128) we find the characteristic syncopation figure (measure 5), another familiar pattern , (measures 14, 15, and 17), half-cadence figuration (measures 16, 18), and a final cadence simplified perhaps by having the four sixteenth-notes set back into the penultimate measure. There are free rapid melodic passages (measures 13, 21), a hint of the pattern  in measures 26-7.

Although the tempo might be considered rather slow and the dynamic contrasts are missing, there still seems to be enough evidence to suggest that this movement is based on rhythmic patterns of the polonaise.

Mozart, Violin Concerto in D Major, K 211, second movement (1775). The Andante of K 211 also incorporates elements of the polonaise (Example 11, p. 129).

1770

The image displays a musical score for the first movement of Mozart's Quartet No. 1 in G major, K. 80, measures 1-28. The score is arranged in four systems, each containing four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass). The notation is in G major and 3/4 time. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second system features a prominent triplet in the first violin part. The third system continues the melodic development in the first violin. The fourth system concludes the excerpt with a final cadence in the first violin part.

Example 10. Mozart Quartet No. 1 in G major, K 80,
first movement, measures 1-28.

Larghetto

1803

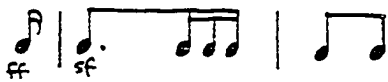


Example 12a. Beethoven, Symphony II/2, measures 48-51.





Example 12b. Beethoven, Symphony II/2, measures 82-86.

Framing these two themes are areas that are dynamically active. The introductory rhythm (measure 40)



becomes intensified at the conclusion (measures 94-6)



Other characteristic rhythms occur:  (measure 75); 

(measures 128-138). Polonaise elements here, then, are the numerous characteristic rhythmic patterns, the typical syncopations with strong accents and dynamic contrasts, and the repetition of 1-measure rhythmic patterns.

Polonaise and Menuet

The importance of the polonaise lies not just in the occasional employment of its characteristic rhythms in a stylized way. Also important is the interaction of the polonaise with the menuet. This interaction took place not only in the ballroom (the polonaise gradually replacing the menuet as an introductory dance) but in the actual music itself. The polonaise from Dittersdorf's Carnaval Symphonie vividly illustrates this relationship. Here we have a polonaise actually danced, says Dittersdorf, as the final reigen (dance in a circle formation) of the court ball at the royal palace in Berlin (Example 13):

Tempo di Polacca

Oboes, clarinets, horns, trumpets

Violins

Example 13. Dittersdorf, Carnaval Symphonie, fifth movement "Tempo di polacca," measures 1-4.

Yet how very like the aristocratic dance of Don Giovanni which, by common consensus, represents the archetype of the classical menuet! A closer look at the menuet, in the next section, will attempt to clarify how such a situation might have come about.

Menuet

The place of the menuet in eighteenth-century social life has been discussed in Chapter III and needs no further elaboration here. What will be considered is the enormous variety within the dance itself.

Feldtenstein (1772) posits two types of menuet: "the serious and gay"²³ (but discusses only the first). Others speak of local or national types. Kirnberger writes, in the preface to his Recueil d'airs de danse (c. 1777):

Though we have said above that each dance melody has its own distinctive character, still one must not assume that the same kind of dance has the same nuance in all countries. Moreover, a trained ear will easily distinguish a Viennese minuet from one of Prague or Dresden.²⁴

And Haydn reports (1791) that the menuets in London are "more Polish than in our or the Italian manner."²⁵ Lacking eighteenth-century trained ears, we must try to reconstruct from the musical evidence what variations might exist

²³Feldtenstein, Erweiterung I, 73.

²⁴Kirnberger, Recueil. "Wir haben zwar oben gesagt, dass jede Tanzmelodie ihren eignen bestimmten Charakter hat; doch muss man nicht glauben, dass einerley Tanz bey allen Nationen einerley Nuance hat. Vielmehr wird ein geübtes Ohr leicht einer Wiener Menuet von einer Prager oder Dresdner unterscheiden." Translation by Powell, "Kirnberger," 67.


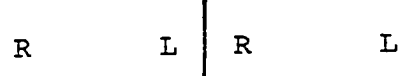

²⁵Landon, Chronicle III, 106.

among Polish (Dresden), German, English, French, Italian, and Austrian (Viennese) minuets.

Before investigating this bewildering array of national types, we will outline the basic choreography for the minuet. This choreography remained remarkably consistent throughout the century, and it is the choreography which determines the basic phrase structure of the music for all types of true minuets.

Choreography

The minuet step or pas has four parts which require two bars of music for completion. The three principal minuet steps were first reconstructed from baroque notation by Helen M. Ellis [Meredith E. Little] in 1967.²⁶ A simplified version of her analysis is presented below.

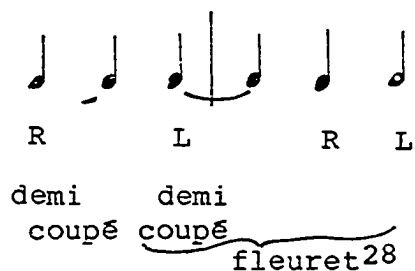
| | |
|--|--|
| I. "Pas de minuet of 3 movements" ²⁷ |  |
| | R L R L |
| II. "Pas de minuet of 2 movements" "One and a fleuret" |  |
| | R L R L |
| III "Minuet contretemps" "Minuet hop" |  |
| | L R L |

²⁶Ellis, "Lully," 70-71.

²⁷By 1735 used only for passepied in France, but just becoming popular in England. See Kellom Tomlinson, The art of dancing (London, 1735) 140.

Wendy Hilton considers Step II basic. Her reconstruction, following Pierre Rameau's Abbrégé of 1725, can be shown

as:



This step is the only one discussed in detail by Feldtenstein in his Erweiterung of 1771: "I divide the menuet- step into four parts, which, bound together, make up the menuet-step. The menuet is measured in three-four time, but . . . two menuet measures are required, making six quarter-notes" ²⁹ Feldtenstein's description of how the individual steps fit the notes reflects more accurately the Ellis analysis, for he prescribes "a demi-coupé on the first measure and a pas de bourrée (fleuret) for

²⁸Hilton, Dance, 191.

²⁹Feldtenstein, Erweiterung I, 78. "Ich theile daher den Menuet-Schritt in vier Theile. Die Verbindung derselben, oder die vier Schritte, ist ein Menuet-Schritt. Die Takt der Menuet bestehet aus drei Vierteltheilen, also . . . die Cadance aber bestehet aus zwey Menuet-Takten, und macht daher sechs Viertel aus"

3. A circle of couples moving forwards.
4. A ronde, where everyone executes the steps moving sideways.
5. A menuet for four to eight persons. This is not described. The reference may possibly be to "cotillons" in which the "variations" are done to menuet steps (see below, Contredanse française, p. 221).

Whatever its configuration, the menuet always used the basic two-measure step. It was important for the dancers to fit these steps to the two-measure phrases of the music, for otherwise they were dancing "out-of-time."³² The two-measure unit of the menuet step is as consistently reflected in its music as is the one-measure unit of the polonaise. The basic menuet phrase structure is 2 + 2 + 4, yielding the standard eight-measure phrase or section.

The Serious Menuet

The motto menuet. The menuet, unfortunately, is the one dance for which Feldtenstein gives no musical example. But it is probable that his "serious" menuet would correspond to the aristocratic type represented in Don Giovanni,

³²Hilton, Dance, 293.

for Mozart's dance turns out to be an example of a menuet type popular in the 1770s and found all over Europe.

The immediate predecessor of the Don Giovanni menuet is found (like Figaro's fandango) in the music for Gluck's ballet Don Juan (Example 14):

Grazioso 1761

Example 14. Gluck, Don Juan, no. 21, measures 1-4.

Menuets with this rhythmic motto appear in France, as in the first menuet of a collection by Dubois (Example 15):

c. 1770

Example 15. Dubois, Recueil de six menuets et six allemandes, Minuetto no. 1, measures 1-4.

Allenbrook estimates that 60 percent of the minuets in a Scottish collection of similar date employ this motto. She gives these two examples: from the beginning of the collection (Example 16):

1) c. 1770



2)



Example 16. A collection of the newest and best minuets (Edinburg: Neil Stewart, c. 1770) 1, 2.
Quoted in Allenbrook, "Expression," 72.

The inclusion in Kirnberger's Recueil d'airs de danse of a special "German" [North German] menuet might suggest a German origin for this motto menuet (Example 17):

c. 1777

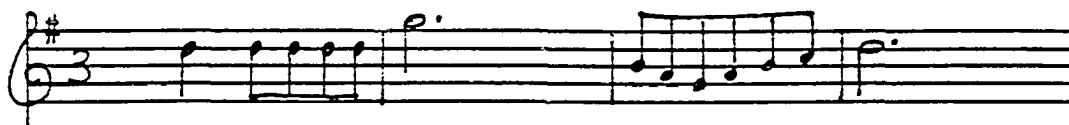
The image shows two systems of musical notation for a minuet. The first system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef, both with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 3/4. The melody in the treble clef begins with a quarter note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The bass clef part starts with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4. The second system continues the piece, showing more complex rhythmic patterns and chordal textures in both hands.

Example 17. Kirnberger, Recueil, "Menuet Allemande,"
measures 1-8.

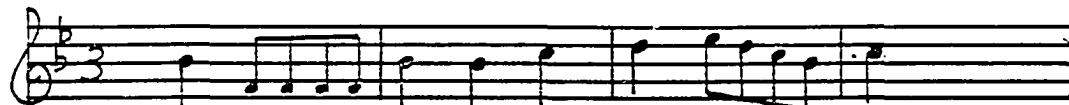
Yet the motto, and perhaps its association with royalty, can be found in France as early as the Philidor collection of 1712 (Example 18):

2704. Menuet du Roy de Suède

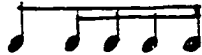
1712



2745. Menuet du roi des Romains





Example 18. Jules Écorcheville, Catalogue du fonds de musique ancienne de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: Terquem, 1912) V, Vm/ 3555, 210ff. "Suites des danses pour les violons et hautboi qui se jouent ordinairement à tous les bals chez le Roy. Recueillies . . . par M. Philidor l'ainé . . . 1712."

A third motto menuet from the same collection gives a possible explanation for the association of this motto with the aristocracy. This menuet (2742) is subtitled "La chasse;" the figure  is a familiar horn call (Bach, Brandenburg Concerto No. 1), and the hunt is of course primarily associated with the aristocracy. Two motto menuets in Handel's Water Music (1717), one with royal trumpets in D major, also suggest an association with royalty.

The epitome of the motto menuet is that from the Breitkopf collection labelled Minuetto. Majestätisch (Example 19):



Example 19. C. G. Breitkopf, Terpsichore im Clavierauszuge (Leipzig: Breitkopf, n.d.), "Minuetto majestätisch," measures 1-4.

We can now see that the Dittersdorf polonaise (Example 13, p. 131) resembles the Don Giovanni menuet in two ways: 1) it uses the 2 + 2-measure menuet phrasing and 2) it uses the same well-known menuet motto. Here elements of the court menuet have infiltrated the polonaise. We may propose, conversely, that the serious or "motto" menuet betrays the influence of the aristocratic polonaise. For the motto, , may also be understood as a basic rhythmic pattern of the polonaise .

Polish or Dresden Menuets. Having established that the Don Giovanni menuet belongs to a wide-spread genre (perhaps with German/Polish affiliation), we can now examine other serious or courtly menuets to see if they might also show Polish traits. We can start with Haydn's remark about the similarity of Polish and English menuets, and Kirnberger's reference to Dresden menuets, working with the assumption that any Polish influence would be in the direction of the slower, more ceremonial polonaise.

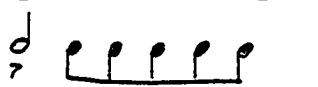
A look at the Dresden menuets published by Breitkopf (1767-79) is not very helpful in this regard (see Table IV, p. 144). They have the typical two-measure menuet phrasing and lack the sixteenth-note movement so characteristic of the polonaises of the same dates. But this may be misleading. The Leipzig menuets by C. G. Breitkopf would appear similar to these Dresden menuets if one considered only the first two or three measures of the top voice (Example 20, p. 145) but a typical bass pattern  (measures 1, 2, 13, 15), sixteenth-note passages (measures 10,12), and feminine cadences (measures 8, 12) appear in the full setting, in addition to 1 + 1 + 2 polonaise phrasing (measures 1-4, 5-8) and half-measure caesuras (measures 5, 6). This is the reverse of the Dittersdorf situation; here polonaise elements have infiltrated the menuet.

Table IV

Menuets and Polonaises for the Dresden Balls: 1767-79.
From the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue and Supplements
(New York: Dover, 1966)

Menuets

Polonaises

XXIV. Simonetti, Dresdner Redouten Menuetten e Trios de anno 1767.
as Tromb. 2 Ob. 2 Fl. 1 Clar. 2 Fl. pic. B.
1

XXIV. Simonetti, Dresdner Redouten Polonoifen di anno 1768.
see parti istrumentati
1

XXIV. G. A. ADAM Dresdn. Redouten, Menuetten (Ao. 1769.)
XXIV. Dresdner Redouten Menuetten, XXIV. Polonoifen, Steyerisch, Mazur. von SIMONETTI Ao. 1768.
XXVI. Dresdner Redouten Menuetten VL Polonoifen, Steyerisch, Mazur. von SIMONETTI, A. 1769. as Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Fl. 2 V. 2 B.

XXIV Dresdn. Redout. Men. &c. XII. Dresdn. Redout. Men. &c. di SIMONETTI, ao. 1771.
del Sign. HENNIG, ao. 1771.

XII Polonoifen del Sign. ENGEL, in Varsavia, ao. 1771.

XXIV. Dresdn. Redout. Men. etc. di SIMONETTI, ao. 1773.

VI. Polonoifen di SIMONETTI, ao. 1772.

XII. Dresdner Redout. Menuetten da SIMON. 1779.
XII. Dresd. Redout. Men. da RICHTER. 1779.

VI. Dresdn. Polonoifen da DITTRICH. 1779.

The image shows a musical score for a minuet. It consists of ten staves of music. The first two staves are grouped under the label 'Min. 4'. The last two staves are grouped under the label 'Trio'. The music is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is characterized by frequent ornaments, including mordents and grace notes. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and moving lines in the left hand.

Example 20. C. G. Breitkopf, Terpsichore,
Minuetto no. 4 with Trio.

English and French minuets. The minuets Haydn found in London may have been French. The influence of French court dance was strong there, and French minuets were favored, certain ones being especially popular. An announcement in the Daily Advertiser for 30 December 1778³³ offers instruction in the "court minuet . . . the minuet dolphin . . . the minuet"

"Court minuet" refers to a specific dance, "La Menuet de la Cour," which had its own choreography and music (Example 21). Note the motto motif in measure 9, and measures 13-16.

1770s and later

Example 21. Hullin, Recueil de Terpsichore, [1799]
"Menuet de la cour," measures 1-16.

³³Brought to my attention by Barbara Heyman.

Similarly, "Minuet dolphin" refers to another specific French tune with its own (simpler) choreography (Example 22):

1770s

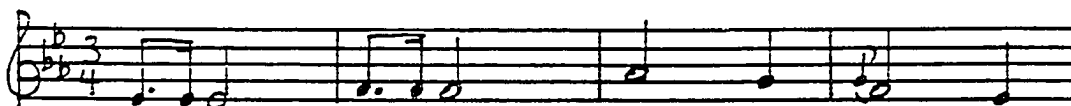


Example 22. Gallini, *A new collection*
(London, c. 1770), [no. 49], "Menuet du dauphin,"
measures 1-4.

Another French tune often mentioned was the "Menuet de la Reine," allegedly written (along with a gavotte) by Grétry for the marriage of Marie Antoinette to the Dauphin in 1770. This menuet was danced in Vienna as late as 1800;³⁴ perhaps it found favor there through sympathy for the Hapsburg Queen. If the French MS Vm7 5865 (c. 1785) is correct, this tune is the same as that of "La menuet de la Cour," for the tune appears in this manuscript twice, once titled "Menuet de la cour" (in G major), and the second time "Menuet de la renne" [sic] (in A major). Nor can the "Menuet d'Exaudet" be omitted from a list of universally popular menuets, for it was one of the best-loved tunes of the time (Example 23):

³⁴Witzmann, *Der Ländler*, 83.

1761



Example 23. Paris, BN Vm⁷ 4865, (c. 1785)
 "Menuet d'Exaudet," measures 1-4.

The same may be said for "Fischer's menuet (Example 24):"

1770



Example 24. Gallini, A new collection, no. 26,
 "Menuet de Fischar," measures 1-4.

Part of another menuet from the Dubois set will conclude our argument (Example 25). Note especially the last 4 measures, with characteristic Polish rhythm, 1 measure phrasing, and cadence.

1770




Example 25. Dubois, Recueil de six menuets et six allemandes, Minuetto no. 6, measures 17-24.

Menuet and Polonaise. The Dubois collection of menuets and allemandes was printed around the time of Marie Antoinette's arrival in Paris, so it is understandable that they might have a German/Polish flavor, as do many other French menuets so far discussed. But even before her time there had been a strong Polish/Saxon influence at the French court. First, the queen of Louis XV was the Polish Marie Leszczynska (m. 1725, d. 1768), and secondly, the wife of the dauphin Louis and mother of the future Louis XVI was Maria Josepha, the daughter of the Saxon King of Poland, Augustus III. It is not clear whether the introduction of Polish dance elements might be attributable to the presence of these women. But it is well established that the earlier lighter, gayer French court menuet became slower and more sedate as the century progressed.

It is possible that this slow menuet came to the ballroom by way of the stage. Mozart sent his sister such a dance which he had found popular at the carnival balls in Milan during the 1770 season. He remarked on the slow tempo, the large number of notes, and the greater length of the sections:

I shall soon send you a minuet which Mr. Pick danced in the theatre and which everyone danced to afterwards at the feste di ballo in Milan, solely in order that you may see how slowly people dance here. The minuet itself is very beautiful. It comes, of course, from Vienna and was most certainly composed by Deller or Starzer. It has plenty of notes. Why? Because it is a stage minuet which is danced slowly. The minuets in Milan, in fact the Italian minuets generally, have plenty of notes, are played slowly and have several bars, e.g., the first part has sixteen, the second twenty or twenty-four.³⁵

Mozart claims Viennese authorship for this menuet -- a strong possibility since Milan was under Hapsburg rule. We can note the similarity to serious menuets elsewhere: the motto-like figure (Example 26, measures 7, 8, 10) the polonaise pattern  and half measure caesuras (measures 12-16).

³⁵Letter from Mozart to his sister, Bologna, 24 March 1770, Anderson, Letters I, no. 84a. Deutsch, Briefe I, 323: 15-22. "Auf's nächste werde ich Dir ein Menuett, welchen Mr. Pick auf dem Theater tanzte, schicken, und welchen dann in feste di ballo zu Mailand alle leute tanzten, nur damit Du daraus siehst, wie langsam die leute Tanzen. Der Menuett an sich silbst ist sehr schön. Er ist natürlich von Wien, also gewiss von Teller oder von Starzer. Er hat viele Noten. Warum? weil es ein theatralischer Menuett ist, der langsam geht. Die Menuette aber von Mailand oder die wälschen haben viele Noten, gehen langsam und haben viel Takte. Z.B. du erste Theil hat 16, der zweyte 20 auch 24 Takte."

Milan 1770



Example 26. Starzer or Deller? "Menuetto."
Mozart, K 122, measures 1-16.

The polonaise-like character of the serious menuet persisted through the turn of the century and became, if anything, even more pronounced, as the following Schubert piece will show (Example 27):

Example 27. Schubert, D. 380, Menuette no. 2
in D major, measures 1-4;
trio no. 2, measures 1-4.

Schubert's menuet itself is related to the Dittersdorf/Don Giovanni polonaise/menuet; the trio might easily be taken for a German polonaise of the unsyncopated type offered by Feldtenstein in 1772.

Lighter Menuet Types.

Lighter menuet types fall into two historical and national categories: first, the original French menuet, its faster variant, the *passepied*, and Italian versions of these dances, and second, a later German menuet (not the menuet *allemande* of Kirnberger of the 1770s), a menuet *à l'allemande* which has incorporated elements of the German *deutscher* or *Ländler*.

The earlier type of French court menuet is rather different from the serious or motto type; it is lighter in style and in a more lively tempo.³⁶ Examples from Germany by Mattheson (1739) and Kirnberger (1777) are representative (Examples 28 and 29):




³⁶See Robert Donington, The interpretation of early music (London: Faber and Faber, 1963) 333.



Example 28. Mattheson, Capellmeister, 224,
"Le menuet, la minuetta," measures 1-4.



Example 29. Kirnberger, Recueil, Menuet,
measures 1-4.

The figure  (or its equivalent )
and the iambic  can be traced back to the menuets
of Lully.³⁷ This type of menuet is epitomized, again by
Mozart, in Figaro's "Se vuol ballare."

Earlier Italian menuets followed the French form (see
Mattheson's title, Example 28) or even adopted the passe-
pied, a dance performed with the menuet pas but in a faster
tempo with the usual metrical designation of 3/8.³⁸

³⁷See incipits of 92 menuets in: Ellis, "Dances,"
166-174.

³⁸Donnington, Interpretation, 334. Hilton, Dance, 218.

Mattheson notes that in Italy the *passepied* was often used to conclude a symphony.³⁹ An example of a menuet *à la manière Italienne* by Michel Corrette (1782)⁴⁰ is not unlike many Italian baroque examples of Mattheson's day (Example 30):

1782



Example 30. Michel Corrette, Menuet "à la manière Italienne," measures 1-4.

(Corrette contrasts his example with another menuet in 3/4 *à la manière Française*.)

In a brief dictionary of terms at the end of his *Cours complet d'harmonie* of 1806, J. J. Momigny has an entry for "Menuet à l'allemande."⁴¹ This is to be taken

³⁹Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 230, "Le passepied" ". . . Denn nicht selten schliesst sich dergleichen Symphonie, zumahl bey den welschen setzern, mit eine solchen Tantz-Weise."

⁴⁰Allenbrook, "Expression," 69-70. From Michel Corrette, *Le parfait maître à chanter* (Paris: chez l'auteur, [1782]) 27, 29. This is the second edition. First published in 1758.

⁴¹J. J. Momigny. *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition* (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1803) 684. Cited in Allenbrook, 69.

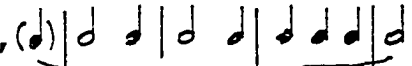


allegro or allegretto, faster than an andante menuet à la français. Momigny then directs the reader to his entry "walze."⁴² Momigny's menuet à l'allemande acknowledges a new type of faster German menuet that developed a few decades earlier with incorporation of elements from the German national dance. His title refers to the allemande/deutscher/waltz (as in Beethoven's Bagatelle, Opus 119, No. 3). Haydn himself produced a set of Allemandes (1787) which, in a copy, are called "Menuettini Tedeschi," the same title as Momigny's but in Italian.

An explanatory point must be made here about German terminology. In the Breitkopf Catalogue we can see that Minuetti has become a generic term for Dances and that the term encompasses not only menuets but also various types of German dances, as well as other foreign dances and even dances in duple meter. From this vantage point it is easier to understand that "Minuetto" in a classical symphony could just as well refer to deutscher or Ländler without misuse of the term.

We know that Haydn was aware of having introduced a new livelier type of menuet into the symphony. Landon reports that during a discussion between Haydn and a Swedish colleague after a performance of the Creation, "the

⁴²Momigny, Cours, 684. "Menuet à l'allemande est un Morceau à trois tems que se joue allegro ou allegretto. Le menuet à la français se joue Andante. Voyez Walze." [No such entry.]

conversation fell on Haydn's minuets, and the composer [Haydn] related how he had been given credit for inventing this kind of symphonic minuet; he warned the Swedish colleague not to take them too quickly" -- slowly enough to allow a clear bass-line.⁴³ This new menuet, a result of incorporating German national dance elements, will not be discussed in detail here but under deutscher and Ländler (see Chapter VII). As sample rhythmic patterns for the sake of comparison, the following are indicative:

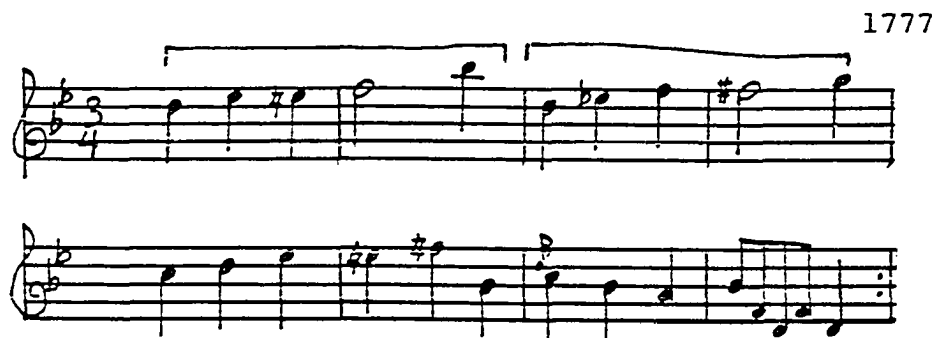
deutscher,  (Beethoven, Symphony I/3, Menuetto, allegro molto e vivace) and Ländler, 
 (Haydn, Symphony 100, Menuet, moderato).
 Neither of these has the two-measure phrasing of the menuet.

⁴³Landon, Chronicle IV, 456.

Two types together

An examination of the minuets for the Viennese balls reveals a new characteristic: the frequent use of upbeats, so conspicuously absent from the motto or serious minuets. Mozart is quite clear about this, as in the set K 461 (1784), where the two types alternate, trios assuming the pattern of the minuets they follow.

In a larger musical work which includes two minuets, one will be of the serious type (usually without upbeat) and the other will represent the newer livelier German type (usually with upbeat). This pairing of minuets can be observed, for example, in Mozart's Divertimento No. 15 in B-flat major, K 287. The third movement is a true minuet (Example 31):



Example 31. Mozart, Divertimento in B-flat major, K 287, third movement, "Menuetto," measures 1-8.

In this third movement we need time to sense the three pulses per measure, with chromatic movement and changing harmonies. The two-measure menuet phrases here contrast with the four-measure, upbeat phrases of the fifth movement which flow along with greater momentum (Example 32):

Menuetto (5th movement)



Example 32. Mozart, Divertimento in B-flat major, K 287, fifth movement, "Menuetto," measures 1-8.

Beethoven, Septet, Opus 20. Sometimes the faster menuet lost its title. Beethoven's Septet, Opus 20, originally had two menuets; the title of the second (fifth movement) was changed to "Scherzo" in the published version.⁴⁴ Here although both menuets have upbeats, the first is the one to retain the essence of the classic dance (Examples 33 and 34).

⁴⁴Beethoven, Letters, no. 44 (Vienna, c. 15 January 1801) and footnote.

Menuetto

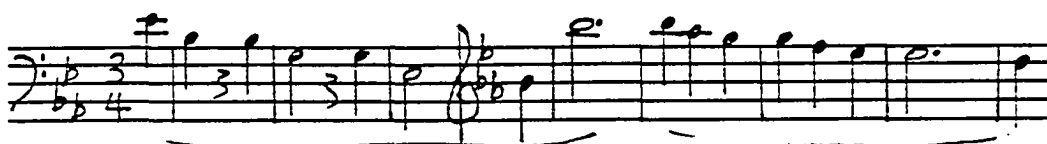
1801



Example 33. Beethoven, Septet, Opus 20, third movement, "Menuetto," measures 1-4.

Scherzo [Menuetto]

1801



Example 34. Beethoven, Septet, Opus 20, fifth movement, "Scherzo," measures 1-8.

Unlabelled serious minuets

Not only was the gay minuet transformed in the scherzo; the serious minuet could take on the affect of an andante or larghetto movement and also lose its title.

Mozart, Quintet in C major, K 515. The two types of minuet appear also in Mozart's Quintet in C major, K 515. These are easily recognized as representatives of serious and gay forms. The third movement, Andante, is an example of the aristocratic minuet with motto Example 35):

Andante

1787



Example 35. Mozart, Quintet in C major, K 515,
third movement, "Andante," measures 1-4.

The second movement, "Menuetto Allegretto," is the livelier upbeat type (Example 36):



Example 36. Mozart, Quintet in C major, K 515,
second movement "Menuetto," measures 38-46.

We might expect to find polonaise elements in stylized dance-based movements of the serious menuet type, since such a relationship was found in the dance music itself. The Mozart Andante from K 515, discussed above, displays a number of polonaise-derived features: standard rhythmic figures, syncopations, free running passages, rapidly alternating "p" and "sf" indications, feminine cadences, particularly the final one which resolves on the third beat of the measure.

Haydn, Piano Trio in E-flat. Haydn's late piano trios were written for an English friend during his stay in London. The last movement of the Piano Trio Hob. XV: 31 (which Rosen called a sophisticated German peasant dance) represents a stylized menuet of the Polish type Haydn found popular in London (Example 37):

Allegro ben moderato

1792

The image displays a musical score for Example 37, Haydn's Piano Trio in E-flat, Hob. XV:31, last movement, measures 1-8. The score is in E-flat major, 3/4 time, and consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes a violin, viola, and piano part. The second system includes a violin, viola, and piano part. The piano part features a prominent bass line with triplets and a final cadence.

Example 37. Haydn, Piano Trio in E-flat,
Hob. XV:31, last movement, measures 1-8.

Polonaise phrasing and rhythmic motifs are evident, along with many free and rapid melodic passages. The final cadence intensifies the rhythm:



There are no syncopated passages here, but the polonaise influence is clear.

Beethoven, Symphony V/2. Beethoven's sketchbooks are particularly helpful in identifying two unlabelled menuet movements in his symphonies. A sketchbook designation "Andante quasi menuetto"⁴⁵ identifies the rhythm and affect of Symphony V/2 (Example 38):

Andante con moto
[Andante quasi menuetto]

1808



Example 38. Beethoven, Symphony V/2;
measures 1-2 and 23-24.

⁴⁵Paul Mies, Beethoven sketches, (London: Oxford University Press, 1929/New York: Dover, 1974) 74.

Beethoven Symphony IX/3. A sketchbook designation "Alla menuetto"⁴⁶ likewise identifies the Andante moderato 3/4 section of Symphony IX/3 as menuet-based (Example 39). The tempo and the polonaise phrasing and syncopations confirm the serious type.

Andante moderato [alla menuetto]

1826



Example 39. Beethoven, Symphony IX/3,
measures 25-28.

Beethoven, Symphony II/2. A direct examination of tempo, meter and phrasing leads to the understanding that this Larghetto movement is derived from the menuet. There also exists indirect evidence. The trio of one of the five minuets in Beethoven's Mödlinger dances of 1819 corresponds thematically to a particular section in this larghetto movement (Example 40, theme c). This correspondence leads us to take a closer look at the beginning of the movement, to see if the association of trio with menuet can be sustained.

⁴⁶Mies, Beethoven sketches, 14.

Larghetto

1803



a. (8 measures, repeated, ending on dominant)



b. (8 measures, repeated, ending on tonic)



c. Trio theme (4 + 4 measures)

d. Here follow the polonaise elements discussed above
(see Example 12, p. 130)

Example 40. Beethoven, Symphony II/2.

The formal structure $| : 8D : || : 8T : ||$ (Example 40, themes a and b) followed by a known "trio" theme makes clear the menuet basis for this movement. Nor is it just a basis, for a complete self-contained menuet makes up the first theme of this movement. The addition of polonaise elements after the trio theme confirms again the proposed association of these two dances. In each of these three cases, Beethoven has used the serious menuet in the construction of a symphonic slow movement.

Conclusions

During the later eighteenth century the two aristocratic dances, the polonaise and the menuet, interacted in ways which led to the inclusion of menuet elements in the polonaise and polonaise elements in the menuet. The development of the slow, stately Don Giovanni type was a result of this process. Other stylized menuets of this serious type may also show the effects of polonaise influence.

