6 France

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Jean-Laurent Lecerf de La Viéville, the noted seventeenth-century commentator on French society and culture, described the elements of French music in the most colorful of terms:

> Imagine a clever old coquette covered in rouge and white powder, and overloaded with bows, which are applied with absolutely all the care and skill possible. Hiding the wrinkles in her face and the defects of her figure by make-up that is equally magnificent as it is complete; smiling and grimacing in the finest prudence . . . and without heart, soul or sincerity . . . *Voilà:* Italian Music. Now imagine, on the other hand, a young woman of noble but modest bearing, of grand but slender figure without excess; neat, always dressed with a galant propriety, but preferring to be informal rather than overdressed, and magnificent only on certain days . . . With lovely natural coloring, far removed from all that is false or imitation; a bow or two from time to time, or perhaps an occasional bit of rouge to cover some tiny flaw; smiling and gracious as appropriate, but never the coquette or crazily playful; . . . speaking well without flattering herself that she is a great speaker and without wanting to speak all the time . . . This is a lady that you should easily recognize; she is French Music.[1]

Lecerf's description of the difference between French and Italian music might have offended some of his female acquaintances, but it is perceptive and essentially correct, in stylistic terms at least. French baroque composers did choose a different path from those of their contemporaries in Italy and, for that matter, Germany and England. Why they remained faithful to this "noble" and "modest" woman, what they viewed as "excess," and how they maintained this style for almost two hundred years is the subject of this chapter.

The Elements of the Style

This fidelity is apparent in the most basic stylistic features of French harpsichord music: a two- or three-voice texture predominates, featuring, on the one hand, an elegant, richly ornamented melodic line, and on the other a simple accompaniment. Learned devices, intricate contrapuntal writing, or full-voice chordal homophony are avoided, and many of the genres typically found in the other national styles of the baroque, such as

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fugues, ricercares, fantasias, and sonatas, are rare in France. The French harpsichord composer achieved maximum expressive effect by the resonant spacing of parts, sensitivity to sonorities, extremely precise notation, and a rich harmonic language. Virtuoso keyboard displays were kept to a minimum, and techniques such as the extensive arpeggiation found in J. S. Bach's *Chromatic Fantasy* (BWV903) and Handel's *Lessons* or the rapid scale passages, repeated notes, and hand crossings of Domenico Scarlatti do not generally appear in France until the middle of the eighteenth century.

Lecerf's emphasis on propriety and nobility illuminates the aesthetic values upon which this unique style is built, which have their roots in the principles of *bon goût* (good taste or style), *politesse* (noble etiquette), and the *honnête homme* (the ideal gentleman) that dominated French thinking and behavior for the entire period.[2] The *honnête homme* was expected to make his tasteful behavior appear absolutely natural and effortless, Nicolas Faret explaining that the he must act with " . . . a certain negligence that hides artifice and shows that nothing is done with forethought or any kind of effort."[3] François Couperin applied this sense of nonchalance to musical performance: "The player must have an easy air at his harpsichord . . . without fixing his gaze on any one object."[4]

Thus, *les honnêtes gens* were expected to refrain from overt display and emotional excess.[5] Nothing could be further from this ideal than Italian music, as Charles Saint-Evremond describes:

> The Italians have a false, or at least outrageous expression, because they do not accurately understand the nature or degree of the passions. They break out laughing instead of singing when they express some joyful sentiment; if they want to sigh, one hears sobs that are violently formed in the throat rather than sighs that escape secretly from the passion of an amorous heart; from a painful reflection they make the strongest exclamations; tears of absence are funeral lamentations; the sad becomes the gloomy in their mouths; they cry out instead of complaining in sadness, and sometimes they express the languor of the passion as a weakness of nature.[6]

In consequence, to avoid what French composers would consider poor taste and empty bourgeois technique, they developed a compositional approach and mode of performance that distinguished their music from any other national styles, the Italian in particular and, as described earlier, remained remarkably consistent to it for almost two centuries.

Ornamentation

The most notable, or at least noticeable, feature of the style is the extensive use of ornamentation. Listeners and performers (and my students) today often express astonishment (or chagrin) at the number and variety of

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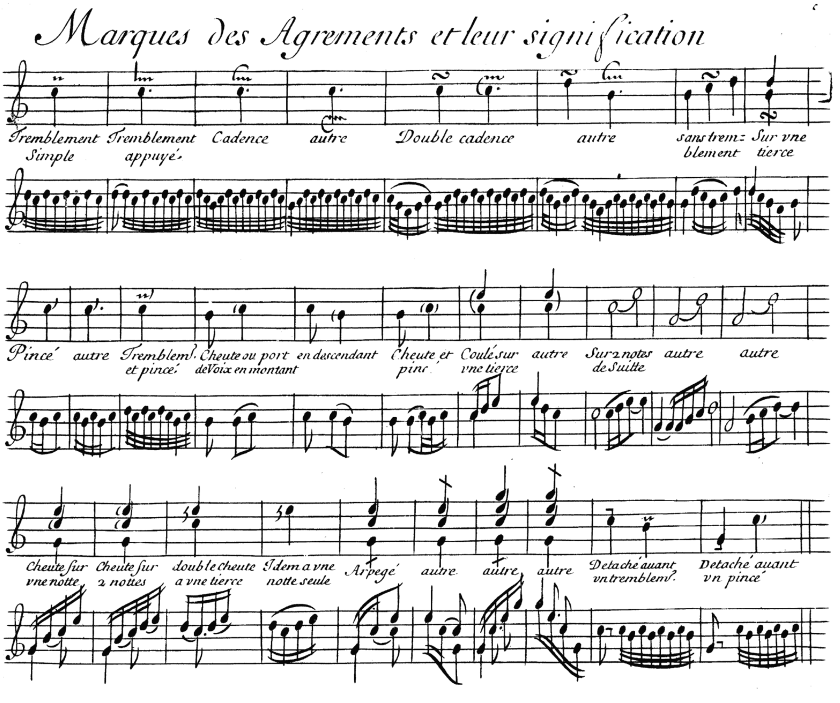
ornaments in *Pièces de clavecin*, and similar reservations were voiced by many commentators from the period, such as Charles Burney, who wrote:

> The great Couperin . . . was not only an admirable organist but, in the style of the times, an excellent composer for keyed instruments . . . tho' his pieces are so crowded and deformed by beats, trills, shakes, that no plain note was left to enable the hearer of them to judge whether the tone of the instrument on which they were played was good or bad.[7]

However, this "crowd" of "beats, trills [and] shakes," although appearing somewhat contradictory to the espoused principles of restraint or *politesse*, are not the familiar improvised or written-out Italianate divisions, embellishments, or other similar devices with which the performer adds notes and figurations to a melodic line and that Lecerf found so artificial. French ornaments are more like the rich and sumptuous decorations added to French furniture and architecture of the period, without which they would be simple tables, chairs, and walls. In music, these ornaments are meticulously notated and applied to create an astonishing range of nuance, color, and dynamics on the harpsichord. French harpsichords of the period are marvels of construction and refinement, and the *agréments* of *Pièces de clavecin* can be perfectly realized on their sensitive keyboards. The ornaments, moreover, are not optional or improvisatory, but rather an integral part of the composition.

