Is the Dance Still in the Music?

Chaconne Compositions from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century

By

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Abstract


Title: Is the Dance Still in the Music? Chaconne Compositions from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century.

This thesis looks at the relationship of dance to the music with which it is performed, and how consideration of the dance component in the music, whether literal or implied, can influence and even inspire a musical performance today.

As a contemporary point of reference, the introduction briefly describes Douglas Lilburn’s Chaconne (1946) for piano, and the composer’s inspiration of walking the west coast of New Zealand’s South Island.

After describing the history of the chaconne—its Spanish introduction to Europe as a peasant dance, to Italy and the commedia dell’arte, to France where it was adopted by the court, and then the rest of Europe—chapter one discusses the general inter-relationship of dance and music. The arts of dance and music were considered equal in Europe prior to the eighteenth century. Continuing with defining the term “dance music,” the chapter then considers other Baroque dance-types, illustrating how the chaconne is representative of the genre. It further defines the chaconne as describing a journey, thus providing a basis for a comparison of chaconnes written through the centuries and around the world.

The chaconne’s role, and dance generally, in the theatre of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is discussed in chapter two. The fifteen extant Baroque dances for which
notations are available are discussed in chapter three, with four of them being analysed in
detail using seventeenth-century rhetorical theories of Bary and Lamy, as defined and
applied in twentieth-century analyses of Baroque dance by Ranum, Maher, and Schwartz.
Three chaconne dances for the *commedia dell’arte* character, Harlequin are also
discussed.

Chapter four looks at the music of the chaconne, analyses the corresponding music for
the four dances studied in chapter three, and then considers the interaction between these
dance and music examples.

Chapter five concludes with a discussion of modern performance practices for dance and
music, and the current contrasting trends of careful consideration being given to
performance of Baroque music, but the general lack of equivalent sensitivity to any dance
that is deemed “old.” A study of two contrasting recordings of Lilburn’s *Chaconne*
follows: one dance-spirited, the other with an intellectual approach. A similarly detailed
examination of José Limón’s choreography *Chaconne* (1942) demonstrates a careful
consideration of the music on a par with the Baroque dances discussed.

Several appendices are included. After a brief introduction, *Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation and How to Read It*, fifteen notated Baroque-chaconnes in this notation schema
are included, with a brief description preceding each one. This is followed by a selective
list of twentieth-century choreographies either titled chaconne or to chaconne music, and
selective lists of chaconne music, separated into before and after 1800.

In addition to the written thesis, live performance of the noble dance *Chacone of Amadis*
and the grotesque *Chacoon for a Harlequin* was undertaken as an integral part of the
study. A DVD recording of this event is included with this volume.
# Contents

Abstract ii

Contents v

List of Illustrations, Tables and Examples vii

Acknowledgements x

Introduction: A Two-Beat Anacrusis 1

## 1. Music and Dance

- What Exactly is a Chaconne? 4
- Structural Inter-Relationship of Dance and Music 8
- What is “Dance Music”? 11
- Publications on the Dance and Music Relationship 13
- A Sample of the Dance Repertoire of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe 15
  - Menuet
  - Gavotte
  - Bourrée
  - Sarabande
  - Courante

## 2. Chaconnes in Theatre Genres of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe

- Early Occurrences of the Chaconne 22
  - The Chacona in Spain
  - The Ciakona in Italy
- Early Theatrical Entertainments Involving Dance 27
  - The Italian Intermedio
  - The French Ballet de cour and Comédie-ballet
  - The English Masque and Antimasque
- The Rise of Opera 33
  - Opera in Italy
  - French Opera: Tragédie en musique
  - French Development: Opéra-ballet
  - English Opera and Semi-Opera
  - The Later Eighteenth Century
3. The Chaconne as Danced  
The Character of the Early Dance-Type: Spain and Italy  45  
The Character of the Chaconne in France  47  
“Mute Rhetoric”: Structural Analysis Explained  48  
Notation of Chaconne Dances  52  
The Noble Dances  55  
   A Chacone by Mr Isaac  56  
   Chaconne de Mr Feuillet  64  
   Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme  68  
   Chacone of Amadis perform’d by Mr Dupré  72  
The Grotesque dances  81  
   Lambranzi  
   Dances for Harlequin in Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation  87  

4. The Chaconne as Played and Sung  
The Musical Origins  99  
Music for Dance Notations  101  
The Noble Dances  102  
   A Chacone by Mr Isaac  102  
   Chaconne de Mr Feuillet  106  
   Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme  109  
   Chacone of Amadis perform’d by Mr Dupré  117  
The Grotesque dances  124  
   Lambranzi  124  
   Chaconne des scaramouches, trivelins et arlequins  127  
The Music and Dance Recombined  128  
   The Ballroom Chaconnes  
   The Noble Theatrical Chaconnes  
   The Grotesque Theatrical Chaconnes  

5. Chaconnes in the Twentieth Century  
Making a “Song and Dance” of the Chaconne—Baroque Music Performance Practice  132  
The “Two Solitudes” Situation  135  
“Music-Only” Chaconnes of the Twentieth Century  138  
   Chaconne (1946) by Douglas Lilburn  141  
Danced Chaconnes of the Twentieth Century  145  
   Chaconne (1942) by José Limón  146  

Conclusion: The Final Cadence  152  

Appendices  
A. Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation and How to Read It  153  
B. Beauchamp–Feuillet Notated Chaconne Dances  160  
C. Twentieth-Century Choreographies Titled Chaconne or to Chaconne-Titled Music—A Selective List  297  
D. Music Before 1800 Identified as Chaconnes—A Selective List  299  
E. Music After 1800 Identified as Chaconnes—A Selective List  305  
F. Track listing and description of accompanying DVD  311  

Glossary  313  

Bibliography  316
## List of Illustrations, Tables and Examples

### Illustrations

1. First plate of *The Favorite*  
   iv  
2. West Coast, New Zealand  
   3  
3. The 1st Movement of the Chaconne or Passacaille Step  
   6  
4. Wendy Hilton’s chart of Baroque dance-types  
   16  
5. Presentation of the Right Hands  
   17  
6. The 2nd Movement of the [Chaconne or] Passacaille Step  
   21  
7. Domenico Biancolelli  
   26  
8. Typhoeus Beneath the Mountains of Ischia  
   28  
9. Louis XIV as le Roi Soleil  
   30  
10. *Wit at Several Weapons*  
    32  
11. Euridice being taken away at her death  
    35  
12. Scene du Trebuchement de Phaéton  
    37  
13. Turkish scene from *L’Europe galante*  
    39  
14. John Rich as Harlequin  
    42  
15. Description of a sarabande by Father François Pomey  
    49  
16. Frontispiece of Lambranzi’s *Neue und Curieuse Theatricalische Tantz-Schul*  
    80  
17. Plate 29 from *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing*  
    82  
18. Plate 30 from *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing*  
    83  
19. Plate 32 from *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing*  
    85  
20. Plate 33 from *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing*  
    86  
21. *La Réverence d’Arlequin* by Claude Gillot  
    92  
22. Evaristo Gherardi as Harlequin  
    93  
23. Le Roussau’s illustration of Harlequin  
    95  
24. Giuseppe Maria Mitelli in *Proverbi figurati*  
    96  
25. *Arc des loyaux amants* from *Amadis*  
    118
26. Plate 31 from *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing* 127
27. The first page of Douglas Lilburn's *Chaconne* 142
28. Mikai Baryshnikov in the opening pose of José Limón’s *Chaconne* 147
29. José Limón in a pose from *Chaconne* 150

Tables

1. The Five Elements of Rhetorical Theory—René Bar y 50
2. The Three Elements of Poetic Action—Bernard Lamy 51
3. The Noble Dance Notations 53
4. The Grotesque Dance Notations 54
5. *A Chacone by Mr. Isaac* 103–4
6. *Chaconne de Mr Feuillet* 108
7. *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme* 112–3
8. *Chacone of Amadis* 123
A1. Key to kinetograms to reflect Baroque dance technique 159

Examples

1. Notations for the step-units *Pas de menuet à deux mouvments* and
   *Pas de menuet à trois mouvments* 18
2. Notations for the step-units *Temps de courante, Pas coupé, demi-jeté* and
   *Pas de bourrée* 19
3. Opening sequence of *A Chacone by Mr. Isaac* 58
4. Second sequence of *A Chacone by Mr. Isaac* 59
5. *Pas tombé* of *A Chacone by Mr. Isaac* 60
6. Final period of the Confutation, *A Chacone by Mr. Isaac* 61
7. Final three bars of the chaconne of *A Chacone by Mr. Isaac* 63
8. The opening sequence of *Chaconne de Mr. Feuillet* 65
9. The Confirmation of *Chaconne de Mr. Feuillet* 67
10. The first period of the Exordium of *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme* 69
11. The Narration of *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme* 70
12. The climax of the Confirmation, *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme* 71
13. The irregular dance phrases for the opening of *Chacone of Amadis* 73
14. The first period of the Exordium, *Chacone of Amadis* 75
15. The “bright” period of the Conflagration, Chacone of Amadis 76
16. The climax of Chacone of Amadis 77
17. Variation 1 first phrase, Phaeton chaconne 110
18. Variation 2 first phrase, Phaeton chaconne 110
19. Variation 5 first phrase, Phaeton chaconne 111
20. Variation 8 first phrase, Phaeton chaconne 111
21. Variations 6, 7 and the first phrase of 8, Phaeton chaconne 114
22. Variations 10–15, Phaeton chaconne 115
23. Variation 16, Phaeton chaconne 116
24. Variation 1 from Amadis chaconne 119
25. Variation 5 from Amadis chaconne 120
26. Variation 2 from Amadis chaconne 120
27. Variation 4 from Amadis chaconne 120
28. The third phrase of variation 8 from Amadis chaconne 121
29. Variation 7 from Amadis chaconne 121
30. Variation 12 from Amadis chaconne 121
31. Variation 11 from Amadis chaconne 122
32. Variation 13 from Amadis chaconne 122
33. Variation 17 from Amadis chaconne 122
34. Chicona by Lambranzi 126
35. Chaconne des scaramouches, trivelins et arlequins by Lully 127
A1. Five positions of the feet in notation 155
A2. Stepping forward, sideways and backwards in notation 155
A3. Walking exercise in notation 156
A4. Examples of different step symbols in notation 157
A5. Four step-units of Baroque dance vocabulary in notation 158
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Now I turn to the thesis itself. Most importantly I would like to thank my supervisors and the School of English, Film, Theatre, and Media Studies. Prof. David Carnegie encouraged me with his suggestions and supervising experience, and Jennifer Shennan has always encouraged a multidisciplinary approach to arts, emphasising how much there is to be learned about one chosen discipline by looking at other art disciplines. And to the Theatre Programme for allowing a scholarly and historical approach to dance studies, when most tertiary institutions in New Zealand focus primarily on recent trends, and are performance based. My thanks also to the administration staff who have been very helpful.

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For helping with German texts I am grateful to Katrin Eickhorst-Squire. And last but not least I would like to thank those who have read various drafts of this thesis—Ann Breen, Frank Fabry, Georgia Hughes, Janet Hughes, and Malcolm McKinnon—copyediting, offering suggestions for improvements, and proofreading as well as for their general friendship and support.

Thank you.
Introduction

A Two-Beat Anacrusis

In 1946 New Zealand composer Douglas Lilburn composed *Chaconne* for solo piano. The work consisted of a theme and thirty-one variations, the number chosen to signify his recent birthday. In a radio interview with John Mansfield Thomson, Lilburn describes how a walk along the West Coast of the South Island inspired the work.

At about midnight in May 1946 […] I suddenly felt absolutely fed up with Christchurch so I caught the night train to Greymouth. I arrived there at 6 a.m. on a dreadful morning, it looked like the end of the world, but I walked a bit down the coast, and then I could see Mounts Cook and Tasman shining in the distance and I thought “Aha, I’m going there.” And it was an absolutely incredible walk because in those days the original roads were still intact, and they took their time getting up hills, winding around corners. There was dense bush a lot of the way, and full of bellbirds at that season, and of course the roads were bounded by these huge banks of ferns and moss; full of colour. The whole thing was magical.2

In his introduction to the interview J.M. Thomson describes the chaconne as an “ancient musical form, originally linked to the dance, which has attracted composers down the centuries.” He adds that it is a demanding musical form. Here he is referring to the virtuosic technique required to play the chaconne, which also reflects the virtuosity of the solo danced chaconnes of the early eighteenth century.

That Lilburn should choose a European historic dance-type to capture his experience of nature some 12,000 miles away and 300 years later might seem curious. Looking more closely at the structure, history and significance of the chaconne, however, the choice seems entirely explicable.3

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1 An anacrusis is an upbeat or unstressed beat at the beginning of a musical phrase. Two upbeats were a feature of seventeenth-century chaconnes.
2 Radio New Zealand Sound Archives, CDR 205. (c. 1987)
3 Douglas Lilburn’s *Chaconne* will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.
Lilburn’s description of his West Coast walk is an account of a journey. This echoes a characteristic of the chaconne that one can trace since the dance-type was first documented in Europe: namely a forward progression that includes a succession of moments or episodes such as one encounters on a journey, whether literally, or metaphorically through a range of emotions.

This abstraction of a journey is reflected through the range of emotions and experiences expressed in its performance. The chaconne evolved from a creative form integrating both dance and music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to one which by the twentieth century was mostly associated with music.

Both dance and music reflected this journeying in the early chaconnes, and it is a continuation of this feature, as much as it is the metre and form, that defines twentieth-century chaconnes.

This thesis will examine the close structural inter-relationship of dance and music that existed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Baroque period, when a court member was expected to be both dancer and musician of a high calibre. Looked at through the lens of the chaconne, this close relationship of the dance and music, found in all “dance music” and “dance-like music”, is a reminder of how one art should be carefully considered when performing the other.
Chapter 1
Music and Dance

What Exactly is a Chaconne?

It is hard to define an art type that has persisted to some extent through more than four centuries, travelling through many countries and continents. It has been a sung dance, and a dance performed in various social settings, and has featured in the guitar repertoire, and as virtuosic solos on violin, and keyboard. It was the favoured dance for the apotheosis of the grand French Baroque opera, and also of Harlequin, a servant character in the commedia dell’arte. Many composers have written chaconnes, ranging from Montesardo through Monteverdi and Mozart to Christopher Marshall; from Buxtehude and Bach through Beethoven and Brahms to Bartok and Britten; from Lully to Ligeti and Douglas Lilburn. These very different composers have treated the chaconne in widely varying ways, to a point that even the most fundamentally defining feature of a triple-time metre is sometimes discarded.¹ So how does one describe a chaconne?

First appearing in Spain in the late 1500s, the chacona is thought to have had its origins in the Americas, along with the zarabanda. Particularly favoured in Seville, the chacona was classed as a baile, a popular dance with “its origins in the spontaneous, unrestrained setting of peasant life or primitive society.”² The chacona was regarded as the wildest and most popular of all bailes. Church and court authorities who preferred the courtly danzas, regarded the chacona as an immoral dance because of its head and neck gestures and suggestive body movements. Some even attributed it to the devil. In 1615 the chacona, along with the zarabanda and other similar dances, was banned from

¹ Two such examples are Guibaidulina’s Chaconne in common time (4/4) and Ligeti’s Hungarian Rock (Chaconne) in 9/8 (divided in the left hand as 2+2+3+2).
performance in theatres, although this seemed to have little effect on its popularity as a social dance.

Shortly after it became popular in Spain the ciacona featured in Italy, particularly Naples, where a large collection of ciacona music composed for Spanish guitar can be found. Here the use of variations as a formal musical structure for the chaconne is first documented. The theme for these variations is usually either a bass line (that is, a ground bass or ostinato bass) and/or a harmonic rather than melodic theme. Although there is little documentation of it, the dance also appeared in Italy, being associated with commedia dell’arte and the character Arlecchino (Harlequin) in particular.

By the second half of the seventeenth century the chaconne had made its way into France where it was performed in the court repertoire. It was a favoured dance of Jean-Baptiste Lully, who gave it pride of place in many of his operas, to end either an act or the complete opera. These chaconnes were often of lengthy duration, sometimes occupying an entire scene, and all were intended for dancing. Their distinctive features include:

- two-beat anacrusis (up-beat)
- variations on an harmonic theme of I-V-IV-V and its derivations
- rhythmic pattern of crotchet, dotted crotchet, quaver = \[\text{crotchet, dotted crotchet, quaver} = \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{4}\] 3

The influence of Louis XIV’s court over high culture, as well in political, military and economic spheres, was felt through the whole of Europe. Included in France’s influential high culture was dance and music, such as the chaconne. In England the chaconne found favour with Henry Purcell who composed chaconnes for some of his operas and keyboard suites, and his well-known Chacony in G for strings. The chaconne also appeared several times in German repertoire, although not so often intended for dancing. George Frideric Handel included chaconnes in his early keyboard works, and, possibly the most famous example of all time, the concluding movement of Johann Sebastian Bach’s Partita No.2 for solo violin.

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3 Or quarter note, dotted quarter note, eighth note, herein referred to as “chaconne rhythm”.
After the Baroque period the chaconne continued to appear but its popularity waned. When Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart concluded the ballet of his opera *Idomeneo* with a
chaconne, it was by then considered old-fashioned. This did not stop Ludwig van Beethoven using the form for his 32 variations on an original theme (WoO 80).

Johannes Brahms chose variation form for the final movement for his Symphony no. 4, which is probably the most significant instance of the chaconne in the nineteenth century. The chaconne was rare by this time but was not totally ignored. Franz Liszt, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Robert Schumann all arranged chaconnes of either Bach or Handel, and Ferruccio Busoni’s transcription of the aforementioned Bach chaconne in 1897 deserves special mention. With the exception of Mozart, none of these German and German-based composers intended their chaconnes to be danced. Mozart follows the French opera style for Idomeneo, and was himself highly regarded for his dancing ability and known to have played Harlequin.

The twentieth century saw many chaconnes being composed, both as music and as dance, although more the former than the latter. Composers such as Bela Bartok, Alban Berg, Benjamin Britten, Cécile Chaminade, John Corigliano, Norman Dello Joio, Philip Glass, György Ligeti, Carl Nielsen, Carl Orff, Max Reger and Ned Rorem, as well as the New Zealand composers David Farquhar, Ross Harris, Douglas Lilburn, Christopher Marshall and John Wells, have all composed works or movements identified as chaconnes.

Twentieth-century choreographers who have created dances entitled Chaconne include José Limón (to the Busoni piano transcription of Bach), George Balanchine (to the chaconne and other incidental music from Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck’s opera Orphée et Euridice) and more recently Bill T. Jones. Other dances to chaconne music are Leonid Massine’s Choreartium (to Brahms’ fourth symphony), William Forsythe’s Artifact and Steptext (all to the Bach chaconne), Twyla Tharp’s Bach Partita (to the

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4 Cantrell, Byron. “Three B’s—Three Chaconnes.” Current Musicology. 12 (1971): 63–74. Neither Beethoven nor Brahms identify their works named here as chaconnes so it is with some conjecture that they are discussed both in this article and in this thesis. By the nineteenth century the definitions of chaconne and passacaille were almost interchangeable and one work could be referred to as either on different occasions. Adhering to Baroque definitions, however, Beethoven’s variations leans more towards a chaconne; whereas Brahms’ symphony is more towards a passacaille, starting with a complete bar and in a minor key.