The livelier, gayer type of menuet was retained, subject to alteration in the other direction with the infusion of elements from the German dances. The stylized version of this type of menuet kept the label initially but later gave

way to "scherzo." The slower type took on affective labels such as *andante*, *larghetto*, *andante grazioso*. Movements based on both types could exist in the same work, the gay menuet existing alongside its ceremonial counterpart. All in all, the menuet showed a remarkable adaptability, which must have contributed to its popularity in so many countries for such a long period of time.

Characteristics of the menuet

The early menuet

Meter: 3/4, with or without upbeat
 Phrasing: 2-measure phrases essential
 Tempo: moderate to lively, not slow

Serious

Meter: 3/4, no upbeat
 Phrasing: 2 + 2 + 4
 Tempo: slower

Gay

3/4, upbeat common
 often 4 + 4
 faster

Rhythm

Patterns:

+ Polish affects

+ Deutsche affects

Chapter V
FRENCH DANCES

Contredanse française

The Origin of French Contredanse in the Cotillon

The contredanse for eight persons in a square is a French invention of the mid-eighteenth century. This dance is not simply the transplanted English country dance with transliterated name, as has been commonly thought. Already in 1756 the Leipzig dancing-master Pauli pointed out that the French contredanse was a new form resulting from the interaction of English country dances and French branle.

The French, having declared themselves in favor of the [English] contredanses, soon changed the form, adapted them to their own way (accomodating the English figure to their branle); they made of them cottillons such that there are now two types of contredanses: the angloise and the cottillon.¹

These English contredanses were Playford's "Longways for as

¹Pauli, Elemens, 67. "Les François s'étant déclarés pour les Contredanses les changerent bien-tôt de forme, les tournerent à leur manière, accommodant la figure angloise à leur branle, ils en firent des Cottillons de façon qu'il y a presentement deux especes des Contredanses: L'angloise et Le Cottillon"

many as will;" the French branle was a round dance. To understand why Pauli calls the mix a cotillon and uses this term interchangeably with contredanse française, we must go back to an earlier French dance of this same name. Cotillon, meaning "petticoat," originally referred to a particular dance and song whose first words were:

Ma commère, quand je danse,
Mon cotillon va-t-il bien?

The French choreographer Feuillet described it as an "old danse . . . a sort of branle for four persons . . ." ² Feuillet's collection of dances for 1706 includes this tune with dance steps in baroque choreographic notation. ³ The tune is in two sections, and the dance is in two corresponding parts. The first section (Example 41a) has six different dance figures called "couplets." Each couplet takes eight measures.



Example 41a. Feuillet, Recueil de dances de bal pour l'année 1706, "Le cotillon," measures 1-4.
(Correlated dance steps mine.)

²Feuillet, Recueil de dances de bal pour l'année 1706. Quoted in Guilcher, Contredanse, 74. ". . . danse ancienne . . . une manière de branle à quatre . . ."

³The following analysis condensed from Guilcher, Contredanse, 74-77.

- I. Two couples advance forward and back, twice,
gavotte step.
- II. Partners advance forward and back, twice,
gavotte step.
- III. Partners turn holding right hands, then back
with left.
- IV. Partners turn holding both hands, then back.
- V. Moulinet (star or mill figure) for 4 --
right hands, then left.
- VI. 4 form a rond (circle) -- clockwise and back.

The second section of the tune (Example 41b) has one set of dance figures, called the "refrain." This is performed twice, by two diagonally opposite dancers at a time. The steps are two jumps forward with feet joined (2 measures), rigaudon (2 measures), and a right hand turn (4 measures).

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff contains eight measures of music. Above the first two measures, the word "jump" is written twice, with a bracket spanning both. Above the next two measures, the word "rigaudon" is written, with a bracket spanning both. The second staff contains eight measures of music. Above the first four measures, the words "right hand turn" are written, with a bracket spanning all four. The music is written on a single treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes.

Example 41b. Feuillet, Recueil, "Le cotillon,"
measures 5-12.

To perform the complete dance the tune is played six times. Each time the figures for the first section change; those for the second remain constant. It should be emphasized that "couplet" and "refrain" refer only to the dance steps, not to the music.

Noteworthy characteristics of this dance are 1) the series of couplets for the first strain of music 2) the double or "contrepattie" statement of the second figure with opposite dancers 3) the initial gavotte step and the gavotte upbeat and phrasing of the tune 4) the square formation 5) the ronde or branle figure in couplet VI. All these features appear in later French contredances.

The cotillon quickly gained popularity. The tune (without French barring) shows up in The Begger's Opera (1728) with the call for "a dance a la ronde in the French manner."⁴ And it heads up the collection of 100 contredanse tunes included in volume II of Ballard's Rondes, chansons à danser (1724).⁵ But the course of development of the cotillon and its relationship to French contredances is obscure, for there are no choreographies of the latter until the 1760s. We can see, however, that by Pauli's time

⁴Freda Burford, "Contredanse," New Grove, IV, 704.

⁵Ballard, Les rondes, chansons à danser, Vol. II, "Contenant cinquante rondes et cent contre-dances parodiées," (Paris, 1724), no. 1.

cotillon had become a generic term, equivalent to contredanse française.

Pauli compares the cotillon or contredanse française with the contredanse anglaise. He contrasts the two dances in terms of the number of persons and their arrangement, and the repetition pattern of the figures. For the anglaise the number of couples is not fixed; the dancers are arranged along the length of the room, men facing women. But the normal arrangement for the contredanse française is for four couples (eight persons) arranged in an "octagon" (Pauli's personal compromise between a circle and a square).⁶

The anglaise has one set of figures for the complete tune. As the dance repeats, couples change places: the first couple dances, takes second place, then third.⁷

The arrangement for the cotillon is quite different. There are two sets of figures, one for the entrée (Feuillet's couplet) and another for the refrain, and the dancers always return to their original places:

For the repetition of the figures, note that the cotillon has two of them: the entrée and the refrain. The entrée, performed during the first couplet [strain] of the song is the customary beginning and the change of hands; the refrain is the figured part of the dance, being done during the second couplet [strain] of

⁶Pauli, Elemens, 67.

⁷Pauli, Elemens, 67. The progressive English county dance is explained in greater detail below (see p. 232).

the song; this repeats after each entrée . . . one can have as many entrées as desired, according to how long one wants the dance to last. Thus the figures of entrée and refrain are different, but the couples always return to or remain at their same places.⁸

Pauli also notes some advantages of the cotillon over the anglaise: every one starts at once; everyone knows the entrées; one can vary the length of the dance; it is easy to fix things if some dancers mess up their figures.⁹

The Contredanse after 1760

Early in the 1760s, the invention of a new choreography and the development of a simple format produced an explosion in the publication of French contredanses. These innovations appear to be the work of La Cuisse, a Parisian dancing-master, who began in 1762 to publish Le répertoire des bals ou theorie pratique des contredanses, décrites d'une manière aisée, avec les figures démonstratives pour les pouvoir danser facilement. La Cuisse's new format

⁸Pauli, Elemens, 69. "Pour la répétition des figures, remarquez que le Cottillon en a deux: L'Entrée & Le Refrain. L'entrée, étant faite sur le premier couplet du Chant, est le commencement et le changement des mains comme de coutume; le refrain est la partie figurée de la dance, étant faite sur le second couplet du chant, se reprend après chaque entrée. Cette alternative se relève si souvent que l'on fait faire des entrées, ce que peut être plus ou moins, selon que l'on voudra faire durer la danse; ainsi les figures varient, mais les couples reviennent ou restent toujours à leur place."

⁹Pauli, Elemens, 70.

is a pocket-sized bifolio, about 5 by 7.5 inches. On the cover are: the name of the dance, its type, the composers of the music and of the figures, a dedication (if any), the publisher or engraver, the price, and the address where it could be purchased. The inside opening contains, on the left, numbered instructions for the successive figures of the dance. These correspond to a sequence of diagrams on the right which show graphically the movements and changing positions of the dancers. The music is on the back. La Cuisse published these dances singly, sometimes as often as once or twice a week. Collections could then be made by the publisher himself, or by private individuals.

La Cuisse's scheme was quickly adopted by many others. Particularly prolific were Landrin, dancing-master (1768 to 1780?); Dubois "de l'Opera, Pensionnaire du Roi et de l'Academie Royale de Musique" (1770-1774?); Bouin, seller of music and string instruments (1770? into 1780s?); and Bacquoy-Guedon, dancer at the Théâtre français (176? to after 1777).¹⁰

A list of publications and collections belonging to the dance collection at the New York Public Library is given below, along with the number of contredanses in each (see Table V, p. 175). This assemblage includes well over 500

¹⁰Information on dates from Guilcher, Contredanse, 97-117.

Table V. French Contredanses in the NYPL Dance Collection

| Date | Publisher | Title | Dances | Chor. ¹ | Call no. |
|---------|---------------------------|--|--------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1763 | La Cuisse | <u>Le rép. des bals, vol. 2</u> | 34 | d v | *MGRK-Res. |
| [1765+] | La Cuisse | <u>Le rép. des bals, misc.</u> from vols. 3-5 | 62 | d v | *MGRK-Res. |
| 1770 | Guillaume | <u>Almanach dansant</u> | 10 | - v | *MGWM-Res. 72-663 |
| 1770 | Gallini | <u>A new collection]bound with</u> <u>his Critical observations]</u> | 44 | - v | |
| [1773] | Thuillier, [collector] | "A collection of cotillions" | 55 | d v | *MGWM-Res. 72-728 |
| 1778 | Dauternaux | <u>Recueil</u> | 33 | - v | *MGW-Res. |
| [1780?] | Sauton | <u>Recueil</u> | 12 | d - | *MGWM-Res. 72-581 |
| [178-] | Landrin | [Contredanses] | 68 | d v | *ZBD 43 |
| [178-] | Landrin | [Contredanses] | 65 | d v | *MGWM-Res. 72-664 |
| [178-] | Bouin | [Contredanses] | 3 | d v | *MGRN-Res. |
| [178-] | [various] | [Contredanses] | 114 | s v | *MGWM-Res. 72-665 |
| [178-?] | [various] | [Recueil de contredanses] | 30 | s v | *MGWM-Res. 73-261 |
| [178-] | Frère | <u>Rec. de pot pourri</u> | 106 | - v | *MGWM-Res. 72-666 |
| [17--] | Clairsches | <u>Recueil</u> | 12 | - v | *MGWM-Res. |
| [179-?] | Clairsches | <u>Recueil</u> [bound with Hullin 5] | 16 | - v | *MGWM-Res. 72-580 |
| [179-?] | Hullin | <u>5^{eme} Recueil</u> | 12 | - v | " |
| [179-?] | Hullin | <u>6^{eme} Recueil</u> | 19 | - v | " |
| [1799?] | Hullin | <u>Recueil de Terpsichore</u> | 15 | - v | *MGS-Res. (French) |
| [179-?] | Veber | <u>1^e Recueil</u> | 15 | - v | *MGWM-Res. 72-661 |
| [180-?] | Veber | <u>3^{eme} Recueil</u> | 15 | - v | *MGWM-Res. 72-662 |

1. d = diagrams; s = some with diagrams; v = verbal instructions

French contredanses from the second half of the eighteenth century.

The Thuillier Collection. While people outside of France were dealing with English and French contredanses, the French themselves were concerned with another duality. Around 1764, German figures became so fashionable in Paris that dances using them were given the special name of contredanse allemande, and the others, for the sake of clearer differentiation, were entitled more specifically contredanse française (rather than contredanse or contredanse nouvelle).

A collection of cottillions [sic] belonging to Thuillier dancing master in London 1773 and since at Truro, Falmouth and other towns in the County of Cornwall is uniquely representative. It contains 8 dances labelled contredanse nouvelle (these probably represent an older layer), 22 labelled contredanse française, 15 labelled contredanse allemande, and, of all the dances in the New York Public Library, the only 8 labelled contredanse française et allemande. Furthermore, the collection has a handwritten index which confirms these types. An analysis of the dances in Thuillier's collection, showing pertinent figures and characteristic upbeat patterns appears in Table VI (see pp. 177-78). This collection provides an excellent opportunity to clarify distinctions between the two basic forms, thereby giving a more precise identity to each one. Thuillier's contredanses

Table VI









Thullier Dances: Contredanse française

| Title | | Index | Chor. ¹ | Meter | Upbeat | Key | Publisher |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|----------|--------|---------|------------------|
| 2. Les plaisirs du temps | Cdf | - | r - | 2 | | d, | Landrin |
| 5. La cour de Paphos | Cdf | - | r - | 2 | | D,d | B-G ² |
| 6. La rose | Cdf | - | r - | 6/8 | | D,d | B-C |
| 7. La fidélité | [Menuet] Cdf | - | r Ap | 3/4 2 | | g Bb | B-G |
| 14. La volage | Cdf | f | r A | 2 | | g | B-G |
| 15. La labyrinthe | " | f | r A | 6/8 | | A,a | B-G |
| 16. Les guirlandes | " | f | r - | 2/4 | | B | Landrin |
| 17. Les plaisirs de l'inconstance | " | f | - [a] | 2 [2/4] | | A,a | Dubois |
| 19. La nouvelle favorite | " | f | r [a] | 6/8 | | G,g | Landrin |
| 21a. La nouvelle Duchesse | " | f | r p | 6/8 | | D,D | Landrin |
| 22. La clochette | " | f | r - | 6/8 | | G,g | Landrin |
| 25. La docilité | " | f | r A | 2/4 | | G,g | B-G |
| 29. La caclore | " | f | r - | 2 | | F | Landrin |
| 30. La nouvelle touriere | " | f | r A | 2 | | G,g | B-G |
| 34. La nouvelle bouclet | " | f | r [a] | 2/4 | | A,a | Landrin |
| 36. La seculiere | " | f | r - | 2/4 | | Bb | Landrin |
| 42a. La Bourbon | " | f | r [a] | 2 | | G,g | Landrin |
| 42b. La chamborre | " | f | r - | 6/8 | | g | " |
| 43. l'Adonis | " | f | r - | 6/8 | | G,g | B-G |
| 44. La variante | " | f | - A | 6/8 | | g | B-G |
| 49. Les villageois | " | f | r - | 2 | | d,F | B-G |
| 55. La petit Henriette | " | f | r - | 6/8 | | E | Landrin |



1. r = rigaudon; p = passe; A = tour d'allemande; [a] = two hand turn
 2. B-G = Bacquoy-Guédon

Table VI (Continued)

Contredanse Nouvelle

| Title | | Index | Chor. | Meter | Upbeat | Key | Publisher |
|---|-----|-------|-------|-------|---|------|-----------|
| 3. L'union | CDn | - | r A | 6/8 |  | D, d | B-G |
| 33. La quadrature | " | f | r - | 6/8 |  | G | B-G |
| 35. L'émulation (ded. a M. de la Pouplinière) | " | f | r - | 2/4 |  | | B-G |
| 40. Les berceux français | " | f | r - | 6/8 |  | D | B-G |
| 45. Les plaisirs d'Henri IV | " | f | r - | 2/4 |  | G, g | B-G |
| 46. Les talents | " | f | r - | 6/8 |  | D, d | B-G |
| 47. La nouvelle mode | " | f | r p | 6/8 |  | A | B-G |
| 51. Les troqueurs | " | f | r A | 6/8 |  | G | B-G |

Other

| | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|--------|--------------|------------|--|--------|---------|
| 27. Les capricieux | cotillon | cot. | r A | 6/8 |  | D | B-G |
| 37. Le triomphe de Terpsichore | CD | f | r - | 2/4 | — | g | B-G |
| 38. Le deux Associees qui se danse en pot pourie boiteuse | CDf | pot p. | r - - [a] | 6/8 3/8 |  — | A A | Landrin |
| 53. La reconnoissance | CD | f | - p | 2/4 | — | D | |

françaises will be examined here, primarily, and the contredanses allemandes will be explored in detail below in Chapter VII (see p. 302ff).

Choreography of the Contredanse française

By the 1760s the form of the contredanse has stabilized. The basic format is for eight persons in a square, the number of initial couplets or entrées is set at nine, the rond has become the opening as well as the closing entrée, the figures are more complex, and the tunes longer. The bipartite structure of song and dance is even more important. Entrées are now called tours in France, changes in London (Gallini) or Variations in Germany (Feldenstein). French and English terms are correlated below.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. Le grand rond. | Le Grand Rond [all take hands, circle right, then left]. |
| 2. La main. | Partners take right hands and turn, back with left. |
| 3. Les deux mains. | Take both hands and turn. |
| 4. Le moulinet des dames. | Ladies moulinet right, then left. [four-hand star] |
| 5. Le moulinet des cavaliers. | Gentlemen moulinet right, then left. |
| 6. Le rond des dames. | Ladies join hands to right, then left. |
| 7. Le rond des cavaliers. | Gentlemen join hands to right, then left. |

8. L'allemande. Couples allemande right, then left.
9. Le grand rond.¹¹ Le Grand Rond.¹²

For an English depiction of Le grand rond, see Illustration 6, p. 181. Gallini suggests that Le Grand Chaine, and La Course or La Promenade may added between nos. 8 and 9.¹³ Feldenstein recommends a Chaine en rond or little Chaines sideways for 4 and 4 in the same place.¹⁴

These nine entrées were so well known that they received only casual notice in the dance choreographies. (e.g., "apres le grand rond" at the beginning and "La main" at the end). For it was in the refrain that the dancing-master and the dancers could display their creativity: only the figures for the refrain needed to be published.

As promised by La Cuisse, these choreographies are simple and easy to understand. Furthermore, anyone familiar with American square dancing will recognize many of the figures. An example of a typical choreography for a contredanse française can be seen in "La Caclore" from the Thuillier collection (see Illustration 7, p. 183). Diagrams for

¹¹Terms from Guilcher, Contredanse, 135-36.

¹²Terms from Gallini, A new collection of forty-four cotillons (London, 1770) 3.

¹³Gallini, Collection, 3.

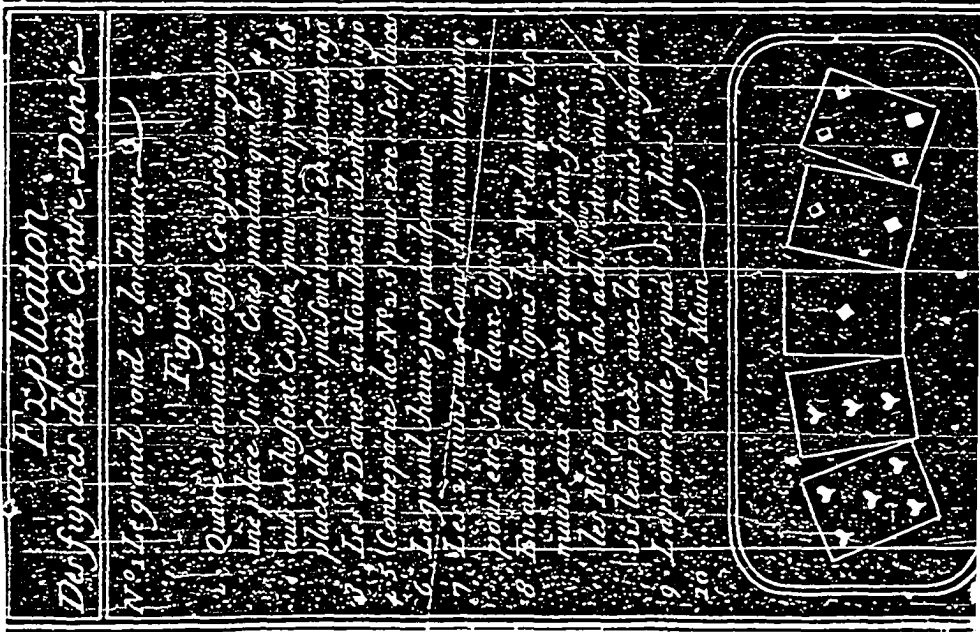
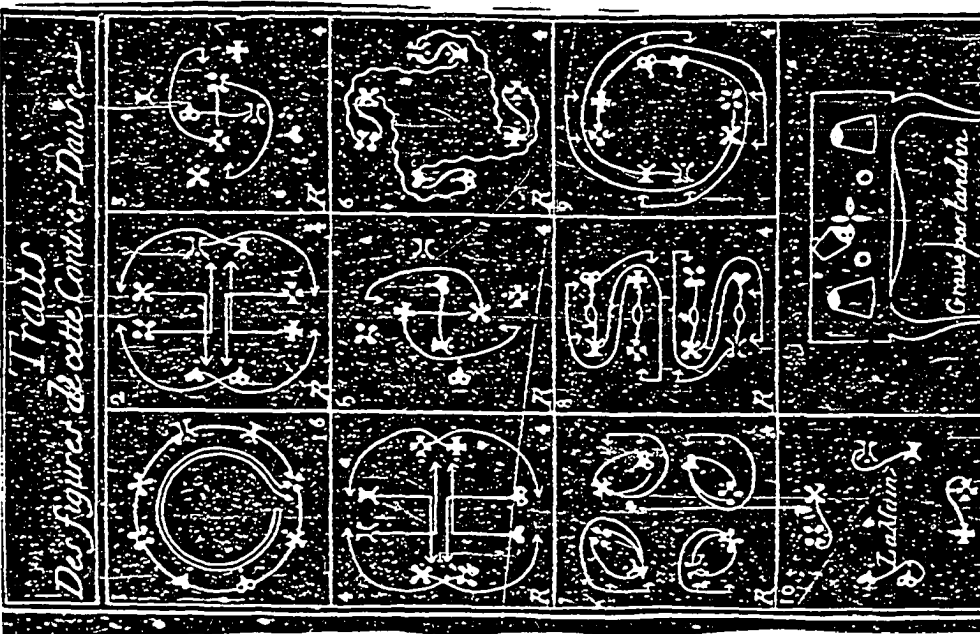
¹⁴Feldtenstin, Erweiterung I, 98.



Illustration 6. The cotillon dance
engraving by Caldwell after Collet, 1771.

the dance figures are numbered, and run from left to right across the page. There is a separate geometric shape for each of the four couples; the men's shapes are filled in, the women's are in outline. A small dot shows the direction in which each dancer is facing. Hands joined in various ways are often represented by thick lines. The path of movement is indicated by a thin line ending in an arrow. The small numeral at the bottom right of each diagram indicates the number of measures which that figure requires.

Figure 1, the first entrée, calls for "le grand rond à l'ordinaire." The eight dancers join hands, circle right (8 measures) and circle back (repeat). Figure 2 starts the main part of the dance. Two couples move forward and do a "chassé croissé" to the sides, while the other two couples separate and "chassé croissé" to the sides to take their places. (This term "chassé" has become the modern "sashay.") In figure 3 the ladies form a moulinet -- a little mill -- or what is now called a four-hand star. Figures 4 and 5 are the "contrepartie" or counterpart of figures 2 and 3. Figure 6 calls for "le grand chaine," our grand right and left, half way around; this is indicated by the wavy lines. Figure 7 is a "demi-tour aux coins," or half-turn with your corner. For figure 8, the two lines of dancers move forward, the couples join hands, and the men pass "dos à dos," or back to back. This term is the



familiar do-si-do. Figure 9 is "La promenade jusqu'à ses places," or the modern promenade home. Figure 10, La main, is the second entrée, and with it the dance starts over again.

In a contredanse française certain types of steps are assumed for certain figures: gavotte steps for forward and back, chassé for sideways, demi-contretemps [similar to skipping, but hop-step rather than step-hop?] for ronds, moulinets, and almost all other figures. In the choreographies, two other steps are indicated: the balancé and the rigaudon. These are named in the instructions and are often indicated in the diagrams by B and R or other pre-determined signs. The rigaudon is often used at the conclusion of a figure, it would seem, as a kind of punctuation. In the diagrams for "La Caclore" it is indicated by the R in the lower left corner of figures 2 through 8.

Other common figures are the "Queue de chat," "Carré de Mahoni," "Pousettes." Still recognized as English is the "Chaine angloise." Occasional German figures occurring in the contredanse française are the "tour d'Allemande," "Passes," and "Pirouettes sous le bras."

The incorporation of so many German figures into the contredanse française is an unanticipated problem. What, then, made the française French? A preliminary survey of all standard instructions for Thuillier's dances showed only

one item which might mark the distinction: this is the rigaudon. The rigaudon is present in all but three of the dances labelled française in either title or index (41 of 44), and never in a contredanse allemande. The presence or absence of the rigaudon step suggests that the contredanse française was defined by the use of French steps, and that these were not employed in the contredanse allemande (see further, Chapter VII, p. 307). The only verification I have found for the equation of contredanse française with the rigaudon is in a Spanish treatise of 1832, which gives instructions and diagrams (no music) for dancing las contradanzas francesas ó rigodones; instructions (for 8 in a square) include for example, "Chasé cruzado los quatro, y rigodon."¹⁶

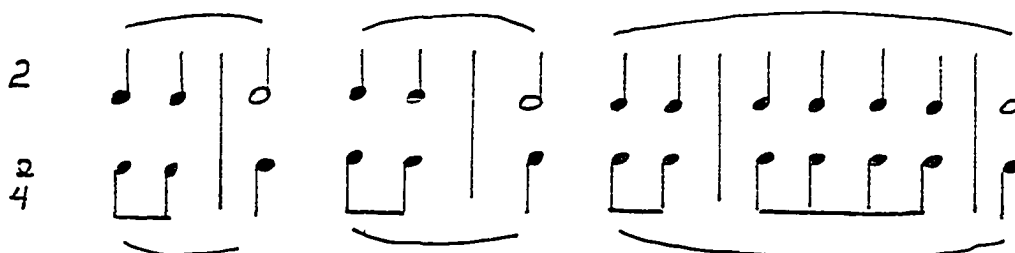
Gavottes in 2 or 2/4

The importance of the dance in general is apparent in the notation of French dance music, for the French were particularly careful to ensure that the cadences of dance and music always fell just after the bar-line, and not in mid measure. Also, since most of the French baroque steps require an upbeat, even if only for preparation, French dance

¹⁶Antonio Biosca, Arte de danzar los rigodones; Arte de danzar ó reglas é instrucciones para los aficionados a bailar las contradanzas francesas ó rigodones (Barcelona: Sauri, 1832), instruction for "El molinete."

tunes use upbeats characteristic of the steps employed.

The prototype of the contredanse française, Feuillet's cotillon of 1706, includes gavotte steps and has a gavotte tune with half-measure upbeat. And as late as 1789 Compan notes in his Dictionnaire that the contredanses are "almost always gavottes."¹⁴ A check of the Thullier's contredanses française in 2 or 2/4 shows that they almost always have the half-measure upbeat (see Table VI). Tunes in 2/4 appear to be gavottes in reduced notation:



Perhaps chronology can explain the use of 2 or 2/4 for a time signature. Certainly older tunes will not be in 2/4. "Les Plaisirs," no. 11, is marked 2 but notated in 2/4. This is probably an engraver's mistake, but may indicate that the notation was in transition. In other cases 2 and 2/4 indicate different tempi, as in no. 4, "La Nouveaute, Contredanse française et allemande," which notes that the 2/4 is to be used when the dance is done "en allemande," thus implying 2, a slower tempo, for the French version with French steps.

¹⁷Compan, Dictionnaire, "Contredanse." "presque toutes des Gavottes."

The musical structure of the gavotte-like tunes is marvelously varied. The sections of the tunes are usually labelled in the diagrams, so that the sequence of phrases can sometimes be reconstructed from them, and then confirmed by the somewhat cryptic remarks which may follow the music. But confusion is often caused by calling both parts of a tune "reprise," and by the use of merely decorative "repeat" marks.

The music for "La caclore" is a simple song-like tune arranged to be played on a violin (Example 42).



Example 42. Thuillier, no.29, "La caclore,"
measures 1-8.

There are three phrases of 8, 8, and 16 measures, which correspond to the choreography. Phrase 1, Example 38, as in all contredanses, is played twice for the first entrée, le grand rond of diagram 1 (16 measures). Phrase 2 is played twice, and corresponds to the figures in diagrams 2 and 3, and with their contrepatrie in 4 and 5 (4 + 4 and 4 + 4

measures). Phrase 3 is played once, for the figures in diagrams 6 - 9 which stand alone without repeat (4 + 4 + 4 + 4 measures). This is confirmed by the instruction: "2 fois la premiere reprise et une fois la 2eme," or A A / B B C.

Other representative tunes from Thuillier's contredanses françaises show the same gavotte rhythmic pattern (Examples 43, 44, 45). Also, the first strains have a similar four-measure repeat structure (but with variable cadence pairings).



Example 43. Thuillier, no. 16, "Les guirlandes,"
measures 1-8.

Example 44. Thuillier, no.24, "La nouvelle bouclet,"
measures 1-8.

Example 45. Thuillier, no.25, "La docilité,"
measures 1-8.

"Les guirlandes," Example 43, displays a more complex repeat pattern. The tune has two "reprises," to be done "en rondeau." This leads to a pattern similar to that found in French instrumental rondeaus:

"Deux fois la 1ere reprise en rondeau, 1 fois la derniere en rondeau"

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------|--|
| A | B | C | |
| : 8m : : | 8 | 12 | |
| B \flat major | F major | G minor | |
| or A A / B A B A C A | | | |

Often two tunes are paired, usually parallel major and minor keys. Here two structures prevail: AABB,ccdd and AABA,ccdc. An example of the first is "La nouvelle Bouclet," Example 44.

"2 fois chaque reprise"

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| A | B | c | d |
| : 8m : | : 8 : | : 8 : | : 8 : |
| A major | A major | A minor | A minor |
| or A A / B B c c d d | | | |

Representative of the second is "la docilité," Example 45, and "L'emulation," dedicated to M. de la Pouplinière (Example 46, p. 191). Here the first part of the tune is actually labelled rondeau.

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| A | B | c | d |
| rondeau | | | |
| : 8m : | : 8 : | : 8 : | : 8 : |
| majeur | mineur | | |
| fin | da capo | fin | da capo |
| G major | G major | G minor | G minor |
| or A A / B A c c d c | | | |

L'émulation

Fin

Example 46. Thuillier, no. 35, "L'émulation,"
"rondeau."

An examination of all Thuillier's dances confirms that the initial themes of those tunes used "en rondeau" (AABA) have a different cadence pattern from the initial themes of binary structures (AABB). The "rondeau" theme has a four measure phrase which ends on the dominant or incomplete tonic in the first statement, and on the tonic in the second. Binary themes are constructed to end in the dominant the second time.

Rondeau structure exists on three levels in these dances. First, that implied by the repetitive nature of the dance with its nine entrées and refrains. This level will not be explicit in a single statement of a dance tune or tunes. Second, that which arises when two strains or more of a tune are to be played "en rondeau," as in the two types above: AABABACA or AABAccdc. Third, the initial strain itself of such a tune, sometimes called "rondeau," with the particular structure of a repeated four measure phrase, first statement ending on the dominant, second on the tonic. In this sense we can speak of a rondeau theme without reference to any subsequent parts. We can further say that many rondeau themes will sound like gavottes, for this is the rhythmic basis of the contredanse française.

Thus rondeau can refer to: a type of theme, the repeating pattern of two or more strains, or dances themselves played in alternation. Somewhere here lies the explanation for Mozarts' use of the term Rondeaux. With this clarification it also becomes possible to see that, when the rondeau theme idea predominates, a rondeau/gavotte tune may appear without the rondeau structure with which we are more familiar (see the rondo from Der Schauspieldirektor, p. 7 above, and note that the finale of this work -- to us the obvious "Rondo" -- has another title: Schluss-gesang). Conversely, the structure of the theme can be imposed on other dance types, and we can have menuets, polonaises, Hungarian or Turkish dances "en rondeau." But most especially, we will think to look at classical rondo themes for examples of the contredanse française.