Example 6.1a Jean-Baptiste Henry D'Anglebert, *Pieces* [*sic*] *de clavecin* (Paris, 1680), "Marques des Agrements"



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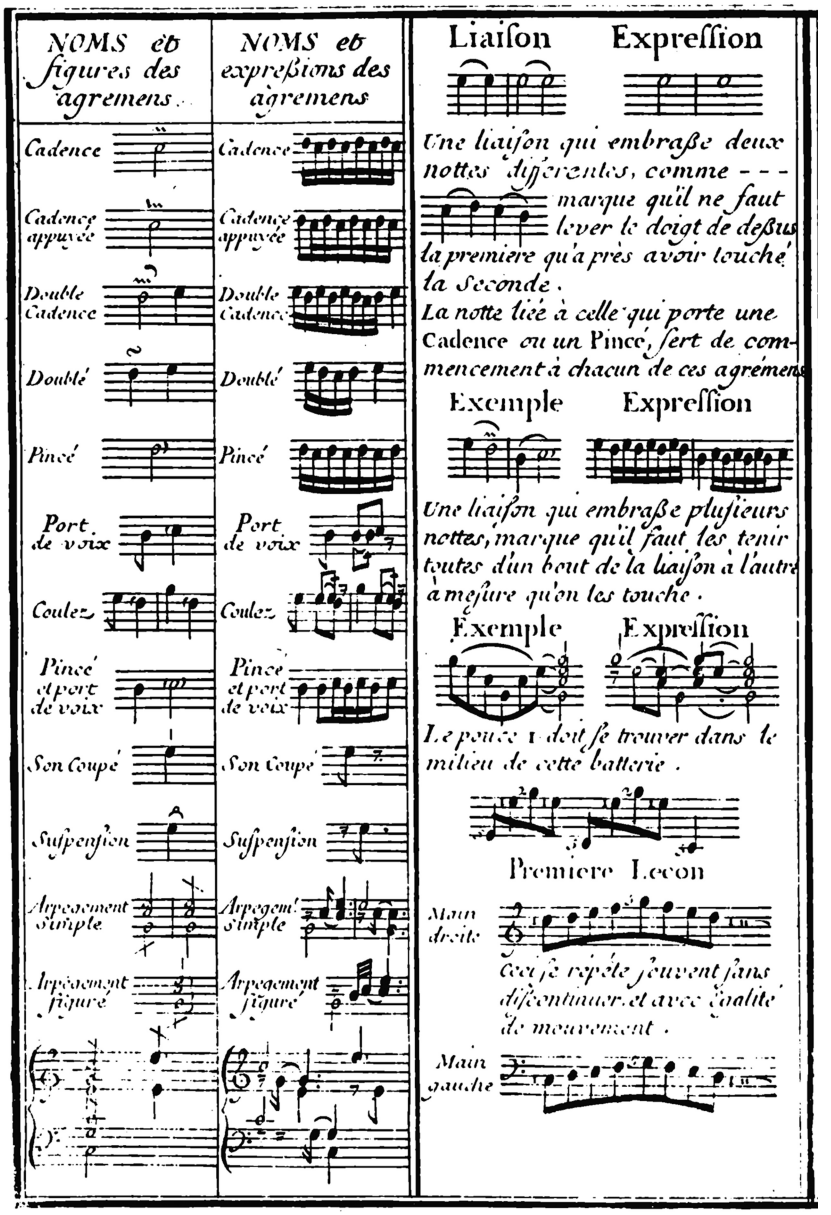
One only has to play a French melody with ornaments removed to fully understand their crucial impact on the music.

This helps explain why so many French composers expressed concern that the ornaments they wrote should be played exactly as they were notated. Couperin was particularly adamant about the subject in the preface to his third book of *Pièces de clavecin* (1722):

Example 6.1b Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1724), Table of Ornaments



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> I am always surprised, after the care I have taken to indicate the ornaments which are appropriate to my pieces . . . to hear people who have learned them without making sure that they were following the correct method. It is an unpardonable negligence, especially since it is not at the discretion of the players to place such ornaments where they want them.[8]

It also explains why most composers usually included a table of ornaments at the beginning of the published pieces. Two representative examples are the tables from books of harpsichord pieces by D'Anglebert and Rameau (see Examples 6.1a and 6.1b).

Style Luthée

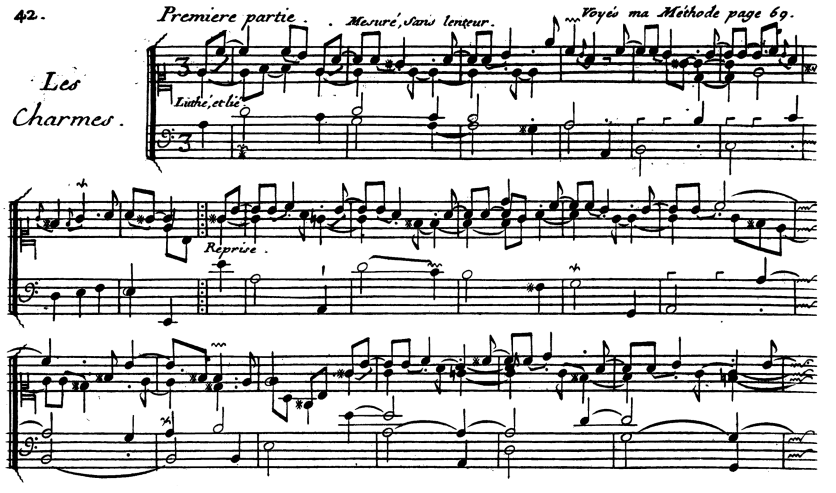
Another striking characteristic of French harpsichord music is the so-called *style luthée* (lute style) or *style brisé* (broken style), in which the composer writes in an arpeggiated style to create a kaleidoscopic palate of rich sonorities and implied polyphony (see Example 6.2).

As the name implies, the *style luthée* recalls lute practice, but it is particularly effective on the harpsichord, since the instrument can sustain one or more "voices." *Style luthée* can surely be found in the works of the French lutenists, but, as we will discuss below, the commonly held assumption that the French harpsichord tradition developed directly from the French lute school is somewhat misleading.

Inégalité or *Notes Inégales*

In addition to the proper realization of the ornaments and *style brisé, inégalité* is yet another feature of French keyboard music that lies at the heart of the style. Simply stated, the term refers to the technique in which passages written with equal note values are performed in unequal rhythm,

Example 6.2 François Couperin, *Les charmes*, Book II, *Ordre* 9, mm. 1–19



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according to a number of clearly defined rules. The basic principles are relatively straightforward: inequality is applied to notes with the smallest rhythmic values that move in stepwise melodic motion and, as Saint-Lambert writes, the common practice "is to make them alternately long and short, because this inequality gives them more grace."[9]

Performers of all seventeenth- and eighteenth-century keyboard music were of course allowed and sometimes obligated to alter the notated rhythm and use *tempo rubato*. The same is true for all music in every period. The principle of French *inégalité*, however, is different and remains a source of confusion and misinterpretation. François Couperin described the problem in his *L'art de toucher le clavecin:*

> In my view, there are faults in our way of writing music that correspond to the ways of writing our language. We write differently from the way we perform, which makes foreigners play our music less well than we play theirs. On the other hand, the Italians write their music in the true values they have conceived. For example, we dot several successive conjunct quavers, but write them as equal notes. Our custom has enslaved us, and we persist in it.[10]

This seems clear on the surface, but the question remains as to the degree of inequality: how much longer or shorter does one perform the notated rhythm? Most commentators of the period urge a subtle, almost unnoticeable application of *inégal*. Nivers writes in 1665 that inequality is best applied by making the alteration "as though half-dots [are added] after the 1st, 3d, 5th, and 7th eighth notes . . . that is to say, to augment ever so slightly the aforementioned eighths, and to diminish ever so slightly in proportion those that follow." He adds that this should be "practiced according to discretion, and many other things which prudence and the ear have to govern."[11]

Bénigne de Bacilly concurred in 1668, emphasizing that since *notes inégales* should be executed so delicately that it is not apparent, "it has been deemed appropriate not to mark them, for fear that one might accustom himself to execute them by jerks."[12] Indeed, the concern over playing *inégal* by "jerks" (i.e., excessively dotted) was considerable. Jean-Jacques Rousseau warned in 1687 to "take care not to mark [passages played unequally] too roughly."[13] Michel Pignolet de Montéclair expresses the same concern, while also confirming that inequality is almost always applied to stepwise motion, writing: "Notes in disjunct intervals are ordinarily equal." He added that it is necessary to distinguish notes played *inégal* from those that are notated in dotted rhythm, which is always a larger rhythmic alteration.[14]

There are many other rules for a variety of different circumstances, but the overriding principles are confirmed by almost every French writer and

composer of the period: alter notes written in equal rhythm to make a long–short pattern, but do it with the widest range of subtle expression, based on the character of the piece and, of course, *bon goût*.