6 For a larger, more comprehensive list see Appendix E: Music After 1800 Identified as Chaconnes—A Selective List
complete Partita no. 2 for solo violin by Bach) and Lucinda Childs (to Britten’s *Chacony* from his second string quartet).  

Over these four centuries the chaconne has evolved, being reinterpreted by many composers and performers. Despite this evolution, however, some elements of the chaconne have remained relatively constant:

- variation form
- triple time
- moderate speed
- predominantly major tonality (if any)
- some association with dance or dance-like qualities.

One further point, although less clearly defined, is the chaconne character or spirit, which is an allegory of life’s journeys. Early *chacona* texts frequently refer to “the good life”, court chaconnes exemplified desirable attributes, and theatrical chaconnes often reflected the operas’ themes. This will be discussed further.

**Structural Inter-Relationship of Dance and Music**

Music and dance were closely linked both before and during the Baroque period. Today, music from this period is widely studied in the academy and frequently performed in the concert hall. By contrast, the dance remains the specialist preserve of only a minority of dancers and scholars worldwide.

This preference for Baroque music over its associated dance forms has not always been the case. In Europe before the mid-eighteenth century, the art forms of music and dance were very closely linked. All people, courtiers and commoners alike, took part in singing, making music, and dancing within their societal groups. Noble men and women were expected to be skilled in both playing music and dancing.

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7 For more details see Appendix C: Twentieth-Century Choreographies Titled Chaconne or to Chaconne-Titled Music—A Selective List
The seventeenth century saw the institutionalisation of the professional performing artist. In the French court, Louis XIV established two academies—L’Académie Royale de Danse and L’Académie Royale de Musique, and many other European countries followed suit, establishing royal or state-funded academies of dance and music.⁸

These academies enabled professional dancers and musicians to concentrate primarily on a single art, and this specialization resulted in the clearly defined distinction between dancer and musician, with this demarcation consequently splitting their collaborative heritage. From this point in western art-culture history the performing arts of music and dance began to be seen as separate entities, resulting in today’s segregation between the concert hall and the ballet theatre.

Today, the absence of integrated training for the performers of music and dance has had detrimental effects on both art forms. Apart from a common interest in metre and tempo, this separation has brought about training in the two performing arts with little cognizance of and reference to the other. The primary focus on just one art has resulted in a poorer understanding by practitioners and audience alike, especially of an art created with both in mind.

This separation of the two arts in the European tradition is widely accepted as standard today. Examining other dance and music traditions worldwide, however, proves this is much the exception. Outside the Western performance arena, dance and music maintain a close working relationship. Manifestations of this integration can be found in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, where many musicians are also dancers, and vice versa.

Nor does this separation include all types of music and dance even in Western societies. The art of flamenco is one persisting European example of a very close working relationship between the cante (the song), the baile (the dance), the guitarra, and the palmas (clapping). Also in Western cultures a close relationship between music and dance remains in popular art forms, where the names of many genres refer to both the music and the dance equally: for example, waltz, foxtrot, tango, swing, rock ’n’ roll, disco, and hip hop.

⁸ An important point is that these newly established academies did not produce the first ever professional performing artists; travelling players, such as the performers of commedia dell’arte, and troubadours, had long made a profession of their arts.
This close relationship between music and dance can be traced to the beginning of historical records and possibly even further back. Julia Sutton describes the prehistory of the music and dance relationship as “more shrouded in mystery than those of the other arts”, explaining that while there are many theories as to the origins of the partnership, they lack corroboration.\textsuperscript{9}

Robert Oliver, a leading New Zealand performer and teacher of early music, hypothesizes that one of music’s early functions was as a means of remembering text, and it is subsequently that music came to accompany dancing. He talks of how text and dance in combination form the core of the tree of music, and that both should be considered and studied in musicianship for a depth of understanding in performance. Furthermore it is his strong belief that musicians who ignore this association of the music with text and with dance will do so at their peril.\textsuperscript{10}

At the Pacific Dance conference held in Wellington in 2005, \textit{Culture Moves! Dance in Oceania From Hiva to Hip Hop}, opinion from the floor was almost unanimous that music, dance and narrative were all equal and essential parts of the various Pacific Islands cultures’ performing art. One strong voice, however, begged to differ. Taking a cognitive approach, Dr. Okusitino Mahina, anthropologist and lecturer at University of Auckland, made the point that the music is aural, the dance is visual, and narrative is literal. Why should they only be thought of collectively when each is quite clearly distinct?

Drawing on my own experience in appreciating the inter-relationship of music and dance, I agreed with the majority opinion. I could also see the point raised by the lone voice, however, aware of a similar distinction between and consequent separation of the three components in western performing art. Although to see and approach the three components individually has brought about many benefits to western performing art, the separation has also meant a loss in the capacity to produce a unified art.

Before looking more closely at the unified art exemplary in Baroque dance and music, and particularly the chaconne, there are some points that need clarification. After defining the expressions “dance music” and “dance-like music” as used in this study, a comment


\textsuperscript{10} Oliver, Robert. Personal interview. 6 March 2007.
on what others have had to say about the relationship of the two arts of music and dance will follow.

**What is “Dance Music”?**

In the simplest definition, “dance music” is music composed expressly for dancing. It can be music composed for a libretto or narrative, or to complement a theme or concept, through collaboration between a composer and a choreographer for theatrical works; or it can be music written for dancing in general, usually as defined by type or style, such as a waltz.

“Dance music” is written expressly for dancing and is therefore only half of the total “performance package”. One needs to bear this in mind, and not be too quick to disregard it as inferior to other musical genres that are conceptually complete in an “audio-only” presentation.

Some examples of dance music have been adapted for the concert hall, often as ballet suites or excerpts, but music that is composed especially for dance should not be criticized if it cannot stand alone. To listen to just the music of a ballet is comparable to listening to an orchestra playing an opera without the singers. Some operatic excerpts have been adapted just for orchestra, but they are the exception. Generally opera audiences prefer the music intact, with singers and orchestra.

Another comparison could be made with film music. Producers often use music to enhance the atmosphere in a movie, be it horror, action or romance; and there are some exceptional film scores instantly recognisable to movie-buffs and non-moviegoers alike. Most sound recordings of instrumental, specially-composed soundtracks, however, form only a small percentage of the stock in compact disc stores.

While music has developed into an independent art, dance has retained an association in some form or other with music. Twentieth-century American dancer and choreographer

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11 Wagner’s *Siegfried Idyll*, and Bizet’s *Carmen* suites, to name two.
12 The main music themes from John Williams’ *Jaws* and *Star Wars*, Maurice Jarre’s *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Dr Zhivago*, Ennio Morricone’s *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, Max Steiner’s *Gone with the Wind*, or Nino Rota’s *Godfather* would be recognisable to many, but a recording of them would actually be owned by only a few.
Doris Humphrey says dance should function in collaboration with the arts of music, narrative and design. She makes the point that music is not dance’s master but instead an equal, and that dance’s dependence on other arts should not be viewed as a weakness, but a strength. Dance that ignores this need for a companion is often “in denial” of its own identity.\textsuperscript{13}

The mutuality between dance and music is important for both. Dance should not be viewed as an optional layer that sits on top of the music. Dancers are often criticized for dancing to counts and not to the music; but to suggest that the music comes first, to which the dance is added, is a very epiphytic approach to dance. Are not the musicians counting also? Dance conceived purely to enhance the music is denying the power of its own voice. Rather than one growing on top of the other, what is needed is more a companionable approach, recognising that both grow in the same soil of metre, rhythm and phrasing (even if the components are identified differently by the two groups of artists). These elements do not belong to one or the other art, but are common ground to both of them.

Returning to Robert Oliver’s similar metaphor of dance and song text being the core of the music tree suggests that music for dance might once have included everything that wasn’t expressly intended for singing. Music-only performances heard frequently in the concert hall today still carry the influence of song and dance on the music, which can still be heard in lyrical melodies and in distinctive rhythms and identifiable metre.

Music with danceable rhythms and metre—which might encourage toe-tapping or invoke a dance—I shall refer to as “dance-like music”, able to be danced to despite this not being the composer’s original intention. Baroque music in particular was very dance-focused. Much of it was intended for dancing; but more still, intended for other purposes, maintained the distinctive characters of particular dance-types popular at the time. Bach’s chaconne for solo violin is a case in point.\textsuperscript{14}

In tracing twentieth-century developments of choreography, one appreciates the pioneering work of Isadora Duncan and the Ballets Russes. Duncan is well known for her new movement vocabulary, but she was also revolutionary in her fusion of movement

\textsuperscript{14} See Appendix C for six different twentieth-century choreographies to Bach’s chaconne. José Limón’s \textit{Chaconne} to the Busoni transcription of Bach is also discussed in chapter five.
and music. Performing initially to illustrate lectures on the relationship of dance with other arts, Duncan went on to include concert music for her dance initiatives to raise dance’s profile in the art world.

Diaghilev’s commissioning of scores for the Ballets Russes has produced many iconic works which can be heard in the concert hall today. Equally important, however, is how the Ballets Russes (and successive companies) followed Duncan’s lead in using concert music for ballets. This gave opportunities to the company’s choreographers, Massine and Balanchine in particular, who would then go on to create the new genre of the symphonic ballet.

Many twentieth-century dance choreographies, following on from Duncan and the Ballets Russes, have exemplified the “danceable-ness” of Baroque concert and vocal music. Similarly, choreographies to larger orchestral works, such as symphonies and concertos have become more common.

“Dance-like music”, therefore, is music that may have been originally intended as a stand-alone art, but carries a dance-like quality, and for this reason might at a later date be chosen by a choreographer to set a dance to. Both “dance music” and “dance-like music” are important contributions to the music art-form if they serve the purpose for which they were created.

Publications on the Dance and Music Relationship

Much has been written about collaborations between specific composers and choreographers, but little has been written on the two arts contributing to a shared performance experience. The authors of what has been written can be generally divided into three categories: dancers, musicians, and critics.

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16 Some of these are Debussy’s Jeux, de Falla’s El Sombrero de Tres Picos, Milhaud’s Le train bleu, Poulenc’s Les Biches, Prokofiev’s Le fils prodigue, Ravel’s Daphnis et Chloé, Satie’s Parade, and Stravinsky’s Firebird, Petrushka, Le sacre du printemps, and Les Noces.
17 Including Nijinsky’s L’après-midi d’un faune (Debussy), Massine’s La boutique fantasque (Rossini), and Fokine’s Carnaval (Schumann), Schéhérazade (Rimsky-Korsakov) and Le Spectre de la Rose (Weber).
18 Marius Petipa and Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Igor Stravinsky and George Balanchine, and John Cage and Merce Cunningham to name just a few examples.
Dancers, such as Mark Morris\textsuperscript{19} and José Limón\textsuperscript{20} talk about their own musical background and training and how this has influenced their choice of music, and the way they create their movement to it. The musicians, on the other hand, seem to be aware of the benefit music studies would have for dancers, but do not seem to regard the opposite as true. Katherine Teck wrote three books on music training for dancers. In her book \textit{Music for the Dance}, although she is careful to consult both dancers and musicians, her musical perspective predominates. She allows her interviewees’ thoughts to produce the conclusion of dancers needing to develop musicality in their dancing, but does not ask what the dancers might be able to contribute to this collaboration.\textsuperscript{21}

Three critics take a more objective approach to both arts, and recognise each art as a participant in an equal partnership. Edwin Evans, music critic for \textit{The Daily Mail} in London in the 1920s and 1930s, strongly encourages artists of both kinds to maintain equilibrium in their collaboration.\textsuperscript{22} Musicologist Paul Nettl documents the history of dance music, but unlike many authors who focus solely on the aural aspect of dance music, Nettl constantly refers to the movement that would be accompanying the music he is discussing.\textsuperscript{23}

It is the third author, concert pianist and journalist Verna Arvey, who addresses the relationship of musician and dancer most closely. She concludes her book \textit{Choreographic Music: Music for the Dance}, with three chapters: “The Simultaneous Creation of Dance and Music,” “Problems for the Dancer,” “Problems for the Composer.” In the last of these three chapters she starts first by criticising the music critics’ reviewing of dance music: “their sometimes superficial comments betray their lack of interest and knowledge of the subject.”\textsuperscript{24} She continues:

What is left, then, for the composer? He, too, should study the dance. He need not dance if he does not enjoy it, but by diligent reading and observation he should be able to know the medium for which he composes. For years, composers have wished that dancers would study music. Why should they not learn something of the dance in return?\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{22} Evans, Edwin. \textit{Music and the Dance: For Lovers of Ballet}. London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd, [1948].
\textsuperscript{25} Arvey, 1941. 426.
\end{flushleft}
Two other authors who should be mentioned for their writing on the important relationship of music and dance are Doris Humphrey, already quoted, and a scholar of music and dance, Stephanie Jordan. Both of these authors, along with Arvey, and Morris and Limón who have led by example, emphasize the importance of studying both art forms to be a knowledgeable performer and to give the full depth and breadth to the expression of this collaborative art in performance. It is this possibility of an equal approach to both arts that I shall be exploring and demonstrating in this thesis.

One outstanding scholar who should be mentioned here is Wendy Hilton. Her dedication to rediscovering the otherwise lost art of Baroque dance, and the publication of her book *Dance and Music of Court and Theater*, have been indispensable to much subsequent study. She interprets and compares the treatises of Baroque dance masters, and demonstrates the connectedness between the dance and the music. Hilton also endorsed the study of both the dance and the music in a practical way in her teaching at the Juilliard School of Dance as well as at her summer workshops at Stanford University for more than two decades.

### A Sample of the Dance Repertoire of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe

I look now at the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where a close working relationship was a common feature in the music and dance of Europe. First I briefly describe some other dances of the Baroque period and their relationship with music in particular. This will give context to the chaconne, indicating why it is an effective dance for the purposes of this study, and, more importantly, making it clear that it is not an exception, but just one of the twenty or so principal dance types of this period.

**Menuet**

The *menuet ordinaire* maintained popularity throughout Europe as a social dance for over 150 years. Frequently appearing in Jean-Baptiste Lully’s scores after 1664, the dance was

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27 I am grateful to the tuition from my Baroque dance teachers, Wendy Hilton and Jennifer Shennan, for performance experience in these dances, which, in combination with Hilton’s book (1997), is the basis of these descriptions.
28 Little and Marsh (1992), in their index of “Dance types and styles”, list notations under 31 different headings (158–162). Hilton (1997) only lists eighteen in her Dance Types table (154), which would represent the most prominent dances of the period.
Ill. 4. Wendy Hilton’s chart of Baroque dance-types in a classified order of meter and tempo. Reproduced from Dance and Music of Court and Theater, p. 263.

popular at the French court until the French Revolution. The dance-type spread throughout Europe and Russia, and to America, where it lingered even after the fall of the French king. The *menuet ordinaire* was a social dance for a man and a woman, and was unique amongst Baroque dances; instead of a specified step sequence as found in other

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dance-types, the menuet had a distinctive structure, upon which the dancers would perform step-units of *pas de menuet*.

The structural feature in the dancing of the menuet was its Z-shaped floor pattern. After a *révérence* (bow) to music, the gentleman and the lady would separate to opposite corners of the floor; they would dance repeated “Z” figures, passing each other in the centre of the floor. Eventually, the gentleman would remove his hat and offer his right arm to the lady as they approached, and she would accept. Circling around each other they would then drop hands, turn, and the gentleman would then offer his left arm, and they would circle again. Then they would separate and return to their respective corners to repeat the “Z” figure. Finally, the gentleman would offer both hands; the lady accepting, they would circle around each other and then finish with another *révérence*.

There is an interesting relation of the *pas de menuet* dance-step to the musical two-bar phrase. The phrase, being in triple time, is two bars of three beats each; the dance step, however, groups the beat differently to contrast with the musical phrase: as 2+4 for the *pas de menuet à deux mouvements*, and 2+3+1 for the *pas de menuet à trois mouvements*.

This hemiola in the dance step creates interest at the bar level, while the evolving relationship of the two dancers creates a further level of interest in the dance’s structure.

**Ex. 1a. Pas de menuet à deux mouvements.**

**Ex. 1b. Pas de menuet à trois mouvements.**

**Ex. 1a & b.** The step-units *pas de menuet à deux mouvements* and *pas de menuet à trois mouvements* shown in Beauchamp–Feuillet notation (left) and Kinetography/Labanotation (right). The numbering of counts within the step-unit, and the bracketing in the kinetograms highlight the emphasis on the third count that creates the hemiola.

**Gavotte**

The gavotte, bright-spirited in both dance and music, is in duple time, with the distinctive feature of the music always starting with a half bar. The dance, however, waits through this half bar, and starts on the downbeat of the first complete bar. This music–dance interaction creates the effect of the dance chasing the music and finally catching up when they arrive together on the final note of the phrase.
**Bourrée**

The bourrée is another bright-spirited dance, and also in duple time. The step-unit *pas de bourrée*, unlike the *pas de menuet*, is a perfect match to the duple time in the music.\(^{30}\)

**Sarabande**

This is a slow, triple-time dance with a distinctively reflective character. As mentioned, it first appeared in Europe in Spain as the *zarabanda*, and is thought to have originated in the Americas. Characteristic of the sarabande is its emphasis on the second beat of the bar—equal to if not slightly more emphasised than the first—which is a feature of both the music and the danced step-units.

**Courante**

A very solemn and ceremonial triple-time dance, the courante was a favourite of Louis XIV. An interest in the relationship between the music and the dance lies in the variety of beat groupings in the combination of step-units within the bar.\(^{31}\)

Ex. 2a, b & c. Three different step-units commonly occurring in courantes with brackets to indicate the beat groupings: a=1½+1½; b=2+1; c=1+1+1.

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\(^{30}\) It is also a versatile step-unit being easily adapted to triple time, as illustrated in the courante below.

\(^{31}\) Interestingly, the Baroque hornpipe also consists of the same feature of matching step units with different beat grouping within the bar as the courante. In contrast to the courante, however, the hornpipe has a lighter and more playful character.
The chaconne, as danced in the Baroque period, also demonstrates a close relationship between the dance and the music: at the bar level, at the phrase level, as well as within the overall structure. The Baroque chaconne and passacaille—a dance-type similar in structure and character—are generally the longest dances in the notated repertoire, which allows more development of the interplay between music and dance, and variety of mood and colour within each composition.

It is these features of the chaconne, and the (proportionally) large number of extant dance notations, which include social as well as theatrical dances both noble and comic, that make this dance type an appropriate choice for this study. The next chapter looks further at the chaconne’s prominent role as dance and entertainment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
Chapter 2
Chaconnes in Theatre Genres of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe

The *chacona* began as a *baile*—a peasant dance. The dance moved easily from its peasant roots, onto the stage and into several different theatre styles throughout Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, reaching a peak in the operas of Lully.