Unlabelled examples

Mozart does not differentiate between types of contredanses. Here we can only try to identify the contredanse française by its music. Mozart's early contredanses of this French type are written in $\frac{3}{4}$ and are really indistinguishable from true gavottes. The set of Contretänze (title by

Köchel?) for Count Czernin, K 261b, contains such a dance
(Example 47):

1777



Example 47. Mozart, Contretänze, K. 269b, no. 1,
measures 1-4.

This tune was incorporated into the rondeaux finale of the Violin Concerto in D, K 218 (1777). This is also the tune which Liebeskind mistook for a Strassburger, thus leading to misidentification of the concerto as a whole. (See below, Chapter VII, p. 317ff).

Two other contredanses labelled by Mozart are the second dance tune in Don Giovanni's ball (Example 48):

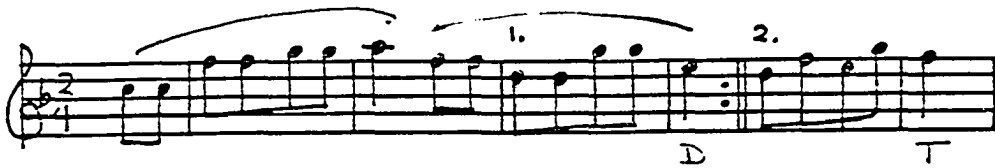
1787



Example 48. Mozart, Don Giovanni, Act I Finale,
scene XXI, second stage orchestra,
"contradanza," measures 1-4.

and the last movement from the Divertimento in F, K 213
(Example 49):

1775



Example 49. Mozart, Divertimento in F major, K 213,
last movement, "Contredanse en
rondeau," measures 1-8.

This type of tune is very common in the works of Mozart, as
the following sampling will show (Examples 50-54):

Rondeau, Allegretto

1776



Example 50. Serenade in D. major, K 239,
last movement, measures 1-4.

Allegro

1782



Example 51. Horn Quintet in E^b major, K 407,
last movement, measures 1-8.

Allegro Assai

1784



Example 52. Piano Concerto in F major, K 459,
last movement, measures 1-8.

1786



Example 53. Piano Concerto in C major, K 503,
last movement, measures 1-8.

(The Gavotte from Idomeneo is in \varnothing . Is this concerto movement version meant to be faster?)

1788



Example 54. Piano Sonata in C major, K 545,
last movement, measures 1-8.

Examples of the contredanse française in the works of Haydn occur perhaps less frequently, but they are striking. The Finale of the opera Orlando Paladino (Example 52) has been mentioned earlier (see Introduction, p. 8):



Example 55. Haydn Orlando Paladino, Finale, measures 1-8.

A particularly telling example is the finale tune of the Paris Symphony No. 88 (Example 56):

1787



Example 56. Haydn, Symphony No. 88, last movement (Rondo), measures 1-8.

This tune appears, without attribution, in a French collection of popular contredanses where it is entitled simply "La Psyché" (Example 57, p. 199). Haydn's episodic material has been simplified, to make it more suitable for dancing.¹⁷ But in the tune itself, Haydn has shown himself a master of French taste and style.

Beethoven's use of the contredanse française is limited. We find one in the early Rondo for Piano in A (Example 58, p. 200):

¹⁷Hullin, *Recueil de Terpsichore*, 2. ". . . j'ai choisi [plusiers airs] les plus dansans & les plus susceptibles d'être arrangés en contre-danse."

90. LA PSICHÉ

91. FIGURE

1. En avant 3.
2. Dos à dos.
3. Balances à vos dames.
4. La queue du chat.
5. En avant 4.
6. La demi chaîne.

Detailed description: The image shows two musical staves. The top staff, labeled '90. LA PSICHÉ', contains seven measures of music in a single system. The bottom staff, labeled '91. FIGURE', contains six measures of music in a single system. To the right of the bottom staff is a legend with six numbered items: 1. En avant 3., 2. Dos à dos., 3. Balances à vos dames., 4. La queue du chat., 5. En avant 4., and 6. La demi chaîne. The music is written in a standard notation with treble clefs and various note values.

Example 57. Hullin, Recueil de Terpsichore, no. 10, "La Psiché."

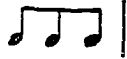


1787



Example 58. Beethoven, Rondo for piano in A major,
WoO 49, measures 1-8.

Gavotte tunes in 6/8

The French contredanse tunes in 6/8 are less easy to characterize. Some are chasse tunes, some evidently gavottes, and some may be English country dance or jig tunes.

The tunes are never without upbeat, but it is variable: commonly a half measure , but also an eighth note pick up either to the measure  or to the half measure .

The numerous gavotte-like tunes simply have a triple rather than a duple subdivision of the beat:



An early example is "Allons danser" from J. J. Rousseau's Le Devin du village (Example 59):

1752



Example 59. J. J. Rousseau, Le Devin du village, "Allons danser," in HAM II, no. 29, p. 235, measures 1-8.

Later examples can be found in the La Cuisse and Thuillier collections (Examples 60, 61, 62).

1762?



Example 60. La Cuisse, Répertoire II,
"La cocote," measures 1-4.

1762?



Example 61. La Cuisse, Répertoire II,
"La le Blond," measures 1-4.

1773



Example 62. Thuillier, no. 27, "Les capricieux,"
measures 1-4.

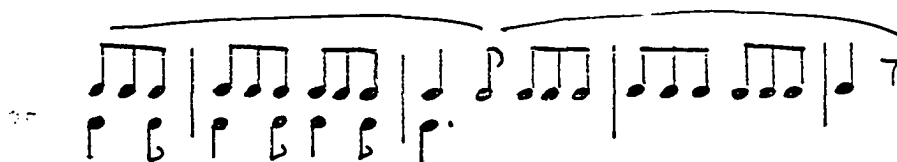
A Mozart finale tune of this dance type is to be found in the last movement of Symphony 24 (Example 63):

1773



Example 63. Mozart, Symphony No. 24 in B-flat major,
K 173d, last movement, measures 1-16.

Tunes with 4 + 4 phrasing of the type



occur frequently in this repertoire, for example, "La nouvelle favorite" from the Thuillier collection (Example 64):

1773

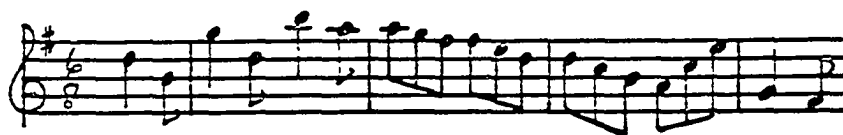


Example 64. Thuillier, no. 19, "La nouvelle favorite," measures 1-4.

This can be compared with the last movement of Mozart's String Quintet in G minor, K 516 (Example 65):


Allegro

1787



Example 65. Mozart, String Quintet in G minor, K 516, last movement, measures 1-8.

Leonard Ratner's misidentification of this theme ("Ländler with typical off-beat waltz accompaniment") has been mentioned above (see p. 20). Ratner continues: "Within the theme the groups are oddly set -- three, then four.

Ordinarily the first figure would be stated twice or four times as  ."¹⁷

Here Ratner fails to understand the French barring (with half measure upbeats), and gives dance musicians too little credit for inventiveness. Notice that Thuillier's dance,

¹⁷Ratner, Classic music, 253.

Example 64 above, has the same grouping as the Mozart example, and bridges the caesura in measure 2 with some elegance.

Mozart actually wrote a dance in 6/8 labelled a gavotte. This is one of the dances prepared for Noverre's Ballet Les petits riens in Paris in 1778 (Example 66):

1778



Example 66. Mozart, Les petits riens, K 299b, no. 9 (no. 15 in NMA), "Gavotte gracieuse," measures 1-3.

Now Zerlina's aria "Batti, batti" from Don Giovanni, Act I, has been proposed as an example of the customary gavotte aria (p. 6). This *andante grazioso* has a second section in 6/8 which bears a striking similarity to the preceding Gavotte gracieuse for Les petits riens (Example 67):

1787



Example 67. Mozart, Don Giovanni, Act I, no. 13, aria "Batti, batti," part 2, measures 1-4.

With this example we can confirm not only that "Batti, batti" is a gavotte aria, but that the 6/8 gavotte was also a reality.

As a concluding example of the popularity of both meters, we can consider two rondo finales from the Clementi Sonatinas (Examples 68 and 69):



Example 68. Clementi, Sonatina No. 6 in D major, last movement, measures 1-4.



Example 69. Clementi, Sonatina No. 5 in G major, last movement, measures 1-4.

Chasse Tunes

In addition to these gavotte-like tunes, chasse tunes were popular items in the contredanse repertoire. Sometimes these are labelled "La Chasse" or something similar, but often they are not identified. Chasse tunes are in 6/8, with all measure of upbeats; they are in the original French horn key of D major. Thuillier's dance "La nouvelle Duchesse" uses two such unidentified tunes (Example 70). These tunes

were written by Dampierre and published in his Tons de Chasse of 1734, where they were entitled "La Royale" and "Halali."

[La Royale]

1773



[Halali]



Example 70. Thuillier, no. 21a, "La nouvelle Duchesse."

These horn calls make excellent dance tunes. The dominant extension (the high A of the Halali) can be easily curtailed to fit the otherwise regular pattern of four-measure phrases. Of the above Halali, Alexander Ringer remarks: "It is this elaborate sonnerie, with its melodic expressiveness and its rhythmic drive sparked by the effect of 'clustered upbeats' . . . which has made its composer Dampierre immortal."¹⁸ Yet the same rhythmic drive can be

¹⁸Alexander Ringer, "The chasse as a musical topic of the 18th century," JAMS VI/2 (Summer 1953) 156.

extended to other tunes of the same rhythmic construction -- the essential element is the continuous progression of half-measure upbeat.

Another noteworthy chasse-like tune is Thuillier's "Les vendangeurs" (Example 71).

1773



Example 71. Thuillier, no. 39. "Les vendangeurs," measures 1-8.

This bears a striking resemblance to the rondo theme of Mozart's Piano Concerto in B-flat, K 450 (Example 72), a resemblance which is understandable when we note that Mozart tends to use chasse tunes for those piano concertos in his preferred horn keys of B-flat and E-flat.

1784



Example 72. Mozart, Piano Concerto in B-flat major, K 450, last movement, measures 1-8.

In general, the use of 6/8 meter seem to signal "French" almost as clearly as does the use of gavotte rhythmic patterns. A telling example of this correlation can be

found in a Paris edition of the Leopold Mozart/Joseph Haydn "Toy Symphony" (1760/1788). The French publication has a fourth movement, "La bastringue," added to the familiar allegro, menuett, and presto. This movement we can now recognize as a typical contredanse française (Example 73).



Example 73. Haydn, "Toy Symphony," Hob. II:47, fourth movement added in French ed., "La bastringue," measures 1-4.

M. Jean-Pierre Michaud reports the existence of a duple meter version of this Bastringue. As a dance tune it seems to have remained in the French Canadian lore and gained current fame through the recorded version of Mme Bolduc in the 1940s (Example 74):



Example 74. French Canadian tune, "La bastringue," measures 1-4.

It has the following text:

Mademoiselle, voulez-vous danser?
 La Bastringue, la bastringue.
 Mademoiselle, voulez-vous danser?
 La Bastringue va commencer.¹⁹

Characteristics of the Contredanse française

Meter: 2/4 (2) or 6/8, with half-measure upbeat

or 2/4 

6/8 

Tempo: faster than gavotte, but slow enough for French steps.

Phrasing: 1 + 1 + 2 or 2 + 2

basic 4m phrase repeated two ways:

- 1) endings on T + D for binary forms
- 2) endings onf D + T for rondeau forms

Pairing of dances in parallel major and minor keys.

The Spread of the Contredanse française.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to establish a pure type of contredanse française, so that deviations from this norm might be recognized as such. As the contredanse française spread to other countries it underwent confusing alterations in both choreography and music. In some cases the music held on and the choreography changed; in others strict adherence to choreography accompanied

¹⁹Personal communication to author.

adoption of other types of tunes.

Table VII (see p. 211) lists sources which include or refer to the French contredanse for 8. The most common designation, found in England and North Germany, is cotillon. This was the name the French themselves used in the first half of the century. The terms française and quadrille need further explanation.

Française. Curt Sachs describes the française at the end of the eighteenth century as a column dance in a quiet 6/8 tempo.²⁰ (But then he continues with a description of the dance which includes "whirling madly," "yelling," "sweating," and worse.)²¹ Perhaps this dance could have originated as an angloise done with French steps. Pauli had a word for just such a form: Vis à vis he defines as a "special contredanse arranged in the English fashion and danced in the French" (that is, with French steps and with entrées).²²

The Breitkopf Terpsichore contains two dances labeled française. This music is unequivocally French. The tunes have the French half-measure upbeat; both 2/4 and 6/8 meters are represented. The structure is | :8 :|| : 16 :|| ;

²⁰Sachs, History, 424, 439, no sources given.

²¹Sachs, History, 439.

²²Pauli, Elemens, 30. "Certaine Contre-danse rangée à'angloise et dansée à la française."

TABLE VII

The Spread of the French Contredanse for 8Russia (St. Petersburg)

| | | |
|------|----------|---|
| 1764 | Casanova | Contredanse en Quadrille à la française |
|------|----------|---|

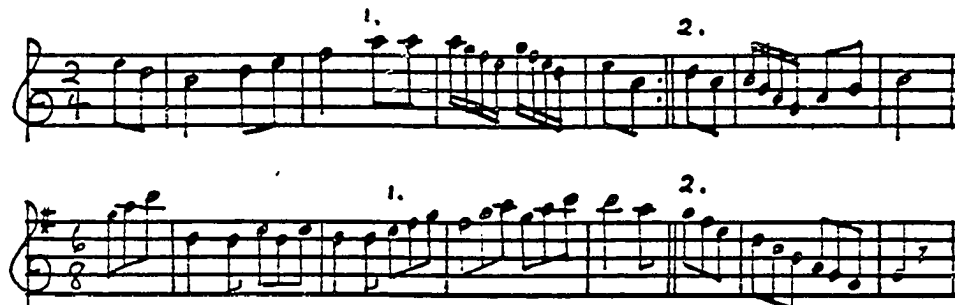
England (London)

| | | |
|--------|---|-----------------|
| 1770 | Gallini | Cotillon |
| 1773 | Thuillier | Cotillion [sic] |
| c.1775 | Playing Card Set (Schreiber Collection) | Cotillon |
| 1781 | Nofari (Noverre) | Cotillon |
| 1793 | Dance Fan | Cotillon |

Germany

| | | | |
|---------|----------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| 1756 | Pauli | Leipzig | Contredanse française/ Cottillon |
| 1773 | Feldtenstein | Brunswick | Cottillon (Quadrille) |
| 177? | G. Breitkopf | Leipzig | Française: Quat. |
| 1779 | Breitkopf Cat. | Dresden | Quatrillen |
| 1780-83 | Breitkopf Cat. | Hannover | Cotillon |
| 1801 | Witzmann, p. 83) | Vienna | französischen Quadrillen |

first themes are of the French rondeau type (Example 75 and 76):



Example 75. C. G. Breitkopf, Terpsichore,
Française 1, measures 1-16.



Example 76. C. G. Breitkopf, Terpsichore,
Française 2, measures 1-4.

I know of no other examples of this dance called simply française except those that linger on in the realm of childhood fantasy: in Schumann's Jugend-Album, Opus 109 (1851), and his Kinderball, Opus 130 (1853). These françaises retain the 6/8 meter, but not the half-measure upbeat of the earlier dance.

Quadrille. The word Quadrille has a complex history. It seems originally to have been related to the Italian "scudra" meaning "scuadron." It referred first to groups in equestrian ballets, and then by analogy to a group of dancers dressed alike. The "Letter from a Lady Residing in Russia" (1739) seems to reflect this meaning:

Friday, after dinner there was a masquerade; there were four quadrilles, as they are called, consisting of twelve ladies each, besides the leader of each quadrille. The first was lead by the bride and bridegroom, who were dressed in orange-coloured dominos, and little caps of the same, with a silver cockade²³

And Noverre, speaking of the dancers in the French theatrical quadrilles (1760), implies that it was customary for them to dress alike, for he suggests gradations of colors to avoid uniformity and monotony.²⁴

A second meaning is implied by Pauli (Leipzig, 1756) whose two definitions of quadrille relate to the word four: a cotillon for 4 persons, and an anglaise begun by 4 persons [rather than 2].²⁵

²³Cited by Onassis, In the Russian Style, 47. (For full quotation, see p. 72.)

²⁴Jean Georges Noverre, Letters on dancing and ballets, tr. Cyril W. Beaumont from the revised and enlarged edition (Paris, 1760/St. Petersburg 1803/NY: Dance Horizons, Inc., 1966), 47.

²⁵Pauli, Elemens, 29.

A third etymology relates Quadrille to square. This seems to be the meaning of Casanova's "Contredanse en quadrille à la française" (1764).²⁶ For Feldtenstein (1772), quadrille is an alternate term for cotillon, and, since his dances are for 8 persons in a square, he must also take the word to mean square.²⁷ (See Illustration 8, p. 215)

A fourth meaning, and the one that took over in the nineteenth century, refers to a set of dances to be done in a specific order. As early as the Répertoire des Bals II (1762?) La Cuisse presents:

Les quadrilles ou contredanses extraites du divertissement du bal dans le 5^e acte du bourgeois Gentilhomme, comédie Par M^r Deshayes M^{re} des balets du Theatre françois la musique tirée du meme divertissement par Mr. Gervaise musicien.

There are three separate sets of figures: "Les bourgeois," "L'inconstance," and "Le bataillon quarre," each for eight persons. They are to be danced in this order, to the same music, three times, to coordinate with the order of the nine standard entrées: le grand rond, "Les bourgeois," la main, "L'inconstance," and so forth. Probably these theatrical

²⁶Casanova, Histoire X, 503.

²⁷Feldtenstein, Erweiterung II, title page.

Cotillon. Tabula VIII.

No. 1

No. 2

(Premièrement) grand ronde

après les Variations

Illustration 8. Feldtenstein,
choreography for a cotillon.
Erweiterung II, Table VIII, no.1.

quadrilles were danced in costume, and thus a connection can be made with the first definition of quadrille.

La Cuisse also published a few dances titled Quadrille anglois, and prescribed an arrangement for eight in two lines, partners side by side.

At this point there is no way of being sure what is meant by the designation quadrille unless it is explained in the source. We do not know what kind of dance the Breitkopf Quatr. is, or what is meant by the Quadrille oder Seza which masquerades as Mozart's K 510 (the meaning of Seza is also unknown). The German music in these two cases seems undifferentiated from that written for German englische. A possible explanation for the replacement of cotillon by quadrille in the 1770s and 1780s in Germany is found in the correspondence of the sons of George III, King of England. Prince Frederick, on a visit to Hanover in 1781, wrote to his brother George, Prince of Wales, that one of the new kinds of dances he found in Hanover was the quadrille: "a kind of cotilion [sic] but with English steps."²⁸

As late as 1830 the term quadrille referred both to sets of contredanses or "pot-pourris," and to the number of dancers arranged for a contredanse française (8 in a

²⁸Letter of Prince Frederick to the Prince of Wales, Hanover, 9 Feb. 1781. The correspondence of George, Prince of Wales 1770-1812, 8 vols., ed. A. Aspinall (London: Cassell, 1963) I, 48.

square).²⁹ But finally towards the middle of the century the first meaning took precedence, designating a fixed set of five particular contredanses.

The Contredanse française and the Classical Rondeau

The origin and development of the classical rondo has received a good deal of scholarly scrutiny, but without reference to this large repertoire of popular French dance music. Cuthbert Girdlestone attributed the development of Mozart's rondo form not to the simple French form of Couperin (ABACAXA), but to the form which combines two dances:

The origin of the sonata rondo must be sought in the dances "en rondeau" of the French operatic composers. These differ from the simple rondeau in that there is generally only one couplet and seldom more than two. When a pair of such dances is combined we are well on the way to the sonata rondo.³⁰

Girdlestone then proceeds to analyze a Rameau example, the first entrée in Les Indes galantes (1735):³¹

| | | |
|---------|---------|---------|
| A B A | C D C | A B A |
| G major | G minor | G major |

But Mozart had much more immediate access to just such

²⁹Guilcher, Contredanse, 161.

³⁰Cuthbert Girdlestone, Mozart and his piano concertos (New York: Dover, 1964) 49.

³¹Girdlestone, Concertos, 49.

paired major/minor dances "en rondeau" in the currently popular contredanse française.

Malcolm S. Cole, on the other hand, attributes the vogue for the instrumental rondo rather more to the influence of the Italian opera buffa finales:

The rondeau, as it existed in French opera, keyboard music, and violin music, quite possibly provided formal possibilities and technical procedures, but these early works did not directly cause the popularity of the rondo. Subsequent rondos used by Italian composers in various genres, especially opera buffa, and certain specific rondos by Italian and German composers, seem to have provided the impetus that resulted in the rondo vogue.³²

Cole dates the height of this undeniable rondo vogue from 1773 to 1786.³³ But may one not also say that "L'Apogée de la contredanse française"³⁴ covers essentially the same time span, the termini being the beginning of mass production around 1764 and the French Terror of 1793? This is a coincidence too pointed to be ignored.

The Cole article covers a number of points which can be amplified with a knowledge of popular French dance music. Aside from the opera buffa finales, Cole gives a number of

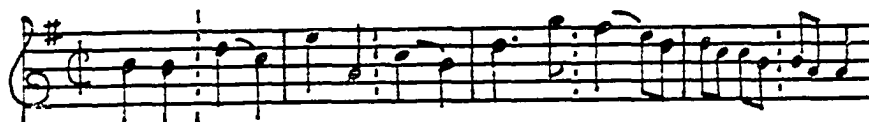
³²Malcolm S. Cole, "The vogue of the instrumental rondo in the late eighteenth century," JAMS XXII (1969), 444.

³³Cole, Vogue, 425.

³⁴Cole, Vogue, 425. Guilcher, Contredanse, chapter title, 87.

examples of rondos which are thought to have contributed to the popularity of the form. First among these, extolled by Forkel and other theorists, is the last movement of C. P. E. Bach's Trio in G minor (Example 77):³⁵

(before 1777)



Example 77. C. P. E. Bach, Trio in G minor, Wq. 90.2
last movement, measures 1-4.

Now this is nothing other than a standard rondeau/gavotte theme. Proper French barring would produce a half-measure upbeat and put the cadence right after the bar-line, as a comparison with the last movement of Mozart's Piano Sonata, K 281, will show (Example 78):

1775



Example 78. Mozart, Piano Sonata in B-flat major,
K 281, last movement, measures 1-4.

³⁵Cole, Vogue, 427-29.

These tunes are so nearly identical that one suspects conscious imitation (unless both derived from the same contredanse tune?).

As a rude contrast to Bach's elegant example, Cole directs the reader to the finale of Mozart's Violin Concerto in A, K 219. But this is a typical dance-derived two-meter finale with menuet and Turkish dance. Cole calls it "a true pot-pourri,"³⁶ perhaps not realizing that this was an eighteenth century term for just such a combination of dances.

This idea of combining two different types of dances can be found as early as 1706, when in "La nouvelle figure" Feuillet combines a contredanse (English) with a menuet.³⁷ Practically any combination was possible. In the Thuillier collection there are a number of paired dances to be performed "en pot pourie." No. 38, "Les deux associees" combines a contredanse française with a "boiteuse" (allemande in 3/8); no. 42 combines a contredanse française in 2 with one in 6/8; no. 21 alternates "La nouvelle Duchesse" (two chasse tunes) with "La sabran," a contredanse allemande; "La fidelité" combines a menuet with a contredanse.

³⁶Cole, Vogue, 430.

³⁷Racul-Auger Feuillet, Recueil de contredances (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1706).

The combination of menuet with contredanse (of any sort) may represent a special type in which the entrées were done with menuet steps, after which the specific figures of a regular contredanse followed. "La fidelité" has 8 measures of a menuet in rondeau form (to be repeated) for the first entrée; in this case the "grand rond" consists in three menuet steps to the left and a balancé, followed by the same to the right.

An analogous situation might be posited for Mozart's second dance of the Czernin set (Example 79):

Andantino [Menuet]

1777



[Strassburger or englische]



Example 79. Mozart, Contretänze, K 269b, no. 2,
measures 1-20.

Here the menuet for the entrées is followed by what is either an englische or a Strassburg-type dance. Two more Mozart dances of this type are to be found in K 463 (1784); each has an 8-measure menuet followed by a string of 8-measure phrases for an English-type contretanz. The menuet repeats da capo. [Is "Menuett und ein Allegro zu einer Quadrille zusammengefasst" Mozart's title?] This practice of combining two actual ballroom dances is the basis for Mozart's two-meter finales such as the rondeaux of the violin concertos. These finales will be discussed further in Chapter VIII (see below, p. 368).

As an example of the influence of the rondo vogue on Mozart, Cole analyzes the finale of the String Quartet no. 1 K 80.³⁸ But it is unnecessary to derive this structure from that of the menuet, as Cole does. Because it is called rondo (rondeau?), we might more appropriately deal with it in terms of the contredanse française. First, the theme itself is a French rondeau (Example 80).

This movement added c. 1773



Example 80. Mozart, String Quartet No. 1 in G major, K 80, last movement, measures 1-4.

³⁸Cole, Vogue, 437-39.

The structure rather than Cole's ABA C ABA, can be shown as follows:

$$| : \underset{A}{8} : || : \underset{B}{8} + \underset{A}{8} : || : \underset{c}{8} : | \overset{\circ}{14} + \underset{d}{13} | \underset{A}{}$$

The instruction at the end of section d, "da capo, but without repeats, then the coda," gives the completed form:

$$\begin{aligned} & A A B A B A / c c d / A B A c d A \\ & G \text{ major} / G \text{ minor} / G \text{ maj. } G \text{ min. } G \text{ maj.} \end{aligned}$$

This is rondeau structure on two levels: the complete tune itself "en rondeau," and the alternation of the parallel key areas.

A probable error occurs in Cole's discussion of Vanhal's Symphony in C (1769). The original title of the last movement, "Allegro à l'angloise," is attributed to a possible desire "to please the English public, which was fond of rondos."³⁹ We can be almost sure, however, that this had a different meaning; that the theme of this rondo, instead of being a French contredanse tune, was a tune for an angloise, or English country dance.

Cole also discusses the excellence of a Fischer rondeau recommended by J. F. Reichardt,⁴⁰ assuming this to be the celebrated menuet finale from the Oboe

³⁹Cole, Vogue, 448.

⁴⁰Cole, Vogue, 448, 50.

Concerto No. 1. But Gallini's collection of cotillons (1770) includes as no. 26 "Le Rondeau de Fischar" [sic] followed by the "Menuet" from the oboe concerto. Were these, then, distinct pieces combined by Gallini as was the fashion for dancing?

As a concluding example, Cole presents an overture by J. C. Bach as an example of the Italian style rondo by someone in position to influence the young Mozart.⁴¹ But: 1) the theme is a perfectly respectable angloise; 2) the best way to see what kind of rondo Mozart learned to write in London is to consult the Londoner Notenbuch of 1764. And here we find -- a French chasse tune in the French horn key of D major (Example 81), with a rondeau theme and miniature rondeau structure with second strain in D minor (AABA). The only area not totally in order is that of the harmonic underlay, which keeps the cadences at mid-measure.

1764



Example 81. Mozart Das Londoner Notenbuch, K 15d, "rondeau," measures 1-8.

⁴¹Cole, Vogue, 451-55.

In summary, it becomes obvious that the relationship of the contredanse française to the classical rondo is inescapable and deserves to be more widely recognized. ~~If~~ French clavier music and Italian opera buffa both used rondeau structures, could not both have received their impetus from this popular French dance?

Chapter VI
ENGLISH DANCES

Country Dances/Englische/Anglaise

The English country dance, with published music and choreography, has a history fully a hundred years older than that of the contredanse française. Playford's English dancing master: or, Plaine and easie rules for the dancing of country dances, with the tune to each dance appeared first in 1651, and included 105 dances. The dancing master went through at least 18 expanded and amended editions; its final publication (c. 1728) included 918 dances. These English country dances, Playford's "Longways for as many as will," were brought to the French court as early as 1684 by two dancing masters returning from London.¹

In France they were given the name "Contredances" -- a simple transliteration. Feuillet's Recueil de contredances [sic] of 1706 contains 32 dances described in simplified baroque dance notation. At least half of these dances were taken directly from Playford, for example, "Les Manches

¹Marie Bobillier [Michel Brenet], Dictionnaire pratique et historique de la musique (Paris: Colin, 1926), "Contredanse." The two dancing masters were Isaac and Lorin. The date usually given for Lorin's collection is 1698, but this is the call number of the ms. (BN n.a. fr. 1698).

Vertes" (Greensleeves), "La Lirboulaire" (Lilliburlero), and "Le Carillon d'Oxford" (Christ Church Bells).

From London and Versailles, the English country dance quickly spread all over Europe. In 1712 the London dancing master John Weaver could write in his Essay towards an history of dancing that "Country dances . . . is a dancing the peculiar growth of this nation, tho' now transplanted into almost all the Courts of Europe; and is become in the most august assemblies the favorite diversion."²

Lady Mary Wortley Montague (perhaps with some exaggeration) wrote from Vienna in 1717:

The ball always concludes with English Country Dances to the number of thirty or forty couples and so ill danced that there is little pleasure in them. They know but half-a-dozen and they have danced them over and over again these fifty years.³

Horace Walpole reported from Florence in 1740 that "The Italians are fond to a degree of our country dances: Cold and raw they know only by the tune, Blowzybella is almost Italian, and Buttered peas is "Pizelli al buro."⁴

²John Weaver, Essay towards a history of dancing (London, 1712) 170.

³Quoted by Maud Karpeles in "Folk music, English," Grove's dictionary of music and musicians, 5th ed., 9 vols., ed. Eric Blom (London: Macmillan, 1954) III, 234."

⁴Horace Walpole's correspondence, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948) XIII, 200. Letter of Horace Walpole to Richard West, Florence, 27 Feb. 1740.

The Quadrilles of 12 couples reported from Russia in 1739⁵ were probably English country dances for a pastoral masquerade. And Chappel mentions having a Danish collection of 296 pages with a companion volume to describe the figures.⁶ By mid-eighteenth century the English country dance was indeed a well-established feature of European balls.

English society was in many ways more flexible than that of other European countries. Not only did England have a larger wealthier middle class, the opportunity for social mobility was greater. "The world of fashion depended neither on the court nor on rank. With luck, wit and charm, the preserve could be entered, and, as Fielding says, 'By whatever means you get into the polite circle, when once you are there it is sufficient merit that you are there.'"⁷ This relatively democratic atmosphere affected the world of the dance in a particular way -- large numbers of dancers could participate, and anyone could join in. On some occasions it was even customary for masters and servants to dance together (see Illustration 9, p. 229); this would have been inconceivable in France. Country dancing was in this sense revolutionary, anti-class and thus anti-aristocratic, yet not self-consciously so. One other factor contributed to its great popularity -- it was fun.

⁵See above, p. 74.

⁶William Chappell, Popular music of the olden time, 2 vols. (1855-1859/New York: Dover, 1965) I, xix.

⁷M. Dorothy George, Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social change in graphic satire (New York: Walker, 1967) 14.