Nevertheless, an inappropriate use of *inégal* persists to this day, particularly by applying it to both conjunct and disjunct motion or creating uniformly dotted rhythms. Although such dotting is, to be sure, a possible realization, it is only one of an infinite range of rhythmic interpretations (and a rare one at that). Composers were certainly able to notate such dotted rhythms clearly and without ambiguity, and they often appear side by side with evenly notated passages.[15]

Let us allow Saint-Lambert to have the last word on the subject: "It is a matter of taste to decide if they should be more or less unequal. There are some pieces in which it is appropriate to make them very unequal and others in which they should be less so. Taste is the judge of this, as of tempo."[16]

Inégalité essentially remained within the borders of France. It should be obvious by this point that it was not regularly used in Italy, as Michel Corrette tells us: "in Italian music the quavers are played equally."[17] Composers of other nationalities were certainly aware of the existence of this performance practice, but it is dangerous to assume that it should be applied to their music unless these non-French composers indicated it specifically or were self-consciously writing in the French style.

The Use of Rhetoric

Another important aspect of the French style involves the use of the principles of classical rhetoric. Again, this is true for music of all eras, but as we have seen in our discussion about the roots of *politesse* and the *honnête homme*, it is particularly germane to the *clavecinistes*. Saint-Lambert describes the concept with his usual clarity:

> A piece of music somewhat resembles a piece of rhetoric, or rather it is the piece of rhetoric which resembles the piece of music, since harmony, number, measure, and the other similar things which a skillful orator observes in the composition of his works belong more naturally to music than to rhetoric. In any case, just as a piece of rhetoric is a whole unit which is most often made up of several parts, each of which is composed of sentences, each having a complete meaning, these sentences being composed of phrases, the phrases of words, and the words of letters, so the melody of a piece of music is a whole unit which is always composed of several sections. Each section is composed of cadences which have a complete meaning and are the sentences of the melody.
> The cadences are often composed of phrases, the phrases of measures, and the measures of notes. Thus, the notes correspond to the letters, the measures to

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> words, the cadences to sentences, the sections to parts, and the whole to the whole.[18]

This connection to the spoken and written word helps explain the painstaking attention to detail in the manner in which French composers, François Couperin in particular, notated note values, rests, and articulations.

The Lute and the Harpsichord: Frères, or Père and *Fille*

As mentioned in our discussion of *style luthée*, many questions have been raised about the connection of the lute to the development of the French harpsichord style. The lute certainly enjoyed a golden age in France during the final decades of the sixteenth century and early years of the seventeenth. The names of the great families of lute virtuoso composers, such as Mouton, Gaultier, and Denis, have long been recognized for their importance in the history of the instrument, not only in France but in other countries as well. For example, the music of the French lutenists Denis Gaultier (ca. 1597–1672) and John Mercure (ca. 1600–before 1661) was well known in England, and members of the renowned Richard family were in residence at the English court.

A plucked keyboard instrument, however, was not unknown during the reign of the lutenists. *Joueurs d'espinet* flourished, as early as the 1540s, and by the second half of the sixteenth century, there were usually two or three in the service of the French kings. They included Michel Nollu, Jacques Gerofe, Gabriel Dumas, Guillaume Raguenet, Pierre Marchand, and Jean Dugue, to mention just a few.[19] Most spinet players earned the bulk of their income as organists, which they supplemented by giving lessons or serving in an aristocratic household. This is true of Nicolas de la Grotte, Thomas and Jacques Champion, Claude Chabanceau de la Barre, Joachim de Lescot, Robert Ballard, and Ennemond Gaultier.[20]

Spinets were also used to accompany viol consorts, usually by doubling the parts. In addition, keyboard players would adapt all these parts to be played as a solo composition. Mersenne described the practice, praising the qualities of the keyboard instrument: "As for using the spinet, it is excellent in that one man can play all the parts of a consort, which it has in common with the organ and the lute [but] one can play several parts more easily on the spinet than on the lute."[21]

In fact, a number of viol publications specify this option, such as the fantasias of Eustache du Caurroy (1549–1609) and Charles Guillet (1575–1654). Du Caurroy states in his dedication that the fantasias were also intended for keyboard instruments "as custom has required, and the

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greatest masters in the profession have considered necessary," and Guillet writes that his pieces are for viols *or* organ ("tant pour les violes que pour l'orgue").[22]

The popularity of the lute began to fade during this time, and more precipitously in the 1620s, as Jean Titelouze described in a letter to Mersenne: "I remember having seen in my youth everybody admiring and being delighted by a man playing lute, and badly enough at that . . . now I see many lutenists more skilled than him who are hardly listened to."[23] By the 1650s, lute playing was gradually eclipsed by the harpsichord, with the appearance and rise of Jacques Chambonnières, Louis Couperin, and Jean-Henry d'Anglebert. This development reflects a major shift in tastes and profound changes in the political and economic conditions in France, the most important being the ascent of Louis XIV to the throne. La Fontaine's observation in his *Epître à M. Niert* of 1677 describes the situation:

> The time of Raymon and Hilaire is past: nothing pleases now but twenty harpsichords, a hundred violins, no longer do we look for the flutes and oboes of amorous shepherds. The charming theorbo, which we wished to hear only in the most refined salons, accompanying a tender voice, following and supporting with expressive chords a few choice and melodious airs, Boisset, Gaultier, Hernon, Chambonnieres, La Barre, all have gone out of fashion, and are no longer prized.[24]

Thus, rather than viewing the lute as the predecessor of the harpsichord in France, it would be more accurate to describe the development as the sharing of a common musical language and an act of borrowing and adapting between similar instruments. As David Ledbetter writes:

> It was the *clavecinistes*' familiarity with lute style that prompted them to appropriate some of the conveniences of tablature notation to the keyboard. In the case of D'Anglebert, whose keyboard style most thoroughly absorbed that of the lute, this naturalisation of lute tablature extended to the notation of ornaments and even the characteristic *séparé* and *ensemble* signs. The notation was a natural consequence of a similarity of technical means and expressive aims.[25]

Forms and Genres

Three major genres can be found in French harpsichord music: dance movements, character or descriptive pieces, and dedicatory works.

The French suite usually consists of a core of four dances – allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue – which are often preceded by an overture or an improvisatory piece, such as a prélude. The order of the dances would sometimes vary, and other dances might be also added. Minuets and

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gavottes are the most common, but the list includes chaconnes, *passacailles*, *rigaudons*, and *tambourins*.

The dance forms were similar to those found in other national styles. That is, the allemande was in duple meter, usually preceded by an upbeat; courantes were somewhat faster and could be in either simple triple or compound 3/2 meter; and the sarabande was a slow and serious dance in triple meter, with an emphasis placed on the second beat of some measures. Gigues could be composed in the Italian style, with a rapid tempo and a meter of either 6/8 or 12/8, while the French gigue was somewhat slower and rhythmically more complex, with a 6/4 time signature and predominant dotted rhythm. Nevertheless, exceptions were not uncommon, particularly in the eighteenth century. For example, Gaspard Le Roux's *Sarabande in D major* carries the tempo indication "Gaye."