While the chaconne also continued to exist as a social dance, this chapter primarily recounts its development as a theatrical form, which is more explicitly documented. The theatrical form over time became more virtuosic, and the social dance mirrored that of its theatrical counterpart to a certain extent. It is because the chaconne evolved into something highly intricate, in both dance skills and musical awareness, that makes it a significant choice for this study. As well as being a chosen dance of royalty, how the chaconne was used in various theatre genres exemplifies the importance of this dance-type to the Baroque court, and consequently the importance of the relationship of dance and music.

Early Occurrences of the Chaconne

The *Chacona* in Spain
One of the first references to the *chacona* is as an entertainment for the marriage of Philip III, the king of Spain, in 1599. Simón Aguado wrote *Entremés del Platillo*, in which a band of thieves entertain an Indian chief. They ask the chief if he has heard of *La chacona del platillo* (“The Chacona of the Serving Dish”). He replies that he has not, so they promise him the best dance he has ever seen and one “so new they have hardly even performed it yet.” To perform the dance, however, they require several plates and jars of
silver, which the chief duly supplies. These are then tied to the waists of two women in
the performing troupe. They dance, exiting as the song finishes, taking with them the

The \textit{chacona} is frequently mentioned in Spanish literature for the first two decades of the
seventeenth century, including works by Lope de Vega, Miguel de Cervantes and
Francisco de Quevedo.\footnote{Hudson, 1981. 4.} Texts to fifteen Spanish \textit{chaconas} exist, four of which are from
dramatic works, which one presumes were sometimes, if not always, danced as well as sung.

While being widely used to entertain people, and even the king, the \textit{chacona}, however,
was also the target of great objection from the moralists of the day. In the year of Philip
III’s marriage (although probably a different occasion), Padre Fray Juan de la Cerda
complained of “the indecent costumes of the dancing girls and the obscene effect
achieved by movements of the eyes and neck, the tossing of the hair, and the expressions
of the face.”\footnote{The choice of the word “costume” might suggest this was being performed. This most likely is a
translation from the Spanish, which Hudson does not provide.} The dance was also described as carefree, lascivious and impure, and it has
been said that it “included all sorts of body movements, used in a sort of sexual
pantomime.”\footnote{Hudson, 1981. 5.}

On April 8, 1615 the \textit{chacona} was specifically mentioned in an edict forbidding
“licentious dances” in the theatre. Despite this edict the dance is mentioned in subsequent
literature, so it presumably continued as a social dance.\footnote{Walker, 1968. 302.} The edict would have remained
in effect at least until the death of Philip III in 1621, in which period at least one play was
written that features a \textit{chacona}, so it appears the edict bore little provocation.\footnote{Lope de Vega’s \textit{El amante agradecido} (1618) (Walker, 1968. 302). Assuming the play was performed
shortly after being written, the law may have been ignored and the \textit{chacona} danced; or else it was only
sung, which most probably did not breach the edict.}
... Requieran las castañetas
y bájense á refregar
las manos por esa arena
o terra del muladar.
Todos lo han hecho muy bien
no tengo que les retar:
Santigüense, y dén al diablo
dos higas de su higueral.
Escupan al hideputa,
porque nos deje holgar,
puesto que de la chacona
nunca se suele apartar.
   El baile de la chacona
   encierra la vida bona

¡Que de veces ha intentado
a questa noble señora
con la alegre zarabanda,
el pésame, y perra mora,
entrarse por los requicios
de las casas religiosas,
a inquietar la honestidad
que en las santas celdas mora!
   El baile de la chacona
   encierra la vida bona

... To the castanets they lay their hands,
lowering themselves until they touch
these arenas with their hands,
earth to fertilize.
All have well performed
there’s nothing more to be said
Now cross yourselves, and to the devil offer
the figs of his fig-orchard.
Spit at the son of a bitch,
that he trouble us not,
since he is ever-present
in the dance of the chaconne...
   In the dance of the chaconne
   lies the secret of *vie bonne*.

After the first quarter of the seventeenth century the chacona in Spain declined in popularity, although it was still being referred to until 1660. Juan de Esquivel Navarro lists it in 1642 as one of the social dances to be executed, although it was no longer noted for its licentiousness or causing a sensation.

**The Ciaccona in Italy**

The ciaccona first appeared in Naples at the beginning of the seventeenth century, where its theatrical character made it a natural inclusion in performances. It is well documented that *commedia dell’arte* players were expected to be skilled in playing

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8 Other popular dances at that time.
9 Hudson, 1981. 8.
music, singing and dancing, although there is little mention specifically of dance.\textsuperscript{11} The ribald Spanish \textit{chacona} was in keeping with the attitudes of the \textit{commedia dell’arte},\textsuperscript{12} particularly of the servant character \textit{Arlecchino}.\textsuperscript{13}

Allardyce Nicoll makes the point that while only a few \textit{commedia} scenarios indicate music and dance, “formal indication of this kind was, in reality, not needed,”\textsuperscript{14} and then refers to the many illustrations of Italian comedy that portray dancing. Kenneth Richards comments on the difficulty of distinguishing between dancing, and the leaping and acrobatic movement required of the performers; and goes on to mention the regular ridicule by mimicry and parody of the social elite, which would have included performing the courtly dances of the day.\textsuperscript{15}

Few dance types are connected with specific \textit{commedia} characters, but there are five occasions on which Harlequin’s dance is explicitly a chaconne. One occasion occurs in Gregorio Lambranzi’s \textit{Neue und Curieuse Theatricalische Tantz-Schul} (1716),\textsuperscript{16} which provides illustrations, music, and brief descriptions of dances for the theatre, including several for \textit{commedia dell’arte} characters. Three of these illustrations show Harlequin dancing a \textit{Chicona} (sic).

The other four examples are early eighteenth-century Baroque dance notations which, while still distinctively Harlequin-like, reflect more the French style. They are evidence that Harlequin is possibly one of the keys to the transformation of the popular peasant \textit{chacona} of Spain into elite entertainment for the French court.\textsuperscript{17}

The chaconne in France lost its original scandalous character and instead became a dance of great skill, both because of its length—requiring a good memory and stamina—and the virtuosic steps it involved. It was now a dance befitting a king. While still adhering to the

\textsuperscript{12} Hudson, 1981. 9–10.
\textsuperscript{13} Arlecchino (It.), also known as Arlequin (Fr.) and Harlequin (Eng.). From here on the English form will be used when referring to the character generally.
\textsuperscript{15} Richards, 1998. 190.
\textsuperscript{17} Refer to the appendix for a description of this notation schema, and chapter three for further analysis of these dances.
dance-type’s origins, Harlequin appears quick to take up the challenge of these new characteristics, making fun of the less successful courtiers’ attempts at it, as the notations show.

Ill. 7. Domenico Biancolelli (1640–1688) was well known for his dancing, mime and acrobatics in his portrayal of Harlequin. He travelled to France, where he was known as Domenique, and was greatly adored by Louis XIV. Original illustration in the Bibliothèque de l’Opéra, reproduced here from Harlequin Phoenix by Thelma Niklaus, p. 56.
Early Theatrical Entertainments Involving Dance

Many theatrical styles and genres established throughout Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries involved music and dance, with opera a particularly significant genre. Opera’s association with music is obvious, but its association with dance is less pronounced. Now I will discuss the development of the sung drama in Italy, France and England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the way dance played an integral part in it.

The Italian Intermedio

As structured entertainments of spectacle evolved in sixteenth-century Europe, plays often included an entertainment between acts, known in Italy as intermedio.\footnote{Carter, Tim. “Intermedio.” New Grove Dictionary of Opera. London: Macmillan, 1992. 2: 805.} Intermedii were musico-dramatic entertainments ranging from music played offstage (intermedii non apperenti) to fully staged and costumed extravaganzas with dancing (intermedii apperenti). Stages did not have curtains, so the intermedio helped to separate acts.\footnote{The sixteenth-century playwright Anton Francesco Grazzini is reported to have said, “Once intermedi were made to serve the comedy, but now comedies are made to serve the intermedi… the wonder, alas, of the intermedi.” Carter, 1992. 805.}

Intermedii were originally quite separate from the plot of the main play, but over time, for continuity, they came to be chosen to reflect the actions and themes of the main plot. As their popularity grew they became more substantial, with machines employed to move the elaborate sets and scenery.\footnote{Carter, Tim. “Intermedio.” New Grove Dictionary of Opera. London: Macmillan, 1992. 2: 805.} Eventually the intermedio formed the basis for the various opera forms that would arise.

The French Ballet de cour and Comédie-ballet

The French court during the seventeenth century was particular about the new styles of entertainment it adopted. Taking only what it liked of the dance and music types of Italy and elsewhere in Europe, it then adapted them into something new and distinctively French.
One theatrical style to evolve was the ballet de cour. More unified than the short independent scenes of its predecessors, the divertissement and the fête (which remained popular), the ballet de cour combined dancing, singing and continuous dramatic action with elaborate costumes, machines and sets.

*Ballet de la nuit* (1653) was a significant ballet de cour for several reasons, particularly because it featured Louis XIV at age fourteen, in the role that would become his signature—le Roi Soleil (the Sun King), and the twenty-year-old Jean-Baptiste Lully.

Originally from Florence, Giovanni Battista Lulli was brought to Paris as an Italian tutor for Louis XIV’s cousin, Anne-Marie-Louise d’Orléans. Lulli was quick to embrace his new homeland, is often said to have been more French than the French, and Gallicized his name as Jean-Baptiste Lully. Proving himself to be both an exceptional dancer and a talented musician, Lully appears to have developed a friendship with the king during the performance of *Ballet de la nuit*; the Florentine was immediately appointed compositeur de la musique instrumentale.

Lully composed many ballets for the court. *Ballet d’Alcidiane* was his first to include not one but two chaconnes. The “Chaconne des Maures”, which is the more substantial of the two, concludes the ballet as a grand finale, in a manner Lully would follow in future theatrical works. Lully danced in court productions alongside the king, and was also known on several occasions to compose the dances as well as the music, or to change any dance steps set to his music that he did not like.

The French playwright Molière (born Jean-Baptiste Poquelin) combined elements of the ballet de cour with spoken comedy to form a new genre that became known as comédie-ballet. In a partnership between Molière and Lully that lasted nearly ten years (1661–1670), numerous comédies-ballets as well as other theatre works were created. In the

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21 A one act entertainment or diversion, with dancing playing a prominent role.
22 A festival with large-scale entertainments, often in someone’s honour or as a benefit.
comédie-ballet Lully developed the skill of incorporating dance into the action of the play, which he would extend even further in his operas.  

Although “les deux Baptistes” as they were called, are often associated with the beginning of this genre, the first comédie-ballet, as it has been credited, Les Fâcheux, consisted of music composed mostly by the dance master Pierre Beauchamp.  

Beauchamp was Louis XIV’s personal dance master and also collaborated with Lully,

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including writing some of the music, for many comédies-ballets, ballets de cour and operas.\textsuperscript{30}

It is this lesser known collaboration of Beauchamp and Lully that presents two individuals each skilled in both dance and music. Although these two men were exceptional enough to be recognised by the king, their “multi-talented” characteristic was by no means an exception in the court but, rather an ideal that many aspired to.

Molière and Lully’s final collaboration was \textit{Le bourgeois gentilhomme} (1670), after which their relationship rapidly deteriorated.\textsuperscript{31} In 1672 Lully became the director of the \textit{Académie royale de musique} and established a new opera style distinctly for the French court: tragédie en musique.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{The English Masque and Antimasque}

The English \textit{masque} grew out of the festivals, pageants and revels associated with masked dance in the early Renaissance. It had been influenced from the Italian \textit{mascherata}—in carnival floats and themes of allegory and mythology—and from the French \textit{masquerade}—in thematic continuity and the prominence of dance. The Italian \textit{intermedio} inspired the incorporation of comic interludes, which became known as the \textit{antimasque}, and included elements drawn from earlier styles of English entertainments such as mumming plays and dance pantomime.\textsuperscript{33}

Both the \textit{masque} and \textit{antimasque} involved dancing: the \textit{masque} included court dances (such as branles, basse danse, pavans and galliards) danced by the court; the \textit{antimasque} included jigs, country dances and morescos (known today as morris) danced by the professional actors. The \textit{masque} began to take on a more operatic appearance, with recitative-style passages, and completely sung \textit{masques} were performed as early as 1617 in Ben Jonson’s \textit{Lovers Made Men}, with music set and sung by Nicholas Lanier.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{31} Today’s historians have given several reasons for this. For some of them see La Gorce, 2001. 294.
\textsuperscript{32} La Gorce, 2001. 294.
\textsuperscript{34} Jonson described the music as “in stylo recitative”, Mary Chan argues that they were more likely declamatory ayres, and that Lanier did not write in true recitative style until 1630, after visiting Italy. (Chan, Mary. “Lanier, Nicholas.” \textit{New Grove Dictionary of Opera}. London: Macmillan, 1992. 2: 1099.)
Ill. 10. Engraving from the 1711 publication of Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Wit at Several Weapons* of a masked comic dance. Reproduced in Richard Ralph’s *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, p. 7.
The Rise of Opera

Inter-act entertainments with music, singing and dancing, grew in popularity throughout Europe, dominating and eventually absorbing the play itself. From the intermediio in Italy, the comédie-ballet in France and the masque and antimasque in England, three different styles of opera developed in seventeenth-century Europe. All, but especially tragédie en musique in France, would continue to involve dance. The French operatic style also expanded the chaconne to very grand proportions.

Opera in Italy

Italy was the first country to produce plays that were entirely sung. Near the beginning of the seventeenth century Florence and Venice independently developed entirely sung dramas. Greek and Roman classical studies were popular amongst the humanists in Florence in the late sixteenth century, and a group of scholars and musicians (known as the Camerata\textsuperscript{35}) tried to emulate the entirely sung dramas they concluded had been performed by the ancient Greeks. Their first collaboration was Dafne (1598).\textsuperscript{36} Another collaboration, Euridice, for the marriage of Maria de’ Medici and Henri VI in 1600, soon followed.\textsuperscript{37}

Independent of what was happening in Florence, Venice saw its own sung drama style emerge—dramma per musica. Although the end result is not unlike that of the Florentines, this Venetian entertainment reflected the state’s traditions and structure rather than humanist thought. Competition amongst the wealthy families to entertain lavishly during Carnival season led to the development of this new “drama with music”.

Although these sung dramas were primarily music, the inclusion of intermedii, and thus dance, continued; as before they were independent of the plot and consequently interchangeable. Sometimes the composer(s) of the main work wrote the intermedii, but

\textsuperscript{37} Rosand refers to both Dafne and Euridice as Ovidian pastorals (421). Rosand also describes Euridice as “the first monument to operatic history” (420).
more often they were by someone else. The first Venetian *dramma per musica* specified each act should end with a madrigal, followed by danced *intermedi*.

As the first extant Italian musical score for a *ciaccona* was published in Florence in 1606, one can assume that this dance-type was current in this part of Italy at this time, at least as a social dance. Although none of these danced *intermedi* have been identified as *ciaccone*, it is possible the dance-type was included. Alternatively, if the dancing remained true to its Spanish roots, the *ciacona* may have been regarded as too vulgar and scandalous. It is important to note that the new opera forms were specifically for the court. While the independent *commedia dell’arte* tradition eagerly embraced the ribald *ciacona* in the hope of offending the court, those employed by the court may have just as eagerly avoided it for the very same reason.

Jules Cardinal Mazarin, the Italian-born Prime Minister during Anne of Austria’s regency for the young Louis XIV, introduced opera to France by organizing seven performances between 1645 and 1662. These operas, modified to suit French taste, included elaborate ballets, and a prologue and epilogue in praise of the monarch. Nevertheless the French court did not seem to warm to the new genre, and remained loyal to its accustomed types of entertainment such as the *ballet de cour* and the *comédie-ballet*.

One opera to be sponsored by Mazarin, and one of two to be written expressly for the French court, was *Orfeo*, by Luigi Rossi (1647). Its second act includes an effectively placed chaconne, *A l’imperio d’Amore*. Euridice invites everyone to dance, and proclaims the power of love, to which each and every deity surrenders. The gaiety is cut short with Euridice suffering a fatal snakebite. Resembling more the Spanish peasant dance than the noble French chaconne still to evolve, Euridice’s dance of death is possibly Rossi’s solution to please everyone—by including the highly entertaining chaconne but with a cautionary tale attached.

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39 Montesardo, Girolamo. “La Ciaccona sopra l’A.” *Nuova inventione d’intavolatura*. Florence: Christofano Farescotti, 1606. 20. This volume of songs and dances in guitar tablature also includes 23 passacaglie.
41 Silbiger, 2001. 5: 412.
French Opera: *Tragédie en musique*\(^{42}\)

Lully, having witnessed and possibly even taken part in Mazarin’s opera productions, agreed with popular opinion at that time, that opera did not have a place in the French court.\(^{43}\) It was not until the French poet Pierre Perrin developed a really French opera style that Lully was eventually persuaded.

In 1669 Perrin received a twelve-year privilege from the king to establish *Académie d’opéra*, and collaborated with composer Robert Cambert, machinist the Marquis de Sourdéac, and financier the Sieur de Champeron for their first production, *Pomone* (1671). It ran for 146 performances, and has since been regarded as the first true French opera, involving much ballet, machines and spectacle. Despite its long season, however, Sourdéac and Champeron creamed the profits and Perrin was imprisoned for insolvency.\(^{44}\)

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\(^{42}\) Also referred to today as *tragédie lyrique*.


The following year, and with backing from the king, Lully acquired from Perrin the privilege of performing opera (with a resulting name change to the Académie royale de musique), in exchange for paying Perrin’s debts and providing him with a pension.

Maintaining the privilege until his death, Lully can thus be credited solely with devising the French opera style that developed after the efforts of Mazarin and Perrin: tragédie en musique.

Lully took the recitative and aria from Italian opera and combined them with aspects of French theatre popular at the time: tragi-comédie, the machine play, comédie-ballet, and the ballet de cour. Seemingly no longer working with Molière, Lully chose Philippe Quinault as his new librettist.

Dance featured prominently in Lully’s operas, and styles and techniques that had been previously found only in the intermedii were incorporated into the action. Instead of three acts as in Italy, French opera typically had five, as well as a prologue to honour the monarch. Each act included a divertissement or fête consisting of airs, choruses, ballets and spectacles that were related to the plot, often marking a ceremony or celebration. Lully and his successors made use of existing instrumental dance music, adapting it and adding words to it. The results, known as dance-songs, were also used in divertissements.