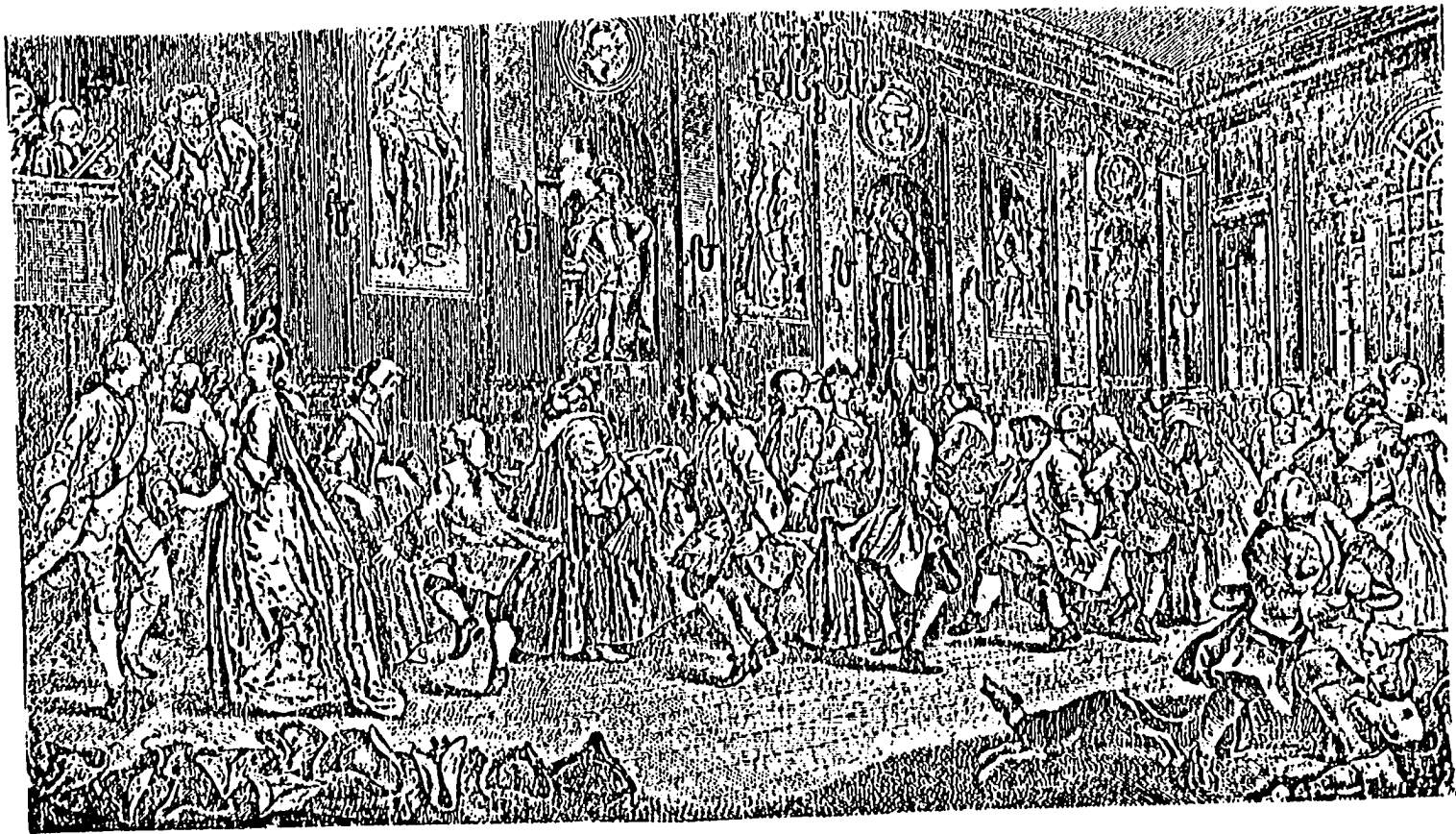
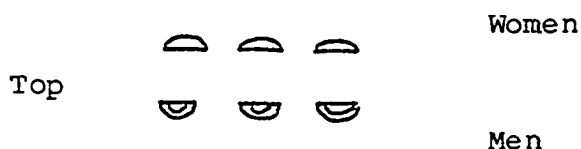


Illustration 9. Hogarth, Country Dance (the Earl of Tenley and his household?), Plate II from The analysis of beauty (1753). Reproduced in Engravings by Hogarth, ed. Sean Shesgreen (New York: Dover, 1973), 85-86.

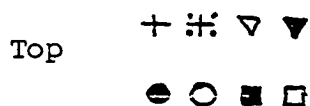
Choreography

Although Playford's early collections include some square and some round dances, the great majority are of the form "Longways for as many as will." This double-file formation is standard; men and women in two facing lines. Women are on the right and men on the left, when one faces the top of the room (the music!).



This is the arrangement shown in Hogarth's engraving "Country dance" (1751), thought to represent the Earl of Tenley and his household (see p. 229). The Earl and his wife lead the dance; at least five other couples are ranged behind executing various dance figures.

The French limited the number of dancers to four couples or eight persons, as they did in the contredance française. In the contredanse anglaise the eight persons were arranged in two lines instead of a square or rond. In the introduction to the 15th Suite of his Répertoire des bals (c. 1766-7?) La Cuisse includes the following line up for the Quadrille anglaise:



Here the eight dancers make two lines; men and women alternate, partners standing side by side. This alternative arrangement was called *pele-mêle* by Pauli (1756).⁸

The English translation of the preface to Feuillet's Contredances, somewhat emended and enlarged, is a work by John Essex entitled For the further improvement of dancing (1710). This includes ten dances, five "French" and five "English." (Here French and English refer only to the nationality of the dancing-master.) Essex's major contribution is to explain how the English double-file country dances work.⁹ For, unlike the French dances where couples always return to their same place after the figures, the English dances are progressive: couples change places and move down and up the line. Essex's remarks have been clarified in the following schematic diagrams which show the progressive displacement of dancers. This explanation correlates with that arrived at by Guilcher, who used French sources,¹⁰ and can be observed in twentieth-century country dancing.

⁸Pauli, Elemens, 28, "Pele-mêle. Façon de parler quand on range une angloise de façon qu'il y a hommes et dames mêlés à deux lignes."

⁹John Essex, For the further improvement of dancing (London, 1710) 19-23.

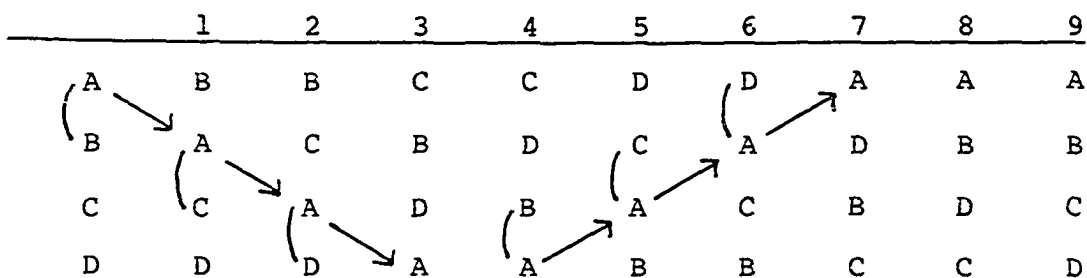
¹⁰Guilcher, Contredanse, 48-52.

There are two chief designs of country dances.

- I. Each person ends each repetition [playing of the tune and dancing its associated figures] on the same side -- man changes with man and woman with woman -- couples exchange places.

(No separate indication needed for man and woman -- Letters represent couples.)

End of repetition:



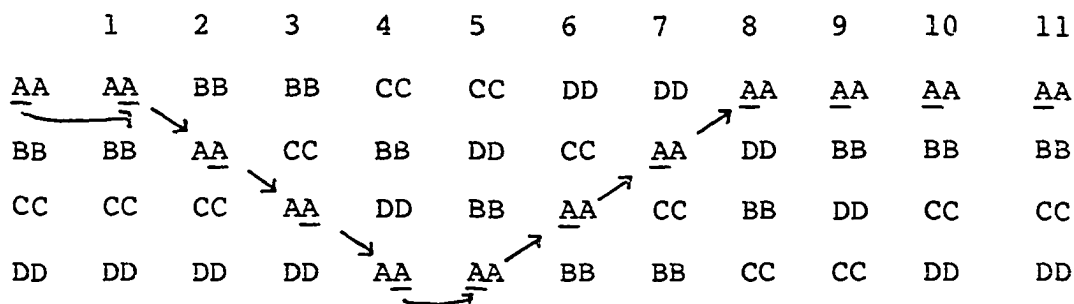
Conditions:

- 1) Couples dance from the top to the bottom of the line, stop, then move up.
- 2) 4, 6, then 8 people dancing.
- 3) Don't start to dance [as the first couple] until at top of line.
- 4) Previous couple dances 2 repetitions before next starts.¹¹

¹¹Essex, Improvement, 19-21.

II. In the second design, man ends repetition in
woman's place and woman in man's.

End of repetition:



Conditions:

- 1) After you start, don't stop dancing until you return to your starting place.
- 2) 2, 4, 6, 8, etc. people dancing.
- 3) follow first couple.
- 4) when you reach bottom of line, partners dance with each other, then move up.

Note that the woman progresses down the men's side, and vice versa.¹²

The first design shows a country dance started by four people (Pauli's "quadrille"); the second is started by two. Pauli also mentions a type called "sixain" which is started by six dancers.¹³ Today this type is called a "triple minor." It is not clear when this term originated,

¹²Essex, Improvement, 21-23.

¹³Pauli, Elemens, 29, 30.

but the type is the only one represented by Feldtstein¹⁴ and is also the only type represented in the 26 American examples (1788-1808) collected by Ralph Page.¹⁵

Playford's figures for English country dances are given in abbreviated form and without diagrams. These verbal instructions, for us today, are either oversimplified or enigmatic. Commonly used terms are: cast off, lead down the middle, hands around, hands across and set (equivalent to the French balancé). Choreographies by La Cuisse are already too French to be reliable. The most explicit choreography from the second half of the century is that of Feldtstein, which is derived from the Pecour/Feuillet notation of 1700-10. Feldtstein's basic or "usual" figures include the half-eight, the full eight, rondes and chaines, and a multitude of further figures which can be worked out following his diagrams; these are various linear patterns involving six dancers. Feldtstein gives the tune and the corresponding sequence of figures which, when gone through once, results in the first displacement of dancers (see Illustration 10, p. 236). In his diagrams the first three couples are represented by pairs of the numbers 1, 2 and 3.

¹⁴Feldtstein, Erweiterung I, 87-97, Table IV, and 12 examples; Erweiterung II, 24 examples.

¹⁵Ralph Page, Heritage dances of early America (Colorado Springs: Century One Press, 1976).

The paths of the dancers are shown by lines in which an arrow marks each pas. Women's tracks are dotted lines and men's are solid. Figures require eight English steps, which are to be done in an equal number of measures/ beats (Takten). The sequence of figures in the Feldtenstein example includes a four-hand star (hands across?/moulinet), fig. 1; the half-eight, fig. 2; a rond for four (circle right), fig. 3; a chaine, fig. 5. Figures 4 and 6 can be worked out by following the tracks.

It is not at all clear what steps were used for the English country dances either in England or in other parts of Europe. French dancing masters and those following the French tradition seem to have imposed their own catalogue upon something simpler. Feuillet prescribes the gavotte, chassé, bourrée, and in addition, "certain little hops forward on one foot as well as the other . . . which I will call demys contretemps."¹⁶ For rondes he would suggest either this demys contretemps or the pas de bourée, "but the little hops are more in fashion."¹⁷ And Pauli in Leipzig (1756) gives an extensive list of French steps for the pas anglois.¹⁸

¹⁶Feuillet, Recueil de contredances 17-18. "certains petits sautes en avant tant que d'un pied que de l'Autre . . . que j'appellerai ici des demys contre-temps."

¹⁷Feuillet, Recueil de contredances, 18. "mais les demys contretemps sont plus en usage."

¹⁸Pauli, Elemens, 28.



Illustration 10. Feldtenstein,
choreography for an englische.
Erweiterung II, Table VII, no. 5.

Fig. 1. Four-hand star and balancé (set)

Fig. 2. Halb Achte (half-eight)

Fig. 3. Rond (circle right)

Fig. 4. As shown

Fig. 5. La Chaine, balancé (set)

Fig. 6. as shown

But a few years later in Paris, La Cuisse reminds his dancers, in a footnote to "La Windsor," a contredanse anglaise, that they should use the pas d'Allemande, as in all contredanses allemandes et angloises.¹⁹ And Compan, in 1798, recommends the pas d'Allemande in 3/8, or a leap from one leg to the other.²⁰

Under "Sautiller," to do little hops/jumps, Compan has some observations about music. He notes a type of movement which goes en sautillant (triple, with the first note of each measure dotted) and in saltarello or en sautant (6/4 or 6/8, especially if the first note of each "tems" is dotted.) Dances of this type include the Venetian forlanas, sicilianas, English giges, and other gay dances where the tune goes en sautant.²¹ This certainly suggests that skipping steps might be the natural movement of the eighteenth-century English country dances in 6/8, and that the French dancing masters did not quite succeed in suppressing them. But Feldenstein limits the steps for an anglische to five: the pas marché (walking forwards), pas chassé,

¹⁹La Cuisse, 16eme Suite du repertoire des bals, "La Windsor." "Cette Contre-danse doit etre dansée en pas d'Allemande ainsi que toutes les Contre-danses Allemandes et Angloises."

²⁰Compan, Dictionnaire, "Ronds."

²¹Compan, Dictionnaire, "Sautiller."

(sideways), a pas battu et elevé (in place) and chassé steps for moving and right in a circle or rond.²² He says nothing about hops and skips. And Curt Sachs posits a walking/ gliding step for the pas anglais, but without giving any references.²³ Perhaps both ways were possible. In his Klavierschule (1802) D. G. Türk remarks:

The Angloise (englische Tänze, Contre- or Contertänze, Country dances) are mostly of a lively character . . . and are performed in a spritely manner (as others would have it, almost hopping).²⁴

²²Feldtenstein, Erweiterung II, 89-90.

²³Sachs, History, 439.

²⁴Daniel Gottlob Türk, Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehre und Lernende (Leipzig, 1802), 450. "Die Angloise (englische Tänze, Contre- oder Contertanz, Country dances) grösstenteils von sehr lebhaftem Character . . . werden munter (wie Andere wollen, beynahe hüpfend) vorgetragen."

English Ballad Meter

As the structure of French tunes is determined by the needs of French dance (upbeats, barlines just before cadences), the structure of English tunes is, in an analogous way, determined by the requirements of English ballad meter. For above all, English tunes were sung, and new words were written many times over to the favorite tunes.

Poems in ballad meter have verses of four lines; each line has four metrically stressed syllables; there may be one or two unstressed syllables between accents; irregularities are absorbed into the accentual framework. A self-referential example is a poem on the success of The Beggars' opera: "Old England's Garland; or, the Italian Opera's Downfall. An excellent new ballad to the tune of King John and the Abbott of Canterbury."

u | \ u u | \ u u | \ u u | \
 I sing of sad discords that happened of late
 u | \ u u | \ u u | \ u u | \
 Of strange revolutions, but not in the state;
 u u | \ u u | \ u u | \ u u | \
 How old England grew fond of old tunes of her own,
 u u | \ u u | \ u u | \ u u | \
 And her ballads went up and our operas down,
 u u | \ \ | \ u u | \
 Derry down down hey derry down.²⁵

²⁵Chappell, Popular music II, 630.

When the number of accented syllables is insufficient, an extra one is often supplied by an additional "a" or "o" at the end of the line, as in this set of words for the tune Walpole found in Italy, "Cold and raw."

u | \ u | \ u | \ u | \
 Although I am a country lass
 u | \ u | \ u | \ | \
 A lofty mind I bear-a
 u | \ u | \ u | \ u | \
 I think myself as good as those
 u | \ u | \ u | \ | \ | \
 That gay apparel weare-a.²⁶

Or as in the familiar refrain:

u | \ u | \ u | \ u u u | \
 Hey down hey down hey derry derry down
 u | \ u | \ u | \ | \
 Among the leaves so green-o.

This English ballad meter is translated musically into 6/4 (6/8) or C (later 2/4).

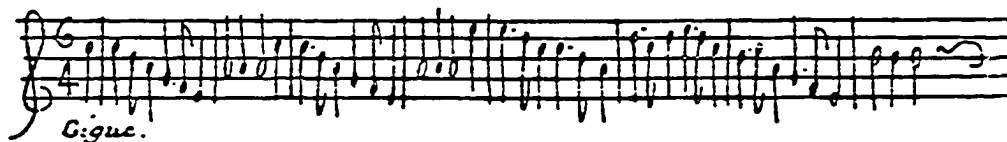
The image shows two musical staves illustrating the translation of English ballad meter. The top staff is in 6/4 time, with a treble clef and a common time signature 'C' in parentheses. It features a melody line with eighth notes and a bass line with quarter notes. The bottom staff is in common time (C), with a treble clef and a common time signature 'C' in parentheses. It features a melody line with quarter notes and a bass line with eighth notes. Both staves are divided into two measures by a vertical line, and each measure is further divided into two sub-measures by a vertical line. The word 'or' is centered between the two staves. Above the first measure of each staff, there are four vertical lines with a small '1' above each, indicating the four accented syllables in the corresponding text above.

²⁶Chappell, Popular music I, 306.

Music before 1750

The earliest country dance tunes to gain acceptance in European art music were of the compound meter type in 6/4 or 6/8. The relationship to the gigue was openly acknowledged. Feuillet's Recueil de dances for the year 1700 includes "La Contredanse," subtitled "Gigue" (Example 83):

1700

*la Contredanse.*

Example 83. Raoul-Auger Feuillet, Recueil de dances composées par M. Pécour. A facsimile of the 1700 Paris edition (New York: Broude Bros., 1968) 32.

Perhaps the first such tune to appear in Austria is the "Contredanse" from Georg Muffat's Florilegium secundum which he describes as "not unlike a gigue" (Example 84):

This fascicle, 1693



Example 84. Georg Muffat, Florilegium secundum, "Contredanse," measures 1-8. DTÖ, Band 43.

We may compare the first two strains with the beginning of the first chorus of Bach's "Peasant Cantata" which is usually identified as a bourrée (Example 85):

1721



Example 85. J. S. Bach, "Peasant Cantata,"
no. 2, measures 1-4.

The duple meter variety of English country dance is represented in Mattheson's example of an angloise (Example 86):

1739



Example 86. Mattheson, Der vollkommene
Capellmeister, 164, "Angloise."

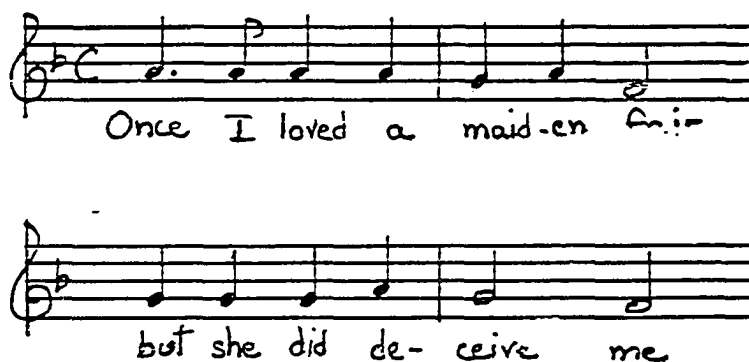
Mattheson's "angloise" turns out to be a real English country dance tune called "The cobbler's jig" which first appeared in Playford's Dancing master of 1686 (Example 87). The tune was already old -- it had been published in Holland in 1622.

1686?

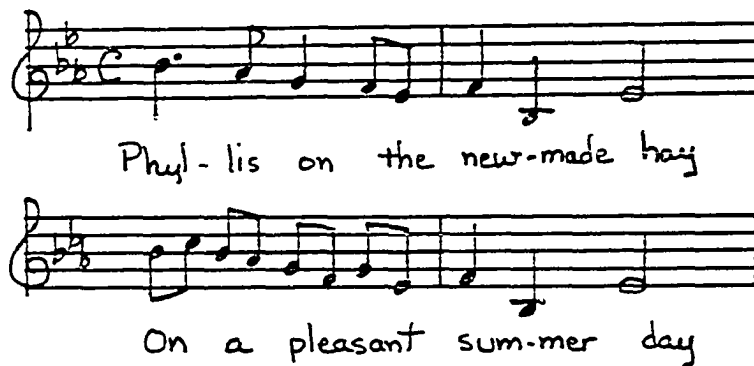


Example 87. "The cobbler's jig," Chappell,
Popular music I, 278.

Examples 88 and 89 show other English tunes of Mattheson's
type in duple meter:

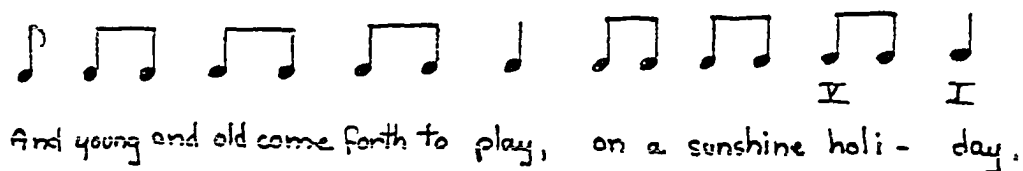


Example 88. "Once I loved a maiden fair,"
measures 1-4, Chappell, Popular music I, 257.



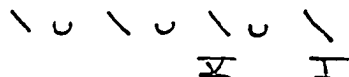
Example 89. "Amarillis," measures 1-4, Chappell, Popular music I, 284.

The metric ambiguity or rather duality of the English country dance is captured by Händel in a passage from L'Allegro (1740);



Here ♩ equals ♩. . Upbeats are supplied when required by the words; their necessity is neither choreographic nor musical. The phrase endings are emphasized by the

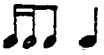
cadences which fall on the fourth strong beat:






Music: after 1750

In the second half of the eighteenth century one can trace at least three divergent lines of development in the English country dance.

- 1) a type in strictly duple meter.
 - a) without upbeat.
 - b) with essential musical upbeat, found in Vienna.
- 2) a type notated in 2/4 but with both dotted notes and triplets, found in Germany and France.
- 3) the native British jig-type in 6/8 (upbeat irrelevant).

Each type, whether the melody be vocal or more instrumental, whether the meter be duple, compound, or mixed, retains the basic metric pattern derived from the ballad. Musical phrases are of four, or more often, eight strong beats (two or four the formula  correlates with the usual eight step length of the various dance figures.

Cadences tend to fall more often in mid-measure rather than right after the bar line. But even a first-beat cadence requires a rhythmic prolongation of that initial beat, leading to the formula  in duple meter, and  in 6/8. (The Scotch reel can be identified by the formula . See below p. 275).

1a. Tunes in duple meter without upbeat. Tunes in C (early?) or 2/4 (later?) without upbeat are analogous to Mattheson's example. Leopold Mozart seems to have had this type of English tune in mind when he entered the following angloise in the Notenbuch for Wolfgang (Example 90):

Allegro

1762



Example 90. Leopold Mozart, Notenbuch, 1762, "Angloise," measures 1-8.

The collection of dances by C. G. Breitkopf (179?) includes thirteen Anglaises, mostly of this type. Example 91 shows three typical incipits.

179?

Example 91. C. G. Breitkopf, Recueil de Terpsichore,
Anglaisen Nos. 3, 4, and 7, measures 1-4.

These reduce to a rhythmic pattern something like:

Particular attention must be paid to Breitkopf's Ang-
laise No. 11 (Example 92):

c.1790

No. 11.

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system, labeled 'No. 11.', consists of two staves. The upper staff features a melodic line with various ornaments and slurs, while the lower staff provides a harmonic accompaniment. The second system, which is unlabeled, also consists of two staves, continuing the musical piece with similar melodic and accompanimental lines.

Example 92. C. G. Breitkopf, Terpsichore, Anglaise
No. 11, measures 1-8.

This tune is essentially identical with the "Surprise"
andante of Haydn's London Symphony No. 94 (Example 93):

1791

Example 93. Haydn, Symphony No. 94
in G major, second movement, measures 1-8,
with Breitkopf Anglaise No. 11 superimposed.

The Breitkopf dances carry no date. Although C. G. Breitkopf lived until 1800, the Breitkopf firm, publisher of these dances, became Breitkopf und Härtel in 1795. On the other hand, the dances do not appear in the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue Supplements which run up through 1787. The dances thus must date from sometime between 1787 and 1795. Haydn used the tune not only in Symphony 94 of 1791, but in Die Jahrzeiten (no. 4, Simon's aria) of 1792. Although similar patterns can be found in English tunes and it was probably a common formula, the Breitkopf dance is too similar not to be directly related. At this point it is not possible to determine priority. The dance tune seems more complex. Did Haydn simplify or Breitkopf elaborate? They both

use the sforzando, but Haydn's is a cleverer and wittier play on English ballad meter constructions.

A similar unlabelled tune is the concluding theme of the exposition of Haydn's Quartet in D, Opus 71, No. 2, first movement, which also uses the "surprise" accent (Example 94). This passage was noted by Rosen as an example of the "popular style."²⁸

Allegro 1793

Example 94. Haydn, Quartet in D major, Opus 71, No. 2, first movement, measures 39-42.

1b. Tunes in duple meter with upbeat. Four of Breitkopf's thirteen anglaisen have upbeats.

Adding an upbeat alters the basic pattern subtly but definitively in the direction of the Viennese Contretanz of Beethoven. Tunes of this construction can be found everywhere, especially in the 1790s. Again, they may be derived from

²⁸Rosen, Classical style, 336.

the English ballad repertoire, as in this setting of "The lass of Richmond Hill" by Hummel (Example 95):

Allegretto

Vienna, 1794



Example 95. Hummel, Variations on a favorite Air Anglais "The lass of Richmond Hill" [by James Hook?] Opus 3, measures 1-4.

Or in this dance from a French collection (Example 96):

179-?



Example 96. Veber, 1er Recueil de nouvelles contredanses "L'Aline," measures 1-8.

That Haydn chose this pattern for Hanne's ballad in Die Jahrzeiten confirms its popularity (Example 97).

1802



Example 97. Haydn, Die Jahrzeiten, part IV, no. 20 Hanne's ballad, measures 1-2.

And an obvious Haydn example, unlabelled, may be found in the second theme of the first movement of the "Military" Symphony (Example 98):

Allegro

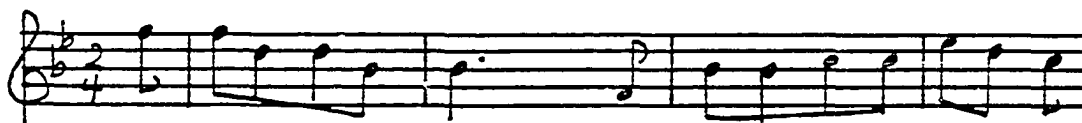
London, 1794



Example 98. Haydn, "Military" Symphony, No. 100 in G major movement, second theme, measures 94-98.

Reducing the turn (on the third strong beat) modifies the shape of the tune, as in these Mozart contretänze (Examples 99 and 100):

1791



Example 99. Mozart, Contretänze K 603, No. 2, measures 1-4.

1789



Example 100. Mozart, Contretanz "Der Seig vom Helden Koburg," K 587, measures 1-4.

The English pattern now merges directly into a basic and time-honored German tune pattern used by composers of contredanses for Vienna, epitomized in Beethoven's set of 12 Contretänze, WoO14:

1800-01



An initial upbeat may be missing, yet implied, as in this contredanse from a Quodlibet by Wranitsky (Example 101):

after 1786



Example 101. Wranitsky Quodlibet, "Contredanse,"
measures 10-8. Recorded on Archive,
Tanzmusik, Record V, side 2.

Example 102, by Dittersdorf, is quite similar to Beethoven's type:

Wie ein englischer Tanz



Example 102. J. C .F. Rellstab, Neueste Auswahl von Gesängen aus den vorzugsichsten Opern der deutschen Bühne (Berlin: Rellstab, [179-?]) 37: Dittersdorf, "Nur Herz und Muth" from Betrug durch Aberglauben, measures 1-8.

This example is valuable also in helping to confirm that Beethoven's contretänze were English: that in Vienna contretanz seems to have been synomous with englische. Further confirmation (without music) exists in a series of copperplates by Georg Link (Vienna, 1794) showing choreography for "Contredanz" figures for three to five couples in a row.²⁹

²⁹Reproduced in Witzmann. Der Ländler, Plate 18.

Beethoven's set of 12 contredanses for orchestra were probably composed for the season of 1801. Two of these dances appear in the Ballet Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus which was performed in March of that year. Beethoven must have been particularly taken with his contredanse no. 7 for he uses it not only to conclude this ballet and for the Piano variations, Opus 35 (1802), but also as the basis for the finale of the Third Symphony (1803). See Example 109, p. 259.

But Beethoven uses the contretanz in a number of other works in these early years, some of the most obvious being the finale of the First Symphony (Example 103), the finale of the Piano Concerto No. 3 (Example 104), and the concluding theme of the exposition, Fourth Symphony, first movement (Example 105):

Allegro molto e vivace

1799-1800



Example 103. Beethoven, Symphony I/4, measures 7-22.

Rondo, Allegro

1800





Example 104. Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 3
in C minor, Opus 37, last movement, measures 1-8.

Allegro vivace

1806



Example 105. Beethoven, Symphony IV/1,
measures 141-48.

The rhythmic pattern  or  is peculiarly characteristic to this type of anglaise. It can be found in every dance of the Breitkopf collection either at the cadence or in the body of the melody. This rhythmic formula is so distinct that its presence in a "serious" work is almost a sure indication of an anglaise.

Beethoven played with this pattern in an abortive sketchbook anglaise (his only use of the term?): see Example 106.

1786-99



Example 106. Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph miscellany from circa 1786-1799, 2 vols., ed. Joseph Kerman, (London: British Museum, 1970) II, 265, "anglaise," measures 1-4.

An analogous pattern defines the last movement of Mozart's Quintet in E-flat K 614 (Example 107):

Allegro

1791



Example 107. Mozart, Quintet in E-flat major, K 614, last movement, measures 1-4.

Haydn used these patterns when he introduced an anglaise into his London symphonies, for example Symphony 98/1, after the introduction (Example 110), or Symphony 110/1, after the introduction (Example 111):

Allegro 1792?

tutti :



Example 110. Haydn, Symphony No. 98 in B-flat major, first movement, measures 16-19, 27-34.

Allegro 1794

Example 111. Haydn, "Military" Symphony No. 100 in G major, first movement, measures 24-29, and 202-208, percussion from 209-10.

One cannot help but be impressed by Charles Rosen's idea that the slow introduction in these symphonies allowed

for the subsequent use of more popular elements (see above p. 20). It would almost seem that the desire for the popular -- to please the English taste -- was the motivation for this expansion of the slow introduction.

2. The mixed meter type is a tune now in 2/4 (no longer C) without upbeat, characterized by a mixture of dotted  and triplet  skipping figures. The tunes are instrumental rather than vocal. But the metric pattern can be derived again from the English ballad (see above, p. 241). Characteristic examples may be found among the Feldtenstein dances (Example 112) and in later French collections (Example 113):

1772



Example 112. Feldtenstein, Erweiterung I,
Table VI, No. 2, "englische."



Example 113. Veber, 1er Recueil (179?),
"Anglaise" No. 3.

The triplet configuration in 2/4 also characterizes two Dittersdorf anglaises: the second movement of the Carnaval Symphonie (Example 114) and "Musique pour un petit ballet en forme d'une contre-danse" (Example 115):

Allegretto



Example 114. Dittersdorf, Carnaval Symphonie,
second movement "Anglaise," measures 1-8.



Example 115. Dittersdorf, "Musique pour un petit ballet en forme d'une contre-danse," subtitled "Anglaise," measures 1-16.

Examples of such "Angloise" finales can be found in the early works of Mozart. An obvious case is the last movement of Symphony No. 7, K 45 (Example 116):

Allegro

Vienna, Jan 1768



Example 116. Mozart, Symphony No. 7 in D major, K 45, last movement, measures 1-8.

Another probable example is the finale of Symphony 11, K 84 (Example 117):

Allegro

Milan/Bologna 1770



Example 117. Mozart, Symphony No. 11 in D major, K 84, last movement, measures 1-8.