The French *prélude non mesuré*, commonly known as the whole-note prelude, however, is unique to the style. Every nationality has a genre that is improvisatory in nature. The Italian toccata and the German præambulum, for example, allow the player considerable rhythmic and expressive freedom, but the *clavecinistes* took the approach to a new level by writing them either completely in whole notes without any rhythmic indication, or with a mixture of rhythmic and nonrhythmic values. They also often adopted their personal system of notation. The preludes of Louis Couperin are written entirely in whole notes, which are provided with slurs of varying lengths, the meaning of which is still open to interpretation.[26] Most other French composers, such as Nicolas Lebègue, were clearly aware that the French prelude might pose difficulties for inexperienced or foreign players. He wrote in his first book of harpsichord pieces (1677): "I have tried to present the preludes as simply as possible, in order to conform to harpsichord technique . . . if some things are found to be a little difficult or obscure, I ask the intelligent gentleman to please supply what is missing, considering the great difficulty of rendering this method of preluding intelligible enough for everybody."[27]

Louis Marchand, J. P. Rameau, Louis-Nicolas Clérambault, and others also attempted to achieve clarity, often by mixing unmeasured whole notes with notated rhythms, or adding dotted lines or other notational devices (see Example 6.3).[28] François Couperin's explanation evoked the principles of rhetoric and literary genres: "play [these preludes] without attaching too much precision to the movement; at least where I have not expressly written the word *measured*; thus, one may hazard to say that, in many ways, music (compared to poetry), has its prose and its verse."[29] Ultimately, French composers gradually imposed increasing limits on the

performer's freedom until the form itself was ultimately abandoned by the middle of the eighteenth century.

Character or descriptive pieces appeared infrequently in the seventeenth century but became prevalent in the eighteenth. Inspired by extramusical ideas such as people, places, and things, they reflected the French belief that music should express something other than itself. By the creative use of keyboard figures, distinctive rhythms, or unusual harmonies, the *claveciniste* might depict natural phenomena, political or social situations, scenes from the theater or from the folk heritage, emotions or states of mind, or paintings and other works of art. For example, F. Couperin could create the impression of waves with gently undulating scale passages (e.g., *Les ondes*, Book I, *Ordre* 5); the chaotic disruption of a troupe of entertainers by a rapid tremolo figure in the left hand (*Les fastes de la grande et anciénne Mxnxstrxndxsx,* Book III, *Ordre* 11); or the pompous march of a noble order by thick chords and square rhythms (*La marche des grisvêtus,* Book I, *Ordre* 4).

Dedicatory pieces were written to honor or acknowledge famous, influential, or generous people and patrons, and carried the name of the dedicatee in the title, such as F. Couperin's *La logivière* (Book I, *Ordre* 5) and *La Verneüil* (Book III, *Ordre* 18). This genre was usually abstract in nature, but occasionally they contained subtle hints as to the character traits of the dedicatee and might also take the form of a dance movement (e.g., both *La logivière* and *La Verneüil* are allemandes).

Les Clavecinistes

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the French harpsichord tradition begins with the works of Jacques Chambonnières, whose name appears in court records in 1624, but is only first mentioned as a spinet player in 1644. The end of the tradition, however, is not as easily defined. Bruce Gustafson and David Fuller suggest that it can be marked by the appearance between 1778 and 1783 of "Jean-François Tapray's four *Symphonies Concertantes*, [making these works] the last French music in which harpsichord was indispensable."[30] Yet, many harpsichords were found as late as 1793 in the workshop of the illustrious builder Pascal Taskin, proving that the instrument was still played (or at least purchased). Moreover, the harpsichord is listed as a solo instrument at the *Concert Spirituel* from 1777 until 1787, the same year as the appearance of Claude Balbastre's *La d'Esclignac*, which was listed as a *pièce de clavecin par M. Balbastre*, and still retains idiomatic harpsichord figuration.

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Therefore, for our purposes, we will mark the death of Balbastre in 1799 as the end of the French harpsichord tradition.[31]

Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1601–1672)

As founder of the French school of harpsichord playing, Chambonnières was greatly admired for his skill at what was called *le jeu coulant*, a smooth and self-controlled manner of playing, as opposed to the *jeu brilliant*, a more virtuosic style. Le Gallois described Chambonnières's attributes, especially his skill at ornamentation and embellishment, in a letter to Mademoiselle Regnault de Solar: "whenever [Chambonnières] played a piece he added new beauties by means of grace notes, passages and various ornaments, with double cadences. In short, he so varied them with all these different beauties that new graces were always to be found in them."[32]

It is therefore unfortunate that few compositions of Chambonnières survive. This is explained by the fact that he was reluctant to publish them, complaining about the numerous mistakes he found and the negative effects on his reputation.[33] Chambonnières finally succumbed to the pressure from his colleagues and listeners by publishing a single volume in 1670.

The Couperin Family

Similar to the Bach family in Germany, the members of the Couperin family played a major role and occupied the most important musical positions in France throughout much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including those at the royal court and the Eglise St. Gervais. The most notable are Louis and François *Le Grand* (1668–1733).

Louis Couperin (ca. 1626–1661)

The music of Louis Couperin has been justly hailed as the work of a master harpsichord composer who exerted a considerable influence on the *clavecin* style, his French contemporaries and successors (notably his nephew François *Le Grand*), and also on composers of other nationalities, such as J. J. Froberger. Recent research, however, has led us to question whether Louis was actually the composer of all of this great music. Glen Wilson, for example, presents a convincing argument that much of it might actually have been written by François *Le Grand's* other uncle, François (i) (ca. 1631–ca. 1710), or his father, Charles (ii) (1638–1679).[34] This does not diminish the superb quality and richness of this music, no matter which Couperin wrote it, but such investigations deepen our understanding of the history of the repertoire and the context and circumstances under which it was written. Harpsichordists are urged to "stay tuned" for further developments.

François Couperin (1668–1733)

Couperin published four books of *pièces de clavecin*, in 1713, 1716–1717, 1722 and 1730 respectively, but there is some evidence that many of the pieces in Book I were probably written earlier. There are no unmeasured préludes in any of the four books, although Couperin does suggest in his *L'art de toucher le clavecin* that the eight préludes in this publication could be played before an *ordre* in the corresponding key.[35]

The *ordres* of Book I are dominated by dance pieces, but from Book II on we see a growing preference for dedicatory or character pieces. This should come as no surprise. Not only did this reflect the changing nature of French society and tastes, but, as we discussed above, Couperin always believed that music should inspire the deepest feelings and thoughts and represent something other than itself. He made this clear in the Preface to the 1713 collection: "In composing these pieces, I have always had an object in view . . . Thus the titles reflect ideas which I have had . . . the pieces which bear them are a kind of portrait which, under my fingers, have on occasion been found fair enough likenesses."

Jean-Henry D'Anglebert (1629–1691)

D'Anglebert can be considered the greatest composer of *pièces de clavecin* between Louis and François Couperin. He published a beautifully engraved collection of four harpsichord suites in 1689 that also contained his arrangements of orchestral music by Lully. The table of ornaments (see Example 6.1a) in his collection influenced not only future French composers, but also J. S. Bach, who used it as a model for the *Explication unterschiedlicher Zeichen* in the *Clavier-büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedmann Bach.*[36]

Charles Dieupart (ca. 1670–1740)

The first eighteenth-century publication of *pièces de clavecin* by a French composer was perhaps the least typical, and hardly French: Dieupart's *Six suittes de clavessin* (1701). They were, in fact, never published in France, but are listed in Etienne Roger's catalogue in Amsterdam in 1702. The music has unmistakably French features, but strong foreign influences can be felt as well, such as the use of Italian-style gigues and Germanic contrapuntal textures. Dieupart also published his suites in an alternative instrumental version, rather than following the practice of merely suggesting the option. The upper part of the harpsichord part was assigned to "violin or flute" and a simplified figured version of the bass line to "bass viol and archlute." The names of the ornaments are given in both English and French.