It was in the tragédie en musique that the chaconne and passacaille gained a prominent position in the theatre. Where other dances mostly have a two-part structure and are quite short, the variation form of the chaconne and passacaille allows them to be extended into large production numbers. As Lully had done in his comédies-ballets and ballets de cour,

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45 A play employing machines for scene changes and special effects, such as tragédie en machines.
47 The structure of five acts is a continuation of the Greek tragedy model and the principles established by Aristotle, as had been the inspiration for the Italians (Newman, 1979. 4.)
50 Harris-Warrick, Rebecca. “Dance. Late Renaissance and Baroque: 1630–1730.” New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 2001. 6: 899. Although the term “dance-song” appears to be a specific term to this technique that Lully and following French opera composers employed, the term is also used more generally elsewhere in history to mean music for singing and dancing. “Parodying” is also a similar term used for this technique (Sadler, 2001. 1227), referring to the word’s Greek origin: para=beside+oides=song or ode (Concise Oxford Dictionary. 4th ed. 1950)
51 Passacaille (Fr.) (also referred to as passacaglia (It.)) was a dance in the French court very similar to the chaconne in nature and music.
chaconnes and passacailles often ended an act, or even the opera as a grand or triumphal celebration.

Lully composed nineteen chaconnes in total, all of them to be danced to. Six of his last seven operas contain chaconnes. Several of these—*Amadis* (1684) and *Roland* (1685) for example—have chaconnes lasting for most if not all of the scene, and with more than 100 variations. This development of musical and theatrical complexity in the elaboration of this form demonstrates a through-composed style, which today is most often only associated with nineteenth- and twentieth-century operas.

**French Development: Opéra-ballet**

Since Lully had in effect a monopoly on French opera by royal decree, his death in 1687 created a sudden vacuum in the art form. Many other French composers tried to fill the void—André Campra, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Pascal Collasse, Henry Desmarets, André Cardinal Destouches, Charles-Hubert Gervais, Marin Marais and Michel Pignolet de Montéclair. Although these new operas were not without their successes, they did not win over the loyalists who continued to be satisfied with revivals of Lully’s operas.

Perhaps because of this failure to win favour with the audience, or because of a change in taste among people who were tiring of the *tragédie en musique* genre, the new theatrical form involving dance and song, *opéra-ballet*, was born. It consisted of three or four acts, each with its own theme or plot, portrayed by contemporary characters in contemporary settings. The *Divertissement* (and consequently dance) gained even more prominence in these *opéra-ballets*; sometimes it was involved in the dramatic action, but more often than not it was present purely as dance for dance’s sake. Chaconnes still featured conspicuously.

Campra composed *L’Europe galante*, which is considered to be the first example of this genre, in 1697. It includes a chaconne, which, varying from Lully’s style, is in rondo form; but it is still extensive, involving singers, chorus and dancing for nearly the entire scene. The *opéra-ballet* catered for the talents, and possibly even created the great

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53 Silbiger, 2001. 5: 413.

54 Some of the more successful operas by these composers were: Collasse’s *Thésis et Pélée* (1689), Charpentier’s *Médée* (1693), Destouches’ *Omphale* (1701), Campra’s *Tancrède* (1702), Desmarets’ *Iphigénie en Tauride* (completed by Campra) (1704), Marais’ *Alcyone* (1706), Gervais’ *Hypromnestre* (1716) and Montéclair’s *Jephté* (1732). Sadler, Graham. “*Tragédie en musique.*” *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. London: Macmillan, 1992. 4: 780.

55 This chaconne will be discussed further in chapters three and four.
wealth, of many dancers at the Paris Opera in the eighteenth century, such as Marie Sallé, and Louis Dupré; both of whom are documented as dancing chaconnes and passacailles.


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It was not until nearly fifty years after Lully’s death that a newly composed *tragédie en musique* was met with similar acclaim to those of Lully. It came from the pen of Jean-Philippe Rameau and was called *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1733). This opera made a huge impact, dividing its audience into supporters of either Lully or Rameau: Lullistes and Ramistes.

Rameau’s writing style for recitative was more embellished and richer harmonically (a trait in all his compositions), which is what the Lullistes specifically objected to, finding this forced, unnatural and affected. Music historian Graham Sadler, however, makes the claim that composing ballet music was Rameau’s greatest skill and distinction: “Rameau’s ballet music is second to none in its freshness and variety.” Quoting contemporaries of Rameau who also held him in high regard, Sadler continues: “No other Baroque dance music seems so clearly to suggest its own choreography.”

Sadler is frankly a Ramiste, but Rameau undoubtedly did contribute significantly to the development of the ballet tradition in France. Following Lully, Rameau continued to compose chaconnes for the climaxes of his operas.

**English Opera and Semi-Opera**

Like Molière and Lully in France, actor-manager Thomas Betterton in England concluded that the Italian all-sung opera style would not find favour with his audience. What became known as semi-opera arose, involving singing, dancing and machines. The first semi-opera was a Restoration adaptation of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1674).

Planning festivities for the twenty-fifth anniversary of his return to the throne, Charles II sent Betterton to Paris to engage Lully and the Académie royale de musique for an opera. This proving unsuccessful, Betterton instead commissioned John Dryden to write the first (and only) English *tragédie en musique* opera, with music by Paris-trained Luis Grabu: *Albion and Albanius* (1685).

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This opera did not have great success, mainly because of the death of Charles II (and the consequent cancellation of the festivities) and the resultant political uncertainty. Despite this, Albion and Albanius and the French style generally continued to inspire composers, particularly John Blow and Henry Purcell. It included a major divertissement in act II with a lengthy “chacon” of 365 bars, using vocal and instrumental textures.

Purcell wrote one opera and several semi-operas, all including dances, and sometimes chaconnes and/or passacailles, in the tradition of Lully and the tragédie en musique. Betterton worked with Purcell, producing several of the composer’s semi-operas, with Josias Priest as the dance master. The first of these semi-operas was Dioclesian or The Prophetess (1690), followed by King Arthur (1691) and The Fairy Queen (1692).

As well as introducing the French style of opera, Betterton also brought the French dancer Anthony L’Abbé to perform at Lincoln’s Inn Fields in 1698. L’Abbé remained in London and established himself as a dance master and creator of dances until he retired to France in 1738. Many of his dances, including three chaconnes, have been recorded and published using Baroque dance notation.

In 1714, John Rich opened a new Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre. From then until his retirement in 1747 Rich often brought dancers from the Paris Opéra Ballet to perform in his theatre. One notable dancer was Marie Sallé who first appeared in 1716 at the age of 10, with her brother Francis, age 12. While Handel was in residence at Covent Garden (also built and managed by Rich), he was persuaded by Rich to include dances, and consequently chaconnes, in his operas for Marie Sallé for the 1734–1735 season. Handel also wrote a one-act opéra-ballet for her in 1734, Terpsichore, with a chaconne as its opening dance.

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60 White, Bryan. “Grabu’s Albion and Albanius and the operas of Lully: ‘… acquainted with all the performances of the French Opera’s.’” Early Music. 30.3 (Aug. 2002): 410–427. White makes the point that, although influenced by Lully’s operas for many other aspects of this opera, the chaconne extends far beyond what Lully achieved in his chaconnes. Grabu uses a greater variety of textures, writing passages for wind as well as strings and chorus. White suggests this chaconne would probably have had a great influence on Purcell.
62 They were billed as “the little Sallé’s” and performed Kellom Tomlinson’s dance The Submission.
63 Revisions of these operas for subsequent seasons, however, usually involved removing these ballets.
Ill. 14. John Rich (1682–1761) as Harlequin: a role he was well known for with his mime and dancing, and for establishing the British pantomime tradition. Rich also promoted dance and employed many French dancers to appear in his theatres—Lincoln’s Inn Fields and the original Covent Garden. Illustration reproduced from Harlequin Phoenix by Thelma Niklaus, p. 136.
Although Rich continued to mount operas (most notably *The Beggar’s Opera*[^65] in 1728) the style of theatre that Rich most enjoyed and popularised, including dancing and acting himself, was pantomime. Initially included as “afterpieces”, they usually involved *commedia dell’arte* characters, and evolved into the British pantomime tradition of today. Rich was well known for his portrayal of Harlequin, and his own dance skills, tricks and stunts, were held in high regard. These “afterpieces” and pantomimes would have included dances similar to *Chacoon for a Harlequin*, which will be discussed in chapters three and four.

London dancing-master, John Weaver, created in 1716 and performed the following year, *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, with music by Henry Symonds and Charles Fairbank. Weaver danced the role of Vulcan, the French dancer Louis Dupré appeared as Mars and the English actress and dancer Hester Santlow as Venus, whose opening dance was a passacaille.[^66] Requiring no singing at all, this work is regarded as the first of the *ballet d’action* (serious narrative dance) genre.[^67]

### The Later Eighteenth Century

The chaconne, along with the passacaille, continued to be danced in theatrical settings throughout the eighteenth century, primarily in the operatic form of *tragédie en musique*. Christoph Willibald Gluck brought a resurgence of interest in the form when he came to Paris in 1773. His operas having failed to succeed as he had hoped in Vienna, he revised several of them for a Paris audience.[^68] These revisions included extensions of his original ballet scenes, often adding a chaconne. By this time the chaconne had moved away from variation form towards a more free structure, as can be found in Gluck’s *Alceste* (1767) and *Orphée et Eurydice* (1774).[^69]

[^65]: Libretto by John Gay, music arranged by Johann Christoph Pepusch in 1728. It gave rise to the style of the Ballad Opera, which consisted of spoken dialogue interspersed with existing ballads and popular songs.


[^68]: Harris-Warrick, 1998. 98.

[^69]: Other composers following on from Gluck to include chaconnes in their operas and ballets were Johann Christian Bach—*Amadis de Gaule* (1779); Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart—*Idomeneo* (1781); Etienne-Nicolas Méhul—*Le jugement de Paris* (1793), and *Adrien* (1799); and Luigi Cherubini—*Anacréon* (1803).
In the *intermedio* in Italy, the *divertissement* and *fête* in France and the *masque* and *antimasque* in England, dance featured prominently in entertainments for the nobility. With the evolution of theatrical genres from these starting points, the chaconne rose from an attention-seeking peasant dance, and the favoured dance of the vulgar yet charming character Harlequin, to become a noble court dance in France and the triumphal conclusion of many operas. The chaconne was consistently danced through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both in the court and in the theatre. It is just one dance-type, albeit a particularly impressive one, demonstrating the interweaving of dance and music in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe.
Chapter 3
The Chaconne as Danced

The Character of the Early Dance-Type: Spain and Italy

Although there are no graphic notations of the earliest chaconne dances, I have set out to understand them as far as possible on the available evidence, and to see the changes that occurred in the dance form as it moved from Spain and Italy to France. The contrast of the Spanish peasant dance-type (chacona) with the French court dance (chaccone) is dramatic. To examine only the notations of the later Baroque dances would be to miss the colour and interest in the early examples of the folk form.

There are no written descriptions of the actual dance steps of the Spanish chacona, only the comments already mentioned on the dance’s “wild and immoral” head and neck gestures and “lascivious” body movements. Other writings from the time tell that even the most virtuous of people succumbed to the rhythm of the music, and danced licentiously. Possibly the objection was as much to the immoral chanting in the lyrics of “la vida bona”—the good life—as it was to the danced movement, but the dance movements probably echoed, and perhaps elaborated, the sentiment of the lyrics.

The few descriptions, combined with the texts that still exist (see pp. 22–24,46), help create an impression of what the dance was like, even if they are not enough for a detailed analysis. And, despite the few-recorded objections to the chacona and similar dances, the court of Spain seemed happy to watch it as part of their entertainments. It would appear, however, that the dance remained a baile—a peasant dance—and was thus unsuited by definition to performance by courtiers. The exception being those who couldn’t stop themselves…
Text of the *Gran Chacona*,
Luis de Briceño (1626)\(^1\)

*Vida, vida, vida bona.*

Let’s go to Chacona.

*Vida, vida, vidita vida,*

Let’s go to Castilla.

Chacona is a pleasant sound
Of graceful consonance,
And every time I hear it played
My bones wake up and dance.

There is no monk who is so pure
Nor such a holy nun
Who wouldn’t interrupt their praying
When they hear this sound:

They say of a religious man
When he was singing *Nona*
In the choir of monks, by chance
He sang out “*Vida bona.*”

The monks when they heard what he said
With such a sonorous voice,
Wrapped their cloaks around themselves
And made a thousand leaps.

The dance continued all that day;
They didn’t eat a bit;
And if the sound had not been stopped
They would be dancing yet.

*Vida, vida, vida bona.*

Let’s go to Chacona.

*Vida, vida, vidita vida,*

Let’s go to Castilla.

They say, too, of a priest who had
A shepherdess to bury:
Instead of “*Requiem*” he erred
And uttered “*Vida bona.*”

When the sexton heard the words
Of this resounding voice
He put the cross off to one side
And made a thousand jumps.

Those who bore the woman’s body
Standing in two lines
Made such wiggling motions that
It was a wondrous thing:

It is said that this dead woman
Lifted her whole head,
Because this sound comes from the devil
Even stirs the dead.

*Vida, vida, vida bona.*

Let’s go to Chacona.

*Vida, vida, vidita vida,*

Let’s go to Castilla.

Confused, repentant and ashamed
Of such an awful thing,
They went to ask forgiveness to
The Bishop of Pamplona.

The bishop when he saw them asked
If they would sing two stanzas
But after they had sung just one
The bishop felt like dancing.

He lifted up his skirts and danced
For more than one whole hour,
Shaking rooms in all the house:
Bedrooms, kitchen, parlours.

For five or six hours thus they danced.
All the house was happy.
And at the end of such great fun
The bishop then forgave them.

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\(^1\) Hudson, 1981. 7–8. This is a translation of Briçeno’s original text in *Metodo mui facilissimo*, fols 11v–12r, which is reprinted in Hudson’s endnotes, pp. 284–286.
In Italy even less is recorded of the *ciaccona* as dance. The music was probably brought to Italy from Spain via Naples. The association with the Spanish guitar, also imported, was maintained. Many notations of *ciaccona* music in Naples and elsewhere in Italy survive, but little mention was made of the corresponding dances.

What does this absence of any mention of dance movement in relation to the notated music tell us? Either the *ciaccona* movements remained true to their Spanish roots and therefore not significant enough to mention in writings on Italian dance at that time; or the dance was spurned, and the Italian nobles were content with their existing selection of dances. Evidence suggests a combination of the two. The early chaconnes performed in France by Italian companies still carried the Spanish flavour, implying that they also retained indications of earthy roots, presumably still unacceptable for courtiers. As a musical form, however, it captured the imagination of the Italian court musicians, and thus, leaving text and dance behind, began to develop as pure music.

**The Character of the Chaconne in France**

In its first appearances in France the chaconne had the more carefree character that it had in Spain and presumably Italy, but in France it soon took on a new aspect. Finding favour with Louis XIV, and consequently the court, the chaconne became a dance of formal grandeur. The chaconne was danced to lengthy musical compositions involving variations that required more stamina and were more difficult to memorise than the shorter court dances, mostly with music in binary form, such as the bourrées, sarabandes, gavottes and rigaudons. This would have given the chaconne, and those who danced it, a degree of significance and gravitas that the shorter compositions lacked.

The notations, as we shall soon see, depict a dance of great technical skill, requiring the convincing execution of complex steps and step-combinations with a show of brilliance, and offered opportunities for performers to express a range of moods. Other Baroque dances had quite distinctive qualities or moods that remained consistent throughout the composition: such as the extrovert brightness of the bourrée, gigue and forlana; the languid, sweet melancholy of the sarabande and loure.
In order to analyse these dances I have followed the work of Patricia Ranum, Betty Bang Mather, and Judith Schwartz. They have chosen the five-part structure of rhetorical theory and a similar three-part structure of poetry action for dance analysis.

“Mute Rhetoric”: Structural Analysis Explained

As early as 1588, in his conversational treatise of Renaissance dances, Thoinot Arbeau, a French priest and authority on dance, describes it as “mute rhetoric”. Many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists of the arts also comment on structural similarities between speech, poetry, music and dance. That writers should theorise about dance as rhetoric demonstrates its equal standing with these other arts.

I will use two structures devised by two seventeenth-century theorists—René Bary and Bernard Lamy—to analyse chaconnes. Singer-scholar Patricia Ranum uses rhetorical theory to explain another Baroque dance and music type—the sarabande—in conjunction with a description of a performance of the dance written in 1671 by Father François Pomey. Ranum quotes Bary, who says the goal of the orator is threefold: to persuade, move, and finally please his audience. Ranum continues:

The dancer is confronted by a similar challenge. He too must persuade his audience, or in Pomey’s words… ‘disturb the tranquillity of the mind’. Like the orator, he must move his audience and ‘steal hearts by his glances’. He also pleases onlookers, for his dance is ‘metred’, numerosa; and it is metre or ‘number’[…] that makes a dance agreeable.

Thus, Ranum asserts both the dancer and the orator set out to persuade, to move and to please their audiences. In other words, they both employ the art of rhetoric.5

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5 Ranum, 1986. 25.
Ranum lists four elements of the seventeenth-century rhetorical theory: Exordium, Narration, Confirmation and Peroration, which are described in the table below. Betty
Bang Mather, in a major study of Baroque dance and music, includes a new category—the Confutation—which can either precede or follow the Confirmation.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. The Five Elements of Rhetorical Theory—René Bary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exordium</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of the four- and five-part classification of rhetorical theory. “… addresses the listeners, alluding subtly to the coming theme” (Mather, 1987. 88). “… serves as a prelude… setting the mood” (Ranum, 1986. 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narration</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second element of the four- and five-part classification of rhetorical theory. States the main theme (Mather, 1987. 88). “… should be emphatic (e.g. an exclamation)…” (Ranum, 1986. 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can be followed by a third section: after the narration introduces the main theme, a proposition states it more fully.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Confirmation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either third or fourth element of the four- and five-part classification of rhetorical theory. “… tries to convince the audience with various proofs.” (Mather, 1987. 88). “Proof of his argument” (Ranum, 1986. 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Confutation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Either third or fourth element of the five-part classification of rhetorical theory. (This element is omitted for the four-part classification.) “… aggressively counters all opposing arguments; here the discourse reaches its highest emotional peak.” (Mather, 1987. 88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peroration</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The order of Confirmation and Confutation elements can be reversed to bring the peak or climax into the third (i.e. middle) element of the work.

Mather also cites for comparative consideration the three elements of poetic action devised by seventeenth-century mathematician, Bernard Lamy.7 This three-part model is a realigning of elements in the four- and five-part models outlined above: Proposition (combining the Exordium and the Narration), Intrigue (combining the Confirmation and Confutation), and Denouement.