Both Mozart examples are comparable to the J. C. Bach example of similar date given by Cole as a typical Italian rondo³⁰ (Example 118):

Finale

1761/77

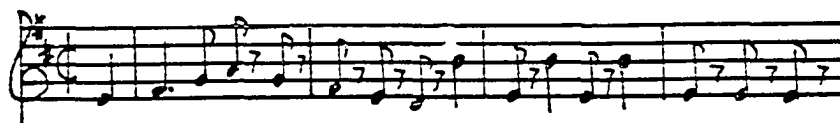


Example 118. J.C. Bach, Overture to Carattaco (1767) and Temistocle (1771), measures 1-8.

This particular feature of the anglaise or anglische -- the use of triplets and dotted figures -- can be found in Mozart's work as late as the String Quintet in D, K 593. After a Larghetto [menuet-based?] introduction, Mozart introduces a lively Allegro theme with an "English" cadence (Example 119):

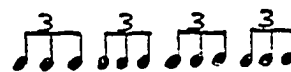
Allegro

1790

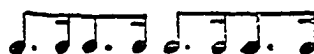


Example 119. Mozart, Quintet in D major, K 593, first movement, measures 22-25.

This is followed by phrases using triplets



and then dotted rhythms



³⁰Cole, Vogue, 45.

3. English tunes in 6/8. English dances in 6/8 are rarely encountered on the continent, the 2/4 with triplets being the preferred notation. Intentional or not, this helps to differentiate English dances from the French contredanses and chasse tunes which are also in 6/8.

In England, however, jig tunes for country dances continued to thrive. A dance fan for December 1791 gives tunes and instructions for sixteen dances popular that season (see Illustration 11, p. 266);³¹ of these ten are in 6/8. Among the tunes included are "No song no supper," which would be from the Stephen Storace production of that title; "Tippoo Saib" and "Tippoo's defeat", which sound like items from another popular opera; and a tune called the "Prussian marriage," familiar today as an Irish jig (Example 120):



Example 120. Schreiber, Fans, No. 111. "Prussian marriage" [the Irish washerwoman], measures 1-4.

Other fans offer "O Dear, what can the matter be" (1794) and "La Malbro" (1793) as country dance tunes in 6/8.³²

³¹Lady Charlotte Schreiber, Fans and fan-leaves, 2 vol. (London, 1888), I, No. 111.

³²Schreiber, Fans, No. 134; No. 131.

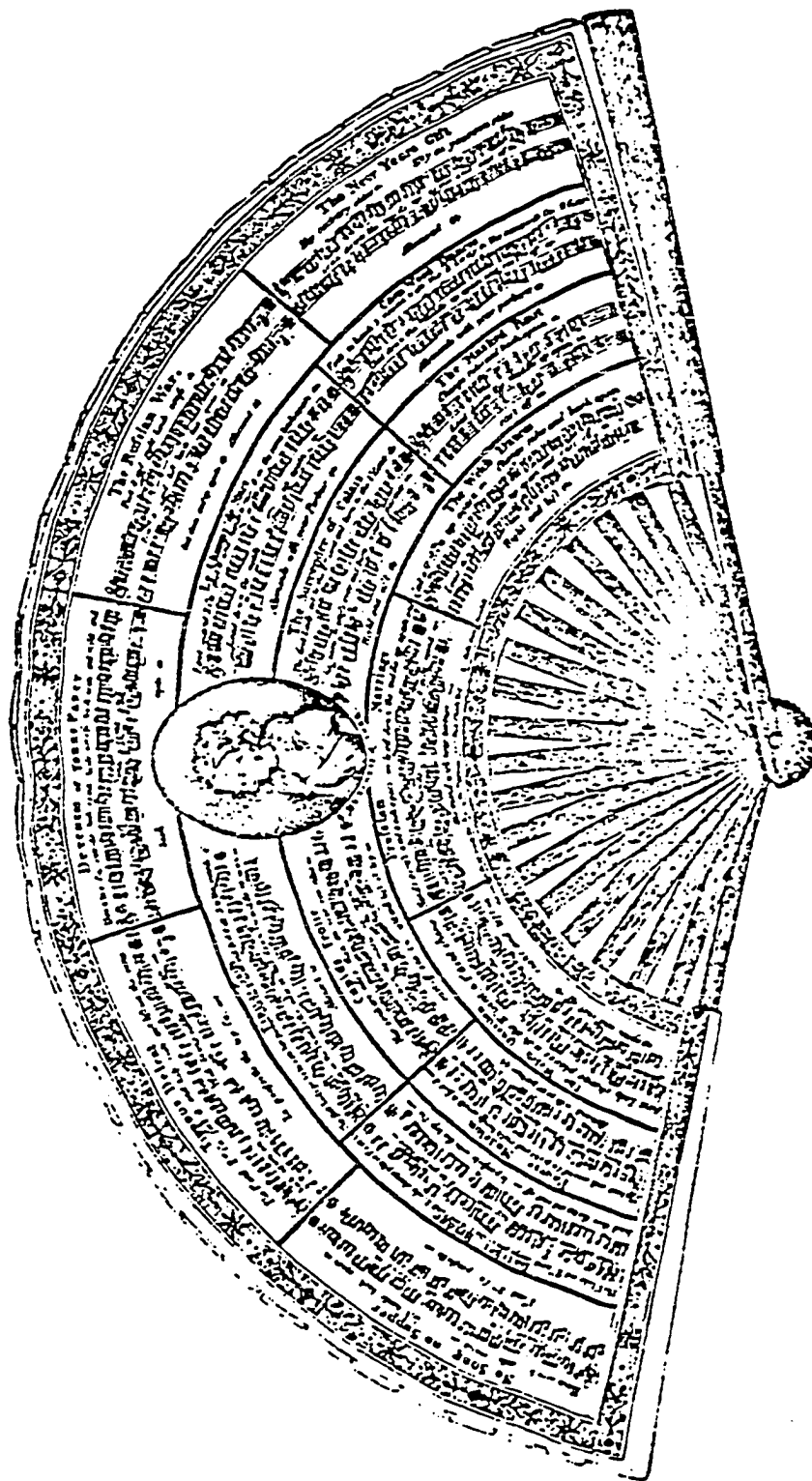


Illustration 11. Dance fan for the year 1791.
Lady Charlotte Schreiber, *Fans and fan leaves*,
2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1888) I, no. 111.

Is it possible that tunes such as these also appear in the classical repertoire? One might hope to find examples in music written in or for England. There is in fact one confirmed example of a tune in 6/8 common to both dance and symphonic repertoire. This is the finale of Haydn's London Symphony No. 100 (1794) which H. C. Robbins Landon found in a Scottish dance collection of 1809 with the title "Lord Cathcart's welcome to Scotland"³³ (Example 121):

Finale, Presto

London, 1794



Example 121. Haydn, "Military" Symphony, No. 100 in G major, last movement, measures 1-4.

Knowing this, it seems reasonable to posit that the finale of Haydn's London Symphony No. 98 is also based on the English county dance in 6/8 (Example 122):

Finale, Presto

London, 1792

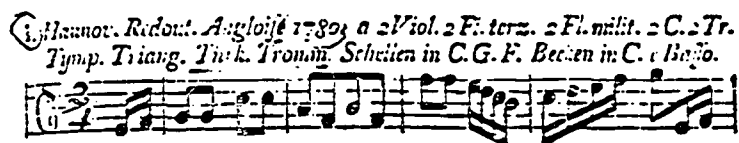


Example 122. Haydn, Symphony No. 98 in B-flat, last movement, measures 1-4.

³³Landon, Chronicle III, 564-65.

The English gigue in 6/8, after so long a sojourn on the continent, returns to its place of origin in this wise, where it joins with an unchanged and still active tradition.

Programmatic dances. The finale of the Military Symphony which appears in the Scottish country dance repertoire is based on a genre of elaborate programmatic and probably pantomimic anglaises whose topics were thunderstorms or battles. As representative of the first, we have Mozart's contredanse "Das Donnerwetter" for the imperial balls of 1788, and a "Gewitter-Anglaise" (with text) from the Breitkopf collection. Many battle dances used not only military instruments but often the Turkish armamentorium as well (piccolo, bass drum, cymbals, triangle), for the reason that they represented stylized reenactments of battles against the Turks. The earliest example I have found is a listing in the Breitkopf Catalogue Supplement of 1780 for the Hanover Redoute (Example 123). This calls for two violins and bass, with 2 third flutes, 2 military flutes, 2 hornes, 2 trumpets, drums, and, additionally, triangle, Turkish drum, bells (Schellen) in C, G, F, and cymbals (Becken)



Example 123. Breitkopf Catalogue Supplement,
1780, "Anglaise."

Mozart's battle dances include "La Bataille," K 535 (3 Jan. 1788), which concludes with a "Marcia Turka," and "Der Sieg vom helden Coburg," K 587 (Dec. 1789), not Turkish. "La Bataille" was a topical piece, for the Austrians had joined the Russians in a war against the Turks in 1788. A piano reduction of "La Bataille" is labelled "The siege of Belgrade" -- this referred to a stunning victory over the Turks by the Austrian Commander-in-chief General Loudon. Turkish instruments appeared in other dances (Mozart *deutsche*, K 571, 1789) and in other serious works (Mozart's *Entführung*, 1782; Beethoven's *Symphony IX/4*, 1826).

When Haydn wrote his *Military Symphony*, Turkish instruments were still a novelty in England. In 1772 Charles Burney noted the spread of Turkish instruments by German military bands: at Lisle he found Turkish cymbals, also at Ghent; at Maastricht the Hessian band used cymbals, a great drum, and triangles.³⁴ The English oboist Parke records that Turkish instruments arrived in London in 1783 with the introduction of a German band which included three blacks, two playing tambours and one Turkish bells.³⁵ Haydn's stylized dance in the *Military Symphony* suggests that the Turkish battle dance was a popular form in England. Would

³⁴Burney, *Musical tours II*, 2, 4, 23.

³⁵Parke, *Musical memoirs I*, 239-42.

not such an audience have been delighted with the 16-beat riff for cymbals which would correspond to one figure in such a dance?

Characteristics of the English Dance

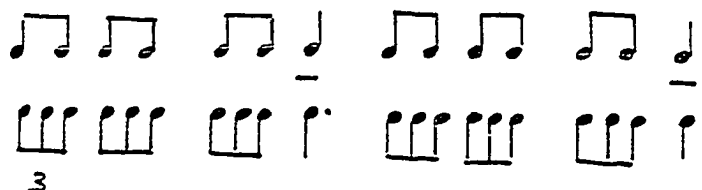
Meter: 2/4, 2/4 with triplets; (6/8 = gigue)

Upbeat: without (Viennese form with)

Phrasing: 2 + 2

Cadence: strong accent on 4th beat;

typical rhythmic pattern dynamically accentuated



Tempo: slow to fast, Andante to Allegro (gigues presto)

Viennese englische Contretanz



Écossaise

Towards the end of the eighteenth century three types of dance tunes were popular in Scotland: the strathspey, the reel, and the jig. The strathspey, in common time, is a slow elegant dance with a unique step not unlike that of the renaissance allemande. Jig tunes, always in 6/8, and reels in C are used for Scottish country dances. These dances are made up of sets limited to 8 persons, men and women facing in two lines (the French format). Certain choreographic details (as danced today) -- the careful positioning of the feet, the initial hop-step, the elevation on the toes, -- betray the influence of French baroque dance. The figure called "reel" had been long known in England and France as the "hey" or "hay."

D. G. Türk (1802) describes the Écossaise of his day "as a dance in 2/4 time in a very quick tempo."³⁶ If this represents a true Scotch dance, it can be neither the strathspey nor the jig, but must be the reel. The music of the strathspey is slow enough to permit the frequent use of "Scotch snaps;" these are seldom found in the lively reel. The meter of the jig eliminates it from consideration. Is

³⁶Türk, *Klavierschule*, 451. "Jetzt . . . pflegt man einen im zweyvierteltakte gesetzten Tanz von sehr geschwinder Bewegung"

it possible that the Scotch reel travelled to Vienna and became the Écossaise of Beethoven and Schubert? A sole Viennese reference to the Écossaise has been retrieved by Reingard Witzmann: "The Écossaise, a type of dance from Scotland . . . is favored mainly by the private society of Vienna, while in the public ballrooms . . . instead of making the proper steps which suit the character of the dance music, most just dance as they please."³⁷ This section will study the spread of music for the Scotch reels to England and continental Europe.

Choreography

According to Curt Sachs, the Écossaise is a progressive couple dance in double file like the earlier anglaise; the difference lies not in the figures but in the steps, the anglaise having a gliding step like the medieval double, and the Écossaise a changing step like the pas de bourrée and the polka.³⁸ Sachs gives no references, and his remarks do not coincide with what I have been able to establish about the step for the anglaise (see above, p. 237). Furthermore, while Türk refers to the "hupfend" character

³⁷Witzmann, Der Ländler, 82. "'Écossaise, einer Art von Schottländischen Tanze . . . in der Privatgesellschaften Wiens' beliebt ist, während sie in den öffentlichen Ballsälen ' . . . anstatt die eigentümlichen, dem Charakter der Tanzmusik angemessenen Schritte zu machen, tanzten die meisten wie es ihnen einfiel.'"

³⁸Sachs, History, 438-39.

the anglaise and Koch mentions "Hopsanglaisen,"³⁹ these remarks are found under angloisen in each case, and both authors have a separate entry under écossaise. So it is not at all clear that the faster type of anglaise was the same as the écossaise, as is assumed by Willi Kohl.⁴⁰ Yet some kind of hopping was used in the écossaise, for Schubert writes on an album leaf for Seraphina Schellmann: "Hupfen Sie mit diesem Ecosseise Froh" ⁴¹

In America, and thus probably also in England, reels were differentiated from country dances, according to two descriptions of balls published by Charles Hamm. In the first (Virginia, 1773) there are "menuets, one Round, Second Giggs, third Reels; And last of all Country Dances." In the second (Albany, 1782) "The ball opened with a minuet, and a country dance was immediately called. They succeeded one another till supper A few cotillions were then danced, with one or two reels, and the whole closed with a set of country dances." ⁴²

³⁹Türk, Klavierschule, 450; Koch, Musikalisches Lexikon, both quoted by Willi Kohl in "Écossaise," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 16 vols., ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-1979) III, 1095.

⁴⁰Willi Kohl, "Écossaise," MGG III, 1095.

⁴¹D. 145, No. 8, reproduced in "Écossaise," MGG, III, 1095.

⁴²Charles Hamm, Music in the new world (New York: Norton, 1983) 68.

Perhaps a change in form and figures differentiated the reel from the country dance. Figures for English reels on the Schreiber dance fans seem to be for whole set dances, and these require a reasonable, if not limited, number of couples. Figures possible in a reel or whole set dance but not found in the more complex triple minor dances of Feldtenstein and Page have to do with the movement of the head couple to the bottom of the set and back again. Some simple instructions from these London dances of the 1790s are:

"Lead down the middle and up again"

"Hey on your own side"

"Hey contrary sides"

"Cast off" [all]

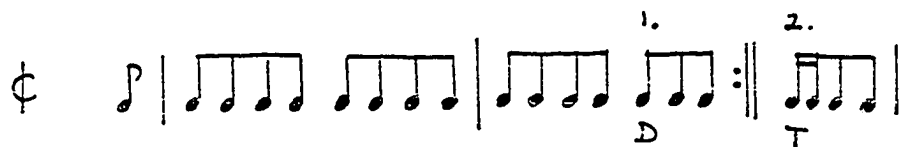
Figures of this sort were really nothing new (similar instructions can be found in Playford), but newly fashionable. This trend toward a simpler country dance form might have been due to the rapidly declining popularity of French dances at this time. So far I have found no instructions for reels or whole set dances elsewhere in Europe. The classic American example, the Virginia reel, can be dated to the late 1790s.

Music (Reels)

Scotland. Volume II of The Glen collection of Scottish dance music contains reels, strathspeys, and jigs dating from 1793-1800 or earlier. There are 74 reels all of the same simple structure:


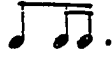
|: 4m :|| : 8m :|

The rhythmic pattern is consistent; 62 of the 74 selections have upbeats:

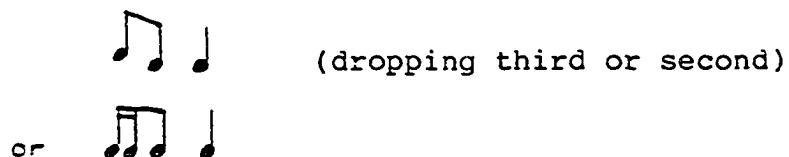


A typical strathspey, in contrast, looks like:



If sixteenth-notes occur at all in the reels, they are usually found on the first and third beats of the measure in the pattern  and less often .

Cadences are particularly characteristic:



The titles of dances on the The Schreiber dance fans (London, 1790s) seem to show a growing preference for the reel.

| | country dances | reels | cotillons |
|----------------|-------------------|-------|-----------|
| 1791 (No. 111) | 16 | - | - |
| 1793 (No. 131) | 10 | - | 5 |
| 1794 (No. 134) | 13 | 1 | - |
| 1798 (No. 100) | 26 | 7 | - |
| 1799 (No. 117) | 14 | 4 | - |

The last two fans listed have only titles and instructions no music. The single reel with music is the "Duchess of Gordon's reel" of 1794 (Example 124):

1794



Example 124. Schriber fan No. 134,
"Duchess of Gordon's reel."

There are also two other tunes in C which appear on musical grounds to be reels (Examples 125 and 126):

1794



Example 125. Schriber fan 134, "The primrose girl."

1794



Example 126. Schriber fan 134, "The musician's flight to America."

In spite of some differences, the essential contour of Scotch reel is discernible in these English examples. The cadence pattern remains the most distinctive feature.

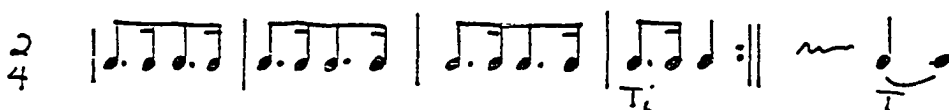
France. Curiously, no dances called Écossaise appear in France. The widely popular Écossaise of c.

1760 (Encyclopaedia Britannica⁴³ and others) is not the dance but a work by Voltaire with that title. (Casanova describes an amateur performance of this satire in the summer of 1760.) The dances published in the 1790s by Hullin, Veber, Clairsches, are mainly contredanses, walzes, and anglaises. Unfortunately, these anglaises have no choreography. Musically they are of the mixed meter type described above (see Example 113, p. 262). But it would not be difficult to propose a possible relationship with the Scotch and English reels of the same period; we could posit a change of metric sign, French dotting of eighth-note pairs (pairs which can then be expanded to triplets), simplification of cadence pattern, and loss of the second part of the tune (which has disappeared in some English examples already).

The Scotch/English



becomes French



⁴³William Charles Smith and Alexander Bell Filson Young, "Dance," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th ed., 32 vols. (New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1926) VII, 798.

Whether this is at all probable is another matter. We can only point out that something evidently new was being imported to France from England which could no longer be subsumed under the rubric contredanse anglaise.

Germany. On the other hand, the tunes employed by Feldenstein (even for his cotillons!) are replete with Scotch snaps, and often use the typical rhythmic patterns and cadence of the reels:

The image shows musical notation for Scotch snaps and cadences. It consists of three parts:

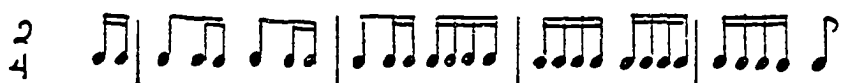
- A first line of music in 2/4 time, consisting of four measures: two dotted quarter notes, two eighth notes, two eighth notes, and two quarter notes.
- A second line of music in 2/4 time, consisting of two measures: the first has four eighth notes, and the second has two eighth notes followed by a quarter note.
- A section labeled "cadences:" followed by three different cadence patterns, each consisting of a group of notes followed by a quarter note.

Here we can only suggest that close contact between northern Germany through the house of Hanover may have been a contributing factor.

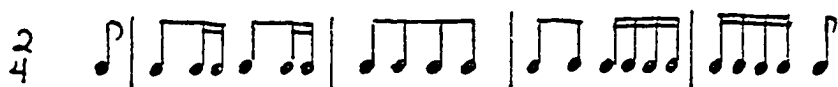
Vienna. In whatever way, something called Écossaise reached Vienna a few years before the turn of the century and remained a popular dance form for about 30 years. It is probable that these dances were the Scotch reels. They were certainly something faster and simpler, musically, than

the Viennese contretanz. Two musical features distinguish the two forms: the écossoise has a strain of four measures and the contretanz eight; the écossoise is without upbeat, the contretanz with. If the music of the écossoise resembled that called anglaise or englische elsewhere, perhaps this was because the Viennese contretanz had developed such a specialized musical character that a new name was needed for the simpler form. We may also note the Viennese fashion for Scottish music at the time, as evidenced in the song arrangements of Haydn and Beethoven. The écossoise seems to have spread over Europe from Vienna along with the Viennese waltzes, going to France from Vienna rather than the other way around.

Freda Burford notes that "early 19th-century dance tunes show a predilection for 'reel' rhythm" and juxtaposes Beethoven's Contretanz WoO14 No. 5 with a similar Scottish tune.⁴⁴



But Mozart used this pattern also, a decade earlier, in the Contretanz No. 3 of K 609:



⁴⁴Freda Burford, "Contredanse," New Grove, IV, 705.

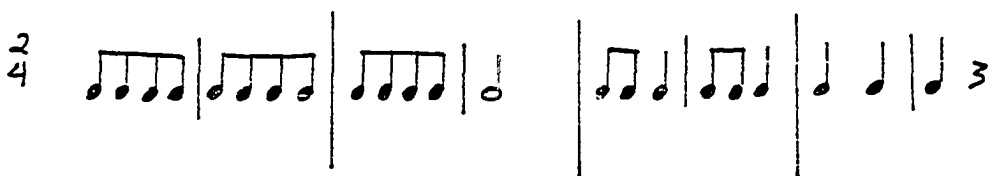
so the use of "reel" rhythm does not necessarily define the écossaise.

Labelled Écossaises

Mozart and Haydn wrote no dances labelled écossaise and Beethoven's few examples help little in understanding the form. In Schubert's dances we can see, if we compare two equivalent strains, that the écossaise was notated in two ways:

1. D. 529, No. 3, 2nd strain

1817




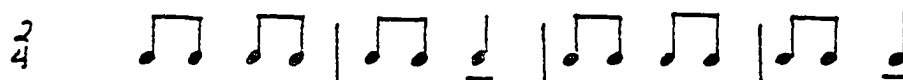
2. Opus 49 (D. 735), No. 3, 2nd strain

1825



The same figuration -- implying equivalence of tempo -- is reduced: an eight-measure strain in 2/4 becomes a four measure strain in what is really 4/8 (although also marked

2/4). One Schubert Écossaise (D. 145, No. 8) actually exists in both notational forms. Schubert's dances display other characteristic features: the omission of upbeats, the rhythmic pattern  sometimes reversed, and a four-beat or two-measure phrase pattern with the accent on the fourth beat (a pattern reminiscent of the Breitkopf anglaises).



This is indeed very like the Scottish reels in both meter and phrasing, and there is no reason to doubt their identity. The only real difference is the loss of upbeat. Since Schubert's pattern is both clear and consistent, it will be used as a basis for identifying examples in Beethoven's works.

Unlabelled Écossaises

A typical Écossaise phrase appears in the last movement of Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto (Example 127):

Vivace

1805-6



Example 127. Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 4 in G major, Opus 58, last movement, measures 21-24.

In the last movement of Symphony VII the accentual pattern is emphasized (Example 128):

Allegro con brio

1811-12



Example 128. Beethoven Symphony VII in A major, last movement, measures 1-4.

All features may be found in the last movement of the Piano Sonata Opus 79 (Example 129), and in the last movement of the Quartet Opus 130 (Example 130):

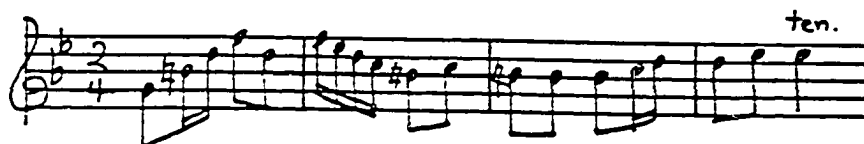
1809



Example 129. Beethoven Sonata for Piano in G major, Opus 79, last movement, measures 1-4.

Allegro

1826



Example 130. Beethoven Quartet in B-flat major, Opus 130, last movement, measure 1-4.

A further verification of these last two cases will be found in Chapter VIII, p. 368. I have been rather circumspect with my selection of unlabelled écossoises for two reasons: first, the difficulty in identifying the dance and tracing its development; and more importantly, the similarity between its rhythmic pattern and that of certain Hungarian melodies. For example, Beethoven's Rondo a Capriccio Opus 129, "Rage over a lost penny," would appear to be a perfectly logical candidate for an écossoise (Example 131). Beethoven's autograph title, however was "Alla ingharese quasi un capriccio."⁴⁵

[Alla ingharese quasi un capriccio]

1795-98



Example 131. Beethoven, Rondo a Capriccio, Opus 29, measures 1-4.

The study of Hungarian influence on classical style is beyond the scope of this present work.

⁴⁵Forbes, Beethoven, 176.

Chapter VII
GERMAN DANCES

From its earliest appearances in editions of printed music, the German national dance was a two-part affair with sections called variously Hoff Tanz and Hupffauf, Tantz and Proportz, Tanz and Nachtanz or, in French, almande followed by recoupe, reprinse, and even allemande courante.¹ This German national dance persisted, retaining its dual nature, throughout the seventeenth century and up into the eighteenth. A frequently quoted reference comes from an English play by George Chapman, Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany, produced in 1654:

We Germans have no changes in our dances;
An Almain and an upspring, that is all.

Stage directions continue:

Alexander [the Emperor's page] and Mentz [Bishop]
have the foredance, with each of them a glass of
wine in their hands . . . [other couples follow].²

¹Howard Mayer Brown, Instrumental music printed before 1600 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1967), 151?1, 15624, 15753, 15518, 15593, 15647.

²George Chapman, Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany, Act III, Scene 1: 150-51, in The plays of George Chapman: The tragedies, vol. 2 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961) 435.

A musical example showing the relationship of the two parts, called "Vortanz" and "Aufsprung," appears as late as Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister of 1739 (Example 132).

Vortanz 1739

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Vortanz' and is in common time (C). It contains a sequence of notes: a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a half note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a half note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, and an eighth note. The bottom staff is labeled 'Aufsprung' and is in 3/4 time. It contains a sequence of notes: a quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a half note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, a half note, a quarter note, a dotted quarter note, and an eighth note.

Example 132. Mattheson, Capellmeister, 165,
"Teutsche Tantze."

The first part of this German national dance is in duple meter, the second in a proportional triple meter. Choreographically, the dance is a procession followed by some sort of turning, waltzing, or leaping figures.

These musical and choreographic distinctions are probably to be understood in Goethe's description of a dance at the Alsatian village of Sesenheim, in the early 1770s, where "everyone hurried to the dance. The Allemanden, the Walzen und Drehen was the beginning, middle and end. Everyone was enamoured of this national dance" ³

³Goethe, Dichtung und Wahrheit, Vol. 13 of the Berliner Ausgabe, 496. "alles eilte zum Tanz. Die Allemanden, das Walzen und Drehen war Anfang, Mittel und Ende. Alle waren zu diesem Nationaltanz aufgewachsen"

Other writers, while more detailed in other respects, are not clear on this point. In his Letters on Dancing (1760/1803), Noverre reports that:

Dancing is infinitely varied in all the provinces of Germany. The manner of dancing common to one village is almost entirely different from that of a neighbouring hamlet. Even the melodies used in their merrymaking have a different character and movement, although they are all gay. Their dancing is seductive, because it is entirely of the soil; their movements radiate only joy and pleasure; and the precision with which they execute the dance affords a particular charm to their attitudes, steps and gestures. If it be a question of jumping, a hundred persons around an oak or a column take their time, rise and fall as one at the same moment. If the rhythm must be emphasized with a stamp of the foot, then all stamp together. If the women have to be lifted, they are seen all in the air at the same height, and they are not lowered except on the right note."⁴

⁴Noverre, Letters on dancing, tr. Beaumont, 130. Lettres, (1803) 180. "La Danse est variée à l'infini dans toutes les Provinces de la Germanie. La maniere de danser qui regne dans un Village est presque étrangere dans le Hameau voisin. Les airs mêmes destinés à leur réjouissances ont un caractere & un mouvement différents, quoiqu'ils portent tous celui de la gaieté. Leur Danse est séduisante, parce qu'elle tient tout de la nature: leurs mouvements ne respirent que la joie & le plaisir, & la précision avec laquelle ils exécutent, donne un agreément particulier à leurs attitudes, à leurs pas & à leurs gestes. Est-il question de sauter? cent personnes autour d'un chêne ou d'un pilier prennent leurs temps dans le même instant, s'élèvent avec la meme justesse & retombent avec la même exactitude. Faut-il marquer la mesure par un coup de pied? tous sont d'accord pour le frapper ensemble. Enlevent-ils leurs femmes? on les voit toutes en l'air à des hauteurs égales, & ils ne les laissent tomber que sur la note sensible de la mesure."

And Gallini's Treatise on the Art of Dancing (1772) informs us that:

The Germans have a dance called the Allemande in which the men and women form a ring. Each man holding his partner round the waist, makes her whirl round with almost inconceivable rapidity; they dance in a grand circle seeming to pursue one another; in the course of which they execute several leaps, and some particularly pleasing steps, when they turn, but so very difficult as to appear such even to professed dancers themselves. When this dance is performed by a numerous company, it furnishes one of the most pleasing sights that can be imagined."⁵

Both authors describe dancing in a ring or circle formation; Gallini specifies by partners, i.e., the couples move forward around a circular track, not sideways as in a *ronde*. Neither author specifies a two-part dance, however. Different figures -- jumping, stamping, lifting the women (Noverre); whirling, leaping turning (Gallini) -- are not ascribed to separate parts of the dance. Pauli, in 1756, includes turning, changing from one arm to the other, pirouetting under the arms and rising in the air,⁶ but again, without reference to two parts. Yet, confirmation

⁵Gallini, Treatise, 192-93.

⁶Pauli, Elemens, 65. ". . . les personnes . . . se tournant; se jettent d'un bras à l'autre; piroüettent sous les bras, et se levent en l'air"

of the two forms of German dance comes from the French dancing-master Guillaume, who, in his Almanach dansant of 1770, prescribes one step for allemandes in 2/4 and another for those in 3/8.⁷

Around 1770 we find the German national dance in a state of transition: it is being taken up by the dancing-masters and formalized into a ballroom dance. It exists simultaneously in two forms: the aristocratic and stylized form, and the original peasant or folk form.⁸ The dancing master Feldtenstein bears witness to this process with his example of German music ("an example such as any peasant might find usable"): "I have indeed mentioned the peasant, but I hope not to defend his rough ill-mannered dance; but when refined persons dance our deutscher Tanz with grace, it must redound to the honor of us Germans."⁹

⁷Simon Guillaume, Almanach dansant, on positions et attitudes de l'allemande (Paris, 1770) 13.

⁸For a general discussion of this point, see Sachs, History, 280-82.

⁹Feldenstein, Erweiterung II, 28. ". . . ein deutsche Musik, und zwar eine solche, die jeder Landmann beynahe kennt, beyzubringen...ich habe zwar eben den Landmann erwähnt, ich hofe aber, dass ich nicht seinen rohen ungestitteten Tanz defendire, sondern wenn gebildete Körper ihn mit Anstand tanzen, unser deutscher Tanz uns Deutschen zu meherer Ehre gereichen muss."