Dieupart's suites were more widely known outside of France than other French harpsichord music, perhaps because the Parisian-born "François" spent most of his professional life in England as Charles and his publisher was Dutch.[37] This might help explain how Bach came to know and admire Dieupart's music and even copied out some of the pieces.

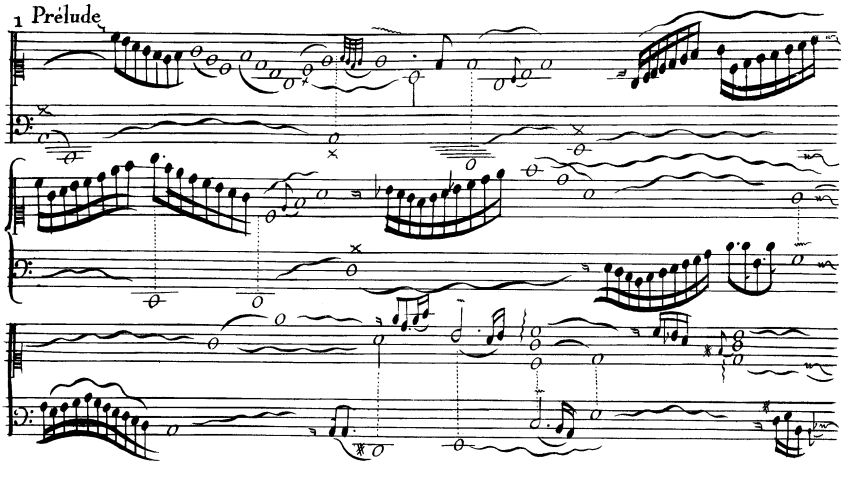
Louis Marchand (1669–1732)

Marchand published two books of *pièces de clavecin* in 1702, although Book I first appeared in 1699. Each book contains only one suite, although the term is not actually used. Book I consists of eight dances and a prelude written with both whole notes and rhythmic notation, while Book II is more conservative, and the individual dances are on a smaller scale. An elegant poetic dedication by Saint-Lambert opens the book, followed by a prélude similar in compositional technique to that of Book I, and then seven standard dances.

Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676–1749)

Clérambault was a member of a distinguished family of musicians who had served the kings of France since the fifteenth century. He occupied numerous organist positions and served as supervisor of the concerts of Mme. de Maintenon for Louis XIV. In 1704 Clérambault published his only book of *pièces de clavecin*, consisting of two suites in C major and C minor. The opening prélude of the first suite uses the mixture of *non-mesuré* and notated rhythms similar to Marchand, but Clérambault also employs vertical dotted lines to indicate when the right and left hands should play together, or separately.

Example 6.3 Louis-Nicolas Clérambault, *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1704), *Suite* I, Prélude, opening measures



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Jean-François Dandrieu (ca. 1682–1738)

Titon du Tillet compared Dandrieu favorably with Couperin and Rameau, but other critics, such as Pierre Louis d'Aquin de Chateau-Lyon, were more reserved in their appraisal.[38] A significant problem in the study of Dandrieu's harpsichord works is the chronology. His first book was published in approximately 1704, and the second and third books were not published but appeared between 1710 and 1720 (and probably written earlier). Dandrieu then published three more books of harpsichord pieces, publishing them in 1724, 1728, and 1734, respectively. His obvious intention was to replace the earlier harpsichord volumes, perhaps thinking their style too youthful or archaic, but many of the works in these later books are simply reworkings of earlier pieces, often changed merely by adding descriptive titles. Dandrieu's compositional style is similar to that of his contemporaries and generally follows common practice, but Book III has a didactic purpose, Dandrieu adding fingerings to many of the pieces.

Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (b. 1665–1667, d. 1729)

Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre was by all accounts a child prodigy, the *Mercure* proclaiming in July 1677: "for four years a wonder has appeared here. She sings at sight the most difficult music. She accompanies herself . . . at the harpsichord . . . She composes pieces and plays them in all the keys asked of her . . . and she is still only 10 years old."[39] Jacquet de La Guerre was a favorite of Louis XIV, who fostered her career, and she remained an active figure in the Parisian musical scene until retiring from public appearances in 1717. Her first book of harpsichord pieces appeared in 1687 (it is now lost); the second book was published in 1707. Her approach is fairly conventional in its arrangement of the dances and in the use of ornamentation and *style brisé*, but Jacquet de La Guerre also employs homophonic textures more often than most of her contemporaries. In conformity with common practice, she indicates in the preface that the works may be performed with instrumental accompaniment (in this case a violin), but a separate part is not provided for that instrument. The *Chaconne in D major* is one of the longest examples from the early part of the century.

Gaspard Le Roux (b. mid-17th Century, d. 1705–1707)

Although Le Roux's *Pièces de clavessin* were probably written at the end of the seventeenth century, both stylistic evidence and their 1705 publication date allow us to include him among the composers of the eighteenth. Little is known about his life, and the lack of a dedication in his *Pièces de clavessin* may imply that he was independent of means and did not need patronage.[40]

Le Roux follows earlier seventeenth-century practice in that a large number of dance movements are randomly grouped into suites by tonality. The préludes also look backwards, in so far as they are all written in the whole-note style. However, Le Roux's compositional technique is particularly sumptuous and well developed and presages some of the best writing of F. Couperin and later composers. Some striking examples include the rich harmonic language of the Sarabande in G minor with twelve couplets and the subtle treatment of texture in the *Courante luthée*. The gigues reflect an Italian influence. Three pieces are significant: *La pièce sans titre, La favoritte and La bel-ebat*, since they are the first examples in the French style of nondance pieces with fanciful titles. Most of Le Roux's pieces are given an alternative arrangement for two melody instruments and figured bass, but six are arranged for two harpsichords.

Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764)

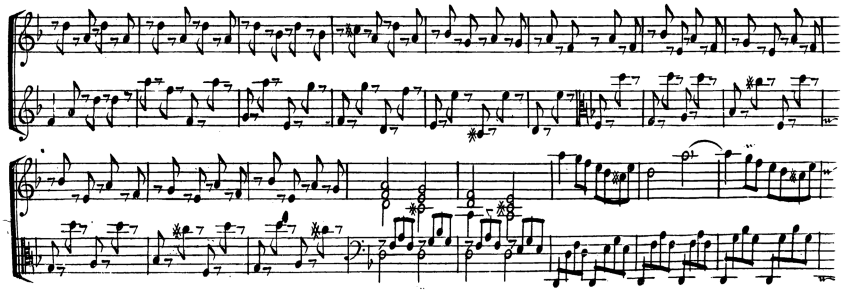
Although Rameau's reputation is based primarily on his operas and theoretical works, his harpsichord collections contain some of the most exciting and idiomatic French harpsichord music of the era.

He received his early musical training in his birthplace, Dijon, from his father and from the Jesuits. In 1706 he moved to Paris, but in 1709–1715 returned to Dijon to succeed his father at the Cathedral of Notre Dame. From 1715 to 1722 Rameau served as organist at Clermont Cathedral, where he wrote his organ works and the *Traité de l'harmonie réduite à ses principes naturels* (Paris: Ballard, 1722). He returned to Paris in 1722 but was still unable to secure a suitable organist position, even after the publication of his later harpsichord collections.