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6 Mather, 1987. 88–89.  
7 Mather, 1987. 87.
Table 2. The Three Elements of Poetic Action—Bernard Lamy (1668)

| Proposition  | Beginning of three-part classification of poetic action. It is the introduction of the subject, equivalent to the first (Exordium) and second (Narration) elements of the five-part classification (Mather, 1987. 87). |
| Intrigue     | Middle element of the three-part classification of poetic action. It is the equivalent to the third and fourth elements (Confirmation and Confutation) of the five-part classification (Mather, 1987. 87-88). |
| Denouement   | Closing element of the three-part classification of poetic action. It is the equivalent to the Peroration of the five-part classification (Mather, 1987. 87) |

With the chaconne being a more substantial dance, the four and five-part theories seem to demonstrate more effectively the interrelationship of dance and music, and they will therefore be the models primarily used for the analyses in the following two chapters.\(^8\)

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\(^8\) The three-part model is more practical for shorter dances with less development of their theme(s).
Notation of Chaconne Dances

Of the extant Baroque dance notations recorded in the Beauchamp–Feuillet system\(^9\) fifteen are chaconnes, or danced to chaconne music. Among the thirty-one dance types represented in this notation schema these fifteen dances provide a significant sample, and therefore, combined with the chaconne’s substantial and complex character, very suitable for this study.

All of these notated chaconnes are from France or England (as indeed are the majority of existing Beauchamp–Feuillet notations). Ten of them are for a male soloist, two for a female soloist, and three for a couple. Three of the compositions (one female solo, and two for a couple) combine a chaconne with another dance-type.

These dance notations, however, cannot be seen as wholly representative of all chaconnes of the Baroque period. Many of the chaconne dances, such as those composed for the operas and other theatre styles, specify—in numbers, by description or by title—a large group of dancers; or a mix of group dances, solos (*pas seul*) and duets (*pas de deux*), interspersed with sung airs and choruses.

It can be assumed that these extant notations reflect the style and character of the dance as it was in France and England, tamed somewhat from its wild peasant-dance origins in Spain into something more acceptable for the court. While it remains a “crowd-pleaser”, the sensual overtones of the early dance-movements and carefree spirit have been replaced with technical virtuosity and brilliance.\(^10\)

Of the fifteen notated chaconnes, eleven are in the noble style, and four in the grotesque style. Only a few of all the dance-types notated using the Beauchamp–Feuillet system are in the comic or grotesque style, so it is interesting that four of them should be both chaconnes and for Harlequin. The noble and grotesque dances will be considered separately.

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\(^9\) See Appendix A, *Baroque Dance Notation and How to Read It.*
\(^10\) While “technical virtuosity and brilliance” will be clearly demonstrated in the following analyses, it is interesting to discover a lingering of the sensual that occasionally surfaces, which will also be discussed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Dance Composer</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Catalogue No.</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Music Composer</th>
<th>Music Origin</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Favorite</td>
<td>Isaac, Edward</td>
<td>1688(?), pub. 1706</td>
<td>M&amp;F</td>
<td>L&amp;M 4700</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Paisible, James</td>
<td>Deusiesme [sic] recueil, p. 30</td>
<td>100 bars (64 chaconne, 36 bourée)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne</td>
<td>Feuillet, Raoul-Auger</td>
<td>1695–1710, n. 1700–1720</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L&amp;M 1920 FL Ms05.1/23</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Lalande, Michel Richard de</td>
<td>Les Symphonies</td>
<td>64 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne</td>
<td>Feuillet, Raoul-Auger</td>
<td>1697–1710, n. 1705–1720</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L&amp;M 1900 FL Ms05.1/16</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Campra, André</td>
<td><em>L’Europe galante</em>. Act III, sc. 2</td>
<td>80 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne de Phaetons</td>
<td>Pécour, Louis Guillaume</td>
<td>pub. 1704</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L&amp;M 1960 FL 1704.1/29</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Lully, Jean-Baptiste</td>
<td><em>Phaeton</em>. Act II, sc. 5</td>
<td>152 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne pour un homme</td>
<td>Pécour, Louis Guillaume</td>
<td>pub. 1704</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L&amp;M 2000 FL 1704.1/28</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td></td>
<td>80 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne pour une femme</td>
<td>Pécour, Louis Guillaume</td>
<td>pub. 1704</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>L&amp;M 2020 FL 1704.1/03</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Lully, Jean-Baptiste</td>
<td><em>Phaeton</em>. Act II, sc. 5</td>
<td>152 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne de phaeostns</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>1710–1720</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L&amp;M 1940 FL Ms17.1/10</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Lully, Jean-Baptiste</td>
<td><em>Phaeton</em>. Act II, sc. 5</td>
<td>152 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chacone</td>
<td>Isaac, Edward</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>L&amp;M 1820</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td></td>
<td>112 bars (64 chaconne, 48 minuet)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chacon of Amadis</td>
<td>L’Abbé, Anthony</td>
<td>1714–1725, pub. c.1725</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L&amp;M 1840 FL 1725.1/09</td>
<td>French, pub. London</td>
<td>Lully, Jean-Baptiste</td>
<td><em>Amadis</em>. Act V, sc. 5</td>
<td>92 bars</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Princess Ann’s Chacon</td>
<td>L’Abbé, Anthony</td>
<td>1719</td>
<td>M&amp;F</td>
<td>L&amp;M 7080</td>
<td>French/English</td>
<td>Galliard, John Ernest</td>
<td></td>
<td>69 bars (44 chaconne, 25 hornpipe)</td>
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</table>

*a Tables 3 and 4 chronically ordered by earliest probable date

*b 48 bars minuet=96 musical bars
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Dance Composer</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Catalogue No.</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Music Composer</th>
<th>Music Origin</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne for a Harlequin</td>
<td>Le Roussau, François</td>
<td>1700–1720. n. 1720, pub. 1728</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>L&amp;M 1980 FL 1728.3s</td>
<td>French/English</td>
<td>Charpentier, Marc-Antoine (attrib.)</td>
<td>Le Malade imaginaire. 1er Intermède</td>
<td>56 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key:
c.=circa
F=female dancer
FL=Lancelot, Francine. La Belle Dance, 1996.
L&M=Little & Marsh. La Danse Noble, 1992.
M=male dancer
n.=notated
pub.=published
sc.=scene
The Noble Dances

Eleven noble chaconnes are by four of the dance composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: from England, Mr Isaac (two dances); from France, Raoul-Auger Feuillet (two dances) and Louis Guillaume Pécour (three dances); and a French dancing-master working in England, Anthony L’Abbé (three dances).

Generally, dances in the noble style can be divided into two categories: those for the theatre, and those for the ballroom. The former tend to be more virtuosic, including beaten jumps, many turns, and more elaborate leg gestures. There was nothing to stop a skilled dancer performing a theatrical-type dance at a ball, however, or even a grotesque dance, for that matter. Two of the noble dances that are described as being danced by professional dancers were printed and sold (as well as Chacoon for a Harlequin, which will be discussed later). Those who bought these notations most likely would have intended learning them, or teaching pupils, in order to dance at public events.

Nine of the noble dances have dates of transcription/publication, ranging from 1704 to 1748. Some of these dances, however, may have actually been composed much earlier. The Favorite, for instance—a dance by Mr Isaac, with music by James Paisible—could date from as early as 1688. Two chaconnes by Feuillet could possibly date from 1695 and 1697 in France.

Two of the noble-style chaconnes are dedicated to royalty. The Favorite: a chaconne danced by her majesty, and The Princess Ann’s Chacone are both couple dances—for a man and a woman—and clearly intended for the ballroom.

Another dance most likely intended for the ballroom is A Chacone by Mr Isaac. All three of these compositions include a dance of another type to follow the chaconne: The Favorite continues with a “Boree” (i.e. bourrée); Princess Ann’s Chaconne, a hornpipe;

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12 Thorp & Pierce. “Taste and Ingenuity: Three English Chaconnes of the Early Eighteenth Century.” Historical Dance. 3.3 (Winter 1997): 3, 5. The music was published in 1688. The dance is dedicated to “Her majesty”—Queen Anne. Thorpe and Pierce think it more likely that if Anne danced it at all it would have been as a princess when Mr Isaac was given a place in court for the teaching of dance, poise and deportment. Hence the dance could date from the same time as the music in 1688.
13 Lancelot, 1996. 305 and 298 respectively.
14 Both of these dances have been analysed, along with Chacone of Galathee by Thorp and Pierce, 1994. 3–16.
and A *Chacone by Mr Isaac*, a minuet. This coupling of dances into one composition was not an uncommon practice in creating dances for the ballroom; sometimes even three or four different dance-types were included within a single composition.\(^{15}\)

Six of the eight remaining noble dances are to music from known theatre works;\(^{16}\) two dance notations give the names of professional dancers who performed them, therefore clearly identifying them as being of the theatre.\(^{17}\) Being danced to theatre music, however, does not necessarily mean that the dances are from the opera or ballet to which the music belongs; in fact twice “non dancée [sic] a l’Opera” is clearly stated.

Having identified three dance notations specifically for the ballroom and two specifically for the theatre, this leaves six of the eleven dances that fall between the two extremes of the ballroom–theatre spectrum: the two dances by Feuillet; three dances by Pécour—two of which are to the chaconne from Lully’s opera *Phaéton*; and another dance, also to the *Phaéton* chaconne, by an unknown dance composer.

I shall analyse four noble dances in depth to demonstrate the complexity in the character of the chaconne dance-type. The four dances are:

- *A Chacone by Mr Isaac*
- *Chaconne de Mr (sic) Feuillet*
- *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme*, by Louis Guillaume Pécour
- *Chacone of Amadis perform’d by Mr Dupré* by Anthony L’Abbé

**A Chacone by Mr Isaac**

This notation by English the dancing master “Mr Isaac”\(^{18}\) was engraved by Edmund Pemberton and published by Walsh and Hare in 1711. It was published in a collection of three single dances that concluded *An Essay for the further improvement of dancing…*, Pemberton’s first publication. These three dances, all by different dance masters\(^{19}\) and all

\(^{15}\) Well-known examples amongst Baroque dancers are *La Bourgogne* (courante, bourrée, sarabande, passépied) and *La Boursée d’Achille* (bourrée, menuet, bourrée).

\(^{16}\) For the two with music not from known theatre works, one is to orchestral music by Michel de Lalande, and the other has music that is unidentified.

\(^{17}\) These two dances are *Chacone of Amadis: performed by Mr Dupré*, and *Chacone of Galathee: perform’d by Mr La Garde and Mrs Santlow*.


\(^{19}\) Also included are a Passacaille by L’Abbé, and a Jig by Pécour.
for a solo female dancer, are dedicated to Katherine Sheffield, the Duchess of Buckingham and Normanby (Charles II’s illegitimate daughter\textsuperscript{20}).

Like many of Isaac’s dances that survive in notation, \textit{Chacone} is a combination of two dance-types:\textsuperscript{21} a chaconne (64 bars) followed by a minuet (48 dance bars\textsuperscript{22}).\textsuperscript{23} Most of Isaac’s extant dances were originally intended for the ballroom, although some of them may have also been performed on stage.\textsuperscript{24} This \textit{Chacone} is his only extant solo dance. Although this thesis focuses primarily on chaconnes, I will also look briefly at the structure of this dance’s minuet. The similarities and contrasts of this notation’s two dance-types help define them and provide contrasting context.

\textit{Exordium}

The Exordium and Narration sections of this dance each consist of one period of two four-bar phrases. The chaconne’s opening—an extended series of steps travelling towards the Presence—suits the elongated space of a ballroom more than that of a stage. The two four-bar phrases of this period repeat symmetrically. All steps are taken facing the front. Interestingly none of the step-units used in this opening are in conventional Baroque form. They resemble the \textit{pas de bourrée} (the standard form of which involves three steps/transfers of weight) but the step-units on this page do not resolve by taking the third step, instead ending \textit{pas sans poser le corps}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{20} Thorp, 2006. 127.
\item\textsuperscript{21} For the purposes of clarity, \textit{Chacone} will be used when referring to the entire dance composition, and “chaconne” will refer to only the portion of the composition that is of this dance-type.
\item\textsuperscript{22} Minuet step unit is equal to two bars of music, and therefore 48 dance bars represent 96 music bars.
\item\textsuperscript{23} Jennifer Thorp, in her inventory of Isaac’s dances, suggests that the two dance-types may have previously existed as separate dances (Thorp, 2006. 127).
\item\textsuperscript{24} Thorp, 2006. 127. Thorp claims “all” on page 127, but only “most” on page 117.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Ex. 3a, b & c. a, b and c show the opening sequence of *A Chacone by Mr Isaac* in Beauchamp–Feuillet notation and Kinetography/Laban. Note bars 4 and 8 that do not resolve the *pas de bourrée* with the third transfer of weight (as indicated in Ex. 3a). Notice also the symmetry of bars 1–4 with bars 5–8 in Ex. 3b, which is indicated by the repeat signs in Ex. 3c. Also note that Beauchamp–Feuillet notation always includes the music to which the steps are danced along the top of the page—further proof of the close relationship of the two arts. In the following examples, however, the music has been removed as a means of conserving space.

**Narration**

The dancer continues with another four-bar phrase towards the Presence, this time turning one full revolution as she progresses. The second four-bar phrase of this period continues with turning travelling steps, but this time moving away from the Presence. Although the steps differ in the two phrases of this period, there is a spatial symmetry, travelling towards in the first phrase and then away in the second.
Ex. 4a & b. The second sequence in *A Chacone by Mr. Isaac*, which forms the Narration. Note the spatial symmetry of turning to the left in bars 9–10, and the turning to the right in bars 14–16.

*Confutation*

This section is sixteen bars in length, two periods of two four-bar phrases, equal in length to the previous sections combined. It starts simply enough, the dancer progressing once again towards the Presence until the third bar. As if the dancer is thrown off balance by the music’s modulation to the minor and the hemiola, she falls (*pas tombé*) off the room’s centre-line, which she has remained on up until now. She recovers her balance with a *pas de bourrée de côté* travelling sideways in the room. This places the dancer off-centre, where she remains for most of the chaconne.

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25 Hemiola=a 2+2+2 rhythm over two bars of three counts each (i.e. 3+3)
26 This is if the dancer follows the notation exactly. The notation clearly indicates directions of travel forwards or backwards in the space; and apart from the rightwards travel of *pas tombé, pas de bourrée de côté*, for any subsequent travel to the left, touching the true centre, an equal amount of travel to the right soon follows. (This is unlike the curved paths of travel, such as in the minuet, where starting and finishing points in relation to the space are more ambiguous.) It is not until the *contretemps de gavotte* travelling...
Ex. 5a & b. Note the *pas tombé* in bar 19 and the travel to the right, which, unlike the rest of the dance, is not matched with an equal amount of travel to the left.

The rest of this section consists of hops and turns: first the dancer continues her travel forward and then for the second half of this section she travels back. This second half is eight bars long, divided into a five-bar and a three-bar phrase. Despite this temporal asymmetry there is still a spatial symmetry, with the three-bar phrase turning in the opposite direction and repeating the *contretemps, pas coupé avec ouverture de jambe*, and *chassé* of the previous five-bar phrase.

towards the centreline (bar 56), which is returned with a similar step-unit but less travel, *contretemps de chaconne* (bar 60, five bars before the end of the chaconne), that brings the dancer back towards the centre of the dance space. This is up to the interpretation of the performer, however, who might choose to adjust step lengths so as to return to the centreline before this.
Ex. 6a & b. The final period of the Confutation. Note the spatial symmetry of the *contretemps de côté* with a quarter turn to the left in bar 25, mirrored with a turn to the right in bar 30. Similarly the *chassés* in bar 29 and bar 31.

**Confirmation**

The jumps continue in this following period of three phrases. Two short two-bar phrases are repeated left then right. A four-bar phrase follows, the dancer continuing to turn and jump.
Peroration

Two symmetrical four-bar phrases of this period follow, with step references to the beginning of the dance. The dancer once again remains facing the Presence, which, combined with the symmetrical phrases, gives a feeling of order and conclusion. The one sense in which this is not a typical conclusion is that the dancer has not returned to the end of the room where she started.

Coda

Thorp says that Isaac did not always follow the models of the French dance-masters, and this sixth section would seem to illustrate that claim.\textsuperscript{27} Alternatively it can be seen as providing a bridging section from the chaconne to the minuet, although it remains a chaconne in both steps and music. Having concluded the rhetorical structure with a return to symmetry, a matching of dance phrases with the music and references to the beginning, the dance suddenly announces that it has not finished and returns with a passage more reminiscent of the Intrigue section.

This section consists of many contretemps. The first period of two four-bar phrases has spatial symmetry with similar phrase structures. The following period consists of a five-bar phrase; like in the Confutation this implies step symmetry with the previous phrase, but this time expanding the phrase. This phrase is punctuated with a \textit{pas tortillé}, a waving step.\textsuperscript{28} The final group of three bars marks a clear triple time against the final musical hemiola, with \textit{pas de bourrée en arrière}, \textit{contretemps de côté}, and closes decisively with a \textit{pas assemblé}, turning to face the front in readiness for the minuet.

Although the dancer has returned to her starting point in concluding the chaconne, this irregular phrasing of the last period has an unsettling quality. If this chaconne ever existed as a separate dance, one would expect a more restorative phrase to create a greater sense of stability in this final period.

\textsuperscript{27} Thorp, 2006, 123.
\textsuperscript{28} The \textit{pas tortillé}, along with other elaborate leg gestures danced by men, is not a step-unit commonly found in notations for women, most often explained for the practical reason that such gestures are hidden by the woman’s long skirt.
Ex. 7a & b. The final three bars of the chaconne

The adjoining minuet follows the rhetorical form more closely with four clear sections. The Confirmation section (24 dance bars) consists of four periods of six-bar lengths—three periods with phrases of 2+4 bars each, and the final period with a four-bar phrase followed by a two-bar phrase. In contrast to the chaconne, which mostly travels forwards and back, the minuet has several ‘S’-shaped passages of travel and also moves in circles, referencing the classic menuet ordinaire.²⁹

For the Peroration of the minuet the dancer returns to the starting position with the characteristic ‘S’ figure from the menuet ordinaire, and then three pas de menuet, each completing a circle, and the third finishing in a réverence.

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²⁹ The menuet ordinaire consisted of the man and woman travelling along a “Z” or “S” floor pattern. For a fuller description of this dance see chapter one, and Hilton, Dance and Music of Court and Theater (291–308).
Chaconne de Mr Feuillet

Two chaconne notations by Raoul-Augé Feuillet exist in manuscript and are possibly among the earliest extant chaconnes notated in France. I will analyse the one to the music of the first chaconne (of two) from L'Europe galante by André Campra.

L'Europe galante, composed in 1697, is regarded by some as the first opéra-ballet. It consists of a prologue and four entrées, each entrée representing a different country: France, Spain, Italy and Turkey. Both chaconnes occur together in the Italian entrée.

If this notation was indeed from 1697, was it in fact danced in L'Europe galante? I have found no source giving the dance composer for the premiere of this opéra-ballet: it may have been Feuillet, but may equally have been Pécour, a dancing master at court who often collaborated with Campra. The entrée’s synopsis describes a ball where a masked Venetian man dances with Olimpia (the heroine) during the chaconne. While it is possible this solo male dance by Feuillet was danced by the Venetian while Olimpia looked on, a couple-dance would seem more in keeping with the plot. Therefore, if this notation does date from as early as 1697 it seems unlikely to have been composed for L'Europe galante.