The idea that Mozart's deutsche were waltzes is beginning to gain acceptance, but the existence of an eighteenth-century German national dance in duple meter has hardly been suspected. Its presence is confirmed in H. C. Koch's Musikalisches Lexikon of 1802 which refers to "the well-known German national dance in 2/4 with the character of calm happiness."¹⁰

For the purposes of this study, German dances in duple time will be considered separately from those in triple time. Dances in duple time, which seem to have been preferred by the French, will be grouped under the heading Allemande. These include the baroque allemande, danced up until the 1760s, the contredance allemande which replaced it, and the Strassburger/allemande. Those dances in triple time, which seem to have been more favored in Germany, will be discussed separately. These include the Ländler, the Swäbische, and the deutsche or waltz. The chapter will conclude with the Kehraus or finale.

¹⁰Koch, Lexikon, 42. ". . . den bekannten deutschen National-tanz, in Zweivierteltakt gesetzt und den Character ruhiger Fröhlichkeit behauptend."

Allemandes in Duple Meter

The French Baroque Allemande

A court and theatre dance called allemande was in use in France throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. La Cuisse tells us that it was a couple dance -- a "pas de deux" -- in the German style.¹¹ Its musical nature -- in duple time with upbeat -- can be deduced from Mattheson's remark (1739) that the French have ". . . a special dance, that goes by the name allemande, but it seems to be more like a rigaudon than a true allemande."¹²

In his Abregé de la nouvelle methode (1725), the Parisian dancing-master Pierre Rameau gives choreography and music for just such a dance (see Illustration 12, p. 293).¹³ The choreography is derived from that developed by Pécour and Feuillet at the turn of the century. Note especially that Rameau has included a sketch showing a two-hand hold with the partners facing in opposite directions, right hand extended and left hand behind the back. This is a "German" figure which becomes popular in the

¹¹Guilcher, Contredanse, 143.

¹²Mattheson, Capellmeister, 232.

". . . einen sonderlichen Tantz, der mit dem Allemanden-Nahmen belegt wird; ob er wol einem Rigaudon viel ähnlicher siehet, als einer rechten Allemande."

¹³Pierre Rameau, Abregé de la nouvelle methode (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1725) 58.

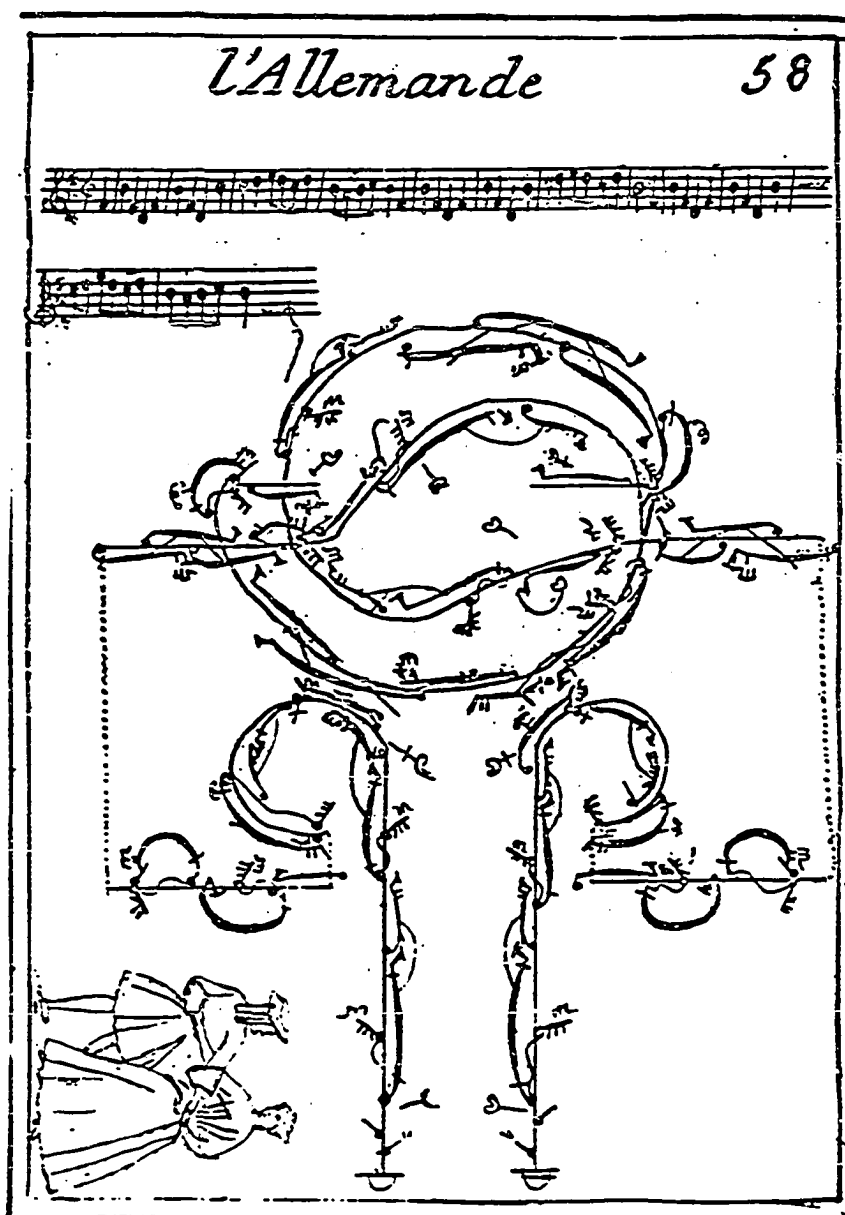


Illustration 12. Pierre Rameau,
 choreography for an allemande,
 with diagram of two figures.
Abbregé (1725) 58.

contredanses of 1770s (see Le Bal paré by St. Aubin, Illustration 13, p. 303).

Rameau's complete tune is shown in Example 133:

1725

Example 133. Pierre Rameau, Abregé, 58-64,
"l'Allemande."

This evidently popular tune appears in other French sources, where it is called "Allemande française"¹⁴ and "Allemande La Bourgogne."¹⁵ It is possible that Mattheson knew this tune, or that this dance could have been

¹⁴Écorcheville, Catalogue, V, 65.

¹⁵Écorcheville, Catalogue, VII, 109, and IV, 190, This last citation is a Philidor manuscript dated 1712; the allemande is attributed to Pécour. Meredith Ellis Little has discussed a dance suite entitled La Bourgogne with choreography by Pécour (JAMS, XXVIII, 112-24). This suite includes courante, bourée, sarabande, and passepied. It is tempting to suppose that this allemande started out as the first dance in this suite.

one of the four allemandes used in the Bal de Strasbourg.

Le Bal de Strasbourg was a Favart production, designed to celebrate the return to health of Louis XV in 1744: Le bal de Strasbourg, divertissement allemand au sujet de la convalescence du Roi, Opera comique ballet, Paris 1744.¹⁶ Although no music remains, a picture of how these allemandes were used theatrically can be seen in the surviving 'program' or 'libretto.' Contrary to expectations, the Bal, the last scene (Scene VI), is composed of assorted airs and vaudevilles, not named dances. But four allemandes are called for in scene III which represents a procession. After a fanfare, there is:

Une allemande

Air: "Il faudroit pour fair un tombeau"

Deuxieme allemande

Troisieme allemande

Quatrieme allemande

then: Allemande 1, allemande 2, allemande 3,

Allemande 1, allemande 2, allemande 3, allemande 4.

These processional allemandes in duple meter may represent a previously unrecognized link between the danced renaissance allemande and the stylized allemandes of baroque keyboardists.

¹⁶From title page of program in New York Public Library dance collection.

The Contredanse Allemande

The First Contredanse Allemande. The contredanse allemande replaced the baroque allemande for two persons. It developed in France at the end of the Seven-years War (1763), starting out not as a separate entity but as a variant of the French contredanse. Like the contredanse française, the contredanse allemande is for eight persons in a square, and has the same format of entrée and refrain. In 1765 La Cuisse wrote;

The five or six years spent by our armies in Germany has developed among us a taste for airs allemandes; in order to satisfy this current fashion without losing the sight of [the need for] general amusement, and in place of those pas de deux in the German style which require only two persons, we offer several airs allemandes with figures to be danced by eight persons as in our contredanses.¹⁷

The invention of the contredanse allemande can be attributed to two Parisian dancing-masters, Sieur Carel, Maître de danse, Privilégié du Roi, and M. Deshayes,

¹⁷La Cuisse, Répertoire des bals, III. Quoted in: Guilcher, Contredanse, 143. "Le séjour que nos armées ont fait en Allemagne pendant cinq à six ans ayant fait naître parmi nous le goût des airs allemands, pour satisfaire ce goût momentané sans perdre de vue l'amusement général, et au lieu de ces pas de deux à la manière allemande qui n'occupent que deux personnes, nous donnerons quelques airs allemands avec des figures pour être dansées à huit comme nos contredanses."

Maître des Ballets de la Comédie française. Quite a lot can be discovered about this "first contredanse allemande known in Paris"¹⁸ because it became the subject of a heated exchange of letters in the Mercure de France in 1764. The controversy centered around who had a right to use the tune, which had been in the repertoire of the Comédie française, and whether some dance figures had been plagiarized.¹⁹ What can usefully be extracted from their argument is Carel's analysis of what constitutes a contredanse allemande. In his defense against the plagiarism charge Carel remarks somewhat caustically:

He told me that he had incorporated into his contredanse . . . some passes under the arms, and that I had done this also. Could I have done otherwise (passes over the arms)? No, obviously, for the reason that not

¹⁸Note to "La folie, contredanse allemande," by Carel. In La Cuisse, Répertoire, c. 1765.

¹⁹In brief: Carel was planning a divertissement for the Duc de Chartres to take place 8 Sept 1763. He enlisted Deshayes and some of his dancers, and Deshayes offered to furnish some of the airs. Among these was one which Carel named La Strasbourgeoise. Deshayes set some figures for this dance, but the divertissement never took place. Carel, believing he had been given the tune, set his own figures to it and published it under his name. This "Strasbourgeoise was danced for eight months at both Paris and Versailles." At this point, the music was used by Deshayes as part of a Ballet anglois given at the Théâtre français in July 1764. The tune was recognized by the public, and Deshayes was evidently accused of plagiarism. Hence a letter to the Mercure by him accusing Carel of plagiarism (August, 1764 pp. 177-79) and a rebuttal by Carel (October, 1764, 197-204).

everyone knows how to leap (sauter) and whirl about (voltiger). 20

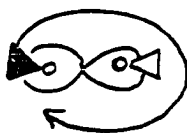
It would appear that Carel understood the German dance to consist in passes under the arms, and leaping and whirling about, but he only felt able to incorporate the passes into his contredanse. This may be another reference to the two-part nature of the German dance. (For Carel's attempt to introduce the turning or waltzing figure, see below, p. 338).

Both the Carel and Deshayes choreographies were published by La Cuisse in 1765. In their dance instructions these passes under the arms are called pirouettes sous les bras (Carel, 5 and 6; Deshayes, XIV, XVI and XVIII). In the diagrams showing the figures of the dancers, the instruction for a basic passee or pirouette sous les bras looks like this (Deshayes, XVI, XVIII):



Both Carel and Deshayes use further figures identified as German:

²⁰Mercur de France, October 1764, 201. ". . . il m'a dit qu'il avoit fait dans sa Contre danse des passes dessous les bras, et que j'en avois fait aussi. M'etoit-il possible d'en faire par-dessus? Non, sans doute, par la raison que tout le monde ne scait pas sauter et voltiger."

Tour d'Allemande

[Two partners face each other holding hands crossed
(right hands over left) and turn]

Embrasser en allemande

[Partners face forward, left hands held in front,
right hands behind]



[Partners face forward, left hands and right hands
crossed in front]

There is supporting evidence for these holds in German sources. Pauli (Leipzig, 1756) defines allemande as "holding both arms crossed."²¹ and Petersen (Hamburg, 1768) describes à l'Allemande as "holding hands in the German way . . . or to hold both hands with arms intertwined through each other" ²² Perhaps the best summary is made by Gallini (London, 1770) who says of the allemande, "this figure is performed by interlacing your arms with your partner's in various ways."²³

The music for the Carel and Deshayes dances, "La Strasbourgeoise," differs in significant ways from tunes for the contredanse française as can be seen in Example 134 (p. 301). Notable are the 2/4 meter without upbeat, the four-measure phrases, and the structure AA, BB, CC, DD, EE ("deux fois chaque reprise").

²¹Pauli, Elemens, 13. "Figure des bras, les donnant en croisant."

²²Th. F. Petersen, Praktische Einleitung in der Choreographie (Hamburg, 1768). "a l'Allemande: auf teutsche Art beyde Hände . . . oder mit durcheinander geschräkten Armen sich beyde Hände geben . . ." Quoted in Taubert, Höfische Tänze: Ihre Geschichte und Choreographie (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1968) 89.

²³Gallini, Collection, 5.

LA
STRASBOURGEOISE
Contredanse.

Deux fois chaque Répétition.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'LA STRASBOURGEOISE Contredanse'. The score is written on seven staves, each with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The music is a single melodic line. At the bottom of the score, there is a note: 'Deux fois chaque Répétition.' The entire score is enclosed in a rectangular border.

Example 134. *La Cuisse*, Le Répertoire des bals II,
 "La Strasbourgeoise, Contredanse allemande."
 Now arranged and recorded by Karl Heinz Taubert,
Historische Tänze: von der Volte zum Gallopp,
 with the Collegium Instrumentale Berlin (Schott,
 Wergo 3005, 1979).

The contredanse allemande of the 1770s. The contredanse allemande seems to have increased in popularity when the Hapsburg Marie Antoinette married the Dauphin in 1770. By the time she became Queen of France in 1774, it had become one of the most fashionable dances of the day. The first dance in the Thuillier collection is dedicated to her: "Les charmes de la France contre-danse allemande et française dédiée et présentée à la Reine par . . . Bacquoy-Guédon cy devant danseur du théâtre français."

A well-known engraving by Duclos, after St. Aubin, Le Bal paré (1773), illustrates the dance at this time (see Illustration 13, p. 303). Eight persons are dancing, four couples in a square. The two side couples show the woman turning under the upraised right arm of the man -- the pirouette sous les bras. The figure executed by the front and back couples is the two-hand turn illustrated earlier by Rameau. It was newly popular; La Cuisse did not use it, but it is common in the dances of the Thuillier collection where it is diagrammed as:

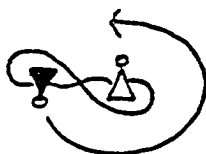




Illustration 13. Le bal paré,
engraving by Duclos after St. Aubin (1774).

This engraving thus shows two verifiably German figures, and deserves to be properly labelled a contredanse allemande (not "allemande" as in Sachs' World history of the dance, "Quadrille" as in MGG, or "Contredanse française" as in Guilcher's Contredanse. Except for the complexity of the hold, the St. Aubin engraving might be an illustration of the patterns shown in one of Carel's "Strasbourgeoise" diagrams (see Illustration 14, p. 305).

The "Strasbourgeoise" differs from a typical contredanse française in significant ways, both choreographic and musical. To see if these differences can be generalized for the contredanse allemande, we will again consult the collection of dances made by the London dancing-master Thuillier which was used for the study of the contredanse française. This collection includes 15 dances labelled contredanse allemande and 8 labelled contredanse française et allemande (see Table VIII, p. 306).

We would hope to find dances with the pirouette sous les bras, without rigaudon steps, in 2/4 meter without upbeat, and with a non-rondeau tune structure. But neither a figure called tour d'allemande (A) nor the expected pirouette sous les bras (P) is meaningful. Only when we consider the steps and the music do we find consistent distinctions.

Distinction in steps. The rigaudon step is never



Le bal paré

Carel's "Strasbourgeoise"

Illustration 14. Comparison of Le bal paré with a figure from Carel's "Strasbourgeoise."

Table VIII. Thullier Dances: Contredanse Allemande

| Title | | Index | Chor. ¹ | Meter | Upbeat | Key | Publisher |
|--|----------|-------|--------------------|---------|--------|-----|-----------|
| 10. La nouvelle Minette | Cda | a | - - | 2 [2/4] | — | A,a | Dubois |
| 11. La nouvelle danoise | Cda | a | - [a] | 2/4 | — | F? | Dubois |
| 12. Le moulin de Sanois | Cda | a | - [a] | 2/4 | — | D,d | Landrin |
| 18. Les nymphes de Payne | Cda | a | - [a] | 2/4 | — | A,a | |
| | [Menuet] | | | 3 | — | A | |
| 20. Les nouveaux plaisirs des Eaux de Barege | Cda | a | | 2/4 | — | G | |
| 21b. La Sabran | Cda | a | - [a] | 2/4 | — | E | Landrin |
| 23. Les plaisirs de Lucille | Cda | a | - - | 2 [2/4] | — | E | Dubois |
| 26. Les berceux allemands | {Cda} | a | - [a] | 2/4 | — | D,d | |
| 28. La nouvelle cornet | Cda | a | - [a] | 2 [2/4] | — | A,a | Dubois |
| 31. L'inconnue ou les plaisirs de Chantilly | Cda | a | - {a}p | 2/4 | — | E | Dubois |
| 32. La monrose | Cda | a | - [a]p | 2/4 | — | F | |
| 41. La Julie allemande | Cda | a | - a | 2/4 | — | D | Dubois |
| 48. La gratieuse | Cda | a | - | 2 [2/4] | — | A,a | Dubois |
| 50. La Dubois allemande | Cda | a | - | 2/4 | — | A | Dubois |
| 52. Les nouvelle plaisirs les festes forains (4 mar. 1769) | Cda | a | - p | 2 [2/4] | — | A,a | Dubois |

Contredanse allemande et française

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-----|-----|------------|---|-----|------------------|
| 1. Les charmes de la France | a+f | a+f | r p | 6/8 | | D,d | B-G ² |
| 4. La nouveaute | a+f | - | r - | 2 or 2/4 | | A,a | B-G |
| 8. Les Savoyards | f+a | - | r A | 2/4 | — | d,d | B-G |
| 9. La nouvelle Amazonne | f+a | a+f | r p | 6/8 3/8 | | D,D | Dubois |
| 13. Les artes | n.a+f | a+f | r A | 2 | | G,g | B-G |
| 24. La genie de la danse | a+f | a+f | r A | 6/8 | | G,g | B-G |
| 39. Les vendageurs | a+f | f+a | r | 6/8 | | G,g | B-G |
| 54. Les charmes de Cesny | n.f+a | f+a | r p | 2/4 | — | D,d | B-G |

1. r = rigaudon; p = passe; A = tour d'allemande; [a] = two-hand turn
 2. B-G = Bacquoy-Guédon

called for in a contredanse allemande; it appears in all but one of the contredanses françaises. This is a symptom of a more basic differentiation: French dances were done with French steps, German ones with the basic pas d'allemande. This was already suggested in a note to La Cuisse's dance "La Windsor:" "This contredanse should be performed en pas d'Allemande as should all the contredanses allemandes. . . ."24

Distinction in tempo. The distinction in steps results in a further basic distinction in tempo. German dances were faster than the French. Some of the dances labelled both française and allemande indicate that to perform the dance en allemande the music is to be played en allegro, implying a slower tempo for the French version.²⁵ Another dance gives two time signatures (2, 2/4) and an instruction to use the 2/4 en allemande.²⁶

Distinction in music. The German tunes, all in 2/4, are highly differentiated from the French, for whereas the French characteristically have the half-measure upbeat, the German airs have no upbeat at all. Furthermore, while

24La Cuisse, Répertoire, "La Windsor". "Cette Contredanse doit être dansée en pas d'Allemande ainsi que toutes les Contredanses Allemandes"

25Thuillier, nos. 13, 39, "pour danser cette contredanse en allemande, il faut jouer l'air en allegro."

26Thuillier, no. 4, "en allemande le mouvement de 2/4."

rondeau forms are common in French airs, the basic German pattern is "Deux fois chaque reprise" or AA, BB, CC, DD, XX. In addition, Thuillier tunes show a distinctive pattern in phrasing: a four-measure phrase with a cadential ornament or turn at the fourth measure (Examples 135, 136 and 137):

1773



Example 135. Thuillier, no. 11, "La nouvelle Danoise,"
measures 1-4.



Example 136. Thuillier, no. 31, "L'inconnue,"
measures 1-4.



Example 137. Thuillier, no. 50, "La Dubois,"
measures 1-4.

These four-measure initial phrases typically close on the tonic; the tune then repeats with an unornamented tonic cadence of two notes . All strains of the tunes are of this construction. The melodic patterns are more consistent than structural patterns; these show an encroachment of rondeau elements on the basic "deux fois chaque reprise" format.

Before considering the further use of this type of tune in serious music, we need to investigate another dance -- that called simply allemande in France, and Strassburger in Germany.

The Strassburger/Allemande

The introduction of yet another dance named after the city of Strasbourg calls for some clarification.

Elements of the German national dance were periodically taken over or incorporated into French dance forms. The avenue for this cultural transfer led through the border city of Strasbourg (Strassburg). Heightened French interest in the German dance can usually be related to some political event or historical circumstance. For example, the flood of renaissance almandes into France followed the incursion of Henry II into Strasbourg and the surrounding territories in 1551. Not without reason was the most popular of these dances known as the Almande Loreyne (Lorraine). In the eighteenth century the name of Strasbourg figures prominently in three cases: first, the Bal de Strasbourg of 1744, the title of the divertissement for Louis XV; second, the Strasbourggeoise of 1763-65, name of the first contredanse allemande introduced into Paris (name of a dance only); and third, a type of dance called Strassburger by the Germans and allemande by the French, of which Mozart's Strassburger tune is but one example.

The Strassburg dance has been the subject of considerable interest, for many scholars have attempted to identify Mozart's Violin Concerto "with the Strassburg" which

"flowed like oil."²⁷ This present study of the dance will show that the tune and the concerto have been generally misidentified.

The Strassburg dance was a very popular item in Mozart's day. The author of a Prague essay on the dance (1789) notes that the "Strassburg dance, or, as it is otherwise called, the Allemande prevails absolutely in many regions and beside it little else is tolerated."²⁸ According to another author, the Strassburg dance approaches the menuet in "charm, attractiveness, and delicacy."²⁹

The dance was popular in Vienna around 1780, both on the stage and in the ballroom. On the stage the Strassburger, as a single couple dance, could be joined with a menuet (1779):

In the Josephstadter Theater a lustspiel 'Der Ball' was performed in which "Hr. Salomoni and Mlle. Neubauer danced a Minuet and a Strassburger."³⁰

²⁷See footnote no. 16, p. 47.

²⁸Quoted in Witzman, Der Ländler, 40. "Der Strassburger Tanz, oder, wie man ihn sonst nennt: die Allemande in manchen Gegenden unumschränkt herrscht und neben sich wenig andere duldet."

²⁹Quoted in Witzman, Der Ländler, 40. "Reiz, Annehmlichkeit, Delikatesse."

³⁰Blummel-Gugitz: Alt-Wiener Thesbis Karren, (Vienna, 1925). Cited in Paul Nettl, Mozart und der Tanz (Zurich: W. Classen, 1960) 72.

A description of this dance as performed in the Redoutensaal can be found in the memoirs of Caroline Pichler (referring to years 1770 to 1780, according to Paul Nettl):

Meanwhile, in the large Redoutensaal, several separate circles of deutscher dancers were formed. Within these circles, where they were undisturbed by the rapid revolution of the waltzers, single couples, mostly very youthful, performed the Strassburger dance, which consisted merely in graceful movements of the arms and poses of the body. Only fresh youth and natural grace could undertake this dance with approbation; for that reason it was not popular with everyone.³¹

The earliest mention of the Strassburg in Germany is found in the Breitkopf Catalogue Supplement of 1767. But around the same time in France, interest was growing in a single couple dance called there the Allemande, a dance whose popularity also reflected the Austrian influence on the French court. At or around 1770, three essays on how to dance the allemande appeared in Paris. (Dating by Curt Sachs and others at c. 1760 is too early.)

³¹Caroline Pichler, Zeitbilder, 149, paraphrased in Jahn, Mozart I, 319. Quoted in Nettl, Mozart, 72: "Indes sich nun in dem sehr grossen Redoutensaal mehrer einzelne Kreise der Deutschtanzenden bildeten, versuchten im Innern dieser Zirkel, wosie durch den raschen Umschwung der Walzenden nicht gestort wurden, einzelne, meist sehr jugendliche Paare im Strassburger-tanz, der bloss in anmutigen Verschlingungen der Arme und in zierlichen Stellungen des Korpers bestand. Nur frische Jugend und naturliche Grazie konnte in diesem Tanze mit Beifall auftreten, daher er dann auch nicht sehr allgemein war."

1. Guillaume, Simon
 - a) Almanach dansant, ou positions et attitudes de l'allemande (1770) and also
 - b) Caracteres de la danse allemande (c. 1770)
2. Dubois. Principes d' allemande (c. 1770)

From these instructions we can derive a possible idea of Caroline Pichler's "graceful intertwining of arms and seemly poses of the body." These instructions consist, in each case, of a series of twelve illustrated poses accompanied by descriptions of the turns or passes that accompany each figure.

Figure 1 of the Dubois set shows a man holding a woman's left hand with his right, prepared to begin the dance. The explanation (with my paragraphing, numbering, and underscoring) reads:

- 1) I give my right hand to the lady's left; I have her turn once around to the left under my arm; I lower the arms [arms are to be lowered at the end of each turn turn]
- 2) and I have her return under the same arm with a turn to the right. I take the lady's left hand in my left;
- 3) I make one turn to the right so that my left hand is placed behind my back; I take the lady's right hand in
- 4) my right in front; this turn is repeated if desired;
- 5) I let go my left hand behind me; I have the lady make a turn to the left thus putting her right hand behind her;

- 6) I take her left hand in my left hand before dropping her right hand and make a turn to the right, putting my left hand behind me; I take the lady's right hand in my right in front. This Suite has six turns which may be repeated if desired.³²

The following eleven figures which evidently are, or may be, done in succession, contain from five to thirteen passes each, totalling 84 (see Illustration 15, p. 315).³³ There are no instructions by either Dubois or Guillaume for fitting the steps or passes to any music.

Of course an assumption is being made here, confirmed, so far, only by the Prague report of 1789: that the dance the Germans called the Strassburg was the same as that which Guillaume and Dubois called the Allemande. A study of

³²Dubois, Principes d'Allemande, facing Figure 1.

"Premiere figure. Je donne la main droit à la main gauche de la Dame, je la fais tourner un tour à gauche sous mon bras droit; je baisse les bras et la fais retourner sous le même bras un tour à droite; je donne la main gauche à la main gauche de la Dame; je tourne un tour à droite, en ployant mon bras gauche derriere moy, je donne la main droite à la main droite par devant, cette passe se repette à volonté. je quitte la main gauche derriere moy, je fais tourner la Dame un tour à gauche, en luy ployant le bras derriere elle; je prend sa main gauche avec ma main gauche par devant; je quitte sa main droite et fais un tour à droite, en ployant mon bras gauche derriere moy; je donne la main droite à la main droite par devant. Cette Suite est de six passes quise repettent à volonté." My underscoring, numbering and paragraphing.

³³Illustrations for five of the Guillaume Positions are published in Taubert's Höfische Tänze, 90.

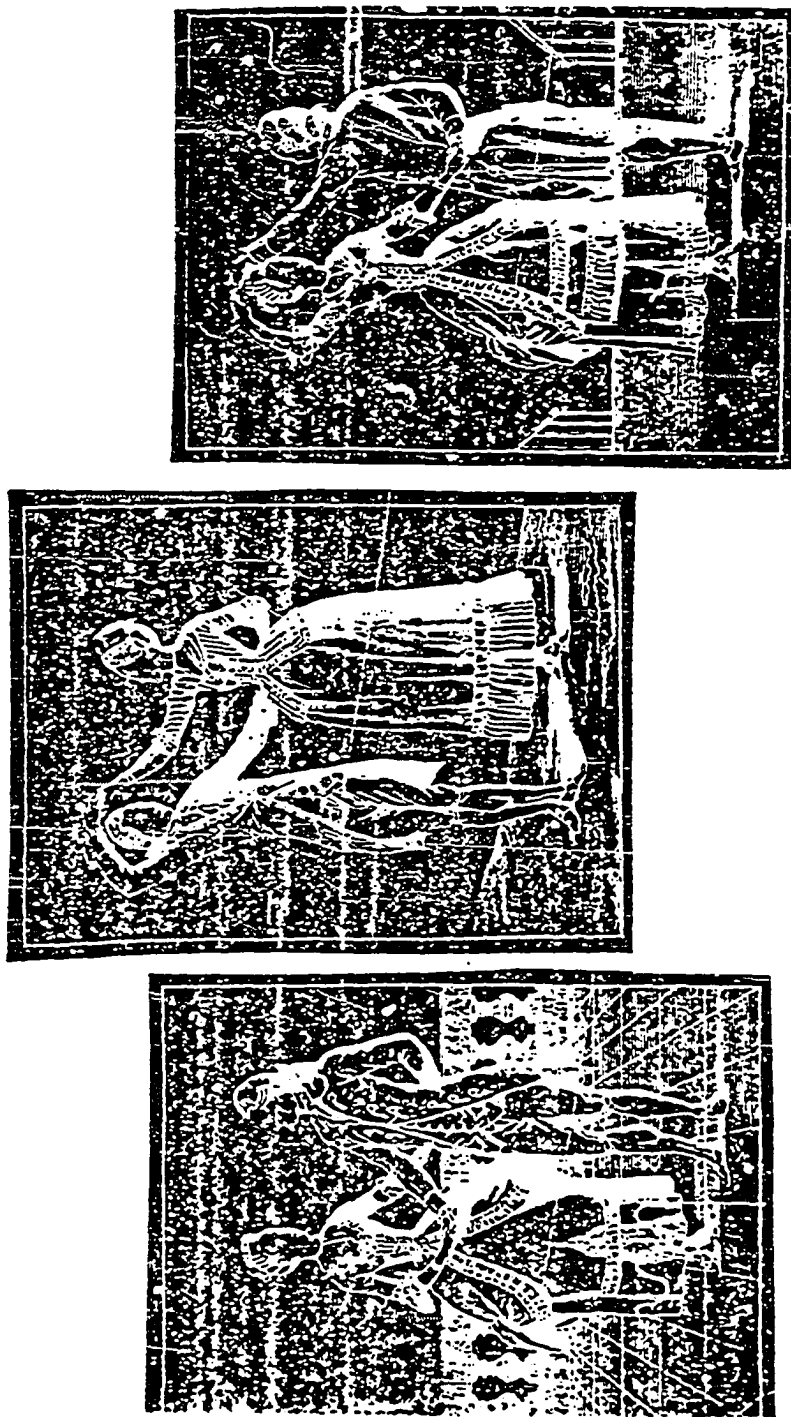




Illustration 15. Dubois, Principes d'Allemande (1770), figures 2, 3, and 4.

the music may help verify this assumption.

Until recently the only published Strassburg dance was a movement of Karl Dittersdorf's Carnaval Symphonie entitled "Ballo Strassburghese," Example 138. I have replaced a turn, "  " with "  " so that the melody may be recognized more clearly.

Andante grazioso



Example 138. Dittersdorf, Carnaval Symphonie,
"Ballo Strassburghese," measures 1-16.

Another Strassburger from a Quodlibet from Paul Wranitsky, has now been recorded (Example 139). This Quodlibet includes Mozart's "Fandango" setting from Figaro, and thus must date from after 1786.

1786+



Example 139. Wranitsky, Quodlibet, "Strassburger,"
measures 1-8. Recorded on Archive,
Tanzmusik, V, side 2.