Rameau's harpsichord music includes three solo collections (published in 1706, 1724, and 1729 or 1730); transcriptions from his opera *Les Indes galantes* (1735); *La Dauphine* (ca. 1747); and the accompanied harpsichord music of the *Pièces en Concert* (1741). Book I (1706) fits comfortably into the stylistic tradition of Marchand and Clérambault. The opening prélude is written in both whole-note style and notated rhythms; however, it also includes a gigue-like section in 12/8. The remaining pieces are traditional dances, plus a single character piece, *La Vénitienne*.

The collection of 1724 contains two suites in the keys of E and D respectively. The Suite in E maintains an equal balance between dances and descriptive pieces. Included among the latter is the portrayal of the warble of birds, *Le rappel des oiseaux*. The pieces in D contain some of the century's finest descriptive and idiomatic harpsichord music. They include compositions inspired by natural phenomena (e.g., *Les tourbillons*, or whirlwinds); by the theater (*Les cyclopes*, which might refer to the one-

Example 6.4 Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1724), *Les cyclopes*, mm. 16–31



eyed giant in Lully's *Persée*, revived in 1722); and those evoking moods or states of mind (e.g., *Les tendre plaintes, Les soupirs*). Rameau acknowledges his intentions in a letter of 25 October 1727: "You have only to come and hear how I have characterized the song and dance of the savages who appeared at the Theatre Italien two years ago, and how I have rendered the titles *Les soupirs, Les tendres plaintes, Les cyclopes, Les tourbillons* (that is to say the swirls of dust raised by high winds)."[41] The 1724 collection also features some highly virtuosic and progressive keyboard writing, such as the revolutionary left-hand figure in *Les cyclopes,* which Rameau called *batteries.*

Rameau returns again to dance movements in the collection of 1729/1730, but he has also written a wide range of descriptive pieces as well, such as *Les trois mains*, an appropriate title for this virtuoso tour-de-force, and *La poule*, the repeated notes and keyboard figures graphically depicting the barnyard sounds of chickens (Rameau even writes beneath the opening notes the onomatopoetic "co co co co co co co dai").[42]

Musical Bouchers?

The composers of the generation after Couperin and Rameau were certainly productive and active, and a substantial quantity of harpsichord music was published. Unfortunately, the range in quality was also wide, and the standard extended from a high artistic level to examples of crude amateurism. Wilfrid Mellers considers the composers of this final period to be "musical Bouchers" in which "emotional indulgence reduces the art to (very charming) sensory titillation . . . They write to please."[43] Although there is some truth in Mellers' statement, his judgment is unduly harsh, both to the composers and the artist François Boucher. French society itself was rapidly changing, the aristocracy was in decline, and it is natural that the composers would write to suit the tastes of a growing, increasingly heterogeneous middle class. The style was also undergoing natural evolution, and the economy of expression and refinement of Couperin were

often replaced by extroverted virtuosity and broad humor. Alberti basses and other Italian figuration appeared more frequently, as did sonata form (not surprisingly in parallel with the ascendency of the fortepiano). Nevertheless, harpsichord music worthy of inclusion in the classical literature of the French *clavecinistes* was being written by composers such as Michel Corrette (1709–1795), Jean-François Tapray (1738–ca. 1819), Jean-Jacques Beauvarlet-Charpentier (1734–1794), the F. Couperin student Nicolas Siret (1663–1754), Armand-Louis Couperin (1727–1789), and others. The most interesting composers of this generation were Jacques Duphly, Claude Balbastre, and Joseph Nicolas Pancrace Royer.

Jacques Duphly (1715–1789)

In 1752, Duphly moved to Paris and earned his living there as a respected teacher. In that year, D'Aquin de Chateau-Lyon wrote admiringly about Duphly's "lightness of touch, and a certain softness which, sustained by ornaments, marvelously render the character of his pieces." He goes on to describe Duphly's congenial disposition: "in general his pieces are sweet and amiable: they take after their father."[44]

Duphly published four books of harpsichord pieces, in 1744, 1748, 1758, and 1768. Several dances appear in the first three books, but the vast majority of pieces are descriptive or dedicatory. Duphly's music earned him a small international reputation. Richard Fitzwilliam studied with him in 1765, and Wilhelm Marpurg tells us that he was the teacher of the leading families in Paris. Marpurg published two rondos from Duphly's first book in 1757, and we also learn from him that, as Ton Koopman tells us in Chapter 4, he "is the only eighteenth-century harpsichordist I know of who thought organ playing would have a negative effect on his harpsichord playing."[45]

Claude Balbastre (1727–1799)

Balbastre probably received his first organ lessons in Dijon from his father. He went to Paris at the age of twenty-three, studied and became friends with Rameau, and achieved great fame as an organist and harpsichordist. Balbastre appeared often at the *Concert Spirituel* until 1782, playing his own works or transcriptions of operas by Rameau or Mondonville, and became a popular figure in Parisian musical circles. His flamboyant performing style, particularly his *Noëls en variations* at the Eglise St. Roc, attracted such large crowds that the archbishop was forced to forbid him from playing. Burney described this style when he visited Paris in 1770: "When the Magnificat was sung, he played likewise between each verse several minuets, fugues, imitations and every species of music, even to

hunting pieces and jigs, without surprising or offending the congregation, as far as I was able to discover."[46]

In 1776 Balbastre was appointed organist to the future Louis XVIII, taught harpsichord to Marie Antoinette and the Duke of Chartres, and served as organist at the royal chapel. He was also teacher to foreign visitors, including Thomas Jefferson. The French Revolution, however, treated Balbastre poorly and he lived afterwards in poverty until his death.

Balbastre published his first book of *pièces de clavecin* in 1759. Several other harpsichord pieces appeared later in miscellaneous collections, including one of the last unmeasured preludes of the century. He also wrote music for organ and piano (including a *Marche des Marseillais et l'air Ça-ira arrangés pour le forte piano par le citoyen C. Balbastre aux braves défenseurs de la Republique*). One of Balbastre's last performances included this arrangement, on the deconsecrated organ at Notre Dame.

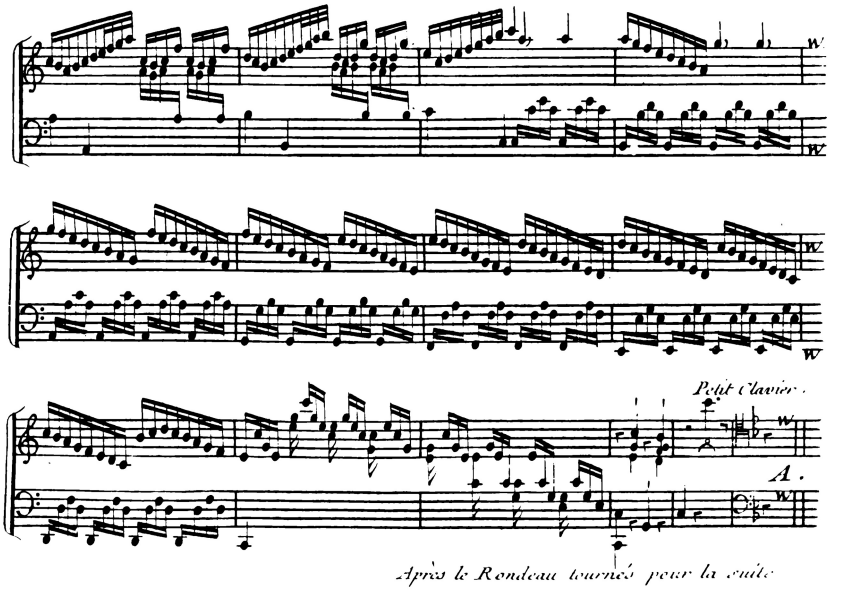
Like Duphly, Balbastre's harpsichord publications contain some of the best and some of the weakest music written for the instrument. And even more than his older colleague, Balbastre attempted to accommodate a wide divergence of approaches, including French, Italian, and the nascent classical piano styles. *La d'Héricourt*, a grand *tombeau* in C minor, exploits the lower register of the harpsichord and is worthy to be included with Couperin's *La ténébreuse* in the same key. The Italian influence manifests itself in *La Lujeac*, an irrepressible gigue-like piece in the spirit of Domenico Scarlatti. *La Malesherbe* brings us almost into the world of early Mozart, complete with an Alberti bass and a periodic phrase structure in the *galant* style.