This dance is the most symmetrical of all the notated chaconnes. All step phrases are repeated on one side/direction then the opposite side/direction, with the exception of only two bars of the entire dance (eighty bars total). All of these phrases are four bars long, except for one eight-bar phrase, and its symmetrical repeat, in the Narration.

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30 Lancelot, 1996. 298 & 305. However, The Favorite, by Isaac, may be an older dance according to Thorpe.
32 Lancelot, 1996. 298. Lancelot gives 1697 as the earliest possible date of this dance composition.
33 Little & Marsh list nine notations extant to music from L’Europe galante: three by Feuillet and four by Pécour. (The other two, one anonymous and one by L’Abbé, have been dated much later). It is possible for either Feuillet’s or Pécour’s compositions date from the time of this opéra-ballet’s premiere, although three of these notations (one by Feuillet and two by Pécour) are all to the same music. No research has been carried out to see if any of these other notations are in keeping with the plot of their appropriate entrée. It is equally possible that there was more than one dance composer for this opéra-ballet.
35 Having concluded this dance is not from the ballet, I will save discussion on the context of the chaconne within the opéra-ballet for the consideration of the music in chapter four.
The music is in rondo form and divides neatly into five sections, each sixteen bars in length: two periods of two four-bar phrases.\textsuperscript{36} The dance similarly can be divided into five corresponding sections of two periods each, and, except for the Narration, two phrases to a period.

\textit{Exordium}

The opening period consists of steps that all face forward and progress towards the audience. The second period is mostly \textit{sur place} (stationary) with a full turn to finish each phrase, alternating to the left and the right.

Ex. 8a & b. The opening sequence of the \textit{Chaconne de Mr. Feuillet}. Notice the repeat of steps between bars 1–4 and 5–8.

\textsuperscript{36} For further analysis of the music see chapter four.
**Narration**

The second section consists of two eight-bar phrases and includes more travelling than in other sections of the dance. Except for the dance’s final step into a *révérence*, these two phrases are the only occurrence of variant endings in the entire dance: the first phrase finishes with a *pas coupé sans poser le corps*; the second finishes with a *pas coupé soutenu*. This could be just a matter of adjusting to free the preferred foot for the next phrase and section, or it may be intended as a subtle anticipation of the turbulent section that follows.

**Confutation**

Both the Confutation and Confirmation sections contain the most complex movements in this dance composition, with turns, jumps and falls. Each phrase of the four periods (periods five to eight of the composition) is punctuated with a *pas de bourrée emboîté*.

In the Confutation, apart from each phrase of both periods’ closing *pas de bourrée emboîté*, period five consists entirely of hops and jumps: the first step being a turning jumped step, the *pas de passacaille*. The next period consists of more jumping steps to complete the Confutation.

**Confirmation**

The seventh period is the quietest of these four periods. A musical hemiola appears in the first phrase to which the steps are sympathetic: remaining facing the front with first a forward step, and a backward step, followed by a forward jump and a backward jump before the *pas de bourrée emboîté*.

The final period of these middle sections sees an increase in action with two *pas tombés* (falling steps), the second including a full turn, being resolved with a *pas de bourrée emboîté* and a *temps de courante*.
Ex. 9a & b. The Confirmation (period 7). Notice how the hemiola in the music (represented by “[]”) is matched with the dance steps in bar 51, and also the pas de bourrée enboîté that punctuates each phrase in bars 52 and 56.

**Peroration**

In the ninth period the dancer remains facing the front with a slight regression upstage. The tenth period concludes the dance composition; the dancer withdrawing upstage with two three-quarter turns, as if to bid farewell. On the final \textit{pas de bourrée} the dancer turns to the front for a \textit{révérence} to finish.

This relatively simple chaconne, probably reflecting the ability of specific performer or pupil rather than Feuillet’s ability as dance composer, demonstrates clearly the rhetorical
theory that resonates through Baroque dance composition. It is even quite probable the composition’s simplicity is due to it being a notation exercise undertaken by Feuillet while preparing his treatise (published 1700), rather than a dance intended to be performed.³⁷

**Chaconne de Phaëton pour un homme**

Shortly after the death of Lully, dance master Beauchamp retired from the position of director of Ballet l’Opéra de Paris, and his pupil, Pécour, succeeded him. Many of Pécour’s dances have been recorded in Beauchamp–Feuillet notation.

*Phaëton* is an opera composed by Lully in 1683. As well as Pécour’s two notations to the chaconne from this opera—one for a man and one for a woman—another dance for a man, its creator unknown, has also been composed to this music. Pécour’s male solo expressly states “non dancée [sic] a l’opera”. The musical score specifies a dance for a large group,³⁸ so it seems unlikely any of these were intended for performance in the opera.³⁹

**Exordium**

The dance starts with three four-bar phrases, each repeated to give a symmetrical opening to the dance. The first four-bar phrase is executed travelling forward, then repeated, starting on the left. Another four-bar phrase, first danced facing right, is repeated facing left. A third four-bar phrase consisting of a full rotation to the right, follows, and is then repeated, turning to the left, to conclude the section.

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³⁷ Lancelot dates this composition as being notated between 1705 and 1720, which, post-dating the publication of Feuillet’s treatise, would make this explanation seem less likely. An alternative view is that it reflects an earlier style of chaconne. This also seems unlikely as his other chaconne, which is more ornate (see Appendix B), is from about the same time, as are the chaconnes of Isaac and Pécour.


³⁹ Astier, Régine. “Chaccone pour une femme: Chaconne de Phaëton: a performance study.” *Papers from the Dance to Honour Kings Conference*. Special issue of Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research. 15.2 (Winter 1997): 150–169. Astier speculates that the Chaccone pour une femme may have appeared in the 1702 revival and describes how the dance acts out the drama that has taken place in the preceding scene. I think it more likely, however, that the dance in the opera would have been more abstract and celebratory, but it is not impossible that this female solo created by Pécour, while also intended as “non dancée a l’opera”, still reflects the narrative of the opera, which would have been familiar to people at the time.
Ex. 10a & b. The first period of the Exordium of *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme* showing the symmetrical phrases of the opening sequence: bars 1–4, starting with a *temps de courante* on the right, are repeated in bars 5–8, starting on the left.

*Narration*

After the fast turns, beats and jumps that finish the Exordium, the Narration starts quietly. This is deceptive, however, with beaten jumps and *ronds de jambes* quickly following the quiet opening four-bar phrase. Tension begins to build with the introduction of irregular dance phrases against the quintessential four- and eight-bar musical phrases. The dance also pre-empts the music with a hemiola, which the music then echoes.
Ex. 11a & b. The Narration of Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme. Notice the hemiola that occurs in bars 42–43, particularly the two half turns (effectively a full turn) that takes place over the bar line.

Confutation

This hemiola makes way for the beginning of the Confutation, which also starts relatively quietly. Five-bar phrases feature in the first half of the Confutation, with two more danced hemiolas. The first of these is echoed once again in the music, although not so strongly in the cross-rhythm of the melody line; the second is completely independent of the music.

The second half of the Confutation returns to regular phrase lengths, mostly short two-bar phrases. The constant and frustrated turning, first to the left and then to the right, creates
the first climax of the dance. This then resolves with a quieter phrase to close the section, suitably accompanied by a quiet trio section in the music.

**Confirmation**

The first period of the Confirmation continues regular two- and four-bar phrases. While still turning in alternate directions, it is now more deliberate in its choice of step and turn. In the next period a four-bar phrase is then repeated to the left in the following musical trio passage, which refers to the stability of the dance’s opening. In period 14 a following four-bar phrase is also repeated, continuing the symmetry, this time with *pirouettes à la seconde* leading towards a secondary climax in the next period. This consists of a combination of *pirouettes à la seconde*, jumps, and *ronds de jambes* to the third and final musical trio passage.

Ex. 12a & b. The climax of the Confirmation. Notice the full turn at the beginning of bar 121, the four hopped half-turns of bars 121–123, finishing with a *cabriole (entrechat)* in bar 124.
Peroration

The dance concludes with steps referring to previous passages. After two six-bar phrases in the first period, the second period consists of a four-bar phrase repeated to the right, followed by two more four-bar phrases, which, although they differ in other ways, provide a spatial symmetry, turning first to the left and then to the right, and thus concluding the dance.

Of the three extant dance notations to the music from *Phaeton*, the one analysed here is the most virtuosic, requiring both great skill from the dancer and a strong interplay between the music and the dance, of which both musicians and dancer need to be aware for best effect.

Chacone of Amadis perform’d by Mr Dupré

Anthony L’Abbé, a dancing master born and trained in France, was brought to London in 1698 and remained there for the rest of his working life. L’Abbé was appointed dancing-master at the court of George I, replacing Isaac, with his first duty being to Anne, the Princess Royal, from when she was aged about six (1715), and then to her two sisters Amelia and Caroline.40

Carol Marsh comments on the similarities of title, description and layout of this volume with the collections Pécour published in France in 1704 and 1713.41 Marsh also makes the point that all the male performers L’Abbé identifies with the notations are French. This is despite there being many male English dancers for whom L’Abbé would have created dances, and whose dances could have been included in this collection.42 This would seem to suggest a French bias, and therefore, although published in London, these dances most probably are more French in style.

L’Abbé composed the dance *Chacone of Amadis* for “Mr Dupré”, who presumably was Louis Dupré, a French dancer who visited London to perform on a number of occasions.

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41 The two collections are *Recueil de dances contenant un tres grand nombres, des meilleures entrées de ballet de Mr Pécour…* (Paris, 1704) and *Nouveau recueil de dance de bal et celle de ballet…* (Paris, [1713])
42 Marsh, 1991. xii.
Ex. 13. The first five variations of the C minor section of the chaconne from *Amadis*. The irregular dance phrases for the opening of *Chacone of Amadis* are indicated over the more regular musical phrases, and the more regular still bassline. While there is some flexibility of phrases within the music—see bars 23–24 in the melody and bar 32 in the bass—the dance has free reign of how it chooses its phrases. Note the three phrases in Period 4 of the dance to bring it back in line with the musical phrase in preparation for the Confutation.
Dupré’s first performance in London was in 1714, and is therefore the earliest date this dance could have been created.

The music is the C minor middle passage of the instrumental chaconne from Lully’s opera Amadis. Although this collection is of dances from the theatre and set to music composed for operas, the dances were not composed for productions of the operas from which the music is taken. 43

**Exordium**

Marsh states that L’Abbé does not always match dance and musical phrases, 44 and that is clearly demonstrated here. The Exordium and Narration sections of this dance consist of two periods each with phrases of four bars plus five bars. This is illustrated in Ex. 13 with bass, melody and dance periods and phrases indicated.

The two periods of the Exordium remain facing the audience while progressing forwards. The first phrase consists of a two-bar sequence that is then repeated starting on the opposite foot; it is the first of only four instances of step symmetry in this dance (Ex. 14).

The second period starts with beaten jumps, and then a turning sequence. This consists of a quarter turn to the right; a pas de passacaille, which involves a full turn to the left around and back to face the front; a quarter turn to the left; and a full-turning contretemps de gavotte to the right. This turning sequence is then punctuated with jetés chassés and a pas de sissonne facing forward. Although the steps themselves are not repeated, symmetry of direction, of travel and turning is present.

**Narration**

The third period of the dance composition starts by suddenly turning from the central axis to travel on a diagonal for three bars. The first phrase is punctuated with a beaten coupé, pas de bourrée progressing up the stage. The next phrase develops the turning sequence of the composition’s second period involving two turns anti-clockwise. This is carried out with a pas de passacaille, finishing with a beaten pas de sissonne turning to face the front. A pas de bourrée de côté and pas coupé soutenu to finish.

43 Marsh, 1991. xvii
44 Marsh, 1991. xv. When examining other dances in this collection published by Roussau, it certainly does appear to be the case.
Ex. 14a & b. The first period of the Exordium of *Chacone of Amadis*. Notice the repeat of bars 1–2 in bars 3–4, the first of only four examples of step-symmetry. Note also the clearly punctuated *soutenu* into fifth position in bar 9 to clearly establish the nine-bar period.

The next period (consisting of three phrases) starts with the second instance of step symmetry: *contretemps* on the left foot followed by *jetés chassés*, then repeated on the right foot. The following phrase is concluded with three turns anti-clockwise in a slow *pirouette à la seconde* over two bars. A further four-bar phrase concludes the Narration and brings the dance phrase in line with the musical phrase.
Confutation

For the Intrigue section L’Abbé changes from irregular phrase lengths to two four-bar phrases a period, thus matching the musical phrase. The Confutation consists of three periods (periods five to seven) with many jumps and turns, each with a distinctive mood.

Period five is reflective. The first phrase is a series of beaten jumps sur place, starting slowly and then getting faster. The replying phrase travels upstage: two pas de bourrée de côté withdrawing, and a contretemps de chaconne facing upstage. A cabriole then turns the dancer to face forward, with a new mood for the next period.

Ex. 15a & b. The “bright” period from the Confutation. Notice the full turn (with leg gestures before and after) in bar 53, and the complete turn through bars 55–56.
The sixth period, bold and bright, travels downstage with two *pas de bourrées*, and then suddenly turns side on (to the right), as if to snatch back what has just been offered, for two *pas coupé soutenu*. Having paused momentarily the dancer continues with jumping a full turn anti-clockwise, embellished with a *rond de jambe* both before and after. A quarter turn to the left followed by a full turn to the right, starting with a *pirouette* and completed with a turning *cabriole*. This turning and changing of direction echoes the turning sequence in the opening period of the Narration.

Ex. 16a & b. The climax of the dance. Notice the frequent changes of direction in bars 57–58, combined with the general busyness of stepping beats and turns.

The seventh period is the climax of the dance and expresses a feeling of frustration and aggression. Frequent direction changes in the first phrase result in mounting unrest. Two step-units are fitted into one bar, first turning to the right and then back to the front. This bar is then repeated to the left, a third example of step symmetry, but this time creating instability in the frequent direction changes and making up only the first half of the phrase. Another beaten jump, and a shift sideways lead into the second phrase of jumped
turns travelling upstage—not once, not twice, but three times, each turn resolving some of the unrest of the first phrase. Again there is an echo of the three turns that conclude the Narration.

Confirmation

A more peaceful attitude returns with an elongated version of the opening theme (temps sur la pointe and temps de courante). This is the fourth and final example of step symmetry, once again suggesting balance and equality. Two more phrases follow, slowly progressing forwards towards the audience, and mostly facing forwards except for the beaten pas assemblé en tournant to finish the section.

Peroration

This section starts with the uniquely theatrical step of “waving” the feet: with weight on the heels swinging the toes from left to right, and then (in this instance) transferring the weight on to the toes and swivelling the heels to the right as well. The rest of this phrase continues the sideways motion with a pas de bourrée de côté and coupé to the right, and then a pirouette turning clockwise. The second phrase turns to face right and starts to progress to the back of the stage.

The final period is a return to an irregular phrase length. A five-bar phrase starts with a sequence of pirouettes à la seconde, one bar to prepare and then a slow double turn to the right over two bars, and then two single turns to the left, each with more beats and leg gestures than the turn before. The closing three-bar phrase echoes steps from the opening with jeté chassés, pas de sissonne and a pas de bourrée en arrière retreating backwards upstage to finish.

Of the four dances analysed this is the last to be composed, and certainly demonstrates that the chaconne has developed into a dance of virtuosic spectacle. It has a very high level of difficulty, which in turn reflects the complexity of the dance composition.\textsuperscript{45} It also demonstrates Dupré’s skills as a dancer, which L’Abbé has catered for. In particular are the pirouettes à la seconde, turning both to the left and right (but all on the left leg),

\textsuperscript{45} Hilton describes this dance as “one of the most difficult and challenging that exists.” (Hilton, 1997. 420).
and on two separate occasions requiring a slow double turn over two bars of music (first to the left, bars 35–36, and then to the right, bars 87–88).

As in the *Phaéton* chaconne previously discussed, these two dances clearly present a dance structure that is distinct from, rather than subordinate to, the music structure, and yet is not completely independent. This counterpointing of the dance phrase against the musical phrase would test even a very confident performer. This is a clear example of a dance composition requiring an “intellectual” approach by the dancer, with understanding gained by study and analysis, extra to musical and instinctual approaches. The dancer must know and “feel” the dance phrases for an effective performance without being swayed by the music.

While it seems unlikely, according to Marsh, that this particular dance composition was from the opera *Amadis*, the fact that L’Abbé has used only the middle segment of the music raises some questions. Was this also only a segment of the dance? It could have been just a segment of Dupré’s solo, or it might have been both preceded and followed by other dancing, perhaps by a group or groups.

The unusual length of dance phrases to open immediately establishes interplay with the two four-bar musical phrases. Had this not been so strongly characteristic of L’Abbé’s work, one might expect this dance notation was more likely the Intrigue section from a longer dance composition.

Musically the minor segment is well enough structured to stand alone, and the dance itself is obviously also intended to stand alone, having been published so. Perhaps this is an early documented instance of an existing piece of music being taken and “significantly adapted” to fit the dance composer’s requirements.\(^{46}\)

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\(^{46}\) Marsh comments on alterations of the music in other dances in this collection. Other musical adaptations she cites include two dances repeating the music in its entirety, while the *Turkish Dance* omits a chorus (Marsh, 1991. xvi). This chaconne is the most extreme adaptation of the dances in this collection.
Ill. 16. Frontispiece of Lambranzi’s *Neue und Curieuse Theatricalische Tantz-Schul* (1716). Note the page of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation of a loure, despite Lambranzi choosing not to use this schema to record his dances.
The Grotesque Dances

Lambranzi
Lambranzi illustrated Harlequin dancing to the music *Chicona* (sic).\(^47\) In his foreword Lambranzi states that his aim was not to notate the actual steps of the dance, one reason being so as not to restrict performers to set steps, but to allow them freedom of interpretation. It is obvious from the style of highly conventional movement associated with all *commedia dell’arte* characters how they should move in dance.\(^48\) By providing a picture and caption describing the action, Lambranzi portrays “the style of [each character’s] dance and the manner of its execution”.\(^49\) These illustrations and descriptions for the comic characters are often in keeping with character portrayals and other published *lazzi* (short interludes that were secondary to the plot—a distinctive feature of *commedia dell’arte*).

As Cyril Beaumont explains in the preface to the 1928 edition,

> [Refraining from using Beauchamp–Feuillet notation] permits the composer [i.e. the dance performer] to interpret the theme in his own manner and create a living thing. This is far preferable to the laborious signs which, however well they may preserve the skeleton, cannot endow it with life.\(^50\)

Lambranzi matches three of the five illustrations that include Harlequin with a tune he identifies as a *Chicona*. The description says, “Harlequin enters as shown and begins to dance step by step in his own manner.” This tune is only for Harlequin, and could be regarded as his theme. When Scaramouch shoots Harlequin, Lambranzi insists, “It should be observed that as soon as Harlequin is dead the Scaramouch air [the *Scharamuza*][…] is to be played.”\(^51\)

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\(^{47}\) Lambranzi, 2002. 16.