The allemande tunes published by Dubois, indistinguishable from Thuillier's tunes for the contredanse allemande, are very like these Strassurg tunes. In fact, the only difference between a French allemande and a German Strassburg tune appears in the use of 2/4 meter and notation rather than C or \emptyset , as a comparison of the rhythmic pattern in Example 140 with the Wranitsky will show.

1770



Example 140. Dubois, Recueil de six menuets et six allemandes, Allemande 1, measures 1-4.

It is now evident that the only possible candidate for Mozart's Strassburger is the duple meter tune from the Rondeau of the G major Concerto, K 216 (and not the contredanse française from the D major Concerto, K 218). The Mozart melody even incorporates the 4th-measure turn of the French tunes (Example 141):

Allegretto 1775

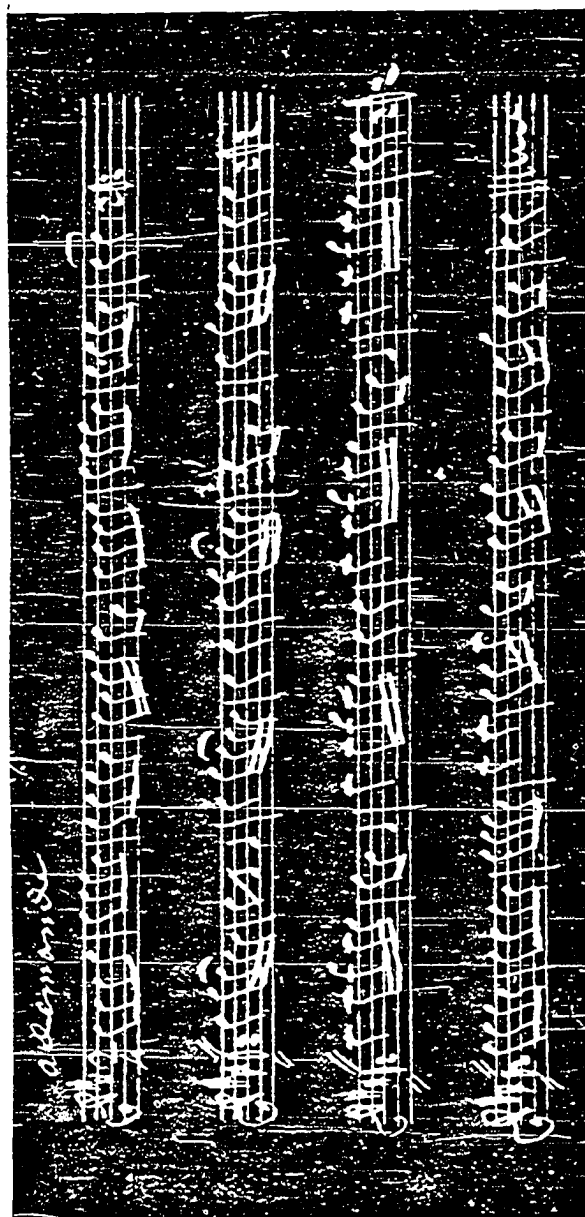
violin pr. oboe .

Example 141. Mozart, Violin Concerto in G major, K 216,
last movement, measures 265-288.

This identification based on musical comparisons can be verified by further means:

- 1) The association with a deutsche-like tune as the main theme of the Rondo, giving a picture in music of Caroline Pichler's ball.
- 2) A discovery of the tune by Dénes Bartha in a Hungarian collection of songs and dances where it is also called "Strassburger" (Example 142).

This led him to question the accepted attribution.



Example 143. Paris, BN, MS Vm⁷ 4865, f.15v,
"Allemande."

A few more Strassburg/allemande tunes may be noted in Mozart's works. A likely example is the tune in the Rondo for Piano and orchestra, K 382 (Example 144). The tempo is appropriate, the affect graceful, and the tune structure the same (AABA).



Example 144. Mozart, Rondo in D major, K 382, measures 1-4. Ornamentation reduced by me.

The Rondo finale from the Divertimento No. 1 for three basset horns, in spite of Mozart's upbeat, could have come right out of the French allemande repertoire (Example 145):

Allegro Vienna 1783?



Example 145. Mozart, Divertimento No. 1 in B-flat major for basset horns, K 439b, last movement, measures 1-4.

A typical allemande tune from Haydn's works is found in the last movement of Symphony No. 45:

Presto

1772



Example 146. Haydn, Symphony No. 45
in F-sharp minor, last movement,
measures 1-4.

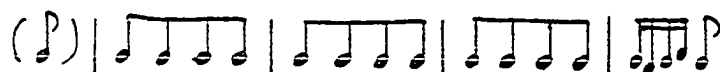
Characteristics of the Allemande/Strassburger

Meter: 2/4 (French); C (German)

Upbeat: none (French); \downarrow (German)

Phrasing: 4 + 4

Cadence: with turn or ornament in 4th measure



Tempo: French tunes: fast (no French steps)

German Strassburger: grazioso, allegretto

The Ländler

The Ländler is usually considered the predecessor of the waltz.³⁵ I believe this idea to be mistaken, that the two dances are distinct, and that the waltz has an older proveable history. If anything, it was the infusion of the Ländler elements such as the um-pah-pah bass into the pre-existing deutsche/waltz which created the characteristic nineteenth-century form.

Curt Sachs derives the word Ländler from "Landl," the mountain region of Austria.³⁶ This etymology is followed by Mosco Carner in MGG.³⁷ Another opinion would derive it simply from "Land," the country (as opposed to the city).³⁸ As "Landl" is no doubt related to "Land" this point may not be especially important, except that a resolution in favor of "Landl" would help define the area of Ländler's origin.

The Ländler was the Austrian national dance. A report from the year 1819 found by Reingard Witzmann in the Archive of the Gessellschaft der Musikfreunde indicates the

³⁵E.g., Willi Apel, "Dance music, IV," Harvard dictionary of music, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972) 233.

³⁶Sachs, History, 379.

³⁷Mosco Carner, "Walzer," MGG, XIV, 224.

³⁸Communication from Siegmund Levarie.

status of the Ländler at that time:

In every land one finds a special sort of dance particular to its inhabitants. Austria also used to have a special kind of dance called the Ländler. This was danced to a 3/4 measure, was not too fast, and had different turnings (Schwenkungen) and figures In the greater part of Upper Austria and also in Lower Austria in the mountains opposite the Gränze of Steyermärk, the old Ländler dance, which is the only true Austrian national dance, is still preserved and danced very well. To be sure, the melodies are somewhat modernized, but they still have more individuality and artfulness than the boring Wälzer.³⁹

As a dance the Ländler has little in common with the waltz. The Ländler (today) consists in a series of separate figures which involve singing, clapping, and stamping. Only one figure requires the holding of both hands. The overall movement is calm, casual, and relaxed.⁴⁰ The

³⁹Quoted in: Witzmann, Die Ländler, 45. "In jedem Lande findet man eine besondere Art zu tanzen, die den Bewohner desselben eigen ist. Österreich hatte auch ehemals eine eigene Gattung des Tanzes, den man den Ländlertanz nennt. Dieser wurde nach dem 3/4 Takt getanzt, ging nicht sehr geschwind, hatte verschiedene Schwenkungen und Figuren In dem grössten Theile Oberösterreichs und auch in Unterösterreich im Gebirge gegen die Steyermärkische Gränze hat sich der alte Ländlertanz, welche der einzige eigentliche österreichische Nationaltanz ist, noch erhalten und wird sehr gut getanzt. Die Melodien sind zwar auch etwas modernisiert, haben aber doch noch immer mehr Eigenes und Kräftiges, als die faden Wälzer."

⁴⁰Beenk. "Laendler elements," Appendix A: "Dance directions for the Ländler," Tr. from Ilka Peter, Tänze aus Österreich Vienna: Doblinger, 1946) 127-37.

intricacy of the figures and the nature of the dance require a slow tempo.

The distinction in tempo is sometimes noted. Schubert's set of 12 Ländler [editor's title?], D. 790, are to be played "im deutsches tempo."⁴¹ And Witzmann found a pertinent remark in the Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung of 1803: "It is very good that herr Maschek has added to his Ländler that they must be taken more slowly than the deutsche, since the two types are usually mixed up with each other."⁴²

In his study of the Ländler, Eugene Beenk includes complete transcriptions of 97 folk tunes,⁴³ forty-one of which come from early nineteenth-century sources.⁴⁴ But he also states that "though no difference could be found

⁴¹Maurice J. E. Brown, "Dance Music," in Essays on Schubert (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966) 238.

⁴²Witzmann, Die Ländler, 57. "Es ist auch recht gut, das Herr Maschek bei den Ländlern hinzugesetzt hat, sie müssen langsamer genommen werden als der deutschen Tänze, denn gewöhnlich vermischt man beide Arten miteinander."

⁴³Beenk, "Laendler Elements," 139-81.

⁴⁴These are: Franz Ziskz, Österreiche Volkslieder, 1812, (19); "Ländler im Klavierbuche einer prussischen Prinzessen," Klavier Noten, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Signature A.M. 29, 273, 1815-1820, (18); a Ländler taken from a manuscript collection owned by Johann Winkler, copied by Michael Pötzlberger, Feb. 13, 1827 (1); Raimund Zoder, Oestereichischer Volkstänze, early nineteenth century, (3).

between folk tunes labelled Ländler, Steayerischer, Deutscher, and so on, the majority of the tunes in this group were called Ländler in the original source."⁴⁵ His transcriptions, however, do not identify the tunes by title so a note of caution is required. Beenk's study is directly primarily toward analyses of melodic intervals, dudeln, yodel, and arpeggio figures, melodic cadence patterns, harmonic background, and use of non-chord tones. A few pages on accented-note patterns (examples are one or two measures long and may not include beginnings of phrases) show that an "accented" [long] note may occur on beats 1, 2 or 3.⁴⁶

With this analysis he is able to identify six Ländler-like Symphonic Minuets of Joseph Haydn: Symphony 9, Minuet and Trio; Symphony 50, Minuet transition and Trio; Symphony 85, Trio; Symphony 86, Trio; Symphony 96, Trio; Symphony 97, Trio.

What is lacking in this study is the extraction of some basic rhythmic patterns which could be identified a characteristic of the Ländler. To do this one might also use as a guide the Ländler being written in Vienna at the time.

The earliest Ländler I am aware of are two sets of

⁴⁵Beenk, "Laendler Elements," 18.

⁴⁶Beenk, "Laendler Elements," 62-65.

Ländlerische deutsche Tänze by Vanhall which are noted in the Breitkopf Catalogue (Example 147):

1785-87

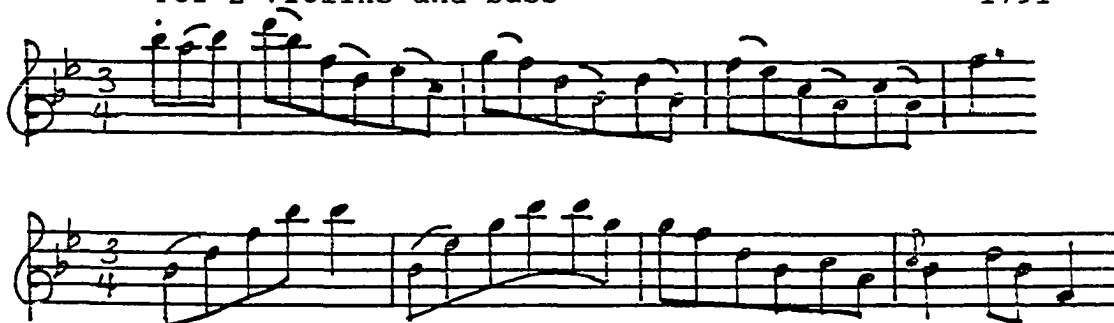


Example 147. Supplement XVI of the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue 1785-87; 2 Vanhall Ländler incipits.

The first complete datable Ländler seem to be the set of six Ländlerische composed by Mozart for the carnival season of 1791 (Example 148):

For 2 violins and bass

1791



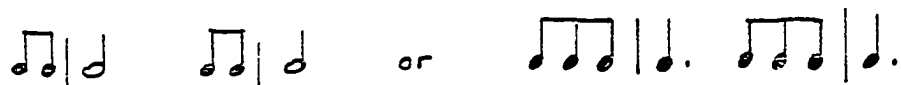
Example 148. Mozart, "6 Ländlerische," K 606, No. 1, measures 1-4; No. 4, measures 1-4.

These are followed by Beethoven's two sets for 1798 and 1802, Wo011 and Wo015, also for two violins and bass.

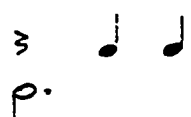

A study of these examples and those in the Beenk collection suggests that the basic pattern is probably



showing up often as



or a pattern of flowing eighth notes. Accompanying rhythmic patterns are simple. Most distinctive is the um-pah-pah

bass:  The pattern  is also common. Accents on the second or third beat are characteristic; these are made explicit by Beethoven (Examples 149a and 149b):

Two musical examples, 149a and 149b, showing piano accompaniment for "Ländlerische" in 3/4 time. Example 149a shows a piano (p) section with accents on the second and third beats, and a forte (sf) section. Example 149b shows a piano (p) section with accents on the second and third beats, and a forte (sf) section.

Example 149. Beethoven, "Ländlerische," WoO15, No. 1, measures 1-4; WoO 11, No. 7, measures 1-4.

The meter is always 3/4, never 3/8. A further characteristic is the minimal orchestration -- two violins and bass for Mozart and Beethoven, even less for Vanhall. The affect is flowing and graceful.

Unlabelled Ländler. Ländler patterns can indeed be found in the symphonies of Haydn, especially the London Symphonies (Examples 150-154).

1791



Example 150. Haydn, Symphony 96/iii, Trio, measures 1-8.

Spirituoso

1792



Example 151. Haydn, Symphony 97/i, second theme, measures 76-87.

1792



Example 152. Haydn, Symphony 97/iii, Trio, measures 1-8.

1792



Example 153. Haydn, Symphony 98/iii, Trio,
measures 1-6.

1795



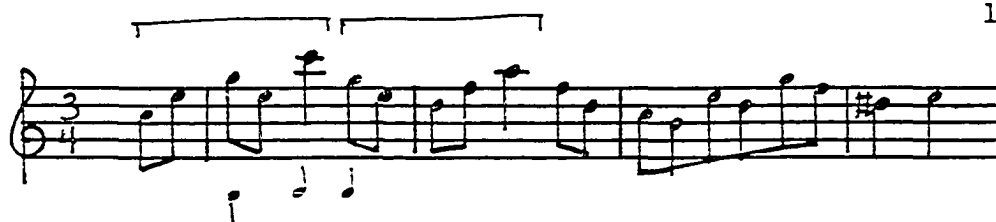
Example 154. Haydn, Symphony 104/iii, Trio,
measures 1-6.

Other likely examples from Mozart's works can be found in "Eine kleine Nachtmusik," (Example 155) and his Clarinet Quintet, K 581 (Example 156):

Vienna, 1787





Example 155. Mozart, Serenade, "Eine Kleine
Nachtmusik," K 525, second movement, Trio, measures 1-4.



Characteristics of the Ländler

Meter: 3/4 (never 3/8)

Upbeat: usually  or 

Phrasing: 1 + 1 + 2



Tempo: slower than deutsche; flowing

Other: accents on 2nd or 3rd beat

Um-pah-pah bass

trio texture

3 pulses per measure

The Deutscher or Waltz

The Schwäbische Dance

A dance called the Schwäbische needs a brief discussion here, first, because it brings us an early waltz choreography, and second, because the location of Swabia near the Rhine opposite Alsace and Lorraine made it a likely dance for importation to France, where waltzing shows up in the later 1760s and 1770s.

Theorists often mention the Schwäbische in an enumeration of different Allemandes. Koch writes (1802):

This name [Allemande] is often given to a peasant dance of Swabia and Switzerland still common and well-loved today. It is always measured in a flowing triple time.⁴⁷

Türk (1802) equates the Schwäbische with the walzer and schleifer (gliding dance):

This name (Allemande) is also given to the Schwäbische dance, which is better known under the name Walzer or Schleifer 48

⁴⁷Koch, Lexikon, 42. "Oft giebt man diesen Namen auch einem in Schwaben und in der Schweiz bei den Landleuten noch heutigen Tages gewöhnlichen und beliebten, jederzeit in einen fluchtigen Tripletakt eigeleideten Tanze."

⁴⁸Türk, Klavierschule, 450, quoting Christmann's Elementarbuch ter Tonkunst, 270. "Man giebt auch diesen Namen (allemande) dem schwäbischen Tanz, der mehr unter der Benennung Walzer oder Schleifer bekannt ist"

Feldenstein describes the choreography which, he says, is the same for the Schwäbische and the deutsche:

The order of steps in this dance is free and unrestricted. Each gentlemen may lead his lady as he pleases, turning in circles and setting turns in motion. He must only take care to keep his place in line. There is only one basic step necessary (if the opportunity is lacking for the student to learn others), which I will now present in an easy, clear, and practical way.

This step has three parts, is done most of the time with the knees relaxed and loose. The dancers imitate, in the three parts of the step, the tempo of the three hammerblows of a blacksmith. When you believe you can practice the counting of the steps better, then you may count 1 -- 2,3: that is, number one slowly, and numbers two and three fast. In other words you will maintain your steps quite easily following the nature of the music.⁴⁹

The music for this dance is problematic. Feldenstein's music example is a typical deutsche tune, but with a 2/4

⁴⁹Feldenstein, Erweiterung I, 100. "Die Führung in dieser Tanze, bleibt frey und uneingeschränkt. Jeder Tänzer kann seine Tänzerin nach eigenen Gefallen, durch Cirkels wendungen, und Touren in Bewegung setzen, nur muss er die Reihe in obacht nehmen, und ist dazu nur ein einziger Hauptschritt (wann die Gelegenheit mangelt von einen Lehrer mehrere zu erlernen) nöthig, den ich hiermit auf eine ganz leichte, deutliche, und mir nur mögliche Art, so zugleich bequem seyn soll, verlegen will.

Es dürfen die Tanzenden sich nur eines Schritt von drey Theilen bedeynen, und solchen die mehrste Zeit, mit ganzwilligen oder schlappen Knie formtren, und das Tempo in den drey Theilen gleich denen Schlägen, dreyer Schmidehammer nachnahmen, oder wann sie sich durch Zählung der Schritte darinnen glauben besser zu üben, so dürfen sie nur 1 -- 2,3, das ist, die Benennung eins, langsam, und die Benennung 2,3, geschwind zählen, oder aussprechen, so werden sie ganz leicht den tanzenden Schritt nach der Natur der Musik erhalten."

time signature (Example 158). Is this an error, or does it relate to his remarks on counting? Or to an unwritten performance practice whereby waltzing could be done to music in 2/4?



Example 158. Feldtenstein, "Schwäbische Tanz,"
Erweiterung II, Table I, no. 1.

A few other examples of Schwäbische tunes, for example, the Schwaben-Tanz in Leopold Mozart's notebook of 1762 (Example 159), suggest that the Schwäbische was a slow dance (relative to the deutsche), and that the usual music was in 3/4, with upbeat and with a strongly accented first beat (not unlike a Ländler).



Example 159. Leopold Mozart, Notenbuch, 1762,
"Schwaben-tanz," measures 1-4.

This Mozart dance is clearly in two parts over a drone-like bass, thus becoming a candidate for "trio" melodies, like the Ländler.

Kirnberger (1777) gives two examples of the "Souabe," one in 3/8 and another in 3/4 (Example 160):

1777

Example 160. Kirnberger, Recueil "XVI, Souabe" measures 1-6; "XVII, Souabe," measures 1-4.
Key signatures may be reversed.

Kirnberger's second Souabe is very like Mozart's. His first Souabe is perhaps out of place here (for deutsche in 3/8 with 3-measure phrases, see below p. 358). A poem in the almanac, Neuer Tanz- und Ball-Kalendar auf das Jahr 1801, clearly associates the Swäbische with a slow waltz:

Hört ihr den schwäbischen Wirbeltanz?
Lirum trallaram! Herbey!

. . . .
Singet dem Walzer ein Lobgedicht,
Aber dem langsamen nur!⁵⁰

⁵⁰Quoted in Reeser, Waltz, 24.

With limited information and conflicting sources, I can only propose the following: 1) the schwäbische was a waltz; 2) that it was (or became associated with) a dance in a slow tempo and 3) that examples in 3/8 more properly represent the faster deutscher/waltz. That the Schwabische Tanz/allemande, the Ländler, and the deutsche were considered separate entities (at least in 1785-87) may be affirmed by the Breitkopf Catalogue Supplement XVI which contains entries under all three designations.

The Early Waltz in France

In the course of exploring French contredanses, I discovered that waltz figures were early incorporated into the basic plan. Later, independent waltzes were included in the contredanse collections. This material will be discussed separately here. The French use the term walze (in variant spellings); there is no nomenclature problem here such as is to be found in German sources.

The Parisian dancing-master Carel, the same who introduced the contredance allemande into Paris in 1764 but did not know how to include figures of leaping and whirling about, evidently decided to introduce a new German figure after all. The dance in question is called "L'Alsaciene" (another example of German elements arriving in France by way of Strassburg); it is one of the few contredances with dates: it was prepared specifically for the Opera Ball of 6 February 1766.⁵¹ Carel thought it "La plus belle Allemande qui j'ai paru." This dance contains the following figure:

The gentlemen hold the right hand of their ladies in their left hand, and put their right hands behind their [the ladies'] backs, the ladies put their left hand on the right shoulder of their gentlemen; in this position 2 gentlemen pirouette to the left, each one holding his

⁵¹La Cuisse, Répertoire V (?), "L'Alsaciene."

lady"52

Carel is describing very carefully something new, and this something new is the modern "ballroom" position for waltzing. Carel's diagrams show his intentions very clearly:



The music for L'Alsaciene is a standard French allemande tune in 2/4; there is no change here to triple meter.

This innovation was also incorporated into the contredanses published by the dancing-master Dauternaux at Lyon in 1778.⁵³ Here the actual instruction "valsez" is used and the meter is sometimes changed to 3/8. Examples are:

⁵²La Cuisse, "L'Alsaciene." "Les Cavaliers tiennent de leur main gauche la main droit de leur Dames, et mettent leur bras droit deriere leur dos, les Dames mettent la main gauch sur l'epaule droite de leur Cavaliers; en cette position deux Cavaliers pirouettent a gouche tenant chacun leur Dame..."

⁵³Dauternaux, Recueil d'airs de contre-danses nouvelles et choisies avec l'explication des figures, (Lyon, 1778).

| | | | |
|--------|---------------------|----------|--|
| No. 2. | "La Saint-Cyr" | 2/4 | Valsez à vos places |
| 3. | "La belle Iris" | 2/4; 3/8 | Valsez à vos places |
| 9. | "La n. bien-venue" | 2/4; 3/8 | Valsez (for 3/8) |
| 11. | "Les Quatre Sophie" | 2/4 | valsent |
| 30. | "La renommée" | 6/8; 3/8 | valse (in 3/8) |
| 32. | "L'américaine" | 6/8; 3/8 | valse (in 3/8) |
| 33. | "La polonaise" | 2/4; 3/8 | La premier figure de la valse (16 measures) Valsez (in 3/8) |

These strains in 3/8 from the Dauternaux contredanses are excellent waltz tunes (Example 161):

1. 1778

2.

Example 161. Dautertnaux, Recueil, "La belle Iris,"
part 2, measures 1-16 and "La n. bien-venue,"
part 2, measures 1-16.

These waltz tunes have the characteristic rhythmic pattern



Noteworthy also, is the turn in the 4th measure, like the French 2/4 allemandes. These are analagous to the dances called "allemandes in 3/8" by Guillaume and occasionally "Boiteuse" in the contredanses (Thuillier 38b).

In the later French collections of Veber, Hullin, and Clairsches, datable to roughly the 1790s, the waltz has become independent. These waltzes are listed below.

- 1) Veber. Première Recueil de Nouvelles Contre-Danses Waltzes, et Anglaises (Paris, 179?).
1 Waltzer, in 3/4. La Viennoise
- 2) Veber. Troisième Recueil de Contredanses, Waltzes, Anglaises et Sauteuses (Paris, 180?).
4 Waltzer 3/8
1 Waltzer 3/4
- 3) Hullin. Recueil de Walses, Anglaises et de plusiers Airs de danse (Paris, after 1786).
3 valzer 3/8
- 4) Hullin. Cinquième Recueil Des Nouvelles Contre danses, Walzes et Bernoise. (Paris, n.d.).
12 Walzer 3/8
- 5) Hullin. Sixième Recueil (Paris: n.d.).
1 Walse
- 6) Clairches. Recueil (Paris: n.d.).
1 Walzer

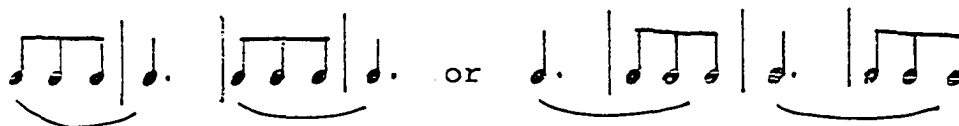
Typical is a waltz and trio from the first Hullin collection (Example 162):

179-

Example 162. Hullin, Recueil de walses, anglaises,
Valzer no. 1.

These dances show the same pattern as those of Dauternaux. Most characteristic is the four-measure phrase with a drive to the cadence in the fourth measure:

Sometimes this is broken down into two parts:



There may or may not be an upbeat; it is not essential to the pattern. Later examples may be notated in 3/4. A particularly amusing find is the Waltzer in Veber's first collection. This is entitled "La Viennoise" and is the tune "Ach du lieber Augustin" (Example 163):

179-?



Example 163. Veber, 1er Recueil, "Waltzer, La Viennoise," measures 1-16.

The first waltzes in England

M. Dorothy George, a student of eighteenth-century English society, has collected a number of early references to the waltz. Two of these propose a connection with Hanover. She deduces, from Byron's poem The waltz, that the dance "came from Germany 'while Hamburg yet had mails' -- before the French occupation of Hanover in 1803."⁵⁴ And another source suggests an even earlier connection. "In 1781, Prince Frederick (afterwards Duke of York) wrote from Hanover to the Prince: 'when I return to England I must teach you two different kinds of dances from what we have the least idea of, the quadrilles and the waltzies.'"⁵⁵ Prince Frederick continues: "[the waltzy] is a kind of Allemande, but much prettier. They generally introduce the waltzy into the quadrille."⁵⁶ (This is precisely what appears in the Dauternaux contredances of 1778.)

Independent dances called waltzes probably first appeared in London in the 1790s, about the same time they were making headway in France. Roger Fiske reports that the earliest English waltz he has found is in The Pirates, a Stephen Storace production of 1792.⁵⁷ This is a

⁵⁴George, Hogarth, 172.

⁵⁵Correspondence, George Prince of Wales, 48. Quoted in: George, Hogarth, 172.

⁵⁶Correspondence, 48.

⁵⁷Fiske, English theatre music, 515.

significant connecting link, for it seems possible that the Storaces brought their enthusiasm for the waltz back with them when they returned to London from Vienna. The new dance was soon popular. Clementi's Opus 38 and Opus 39, two sets of twelve waltzes, were registered in London in 1798 and 1800 respectively. These 24 waltzes for pianoforte, with tambourine and triangle, are not unlike their contemporary French equivalents. All time signatures are 3/8, tempi are "Presto," "Veloce," "Allegro," "Con spirito." Fourteen have upbeats; four-measure or 2 two-measure phrases are equally evident.

The waltz situation in England is straightforward and uncomplicated. The dance was an innovation; it was known by no other name. Conditions were otherwise in Germany.

The Deutscher/Waltz/Allemande/Tedesco in Germany

"The ladies of Vienna," reported Michael Kelly, "are particularly celebrated for their grace and movements in waltzing, of which they never tire For my own part, I thought waltzing from ten at night until seven in the morning a continual whirligig, most tiresome to the eye and ear"58 Kelly also reports on a waltzing mishap which befell the Storaces on the eve of their departure. Nancy, dancing with a gentlemen wearing spurs, tripped and fell. Her brother misunderstood the situation and an unpleasant fracas ensued, landing him in jail overnight and almost delaying the departure.⁵⁹

The dances Kelly speaks of were called deutsche by the Viennese at that time (late 1780s). It should be realized, however, that Michael Kelly meant exactly what he said, that is, they were waltzes. In the third volume of his Haydn Chronicle H. C. Robbins Landon presents eight documents covering the years 1785-1803 as evidence which "suggests, rather sensationally, that the Viennese waltzed to this kind of music."⁶⁰

58 Kelly, Reminiscences, 130-31.

59 Kelly, Reminiscences, 169-70.

60 Landon, Chronicle III, 208-12.

But the word walzen had been in use for decades. Its earliest mention so far has been found by Paul Nettl in the text of a song from a German comedy "Der aufs neu begeisterte und belebte Bernardon" of 1754.⁶¹

Bald singen, bald springen,
 Bald saufen, bald ranzen,
 Bald spielen, bald tanzen,
 Bald walzen umadum,
 Mit heissa, Rum, Rum.

The words are associated with following tune which may thus represent an early waltz, an assumption confirmed by its meter and phrase structure (Example 164):



Example 164. Possible early waltz reported by Paul Nettl in Mozart und der Tanz, 74-75.

In describing a ball scene in *Werther*, (c. 1771) Goethe equates the *deutsche* with waltzing. He uses the verbs deutsche tanzen and walzen. The name of the dance is

⁶¹Nettl, Mozart und der Tanz, 74-75.

both deutsche [Tanz] and das Walzen. The movement is described as two people whirling about each other like the spheres.⁶²

The earliest available records for the Imperial balls (1777) mention *deutsche*, the term used by Mozart and Haydn. Beethoven used Deutscher Tanz as a title and walzer as a tempo indication in the Ritterballet of 1790. After that he used *deutsche* (*allemande/tedesco*) until the later dances (after 1819), where he uses *walzer*.

An examination of dance music by other composers leads to further confusion, with *allemandes* and *balli tedeschi* entering the scene. Useful resources for untangling this problem in nomenclature are the present-day catalogues of composers' works, for here can be found the assorted titles borne by a single musical work. A number of these multiple-listings may be found in Table IX (pp. 349-50).

Here we find every possible pairing among *allemande*, *tedesco*, *deutscher*, and *walzer*, and even some triple designations for the same piece: 1) Weber's Opus 4 (1801): *allemandes/deutsche Tänze/walzer*, and 2) Hummel's dances of 1808: *deutsche/allemandes/balli tedeschi*. Mozart's *Teutsche*, K 536, K 586, and K 600 were published in London as waltzes. The earliest Viennese waltzes are either the

⁶²Goethe, Werther, 23-25. Book I, entry for 16 June 1771.