Joseph Nicolas Pancrace Royer (ca. 1705–1755)

Born in Turin and the son of a Burgundian gentleman, Royer was trained for a career in the military. He moved to Paris in 1725 and was master of music at the Opéra from 1730–1733. In 1748 he took over the direction of the failing *Concert Spirituel*, had an organ installed, expanded the orchestra and chorus, and instituted major renovations in the hall. During his tenure Royer introduced symphonies of C. H. Graun, Hasse, and Stamitz, and in 1753 premiered Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*. His own compositions include operas, ballets, and vocal and instrumental works.

Royer published one book of *pièces de clavecin* in 1746, although there are reports of additional harpsichord works that are now lost. Some of these pieces are among the most inspired and attractive in the literature – and also the most eccentric. Royer's keyboard works retain all the characteristics of the French clavecin tradition, but also clearly show the change in style and taste which occurred after the death of the Sun King. The most striking are *Le vertigo* and *La marche des scythes*. One can imagine that the

Example 6.5 J. N. P. Royer, *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1746), *La marche des scythes*, mm. 54–66



repeated chords and dramatic leaps of *Le vertigo* or the slapstick humor and outrageous hysteria of *La marche des scythes* would not have found an appreciative audience in the Versailles of Louis XIV.

The Influence of the French Style Beyond the Borders of France

The dissemination of French harpsichord music throughout Europe was uneven and many composers were not known outside Paris. As we have noted, Dieupart and LeRoux did enjoy international recognition, probably because of their Dutch publishers, and Rameau and Duphly were known in England.[47] Francois Couperin's music was never printed outside of France, but copies of the books of *pièces de clavecin* were widely distributed. He was not well known in England, and Burney's comment about the ornaments gives an indication of the prevailing critical view of Couperin's style in that country.

A number of collections of miscellaneous French pieces appeared in Germany, such as the *Nebenstunden der berlinischen Musen in kleinen Clavierstücken* (1762), and Marpurg's *Clavierstücke mit einem practischen Unterricht für Anfänger und Geübtere* (1762–1763), which contains a transcription of Couperin's *Le réveil-matin* and works by Clérambault and Dandrieu. Composers like Krebs and Mattheson reportedly copied the

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music by hand.[48] Nevertheless, in 1771, Grimm described Couperin's music as "empty music and empty gardens."[49]

Similar criticism in Germany persisted into the nineteenth century. For example, in a letter to Goethe of June 9, 1827, Karl Friedrich Zelter calls Couperin's music "pretty little delicate pieces . . . with all their wildly curly notation," and describes the ornamentation as "curly French wigs."[50]

It is possible that Handel was aware of French harpsichord music, but it had little effect on his compositions, other than general stylistic elements such as the French overture and *style brisé*.

French music did play an important role in Bach's output, as we have seen in the use of D'Anglebert's table of ornaments. Bach was certainly familiar with the style, as is evident from his *Ouverture in the French Manner* (BWV831) and the version of *Les bergeries* titled Rondeau that appears in the *Notebook for Anna Magdalena Bach*, although it was probably not transcribed from a Couperin publication. According to Hans-Joachim Schulze, Bach probably first became familiar with the style during his visit to the court of Celle while he was attending the Michaelisschule in Lüneburg (1700–1702).[51] Traute Marshall, however, argues convincingly that it was the town of Ebstorf in which Bach enjoyed his first exposure to French music.[52]

French harpsichord music continued to have an influence in the Francophile atmosphere of the court of Frederick the Great, in particular the music of C. P. E. Bach. A strong connection can also be made, at least on stylistic grounds, to the keyboard works of the generation after C. P. E. Bach, including Haydn and Mozart. The classical piano style shares many traits in common with French harpsichord music, such as the preference for two-voice textures, the simple accompaniment figures, and regular phrase structure.

Les clavecinistes even maintained a presence in the minds of French composers in the twentieth century. This includes Claude Debussy, who couldn't decide whether to dedicate his *Études* for piano (L 136) to Couperin or Chopin, writing on 28 August 1915 to his publisher Jacques Durand: "You haven't given me an answer about the dedications: Couperin or Chopin."[53] In 1913, Debussy had expressed his surprise at the neglect of *les clavecinistes*, F. Couperin in particular, bestowing upon him the ultimate compliment by comparing him to another great French artist of the eighteenth century, Antoine Watteau. He called Couperin "the most poetic of our harpsichordists, whose tender melancholy is like that enchanting echo that emanates from the depths of a Watteau landscape filled with plaintive figures."[54]

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Notes

All translations are the author's unless otherwise noted.

1. Jean-Laurent Lecerf de La Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et da la musique françoise* (1704–1705), Vol. 1, p. 147, trans. Don Fader, "The Honnête Homme as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and Politesse in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music," *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 1 (Winter, 2003), pp. 3–44, here pp. 5–6.
2. The term *honnête* comes from the Latin *honestus* and the works of Cicero and Quintilian, *honnête* denoting one who was not only upright and virtuous but charming, pleasant, and well mannered. See Michael A. Bane, "*Honnêtes gens*, Amateur Musicianship, and the 'Easy Air' in France: The Case of Francesco Corbetta's Royal Guitars," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 20, no. 1 (2014), pp. 1–35, here p. 4.
3. Nicolas Faret, *L'Honeste-homme ou, l'art de plaire à la cour*, ed. Maurice Magendie (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1925), pp. 34–35, trans. Bane, *Honnêtes gens*, p. 7.
4. François Couperin, *L'art de toucher le clavecin* (Paris: Boivin, Le Clerc, 1717, rep. Geneva: Minkoff, 1986), pp. 5–6.
5. Nevertheless, the original source of many of the principles of *politesse* was Italian – Baldesar Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1528), which had been translated and disseminated in France at this time. See Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1967), and Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996).
6. Charles de Marguetel de Saint Denis de Saint-Evremond, "Sur les opéra à Monsieur le Duc de Bouquinquan," quoted in *Oeuvres en prose*, ed. René Ternois (Paris: Didier, 1966), Vol. 3, p. 157, trans. Fader, "The Honnête Homme", p. 33–34.
7. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 2 vols. (London: Author, 1776–1789), reprint of 2nd ed. (New York: Dover, 1957), Vol. 2, p. 996.
8. It should be mentioned that a number of contemporary commentators took a more flexible view on the subject. The most notable was the eminently practical Saint-Lambert, who wrote: "the performer is extremely free in the choice of agréments . . . he may play them in places where they are not indicated, remove those that are there if he finds that they don't suit the piece, and add others to his liking. He may even . . . compose other new ones himself in accordance with his own taste, if he believes himself capable of inventing ones that are more beautiful." M. Saint-Lambert, *Les Principes du clavecin* (Paris, 1702; facs. Geneva, 1974), p. 14, English translation in *Principles of the Harpsichord by Monsieur de Saint-Lambert*, trans. and ed. Rebecca Harris-Warwick (Cambridge, 1984), p. 98.
9. Saint-Lambert, *Principles*, p. 46.
10. F. Couperin, *L'art de toucher de clavecin*, pp. 39–40, trans. David Chung, "Revisiting 'le bon goût': Observations on the Irregularities and Inconsistencies of French Harpsichord Music 1650–1730," *Music and Letters* 92, no. 2 (May 2011), pp. 183–201.