\(^{48}\) It is clear that Lambranzi or at least Puschner, the illustrator, was aware of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation, as a page of a notated Loure is included in the illustration of the frontispiece (see Ill. 16).

\(^{49}\) Lambranzi, 2002. 15.

\(^{50}\) Lambranzi, 2002. 8. While I agree with the performer’s freedom of interpretation, I strongly disagree with what Beaumont is saying. The same could also therefore be said of music notation and play scripts, which were widely used and accepted then as today. My analysis and demonstration of Beauchamp–Feuillet notations will prove skeletons can dance again!

29. Harlequin enters as shown and begins to dance step by step in his own manner. Then Scaramouch approaches him with a lantern, dances and mimics him, but finally resolves to go away.

Ill. 17. Plate 29 from Part I of New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing, with Derra de Moroda’s translation.
30. Scaramouch enters muffled up in a cloak and bearing a musket in his hand. He puts a lighted candle at the end of the barrel and waits until Harlequin has finished dancing. After he has shot him dead he retreats into the “wings,” but Harlequin gets up and runs off to the opposite side. Now Scaramouch enters carrying a lantern to look at the dead body but, unable to find it, he turns away again. Harlequin quickly lies down midway across the stage. Scaramouch returns again without the lantern and falls headlong over Harlequin. He rises, takes hold of him, stands him stiffly on his feet and turns his head to and fro, sometimes forward, sometimes backwards. The he throws him over his leg and carries him off; and with this the air comes to an end. It should be observed that as soon as Harlequin is dead the Scaramouch air No. 26 is to be played.

III. 18. Plate 30 from Part I of *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing*, with Derra de Moroda’s translation.
The two other illustrations picturing Harlequin have different music—a *Rigaudon*. These both involve Harlequin sneaking up on a blind man. Perhaps Lambranzi chose a different tune because Harlequin’s *Chicona* would inform the blind man of Harlequin’s presence. Lambranzi instead gives Harlequin a musical disguise.

Why is it that Lambranzi chose the chaconne to be Harlequin’s dance? What, if any, is the correlation between Harlequin’s character and lexicon, and the steps of the chaconne? Harlequin’s movement vocabulary consists of hopping and jumping about—in keeping with his character, which refuses to be pinned down. His way of walking has been associated with both a cat and a goat, and he is constantly mimicking someone, or even pretending to be someone else. This is in keeping with the free-spirited character of the *chacona* as it was in Spain. This movement vocabulary is also found in the four Beauchamp–Feuillet notations from around the same time. Harlequin can therefore tell us a good deal about the movements and gestures of the chaconne, as well as the importance of dance and music and their relationship, so filling out what we can learn from the extant notations.

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32. Here is seen a blind man who, hearing the sound of music, sets his staff firmly on the ground and jerks his shoulders to and fro as if about to dance. But Harlequin enters and crawling between his two feet throws his hat in his face. Then the blind man gropes about and strikes the air with his staff.

Ill. 19. Plate 32 from Part I of New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing, with Derra de Moroda’s translation. Note that Harlequin is using his “Rigaudon” disguise.
33. Harlequin creeps from under the blind man and, putting his hat on his bat, holds it in front of the face of the blind man, who, feeling himself touched, lashes out bravely with his staff.

Ill. 20. Plate 33 from Part I of *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing*, with Derra de Moroda’s translation. Harlequin continues in his “Rigaudon” disguise.
**Dances for Harlequin in Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation**

There are four notated grotesque dances for Harlequin extant, the notations of which have been dated between 1695 and 1748.\(^{54}\)

- *Chaconne d’Arlequin de Mr. Feuillet* (c.1695–1710)
- *Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela (sic) Montagne*, (c.1700–1720)
- *Chacoon for a Harlequin* (manuscript 1720, published 1728)
- *Entrée d’arlequin*, (1748)

In these dance notations Harlequin can be seen using the conventional dance steps of the time, but also making a few of his own, and breaching the rules of etiquette as expressed in dance. This makes his character both competent and free-spirited, not to be restricted by convention.

François Le Roussau’s *Chacoon for a Harlequin* is the only dance of the four that was printed and sold. It was published in London in 1728, and also survives in manuscript, dated 1720.

The three other notations exist only in manuscript and were never published. They are to the music of *Chaconne des scaramouches, trivelins et arlequins* from Lully’s *Ballet des Nations*—the ballet de cour that concludes Molière’s well-known comédie-ballet, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*.

**Chaconne d’Arlequin de Mr Feuillet**

Lancelot dates this dance tentatively between 1695 and 1710, and its transcription between 1705 and 1720. This would mean that it is the oldest of these dances for Harlequin. This manuscript is in a volume with five other notations by Feuillet, and remains in a private collection; the notation was thus not available for consultation.

**Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne**

This probably refers to Pierre de la Montagne, professional court dancer in the Troupe du Roy with Beauchamp.\(^{55}\) Lancelot gives the probable date for the notation of this collection as 1710–1720, although the dance composition possibly originated as early as

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\(^{54}\) Lancelot, 1996. 251, 289, 312 & 338.

1700. Susan Bindig makes the point that although both catalogues of Little and Marsh, and Lancelot attribute Montagne as the composer of the dance, this is only speculative.\textsuperscript{56} The “de” of the title could equally indicate him as the performer, transcriber, or benefactor, or all four of these.

\textit{Chacoon for a Harlequin}

This exists as both a manuscript and a published notation. It is unclear why there was such a delay between Le Roussau’s notating his dance in 1720 and publishing \textit{Chacoon for a Harlequin} in 1728. It is possible the delays were incurred in overcoming the inadequacies of the notation schema for recording the grotesque actions, but there is relatively little difference between the manuscript and the published edition.\textsuperscript{57} It would therefore seem more likely the delay was due to a lack of time or money.

Le Roussau published a collection of dances by Anthony L’Abbé (c. 1725) and discussed at length in the preface to his unpublished \textit{Chacoon for a Harlequin}.\textsuperscript{58} It is possible that Le Roussau doubted the public demand for a comic dance notation, and this self-promotion was a testing of the waters. This seems quite likely, bearing in mind that dance notations, published since 1700, allowed popular access to an art that had hitherto primarily been restricted to the court. While a demand for noble dances could be expected, with everyone seeking to raise himself or herself socially by various means including dancing, there might well be little demand for a dance for a comic servant.\textsuperscript{59}

\textit{Entrée d’arlequin}

Although not titled a chaconne, this \textit{entrée} is set to the same chaconne music as the first two dances (namely \textit{Chaconne des scaramouches, trivelins et arlequins}). Lancelot lists this dance notation manuscript in a collection of dances that is dated from 1748. She does not include further details but refers us to a Harlequin dance in a private collection—

\begin{footnotes}
\item[56] Bindig, Susan. \textit{Dancing in Harlequin’s World}. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1998. 44.
\item[57] The biggest difference is in the change of name, which is \textit{Chaconne for Arlequin} in the manuscript. All other details of diagrams and the written introduction and explanation remain primarily the same.
\item[58] He apologises for the delay of the publication of L’Abbé’s dances, using his work on \textit{Chacoon for a Harlequin} as his excuse. Le Roussau devotes as much time discussing his own dance as he does the publication at hand.
\item[59] One can only speculate about sales at the time, but many books of more recent times, mentioning either Harlequin or dance notation, have taken great delight in reproducing a page from \textit{Chacoon for a Harlequin}, or sometimes the entire dance.
\end{footnotes}
Chaconne d’Arlequin de Mr Feuillet. Lancelot notes that the dances are similar but that the older dance has more Harlequin-specific gestures and a variant ending.

Lambranzi regarded the recording of actual dance steps as “too ambitious a work” (besides unduly restricting the dancer), yet these four notations manage it. Very few known grotesque dances were recorded using Beauchamp–Feuillet notation. Little and Marsh conclude that this is because the steps and gestures associated with the grotesque style fall outside of the Baroque dance technique and vocabulary, involving mime and acrobatics. To compensate for the shortcomings in the available notation schema, all four dances for Harlequin have additional diagrams for movements of the head, arms and hat.

The three dances I have sighted also use Baroque notation symbols to indicate steps that were not in the noble dance vocabulary. Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne and Entrée d’arlequin, for instance, use symbols to indicate that the feet are to be turned inward, with toes pointing towards each other—what is known as “false foot position,” and regarded as a sign of ill-breeding.

Where the two manuscript dances are sometimes vague or open to interpretation, Le Roussau has used the Beauchamp–Feuillet notation to record the dance in considerable detail. While they all include step units that are not from the Baroque dance vocabulary, Le Roussau’s is clearly decipherable by following the notation’s principles, whereas the two manuscript dances are more ambiguous. Le Roussau also supplies a long introduction for the reader, and gives explanations of the notations he has had to create for certain movements.

Bearing these factors in mind, it is possible that Le Roussau may have adapted his dance towards the noble style for clarity of notating, minimizing the mime and acrobatic

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60 Little and Marsh, 1992, 133.

61 Although I have not sighted the notation for Chaconne d’Arlequin de Mr Feuillet, I am assuming Lancelot is referring to upper body/head and arm gestures when she says this notation has more “marques de l’Arlequin” than the Entrée d’arlequin.

62 The aristocratic walking style of the time required the toes to be pointing outwards; this became regarded as the “natural” way of walking. Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne, as well as clearly intended instances of false-foot, has more ambiguous passages as well, where both feet are angled in the same direction. It is not unknown in noble dances to have the occasional foot symbol angled in the wrong direction, obviously an error on the part of the scribe, but when it is a dance for Harlequin one cannot be so sure!
aspects, and instead ensuring that features of Harlequin’s character were maintained by means of diagrams and illustrations. It is interesting to note, for example, that Le Roussau does not use any turned-in or false positions of the feet. Possibly this is because such notation would not be understood by those buying copies of the dance; or maybe he feared the overtones of ill-breeding would make the dance undesirable.

Noting that *Chacoon for a Harlequin*’s style is quite different from the two French manuscript dances, one may wonder whether being published in London influenced the dance and the way it was notated. Le Roussau was of French origin, and the music is attributed to French composer Charpentier. Furthermore, the dance is dedicated to the French dancer “Le Grand Dupré”, and Le Roussau had already demonstrated a strong French bias when publishing a collection of dances by L’Abbé (c. 1725).

I would argue that what is most significant is not where it was published, but the fact that it was published at all. The buying public needed to be able to dance Harlequin from this notation without requiring further assistance from the dance’s creator. In order that this notation could “stand alone” as a published score Harlequin’s dance may have been conventionalized to avoid ambiguity, thereby foregoing an accurate representation of the grotesque theatrical dance of the time.

The two French manuscript notations contain only absolutely necessary information. Le Roussau may have been compromised by the limitation of his buying public; these manuscript notations are not so constrained, but nor can they be regarded as complete dance representations. Some bars, for example, look particularly sparse, and could mean “do nothing”, but are more likely represent room for those characteristic movements and gestures of Harlequin that are not so easily recorded using Beauchamp–Feuillet notation, and have therefore been left to the dancer’s memory or imagination.

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63 Bindig regards this as worthy of note (Bindig, 1998, 46).
64 See discussion on *Chacone of Amadis perform’d by Mr Dupré*.
65 The musical equivalent, both of the time and today, is sheet-music, where the vocal line and the piano reduction allows you to imagine being an opera singer with an orchestral backing, or rock-star with your own guitar band, but this is only a pale reflection of a professional performance.
Now to consider these three dance notations for Harlequin in terms of a rhetorical structure. Although they differ in many respects, they also have many steps and sequences in common. All three reflect the four-part rhetorical structure, although not so neatly as the noble chaconnes. Harlequin being known for his nonconformity, the ways in which these dances do not fit the structure are just as telling regarding the dance in society and its relation to the music as the ways in which the noble chaconnes do. *Chacoon for a Harlequin* fits most closely to the rhetorical structure. Again, this may either be because of its origin in London, but more probably because it was intended for the general public.

Harlequin has always been known for his distinctive movements, and Lambranzi relies on his readers being familiar with this lexicon to recreate his dances. These dance notations reinforce and even add to what is already known about the way Harlequin moves.

Four components of Harlequin’s distinctive lexicon loosely comply with the four elements of rhetorical structure. The discussion that follows has been categorized to reflect this. To emphasize the similarity between the dance notations, exemplify the well-defined lexicon of Harlequin, and furthermore illustrate the rhetorical structure of the chaconne dance-type, all three notations will be discussed simultaneously.

*The Révérence (Exordium)*

All three notations start with Harlequin giving a rather “over-the-top” bowing sequence: sweeping from side to side, taking off his hat and waving it about in a grandiose manner before placing it back on his head to begin the dance proper. The *révérence* was a required practice in the court and the proper way to greet the king and other courtiers as well as the way to start all dances in the ballroom—either to silence, or to the opening strains of music. Dance manuals of the time were very precise on this subject, cautioning their readers on what was too little, which would be rude, and what was too much, which could cause offence. Either ignoring or heeding their advice (one can never be sure with Harlequin) he is eager to do too much, thus giving us an *irreverent révérence*.

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66 Bindig chose to compare the notations page by page. This provides a rather arbitrary comparison. While effectively comparing each dance’s opening on their respective first pages, since each dance occupies a different number of pages she could not compare the way they end, whereas this structural approach allows comparison of corresponding parts of the dances.
Many lazzi involving Harlequin and others echo similar gesturing in *commedia dell’arte*. It is also worthy of comment this stance in fourth position (one foot in front of the other) is typical of Harlequin, and can be seen in pictures of him throughout history.


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Walking Styles (Narration)

Both *Chaccoon for a Harlequin* and *Entrée d’arlequin* follow this opening with the dancer walking in a circle. The latter shows steps in double time, and in Harlequin’s manner one would assume (although that is not indicated), and the step per se is not from the Baroque dance vocabulary. In the former, Le Roussau uses a Baroque dance-step, the *pas de bourrée vite*. Here is an instance where Le Roussau may have adapted the dance for ease of the general public’s interpretation. Le Roussau also includes an illustration of Harlequin, should anyone mistakenly think these are to be conventional *pas de bourrée vite*.

![Ill. 22. Engraving of Evaristo Gherardi (1663–1700) as Harlequin reproduced from *The Italian Comedy* by Pierre Louis Duchartre, p. 105. Note that Harlequin is high on his toes as he walks, as indicated in the dance notations.](image-url)
*Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne* has the most unconventional narrative. Instead of a circular walking pattern, a jumping sequence is used (and the circle is instead used for his conclusion). The steps themselves are straightforward enough to fit the Narration category as explained previously, but the timing is peculiar: three four-count phrases start the section, and it finishes with three two-count phrases, not once but twice over, the second jumping in and out of a false-foot position. If we ever imagined La Montagne wanted a conventional dance, we have now been corrected.

*Hops, Jumps and Falls (Confirmation/Confutation)*

The inordinate amount of jumping involved in these dances reflects Harlequin’s rather shifty and elusive character. Associated with this is Harlequin’s propensity for tripping and falling, and other frequent acrobatics. All three dances include hops, jumps and falls—steps that are in common with the noble chaconnes—but here they are taken to the extreme.

All three notations use *pas tombé* or falling step. *Pas tombé* is common in noble dances. Hilton describes it thus: “… the knees bend with a suggestion of collapse. The fall is brought about by a slight shift of the torso from the support of one foot on demi-pointe, producing an impression of lost balance.”68 This step often comes quite unexpectedly in a noble dance, and yet the dancer remains graceful, always upright, and quickly recovers. Not so Harlequin, however, whose step sequences imply more of a drunken stagger.

Also suffering from Harlequin’s treatment is the noble step, the *échappé*: a falling from high, two feet together, to low, two feet apart, separating either forwards and back, or sideways. This normally has the feeling of a “drop-and-catch” move, Harlequin’s “catch,” however, in all three dances never feels secure.

*Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne* uses this step in three seven-count sequences to make one feel even more unsettled, with the out-of-time feeling of the Narration compounded by these cross-rhythms, creating the climax of this dance. This dance also finishes with Harlequin falling—an *échappé* into fourth position—and instead of recovering, he falls a second, third and fourth time, swapping the front foot to the back.

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and the back foot to the front. With no indication of recovery in between, one presumes Harlequin gets lower and lower to the ground each time.

Entrée d’arlequin uses the fall in the middle section of the dance. Harlequin falls into (and jumping out of) a turned-in foot position, not just once but six times.

Chacoon for a Harlequin and Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne conclude the middle section with four large jumps (the notation implies travelling as far as possible), jumping side-to-side, then forwards and backwards. Interestingly this is not a typical Baroque dance step, although Le Roussau has included it in his published notation. He gives no special mention to this step in his preceding description of the dance, so presumably it can be read at face value.

III. 23. The illustration from Le Roussau’s Chacoon for a Harlequin showing Harlequin once again on the tips of his toes as he jumps from side to side.
Arm Gestures (Peroration)

Both Chacoon for a Harlequin and Entrée d’arlequin include a circling gesture of the right forearm. I have not found any similar gestures in the written descriptions of Harlequin’s movement. Bindig suggests that he might be winding up momentum for the next movement, or he could be mimicking a courtier drawing attention to an extravagant new lace cuff. I would think it more likely, given its positioning in both of these dances, that he is exaggerating a gesture to suggest conclusion.

Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne concludes with the walking circle figure with which the other two dances started their Narration.


69 Bindig, 1998. 69–70.
Coda/Exit

All three dances have a section that is not part of the described rhetorical structure. Both *Chacoon for a Harlequin* and *Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne* use this extra music for an exit. The former uses the conventional *pas de bourrée vite* that he used previously; in the latter, after hopping about for a little bit more and then pausing as if to concede defeat, Harlequin makes an exit by jumping backwards (on two feet)—possibly out through an opening centre-stage, or, just as likely for Harlequin, backing into a solid brick wall!

*Entrée d’arlequin* has the most curious of endings: having summed up his conclusion nicely and gestured it so, Harlequin finds himself with extra music to which he hops back and forth as if just waiting for it to end. The music finally finishes when he has just turned upstage, facing side-on to the audience, and with one foot in the air.

As there are so few grotesque dance notations one cannot say whether these notations discussed represent dances for Harlequin, or grotesque dances in general, but I suspect the former. At least some of Harlequin’s movements were already dance-like and therefore easily fitted into this dance-notation schema. Possibly other grotesque dances were more character-based, and generally improvised, in keeping with Lambranzi’s approach to recording dances.

Dance was a significant part of Harlequin’s persona, as all these references suggest. A recent performance of *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, directed by Benjamin Lazar, has taken the utmost care in creating the most authentic production, in lighting and set design, speech and musical performance.\(^\text{70}\) Dancer Cécile Roussat, however, is quick to point out that as there are no notations of the dances from the time of this *comédie-ballet* (since it was written in 1670, thirty years before Feuillet published his treatise) she and her dancers have chosen to create their own dances in keeping with the music.\(^\text{71}\) What is sad about this dismissal, in my opinion, is that not only does Harlequin not dance any of the three dances for which there is notation (although the earliest is still dated 25 years after the first performance), he does not dance at all. During the chaconne Harlequin instead

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\(^{71}\) Baroque dance style is used so the dancers must have had some knowledge of the technique.
chases two women around the stage (also a Harlequin trait, but only one of many). This fails not only to represent dance’s significance in the Baroque period but also fails to show the diverse character of Harlequin.