Table IX
Terms for the Deutsche

| | | | | |
|--------|------------|--------------|---|---|
| 1785-7 | Haydn | Hob. IX: 9 | Six Allemandes Menuettini Tedeschi | Artaria PNr. 76 Copy |
| 1787 | Mozart | Don Giovanni | teich allemana | Score Libretto |
| 1787 | Mozart | K 509 | 6 Teutsche 6 Tedeschi | Mozart's own catalogue Autograph heading |
| 1788 | Mozart | K 536 | 6 Teutsche, in Douze Walzes.... 1 ^{er} Suite Twelve Waltzes first set | Mozart's own catalogue Paris: Imbault London: T. Manzoni, Nr. 30 |
| 1789 | Mozart | K 586 | 12 Teutsche Twelve Waltzes 3d set | Mozart's own catalogue London: T. Manzoni, Nr. 32 |
| 1790 | Beethoven | Ritterballet | Deutscher Tanz; Walzer | Title; tempo |
| 1791 | Mozart | K 600 | 6 Teutsche Twelve Waltzes 2d set | Mozart's own catalogue London: T. Manzoni, Nr. 31 |
| 1792 | Haydn | Hob. IX:12 | (12 Menuette) XII Deutsche Tänze Tedeschi di ballo | [Autograph title not authentic] Copy Copy |
| 1798 | Hofmeister | | 12 Walzer | Wiener Zeitung |
| 1798 | Clementi | Op. 38 | Twelve Waltzes | London: Longman & Broderip, No. 26, 1798 |
| 1800 | Clementi | Op. 39 | Twelve Waltzes | London: Longman, Clementi & Comp. No. 26 1800 |
| ? | | | 12 Walzes | Vienna: Artaria 1636 c. 1804? |
| 1800? | Beethoven | WoO 81 | Allemande | Autograph |
| 1801 | Weber | Op. 4 | Douze Allemandes 12 Walzer 12 deutsche Tänze | Augsburg: Gombart Weber's own catalogue Offered to André in Offenbach |
| 1807 | Hummel | Op. 25 | 12 Balli tedeschi | |

Table IX. Continued.

| | | | | |
|------|-----------|---------|---|---|
| 1808 | Hummel | Op. 28 | 12 Balli tedeschi | |
| 1808 | Hummel | Op. 29 | 12 Redoute Deutsche XII Allemandes de la Redoute de Vienna 12 Balli tedeschi | Artaria |
| 1812 | Weber | 143-148 | Sechs Favorit-Walzer | Leipzig: Kühnel |
| 1812 | Weber | 149 | Walzer mit Maienblüm- lien Trio | Autograph, Weber's Diary |
| 1815 | Weber | 185 | Original-Walzer Deutscher | Berlin: Trautwein Arr: for Prague Musikgesellschaft |
| 1816 | Weber | 191 | Tedesco Walzer | Autograph Weber's diary |
| 1819 | Beethoven | WoO 17 | Mödlinger Tänze 1,3, 10, 11: Walzer | Copy |
| 1824 | Beethoven | WoO 84 | Walzer | Autograph |
| 1825 | Beethoven | WoO 85 | Walzer | Autograph |

Hofmeister set of 21 July 1798 for which Alexander Weinmann found an advertisement in the Wiener Zeitung,⁶³ or the authentic Viennese edition of Clementi's Opus 39, "12 Waizes in Forme de Rondo." We may conclude that these four terms, deutsche, allemande, tedesco, walzer all refer to the same dance, and that the choice of one title or language over another was based on extramusical circumstance, tradition, or even personal idiosyncrasy.

The time-signature problem is still perplexing. Deutsche for the ballroom by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, are all in 3/4. Yet the French and English waltzes are in 3/8. The 3/4 may be a Viennese convention or a later development. Beethoven's sketchbook shows a number of deutsche in 3/8 meter⁶⁴ which were later published in 3/4 (WoO13, c. 1800).

Labelled Dances

A number of items exist in the serious repertoire which are already labelled deutsche, tedesco, or allemande. The "teich" (misspelling of teutsche, Mozart's spelling of deutsche) from Don Giovanni is atypical -- probably because it must accomodate to two preexisting dances (Example 165).

⁶³Weinmann, Der Alt-Weiner Musikverlag, 49.

⁶⁴Joseph Kerman, Ludwig van Beethoven: Autograph miscellany from circa 1786-1799, 2 vols. (London: British museum, 1970), II, 72, 99.

It retains the 3/8 signature; the proportion employed is one measure of the deutscher to each beat of the the menuet. This is a presto deutscher, like the English and French examples. Since these three dances were intended for performance on the stage, this gives a realistic clue to the the tempo of each.

1787



Example 165. Mozart, Don Giovanni, Act I Finale, Scene XXI, third stage orchestra, "teich," measures 1-9.

The last movement of Haydn's Piano Trio in E-flat, Hob. XV:29, is entitled "allemande presto assai." This Rosen calls a German peasant dance;⁶⁵ because of the fast tempo it may be more precisely identified as a deutscher or fast waltz (Example 166):

Allemande Presto assai

179?



Example 166. Haydn, Piano Trio in E-flat major, Hob. XV:29, last movement, measures 1-8.

⁶⁵Rosen. The classical style, 360.

Beethoven has given deutscher dance designations to three pieces (Examples 167, 168, and 169):

à l'Allemande

c. 1804?



Example 167. Beethoven, Opus 119, Bagatelle No. 3, measures 1-4.

Presto alla tedesca

1809



Example 168. Beethoven, Piano Sonata in G, Opus 79, first movement, measures 1-4.

Alla danza tedesca. Allegro assai

1825-6



Example 169. Beethoven, Quartet in B-flat major, Opus 130, 4th movement, measures 1-4.

In these labelled examples we find confirmation of the tempo and phrasing of the deutscher/waltz: The dance is being used as a tempo indication.

Unlabelled deutsche

In general, any presto finale in 3/8 is suspect as a deutscher-derived movement, especially if the rhythmic drive can be expressed as



The Haydn/Leopold Mozart "Toy Symphony" represents just such a case (Example 170):

- 1) Allegro moderato
- 2) Allegro vivace
- 3) Presto

1760/88



Example 170. Joseph Haydn/Leopold Mozart "Toy Symphony," third movement, measures 1-8.

And here the instructions to play the music three times give perhaps an early picture of a familiar dance performance practice.

The rondeau melody of Mozart's Violin Concerto in G, K 216, can be identified as a deutscher on its own merits --

tempo, meter signature, and phrasing (Example 171).

allegro

1775



Example 171. Mozart, Violin Concerto in G major, K 216, last movement, measures 1-8.

Knowledge of the associated Strassburger confirms Mozart's intent to depict a familiar ballroom scene (Strassburger done within a circle of waltzers).

A melodic comparison of the opening theme of Beethoven's Eighth Symphony (Example 172) with his labelled deutscher movements (Examples 167-169) will show that phrasing, tempo, and opening melodic contour are equivalent; they represent alternate expressions of the same idea.

Allegro vivace e con brio

1811-12



Example 172. Beethoven, Symphony VIII/1, measures 1-4.

Mozart's overture to Bastien und Bastienne (1768) has received special attention because its theme (Example 173) resembles that which opens Beethoven's Third Symphony:

1768

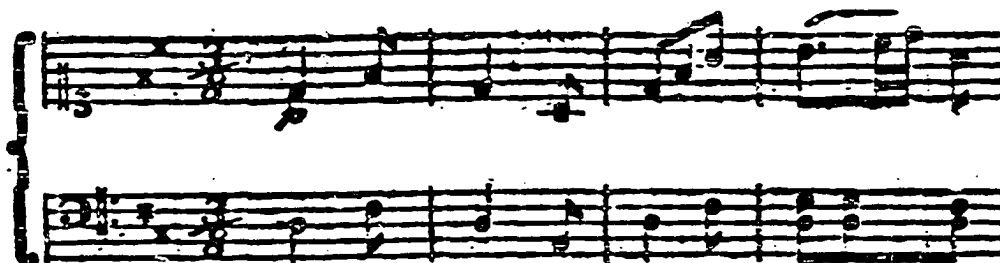


Example 173. Mozart, Bastien et Bastienne, K 50, Overture, measures 1-4.

Bastien und Bastienne is a pastoral comedy, a translation of a Favart parody of Rousseau's Devin du village. Mozart's tune, with imitation bag-pipe accompaniment, may well represent a deutscher. A similar melody appears in the first deutscher of Breitkopf's Terpsichore (Example 174):

c. 1790

DEUTSCHE.



Example 174. C. G. Breitkopf, Terpsichore, Deutscher no. 1, measures 1-4.

Possibly this tune represents a common type of deutscher melody, one which might have been recognized by the audience for Beethoven's Third Symphony, regardless of its high degree of transformation; surely Beethoven expected them to recognize and appreciate the contredanse in the last movement.

Characteristics of the Deutsche

Meter: 3/8

Upbeat: none

Phrasing: 4 + 4 or 2 + 2 + 4

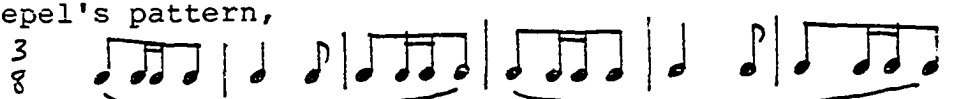


Tempo: fast, presto

(The possibility exists that deutsche with three-measure phrases are choreographically significant. In discussing phrases of different lengths, Riepel says:

I know well all the teutsche Tänze which are played in our taverns. When a dance comes along which has 2 four-measure phrases, the dancers are indeed merry, albeit still a bit serious; but when they hear one with 2 three-measure phrases, they begin to jump [springen] as though they were mad.⁶⁶

Riepel's pattern,



can be found in Kirnberger's first Souabe (see above, Example 160, p. 336), in the Thuillier and Dauternaux collections, and of course, in Don Giovanni's teich. It seems likely that tunes of this type had special and particular meaning, in terms of dance, to the eighteenth-century audience.)

⁶⁶Riepel, Anfangsgründe, 30. "Ich weiss alle teutsche Tänze auswendig, welche in unserer Bierschenke aufgespielt werden. Wenn etwan einer kömmt mit 2 Vierem, so sind die Leute zwar lustig, aber doch ein wenig ernsthaft dabey, so bald sie aber einen hören mit 2 Dreyern, so fangen sie alle zu springen an, als wenn sie unsinnig wären."

KEHRAUS OR FINALE

German balls often ended with the Kehraus. A report from 1801 states that

in many balls it has become fashionable to end the so-called Kehraus or the last waltz with a sort of wild dance in which the whole company takes part and which has its own special music. These dances . . . consist in several easy general Tours characterized by wildness, great speed, and unruly leaping.⁶⁷

Most of our information on the Kehraus comes, however, from musical examples. In these we see that both duple and triple meters are employed. The Kehraus which ends Dittersdorf's Carnaval Symphonie is made up of many repetitions of the following theme which tapers off at the stroke of midnight (Example 175):



Example 175. Dittersdorf, Carnaval Symphonie, last movement, measures 1-16.

⁶⁷Cited in: Witzmann, Der Ländler, 83. "Auf vielen Bällen ist es zur Mode geworden, den sogenannten Kehraus oder den letzten Walzer mit einer Art von wildem Tanze zu schliessen, an dem die ganz Gesellschaft Theil nimmt, und wozu eine eigene Musik gehört. Dieser Tänze . . . bestehen in einigen leichten allgemeinen Touren, hauptsächlich ist ihr Charakter Wildheit, rasende Schnelligkeit und regelloses Springen."

The Kehraus which ends Leopold Mozart's "Schlittenfahrt" is a more complex affair. This seems to be a 2/4 version of the Dittersdorf tune in alternation with a deutscher, and includes another obviously popular but untitled fragment (Example 176):

Der Kehraus



Pianissimo



Teutscher Tanz
presto



Kehraus Da Capo

Example 176. Leopold Mozart, Schlittenfahrt, last movement. Incipits Ausgewählte Werke ed. Max Seiffert as Volume 9/2 of DTB (1908) XLII.

Another such finale or Kehraus tune is the venerable "Grosvater Tanz," which alternates a slow tune in triple

meter with a rapid 2/4 tune. The duple-meter section can be traced from Bach to Schumann (Examples 177, 178 and 179):

1742



Example 177. Bach: Peasant Cantata, interludes in No. 3, "Nu, Mieceke."

+1786



Example 178. Wranitsky: Quodlibet, "Altvater," measures 1-8.

1829-31



Example 179. Schumann: Papillons, Opus 2, Finale, measures 17-24.

To this small sample of authentic German tunes in 2/4 (as opposed to French versions of German tunes) we can add the duple-meter tune that Feldenstein gives as an example of "German music suitable for any peasant" (Example 180):



Example 180. Feldtenstein, Erweiterung II, Table 1,
No. 5, "deutscher Tanz."

If we set down the rhythmic patterns of all duple-meter dances called Allemande or known to be German, a basic pattern emerges:

Rameau's Allemande:

1708-25



Contredanse Allemande:

1770s



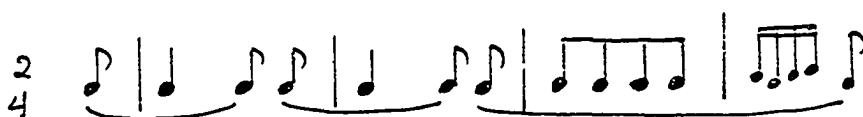
Strassburger:

1775+



Kehraus:

1742-1831



or



Feldenstein's deutscher:

1772

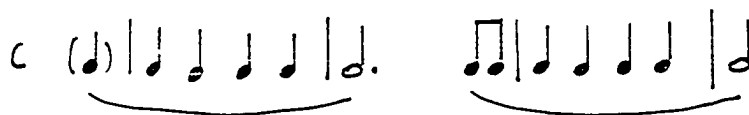


To these may even be added Mohr's basic rhythm for the renaissance allemande,⁶⁸ and the pattern of Beethoven's contredanses:

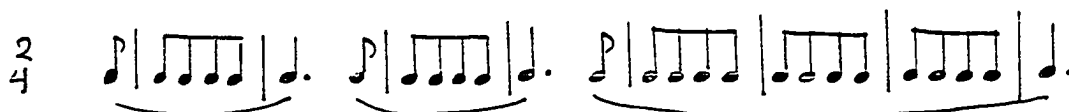
⁶⁸Ernst Mohr, Die Allemande (Zurich: Gebr. Hug, 1932) 13.


Renaissance Allemande:

1550-1600

Viennese contretänze:

c. 1800



The basic pattern , whether reduced to two 1-measure phrases or expanded to 4 or even 8 measures, is characteristic of all German duple-meter tunes. In the 1770s, distinctions appear in the use of upbeat -- French versions are without, German versions with -- and in tempo -- the Strassburger tends toward the slow end of the scale, French versions and the Kehraus towards the fast. The occurrence of an upbeat pattern, even implicit, is unusual in a French tune. The following example shows how quickly such a tune approximates its German counterpart. The fourth strain of Thuillier's "Le Moulin de Sanois, Contredanse allemande" (Example 181) brings to mind similar phrases by both Mozart and Haydn (Examples 182 and 183):

1773



Example 181. Thuillier, "Le Moulin de Sanois, Contredanse allemande," 4th strain, measures 1-4.

Allegretto

1782?



Example 182. Mozart, Fantasia in D minor, K 397, measures 55-58.

Presto assai

1792



Example 183. Haydn, Symphony No. 97 in C major, last movement, measures 1-4.

Since the Haydn tune is a finale, and since Haydn was partial to such presto 2/4 finales, is it not possible that he was using the Kehraus, by analogy, to conclude the musical work?

Chapter VIII

DANCE RHYTHMS IN COMBINATION

The preceding chapters have dealt with individual dance rhythms, analyzing their characteristic patterns and then showing how such patterns can be recognized in works not labelled as dance-derived. Examples were taken mainly from well-known works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven in order to show that the practice of using dance rhythms as a basis for larger constructions was common. Examples were selected with a second purpose in mind -- to show that the practice was intentional. This second point will be the subject of the present chapter.

When we find that two dance rhythms are used together in a single movement or in two or more movements of a single work, it may appear that the choice of dances is not arbitrary or random, but logical, in musical and even extra-musical terms. We can begin the discussion with a review of some Beethoven examples; with Beethoven, perhaps, this process is least suspected, and if it can be verified for his work, then further examples by Mozart and Haydn will be even more convincing.

Beethoven

Examples of dances used in combination by Beethoven include menuet and polonaise, deutscher and Ländler, deutscher and Écossaise.

Beethoven, Symphony II/2

First theme [menuet] (See Example 40, p. 165)

Second theme [polonaise] (See Example 12, p. 130)

Beethoven, Symphony VIII/2

First theme [deutscher] (See Example 172, p. 355)

Second theme [Ländler] (See Example 157, p. 331)

Beethoven, Piano Sonata, Opus 79

First movement, Presto alla tedesca

(See Example 168, p. 353)

Third/last movement [Écossaise]

(See Example 129, p. 284)

Beethoven, Quartet, Opus 130

Third movement, Alla danza tedesca

(See Example 169, p. 353)

Fifth/last movement [Écossaise]

(See Example 130, p. 284)

A logical justification for pairing dances can be found in each case. The association of the menuet with the polonaise detailed in Chapter III supports Beethoven's juxtaposition of the two dances in Symphony II/ii. The use of two German dances in Symphony VIII/i is logical, the slower less assertive Ländler taking the second theme position. In the Piano sonata Opus 79, we find two movements based on the most popular ballroom dances of the day, which, as such, are appropriate to the "leicht" learning piece. The case of the Beethoven Quartet Opus 130 is well-known: the original finale, the Grosse Fuge, was removed at the request of the publisher and replaced with something less taxing. The choice of an Écossaise pattern might have been stimulated by the already existing tedesca. Beethoven's walzer and Écossaise pair, WoO85 and 86, date from exactly the same time as this quartet: the first performance of the quartet was 6 Nov. 1825, the dances are dated 14 Nov. 1825.

Mozart

For examples of dance combinations in Mozart's works, we will examine in more detail the rondeaus of the three violin concerti, K 216, K 218, and K 219. Mozart's use of

the term Rondeau(x) already suggests that dances "en rondeau" are to be employed. Other French practices such as change in key (to parallel minor) and change in meter may be expected.

Violin Concerto in G, K 216. K 216 uses a deutsche and a Strassburger tune. These dances were associated in the ballroom as we know from Caroline Pichler: the Strassburger was done within a circle of waltzers.

Mozart, Violin Concerto in G, K 216.

[deutscher] (See Example 171 , p. 355)

[Strassburger] (See Example 141 , p. 318)

This rondeau also contains a fragment of another dance in the tonic minor (Example 184):

Andante [gavotte]



Example 184. Mozart, Violin Concerto, K 216,
last movement, measures 252-55.

The diagram below illustrates the form of the movement as a whole:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|-----|----------------|---|----------------|----|----------------|----|----------------|----|
| Section | R | E ₁ | R | E ₂ | R+ | E ₃ | ++ | E ₄ | RR |
| Tempo | 3/8 | | | | | ♩ Andante | | 3/8 | |
| | | | | | | Allegretto | | | |
| Key | G | G-D | G | e | G | g:G | | G | C |

The rondeau theme is standard: 8 measures ending on the dominant, the same repeated with a tonic ending. The solo violin enters at E₁ with a secondary deutsche theme of 16 measures. The second episode, in E minor, plays with another deutsche rhythm. The third episode includes two dances in different meters: an incomplete gavotte in G minor (♩ andante) and the full Strassburg in G major (♩ allegretto). Is this G minor gavotte a polite bow to the French? Is it incomplete because the dancers become bored with it? Is this Mozart's way of saying "Nicht diese Tänze"? Whatever extramusical rationale one might imagine, this G minor gavotte is the perfect foil -- in tempo and in key -- to the brisker tempo and the brightened B natural of the Strassburg. (Without the gavotte the Strassburg seems rather dull and ordinary.)

The rondeaus of the two other concerti are built on an analogous principle: the third episode of each contains a complete, separate dance which differs from the rondeau theme in both meter and key.

Violin Concerto in D, K 218. The rondeau of K 218 uses French contredanse tunes in the episodes. The discrete dance of the third episode appears as a bona fide dance tune in the set for Count Czernin (See Example 47, p. 194). There is also a contredanse française of the 6/8 gavotte-type (Example 185):

Allegro ma non troppo
[contredanse française]



Example 185. Mozart, Violin Concerto in D, K 218,
last movement, measures 23-32.

The rondeau theme itself looks perhaps like an English import, but the slower tempo would indicate French steps (Example 186):

Andante grazioso
[contredanse française?]



Example 186. Mozart, Violin Concerto in D, K 218,
last movement, measures 1-4.

Violin Concerto in A, K 219. The last movement of
the Concerto in A has a menuet for its rondeau theme
(Example 187):

Tempo di Menuetto



Example 187. Mozart, Violin Concerto in A, K 219,
last movement, measures 1-8.

This rondeau incorporates, as its third episode, the Turk-
ish music written in 1772 as a finale for the ballet Le
gelosie del Seraglio (Example 188):

Allegro
[alla Turka]



Example 188, Mozart, Violin Concerto in A, K 219,
last movement, measures 164-172.

Here again Mozart follows French dance forms by using the tonic minor and changing the meter. (Mozart does not yet use Turkish instruments for his "Turkish music" -- this comes in the 1780s. See above, p. 268). Perhaps here Mozart intended to enunciate a contrast between "highly civilized" and "barbarian;" between Christian and Turk.

Rather than making a casual selection in each of these rondeau finales Mozart seems to follow a master plan: to use German dances only, French dances only, or to contrast the sophisticated menuet with its Moslem opposite.

Haydn

Dance movements permeate Haydn's London Symphonies. Three of these symphonies have already entered the discussions of individual dance types. We can now see how some of these elements fit together in a symphonic whole.

Symphony 98. Symphony No. 98 in B-flat provides an elegant example. The Contretanz nature of the first theme of the first movement, with its English inflection, has already been noted (see Example 110, p. 260). An examination

Presto [country dance in jig time]



Moderato [contredanse française]



Example 190. Haydn, Symphony 98/iv,
measures 1-4; measures 328-29.

Here the gigue-like momentum of the country dance tune, if reduced by half, becomes the graceful moderato of a contredanse française. This transformation gave both the violinist Solomon and the continuo-player Haydn opportunity for solo flourishes, as well as the horn players, with their chasse motif (measures 345-361). The formal balance of dance meters provided in the outer movements is surely intentional, as is the use of both types of English tunes (in 2/4 and 6/8).

The inner movements are also dance derived. The second movement is a slow menuet with paired 2-measure phrases (Example 191):

Adagio contabile [menuet]



Example 191. Haydn, Symphony 98, second movement,
measures 1-4.

The Ländler element is apparent in the trio of the "Menuetto" (see Example 153, p. 330). Thus every movement in this symphony can be related to specific dance patterns.

Symphony No. 100. The Military Symphony, No. 100, has a last movement known to have been used as a Scottish country dance tune (see Example 121, p. 267). This movement is balanced by a first movement in which English dance patterns appear. The first theme is a typical contretanz complete with Haydn's favorite cadence pattern (see Example 111, p. 260). The second theme is a jolly danceable English tune with upbeat (see Example 98, p. 253). The outer movements of this symphony provide a survey of the possible types of English tunes:

First movement

First theme [English duple meter, no upbeat]

Second theme [English duple meter, upbeat]

Last movement [English jig tune in 6/8 with
Turkish battle section]

Here also the rhythmic bases for the two inner movements can be identified: the second movement is now a march, although first composed in 1782 as a romanza for the King of Naples (Example 192); the third movement can again be

related to the Ländler (Example 193):

Allegretto [Turkish march]



Example 192. Haydn, Symphony 100, second movement, measures 1-4 .

Menuet, Moderato (Ländler)



Example 193. Haydn, Symphony 100, third movement, measures 1-4.

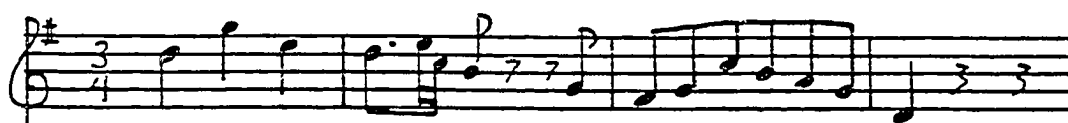
Symphony No. 94. Haydn's London Symphony No. 94, the "Surprise," may be taken as a "musical ball" -- a final example of the use of dance rhythms, in this case to generate a full-scale work. My proposition here is that the movements of this work follow the order of dances are found in a typical ball (albeit a German or Viennese one), but with a special English flavor or accent. The movements are as follows:

Haydn, Symphony 94

| | | |
|-----------------|-----|--|
| Introduction | 3/4 | Menuet |
| First movement | 6/8 | Contredanse française English country dance |
| Second movement | 2/4 | Angloise |
| Third movement | 3/4 | Deutsche Ländler |
| Fourth movement | 2/4 | Kehraus/finale |

Introduction (16 measures)

Adagio cantabile



Example 194. Haydn, Symphony No. 94,
first movement, measures 1-4.

The repetition of the paired 2-measure phrases of this introduction (Example 194) would properly end on the tonic. Here the tonic is set up as V of IV; the succeeding 8 measures modulate to a dominant pedal; an extra measure of solo violin leads into the movement proper. The slow 2-measure phrases are unmistakable; as the formal menuet introduces the ball, so here the stately 3/4 adagio introduces the symphony.

The recapitulation places the first and second themes in juxtaposition, and we see that the overpowering affect of the second has determined the tempo of the whole movement. (Whether this was intended as a political statement is an interesting matter for speculation.)

Second movement

Andante



Example 197. Haydn, Symphony No. 94, second movement, measures 1-4.

We already know that this tune (Example 197) was accepted as an angloise in Germany (see Example 93, p. 250). There exists not only the Leipzig dance tune, but also Haydn's own self-quotation in the contretanz-like aria of Die Jahreszeiten (1792).

Third movement

Menuet. Allegro molto



Example 198. Haydn, Symphony No. 94, third movement, measures 1-8.



Example 199. Haydn, Symphony No. 94,
Trio, measures 1-8.

The fast tempo and 4-measure phrasing of this traditional dance movement suggests the deutsche (Example 198). The trio perhaps has more of the flowing quality of the Ländler (Example 199).

Fourth movement

Allegro di molto



Example 200. Haydn, Symphony No. 94,
last movement, measures 1-8.

Example 200 shows another Haydn finale which may represent the elusive "well-known German national dance in 2/4." Here Haydn has again used the English percussive phrase ending. The more typical German rhythmic pattern also occurs (Example 201):

Allegro di molto



Example 201. Haydn, Symphony No. 94,
last movement, measures 76-79.

As the Kehraus ends the ball, so Haydn's kehraus-
derived finale completes the "Surprise" Symphony.

Chapter IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The intent of this study has been to demonstrate that the eighteenth-century music we call classical was intimately related to music for contemporary social dance, and that such dance influence was pervasive; rhythmic patterns and periodicity of the dance invaded all genres, all movements, all tempi. (The reader may wish to confirm the selections from Haydn masses in Chapter I, pp. 2-3.)

The present study is based on eighteenth-century dance materials. This new approach has shown that eighteenth-century dance styles were defined by nationality; and this has led, in turn, to a clarification of national dance styles and associated national tune types. The existence of such a typology has not been hitherto demonstrated, and the precise formulation of such dance types has not been previously shown.

Popular social dances considered in this context are the menuet (in its national manifestations), the polonaise, adaptations of English country dances, a variety of French contredanses, and different types of German dances. Each national dance had its own choreography (in terms of format,

steps, and figures), and its own music.

Music and choreography were interrelated: the steps or figures of a dance often determined the musical phrase. The polonaise had a step of one measure; the menuet step required two measures. Standard figures for English dances took eight measures. The entrées for a French contredanse were also set at eight measures. There are further national distinctions in choreography. French contredanses used French theater steps, whereas English country dances and German dances did not. Some German figures and steps can be determined from their appearance in the French contredanses.

Each dance type had its characteristic format. The formal menuet was a single couple dance -- a "pas de deux." In the polonaise pairs of dancers lined up behind the lead couple who directed the dance. English dances were for an unlimited number of couples arranged in a double file. Scottish dances limited the number of couples in the column to three or four. The basic French contredanse was for four couples in a square, the better to accomodate figures from the French round dances. German dances were couple dances, with the couples arranged and progressing in a large circle.

Music for each national dance was equally well differentiated. One-measure phrases in music for the polonaise reflect the one-measure pas of the dance, as do the two-measure phrases of the menuet. Although both dances are in triple meter, they are further differentiated by cadence patterns and by the use or prohibition of syncopation. Both English and French contredanses are in duple meter, and both may employ either duple or triple subdivision of the beat. The most typical French contredanses have a half-measure upbeat pattern of the gavotte; cadences always fall just after the bar-line. English country dances, on the other hand, start on the measure and often cadence in mid-measure. The German tunes in 2/4 found in France and the early deutsche in 3/8 both have four-measure phrase patterns, a circumstance which supports a relationship of Tanz and Nachtanz. The design of French contredanses with separate entrées and refrain invites rondeau structuring of the tunes. Both German and English tunes, unlike French tunes, are built up of a succession of different phrases. German and English traditions meet in the englische Contretanz of the Viennese. English tunes in duple meter with added upbeat conform to a venerable German allemande rhythmic pattern. Characteristic

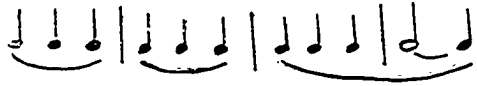
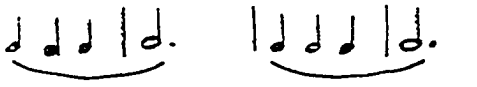




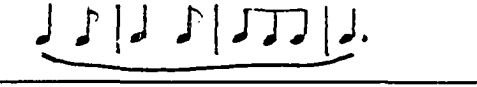
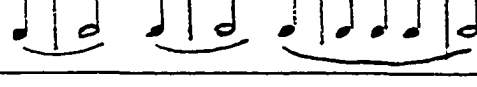
cadence patterns are noted in the polonaise, the anglaise, and the Strassburger. A summary of these dances and their rhythmic characteristics may be found in Table X (see p. 387).

In the course of this study I have had occasion to discuss a number of cases where the same tune appears in both serious music and in dance music:

| | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| Beethoven | Symphony III/4 | Contretanz no. 7 |
| Mozart | Violin Concerto K 218 | Czernin dance no. 1 |
| " | Violin Concerto K 216 (Strassburger) | Almande, Vm ⁷ 4865 |
| Haydn | Symphony 86/iv | Contredanse "La Psyché" Hullin's <u>Recueil de Terpsichore</u> , no. 10. |
| " | Symphony 94/ii | Anglaise no. 11, Breit- kopf <u>Terpsichore</u> |
| " | Symphony 100/iv | Scottish country dance (jig tune) "Lord Cath- cart's welcome to Scot- land." |

The relationship of dance tune to serious work is here so close that we are reduced to a "chicken and egg" proposition: we are unable to determine with certainty which came first. The argument is reduced to a point where the answer

Table X. Summary of Rhythmic Patterns

| Name | Meter | Phrasing | Possible tempi |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| Polonaise | $\frac{3}{4}$ |  | slow adagio-allegro |
| Menuet | $\frac{3}{4}$ |  | larghetto andante grazioso |
| Contredanse | $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{6}{8}$ |  | allegretto grazioso |
| Country dance | $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{6}{8}$ |  | andante allegro presto |
| Viennese englische | $\frac{2}{4}$ |  | allegro |
| Strassburger/ allemande | $\frac{2}{4}$ |  | grazioso |
| Deutsche | $\frac{3}{8}$ |  | presto |
| Ländler | $\frac{3}{4}$ |  | slower than d. flowing |

becomes irrelevant. The few cases that may be decided with some assurance -- "La Psyché" taken from Haydn's symphony, or Mozart's use of a known Strassburg tune -- have shown that the process was reciprocal, and that it was a process of which both composer and audience were aware.

Yet these cases merely represent a much larger number of movements based on the rhythmic patterns of late eighteenth-century dances. Musical examples for this study were chosen mainly in order to view a well-known repertoire from a new perspective. They represent but a small selection of available examples; any study of the works of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven will reveal many more. Investigations of other classical composers will confirm the pervasiveness of the practice. With the present work as a guide, readers will be able to discover their own musical favorites. I have tried to show, with these examples, how popular dance elements came to be incorporated into art music -- a procedure that would have been well received by the audiences of the day, but whose effect is lost on us unless we can succeed somewhat in reconstructing the social ambiance which gave it meaning. Today, with the help of sociologists, dance historians, and musicologists, we can rediscover this process, thereby increasing our understanding of classical music.

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3 anglaise.

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