11. Guillaume Gabriel Nivers, *Premier livre d'orgue* (Paris, 1665, facs. Courlay, France: Jean Marc Fuzeau, 1996), p. 114, cited in Stephen Hefling, *Rhythmic Alteration in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1993), p. 5.
12. Bénigne de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (Paris: 1668, facsimile Geneva: Minkoff, 1971, trans. and ed. Austin Caswell as *Commentary Upon the Art of Proper Singing* (Brooklyn, NY: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968), pp. 235–236.
13. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), "Pointer," cited in Beverly Jerold, "*Notes Inégales*: A Definitive New Parameter," *Early Music* 42, no. 2 (2014), pp. 243–289, here p. 277.
14. Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, *Nouvelle methode pour apprendre la musique* (Paris: L'Auteur, 1709/1736, facs. of 1736 ed. Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), p. 15.
15. See, for example, F. Couperin's *La Bersan*, *Ordre* 6, Book II, mm. 23–24.
16. Saint-Lambert, *Principles*, p. 46.
17. Michel Corrette, *Méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du pardessus de viole à 5 et à 6 cordes* (Paris, 1738/r1983), pp. 13–14, cited in Jerold, *Notes Inégales*, p. 277.
18. Saint-Lambert, *Principles*, pp. 32–33, trans. David Chung, "Revisiting 'Le bon gout,'" pp. 186–187.
19. For information on these spinet players, see David Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1987), p. 5 and *passim.*
20. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*, pp. 5–6 and *passim.*
21. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*, p. 18.
22. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*, p. 19.
23. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*, p. 8.
24. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*, pp. 12–13.
25. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*, p. 140.
26. See Colin Tilney, *The Art of the Unmeasured Prelude for Harpsichord* (London: Schott, 1985), and Davitt Moroney, "The Performance of Unmeasured Harpsichord Preludes," *Early Music* 4, no. 2 (April, 1976), pp. 143–151.
27. Nicolas Lebègue, "Extrait du Privilege," *Les pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1677).
28. The preludes in Le Roux's first and fifth suites differ from other examples of the form, however, in that they occasionally include what look like thoroughbass figures.
29. Couperin, *L'art de toucher le clavecin*, p. 60.
30. Bruce Gustafson and David Fuller, *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music, 1699–1780* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 1.
31. There is a large literature on *les clavecinistes* and their music. It includes Carol Henry Bates, "French Harpsichord Music in the First Decade of the 18th Century," *Early Music* 17, no. 2 (May, 1989), pp. 184–196; David Fuller, "French Harpsichord Playing in the 17th Century: After Le Gallois," *Early Music* 4 (1976), pp. 22–26; Bruce Gustafson, *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century: A Thematic Catalog of the Sources*

with Commentary (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1977); and Mark Kroll, "The French Masters: French Keyboard Music," in *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music*. ed. Robert Marshall (New York: Schirmer, 1994, rep. New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 124–153. See also the biographies of individual composers.

32. Ronald Broude, "Composition, Performance, and Text in Solo Music of the French Baroque," *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies* 15 (2003), pp. 19–49, here p. 29.
33. See Rebecca Cypess, "Chambonnières, Jollain and the First Engraving of Harpsichord Music in France," *Early Music* 35, no. 4 (2007), pp. 539–553.
34. Glen Wilson, "The Other M^{r} Couperin," *Early Keyboard Journal (The Historical Keyboard Society of North America)* 30, (2017), pp. 7–25.
35. F. Couperin, *L'art de toucher le clavecin*, p. 51.
36. See Mark Kroll, "L'Ornement mystérieux," *Early Music* 45, no. 2 (2017), pp. 297–309, here pp. 307–308.
37. John Hawkins, who chronicled many of Dieupart's activities in London, wrote: "In the latter part of his life he grew negligent, and frequented concerts performed in ale-houses, in obscure parts of town . . . He died . . . in very necessitated circumstances." John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776, rep. New York: Dover Publications, 1963), p. 822.
38. See Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois* (Paris, 1732), and Pierre Louis d'Aquin de Chateau-Lyon, *Lettres sur les homes célèbres . . . sur le regne de Louis* XV (Paris and Amsterdam, 1752).
39. *Mercure galant*, July 1677, p. 109–110, cited in *Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre, The Collected Works for Harpsichord, Part I*, ed. and trans. Arthur Lawrence (New York: The Broude Trust, 2008), p. v, fn. 3.
40. For a provocative discussion about the possible real identity of Le Roux, see Pascal Tufféry, "In Search of Gaspard Le Roux," *Early Music America* 22, no. 3 (September 2016), pp. 26–29. Tufféry theorizes that the composer "Le Roux" might have actually been "le Roi" himself; that is, Louis XIV.
41. Letter of 25 October 1727, cited in Kroll, "The French Masters," p. 142.
42. For some intriguing studies on the relationship between the compositional styles of Rameau and Domenico Scarlatti, particularly with regard to the virtuoso and progressive keyboard techniques they both used, see João Pedro d'Alvarenga, "Domenico Scarlatti in the 1720s: Portugal, Travelling and the Italianization of the Portuguese Musical Scene," in *Domenico Scarlatti Adventures: Essays to Commemorate the 250th Anniversary of His Death*, Massimiliano Sala and W. Dean Sutcliffe, eds. (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2008), pp. 17–68; and Graham Sadler, "When Scarlatti Met Rameau? Reflections on a Probable Encounter in the 1720s," in *The Worlds of Harpsichord and Organ: Liber Amicorum David Fuller*, ed. Bruce Gustafson (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2018).
43. Wilfred Mellers, *François Couperin and the French Classical Tradition* (London: Faber, 1987), pp. 248–249.
44. Cited and trans. in Yonit Lea Kosovske, *Historical Harpsichord Technique* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), p. 67.

45. Cited in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik, Band I* (Berlin 1754), p. 459. Koopman writes: "The statement reads: 'Mr. Duphly, a student of Dagincourt only plays the harpsichord, in order, as he says, to not let the organ ruin his hand.'"
46. See Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1773), second edition, p. 38.
47. For example, in 1751, Charles Avison was reportedly the first to introduce to England Rameau's *Pièces de clavecin en concert*, in the programs of Avison's Newcastle Music Society. See Jenny Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?* (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1996), p. 283, and *Charles Avison: Concerto Grosso Arrangements of Geminiani's Opus 1 Violin Sonatas*, Mark Kroll, ed. (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2010), Introduction.
48. See Kroll, "The French Masters," p. 135.
49. *Correspondance, littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm* . . . Vol. 9 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1879), Juillet 1771, p. 347.
50. See H.-J. Schulze, "The French Influence in Bach's Instrumental Music," *Early Music* 13, no. 2 (May, 1985), pp. 180–184, here p. 180.
51. Schulze, "The French Influence in Bach's Instrumental Music," p. 181.
52. See Traute Marshall, "Wo hat Bach die Celler Hofkapelle gehört," in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 102 (2016), pp. 115–124, and Robert L. Marshall and Traute M. Marshall, *Exploring the World of J. S. Bach: A Traveler's Guide* (Urbana-Champagne: University of Illinois Press, 2016), pp. 24, 113. Further evidence of Bach's familiarity with French music can be seen in the inclusion of a suite by Marchand in the *Andreas Bach Book* (I am grateful to Robert Marshall for this information).
53. See *Debussy Letters*, selected and edited by François Lesure and Roger Nichols, trans. Roger Nichols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 300–301.
54. Cited in the *Bulletin of the Société Internationale de Musique*, January 15, 1913, and *Debussy on Music*, François Lesure, ed, trans. and ed. Richard Langham Smith (New York: Knopf, 1977), p. 273.

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