The persistent association of Harlequin with the chaconne is interesting. The chaconne in France became a dance of great skill, because of its length and the virtuosic steps it involved. As can be seen in the Beauchamp–Feuillet notations, this gave the performers of Harlequin a great opportunity, not only to demonstrate their remarkable dance skills (by appearing to dance badly), but also to mimic those less adept members of the court. The performer’s virtuosity gave opportunity to present a seemingly carefree competence, “overdo” steps, and display the acrobatic skills Harlequin was renowned for, thus demonstrating spezzatura in his mimic of courtly nonchalance.

The references to Harlequin’s dancing reflect the importance of dancing in Baroque society—the ambitions of those in the court, and aspirations of those wishing to be at court, to dance difficult dances such as the chaconne, and to dance them well. That Harlequin chooses to do it with such a carefree attitude demonstrates just how seriously dance was equated with social status.

Dance was considered to be of equal significance with and given the same structural framework as other arts of music, oratory and poetry. The chaconne in particular required not only stamina and memory, but also an in-depth understanding of the dance’s structure and its interplay with the music. The following chapter will look more closely at the music, and how music and dance in the Baroque period were carefully interwoven.
Chapter 4

The Chaconne as Played and Sung

Having analysed the visual component of four chaconnes, I will now analyse their aural component. An awareness of the strong relationship that emerges between the dance and the music can be of use today in the performance of Baroque dance and music, and in dance and musical performance generally.

The Musical Origins

The chaconne as a musical composition has taken many different forms since it first appeared in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century. The Spanish chacona was sung with verses and a chorus. Several examples of these song texts are extant, although not so many music notations; and only the briefest dance descriptions have survived.

In Italy the ciacona, as a set of variations for solo guitar, grew in popularity. From as early as 1606 there are musical notations of many ciacona themes, on which a guitarist would improvise.¹ There is no indication, however, that these variations were danced to. They were quite possibly intended for the guitarist’s private entertainment rather than for public performance.

The playing of variations on a melodic or harmonic theme was a common method of music-making before the establishment of a standardized music notation and the development of printed music.² Early treatises on musical performance technique

² A musical notation allowed the composer to create longer pieces of music, and the musician’s repertoire was no longer dependent solely on memorized music. The printing of these notations increased their
explained at great length how to play variations. This was regarded as a valuable skill and a primary method of learning to play. A skilled musician would improvise endlessly on a melodic or harmonic theme, in a similar way to that in which a jazz musician today improvises on a “jazz standard.”

The verse-chorus structure of the Spanish chacona (i.e. verse 1, chorus, verse 2, chorus …) and the variation on an harmonic theme of the Italian ciacona (i.e. A¹, A², A³, A⁴…) are similar in that both involve repetition. Repetitions of the sung chorus, as well as subsequent verses, would have employed ornamentation and slight variations of the original melody, but they would have remained secondary in importance to the text of the song. The move to purely instrumental music, initially for solo guitar and later solo keyboard, allowed the variations themselves to become the primary focus.

The chaconne in mid-seventeenth-century France began primarily in variation form. For example, Lully composed extended sets of variations as highlights in the musical scenes of his theatrical productions. Changes of aspect or mood between the variations allowed different theatrical characters and groups to feature. Sometimes singing was incorporated into the chaconne to include the main characters and chorus as well as dancers.

Early eighteenth-century France saw rondo form, which was very popular amongst the composers of the time including Lully, Campra and Rameau, being used for the chaconne. Many airs and dances were described as being “en rondeau.”

Rondo form consists of a main section which opens the piece, and is then repeated after each of a series of new sections of music, and also concludes the entire piece (A B A C A D…A—not unlike a verse-chorus structure). The alternating sections usually consist of modulations to related keys, and are generally independent rather than variations, with a return to the original key and theme for each repeat of the A section.

In a theatrical production this alternating form was more versatile than variation form. The rondo form could more easily include various combinations of soloists or small groups in the subsequent sections, with the chorus or entire cast as “bookends” to provide availability, and thus encouraged the audience to learn to read the notation, which in turn developed an even greater demand.

3 Robert Oliver. Personal interview. 6 March 2007.
4 The chaconne from Campra’s L’Europe galante is in rondo form and will be analysed in this chapter.
5 “Section” in this chapter will only specifically refer to a part of the musical form.
cohesion. While various groupings were also possible using variation form, this required great skill, and was one way Lully demonstrated his mastery in composition.

Just as variation form allowed the chaconne, as an extended musical composition, to provide a climactic point or the finale, rondo form could be extended in a similar way. The two forms are both represented in the chaconne, defining the dance-type not so much by form but rather by its purpose of providing a climax or finale.

This feature of the dance-type is demonstrated further in the chaconnes composed later in the eighteenth century, most notably by Gluck for the Paris productions of his operas. These chaconnes were generally freely structured compositions, using neither variation nor rondo form; but they were still extensive, and remained the most substantial dance of the ballet *divertissement*, and usually concluded it.

**Music for Dance Notations**

The following musical analyses will focus particularly on how a relationship with dance is provided for in the music. Three aspects of the musicality of these works will be highlighted:

- the musical structure (compared with the dance structure)
- the “danceable” quality of the music
- the character or spirit expressed by the music.

As none of the four chaconne-dance notations chosen can be verified as being performed with the music’s premiere, they cannot be regarded as representing a dance/music composers’ collaboration. Nevertheless, as these examples are distinctively “dance music”, they still demonstrate the strong cohesion between dance and music that was considered so important in the Baroque period. Both music and dance adhere to a specified rhetorical structure, and interactions can also be observed in

- symmetries and asymmetries in the music, which were reflected, echoed, or juxtaposed in the dance
- contrasts of stability and instability in musical and dance passages.
The music analysed in this chapter represents chaconnes specifically intended as “dance music”, so a conscious allowance for interactions with a dance structure can be expected. These examples also give some indication of how a piece of music, even a “music-only” chaconne for instance, might also lend itself to interaction with a dance structure; this quality of a composition defines the music as “danceable”. The character or spirit of the danced chaconne, already mentioned, often suggests a journey or narrative, and this is often also a feature of the music. The early Spanish chacona texts speak of a carefree life in mythical islands, with evocative music and rhythms that purportedly carried people away emotionally, spiritually and sometimes even physically. The chaconnes in Lully’s, Rameau’s and even Gluck’s operas, while providing a sense of closure to the divertissement, scene or the entire work, also represent a musical development that abstractly parallels the plot’s progression. These intimations of emotional transportation, reflection and journeying are persistent characteristics of the chaconne in its various forms over time.

The Noble Dances
The music for the four noble dances analysed in the previous chapter will now be discussed. Combined analyses of the music and dance notations will then provide a point of reference for examining other music.

A Chacone by Mr Isaac
Isaac’s Chacone was published in 1711. The composer of the music is unidentified, but many of Isaac’s dances are to music by James Paisible, a court musician at the same time Isaac was dancing-master. Paisible and Isaac worked together on the masque Calisto in February 1675. Paisible composed the music for Isaac’s Rigadoon Royal, also published in 1711, with various other collaborations, including the chaconne The Favorite.

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6 The “music-only” chaconne of J.S. Bach, choreographed by José Limón, and Britten’s Chacony sostenuto from his second string quartet, choreographed by Lucinda Childs, would be just two examples.
7 Thorp, 2006. 117. Paisible was born in France (as Jacques Paisible) into a musical family and moved to England as a teenager.
8 While it is likely Paisible composed the music for A Chacone, with Isaac and Paisible collaborating on other works around this period, it also seems equally possible he did not, Paisible being readily credited elsewhere on such collaborations. However, the focus of this chapter is not on who composed the music but rather on how it was composed.
### Table 5: *A Chacone by Mr Isaac*

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**Dance:** Edward Isaac III

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^h = hemiola
### Minuet

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*1 Dance bar (i.e. a pas de menuet) equals two music bars
The musical structure of this chaconne is AA BB CC AA BB CC. Sections A and B are each one four-bar phrase in length, and section C is two four-bar phrases, (that is, C is equal in length to A and B combined). Each section is played twice through, totalling 32 bars, which is then repeated in its entirety.

Despite it being titled *Chacone*, this is not the expected structure of either variation form or rondo form. It does, however, bear some resemblance to the verse-chorus structure of the earliest chaconnes.\(^9\) This could be an indication of the existence of a distinctive English style,\(^10\) or, if it was not written specifically for Isaac’s setting, may only have been intended by the composer to be chaconne-like.

This music is a typical chaconne in both meter and rhythm, however. It is in triple time, with a two-beat anacrusis and a dotted crotchet regularly occurring on the second beat of the bar. The key is F major. The C section modulates to D minor (the relative minor) for the first phrase and returns to F major for the second phrase. Hemiolas (grouping the six beats of two bars of three (3+3) as 2+2+2) are used frequently in the music: at the end of the B section phrase, and in both phrases of the C section.

The musical structure of six sections correlates with the rhetorical structure described earlier plus coda, the dance also follows this pattern. The first AA section is the Exordium, the BB section is the Narration, and the CC section is the Confutation. Repeating the music from the beginning, the second AA section is the Confirmation, the following BB section is the Peroration and the final CC section is the Coda. At first glance one might think this musical structure of six distinct sections might have influenced Isaac’s addition of an extra section to the rhetorical structure. But bearing in mind that the CC section is equal in length to AA and BB combined, various alternative groupings could have been applied to fit either a three-, four- or five-section rhetorical structure. Isaac himself groups differently the six segments of the minuet that follows.

The minuet’s musical structure in this notation is AA BB BB AA BB BB. A and B are each eight (music) bars long. While one might expect another six-section dance, Isaac groups them differently to produce a dance in four sections: AA is the Exordium, BB the

\(^9\) This structure is also the same as *Chicona* by Lambranzi (published 1716), although with different numbers of bars in each section.
\(^10\) This point will be discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.
Narration, the next BB+AA+BB form the Confirmation, and the final BB is the Peroration.

The Confirmation creates instability by placing six-bar dance phrases against eight-bar musical phrases. The Peroration returns to match the dance and musical phrases, restoring a sense of stability between the dance and the music.

In this work the relationship of music to the dance is experienced at the structural level and the phrase level. It is also demonstrated at the level of the individual bar. As well as the one mentioned in the dance analysis of Isaac’s work, several other hemiolas occur in the music. Although Isaac does not match them with a hemiola in the dance steps, he does respond to them, either pairing them with a clear triple-time beat, or alternatively placing strong steps and movements against the weak beats of the hemiola.

A Chacone by Mr Isaac evokes in us a sense of journeying. While the danced chaconne may not fully resolve itself, the minuet continues on and carries us further from the beginning of the dance.

Musically the repetitiveness of sections would be relieved by variations from the musicians. While not amounting to variation form as such, techniques of variations and varying instrumentation would help maintain interest. The journeying movement of the dance, combined with the repetition of the music, would perhaps give the audience a sense of moving forward while maintaining a link to their origins.

Chaconne de Mr Feuillet

The Italian entrée of L’Europe galante depicts Olimpia and Octavio at a masked ball. Before the ball Octavio has complained of Olimpia’s seeming lack of affection for him. At the ball Olimpia accepts a dance from a masked stranger and is consequently in fear of making Octavio jealous. After the dance the masked man leaves the room and Octavio follows him, much to Olimpia’s consternation. Octavio then returns, pretending to have dealt to the stranger, causing Olimpia great distress. Octavio, having succeeded in tricking Olimpia, confesses and asks her forgiveness.
Campra chose to include not just one but a pair of chaconnes, both in rondo form, in the Italian entrée of this *opéra-ballet*.\(^{11}\) It was not uncommon for dances in the seventeenth century to come in pairs: one usually in a major key and the other in the minor (here D major and D minor), with a return to the first after the end of the second. Neither of these two chaconnes indicates a repeat; either it was assumed, or, because of their combined length, a repeat was not intended.\(^{12}\) Both chaconnes are rondo form—A B A C A. What is more, both chaconnes are in two halves, the first half danced and the second sung with chorus and soloist alternating.

The lack of dotted rhythms is surprising in this chaconne. Instead there is a fairly consistent crotchet/quarter-note pulse, which is possibly dictated by the text of the sung passages.

It is also the sung text that indicates the mood of the music and most probably the dance as well. The text ranks happiness and surrendering to one’s heart’s desire higher than wisdom. Though the lyrics are in French, this song echoes the carefree character of the Spanish *chacona*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ne préférez jamais la sagesse aux plaisirs;} \\
\text{Il vaut bien mieux être heureux, qu’être sage.}^{13}
\end{align*}
\]

The song reflects Octavio’s thoughts of Olimpia and her fickleness. This is in strong contrast to the preceding *Air Italien*, which encourages fidelity and warns of the dangers of a jealous heart.

Turning now to the music Feuillet used for his dance notation, the instrumental passage’s five-part rondo form fits neatly with the five-part rhetorical structure. With the A section in D major, the B section moves to the relative minor (B minor) and then to the dominant major (A major). The C section moves to the subdominant major (G major) and then the subdominant minor (E minor) before returning to the original key (D major). The C section, furthermore, consists of a hemiola as it cadences in G major. This is the only hemiola that occurs in this chaconne.

\(^{11}\) This association of the chaconne with both Italy and dancing, which also appears in Lully’s *Ballet des Nations*, is interesting. It further suggests the existence of a dance chaconne of some form in Italy, despite the lack of documentation (see p. 47).

\(^{12}\) Chaconnes in variation form would more typically be one continuous movement, possibly with a minor section in the middle, or major section if the original key was the minor, although chaconnes characteristically start in the major key.

\(^{13}\) “Never prefer wisdom over pleasure; it is much better to be happy than to be wise.”
Table 6: Chaconne de Mr Feuillet
Music: André Campra
Dance: Raoul-Auger Feuillet

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\(^1\) = hemiola
The most stable passage is the A section, which consists of two four-bar phrases repeated, both in the tonic key. The A section is used for the beginning, middle and the end of the dance—the Exordium, Confutation, and the Peroration.

For the B section the four different four-bar phrases are played. This is echoed in the dance notation, with two eight-bar dance phrases repeated symmetrically.

The middle A section, corresponding with the Confutation of the dance, is an interesting juxtaposition. The music is at its most stable, having returned to the original key and melody, whereas the dance is at its most active and climactic point.

The C section which follows includes a hemiola that is matched in the dance. Although the dance repeats this phrase symmetrically, the musical hemiola does not recur. Instead the second danced hemiola is paired with a tonal modulation to the dominant minor, which is the furthest the music gets from its original key, swapping rhythmic interest for harmonic interest.

While this is a simple dance compared with the other chaconne notations, it nevertheless demonstrates a close interrelationship of dance steps and music. The dance steps and the music match and support each other in the development of the work. Although little interest is created through contrast and tension between the music and dance, they both still portray a range of moods and emotions typical of the dance-type.

**Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme**

Lully uses the chaconne in his 1683 opera as part of the celebratory divertissement that ends act two. These celebrations follow the announcement of Mérops, king of Egypt, promising his daughter’s hand to Phaéton and declaring Phaéton to be his successor. Mérops’ daughter, however, desires another. Although this chaconne is shorter and less prominently placed than the chaconne in Amadis (1684) it still demonstrates Lully’s skill with this dance-type.
The music is in G major and 152 bars long. Typically, variation form is used, with eighteen variations on the eight-bar structure, variations 8 and 16 consisting of an extra four-bar phrase.

Harmonic progressions are those commonly found in chaconnes of this period:\(^{14}\)

![Variation 1](image1)

Ex. 17. The first phrase of variation 1 from the *Phaeton* chaconne demonstrating the typical chaconne chord progression.

or

![Variation 2](image2)

Ex. 18. This first phrase of variation 2 from the *Phaeton* chaconne demonstrates the typical descending bass line of the chaconne, and also indicates the suggestion of D major with the secondary dominant chord II\(_7^c\)\(\rightarrow\)V, which in D major would be the perfect cadence of V\(_7\)\(\rightarrow\)I.

While the music includes brief transitions into related keys it remains predominantly in G major throughout. References are made to the two relative major keys through the use of secondary dominants,\(^{15}\) maintaining the descending bass line. For D major, the relative dominant key, the C is sharpened in the A\(_7\) chord (II\(_7^c\)) to provide a perfect cadence onto a D major chord (V). This occurs in bars 10 and 11 of the above example, highlighted with a square bracket.

---

\(^{14}\) Keyboard reductions prepared from the *Phaeton* vocal score, ed. Arthur Pougin, and full score, ed. Mario Bolognani.

\(^{15}\) A secondary dominant is where a note of the musical scale is raised or lowered a semitone to create a perfect cadence (the chord progression V\(\rightarrow\)I) in a related key. Thus a change of key is suggested although a perfect cadence in the original key quickly follows. The most common secondary dominant is for the relative dominant key II\(^c\)\(\rightarrow\)V, as described in the first example.
Similarly the F-sharp is flattened, to create a perfect cadence from the G\(^7\) chord (I\(^7\)) to the C major chord (IV), and thus suggesting C major, the relative subdominant key.

Ex. 19. The first phrase of variation 5 from the *Phaeton* chaconne suggests the key of C major. The chords I\(^d7\)—I\(^vib\) imply the perfect cadence of V\(^d7\)—I\(^b\) in C major.

These transitions to related keys result in harmonic instability, to which the dance can react. Further harmonic instability is created by the F\(^\#\) being preceded F\(^b\), giving a chromatic descending bass line (G–F\(^b\)–F\(^\#\)–E). These are particularly demonstrated in the Confirmation, which is described below.

Ex. 20. The first phrase of variation 8 from the *Phaeton* chaconne demonstrating the chromatic bassline.

In keeping with the divisions indicated in the analysis of the dance, the music also fits into the five-part rhetorical structure.

Having established tonality and structure in the Exordium, the Narration follows with references to C major and concludes with a hemiola in bars 46–47. This is where the dance structure starts to interact most markedly with the music. The musical hemiola is both preceded and followed by hemiolas in the dance (bars 42–43 and 51–52. See Ex. 11 on p. 70).
### Table 7: *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme*

Music: Jean-Baptiste Lully  
Dance: Louis Guillaume Pécour

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\* Parentheses indicate an implied key change through the use of a secondary dominant chord.  \textsuperscript{3} = hemiola
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Ex. 21. Variations 6, 7 and the first phrase of 8 from *Phaeton* chaconne, illustrating the alternation of hemiolas between the dance, indicated above the staff, and the music, indicated below the staff.

The Confutation continues with another hemiola (bars 54–55), which is again echoed by the dance (bars 59–60). Here Pécor offsets the regular four- and eight-bar phrases of the music with five-bar dance phrases. Variations 6, 7, 9 and 10 feature running quaver patterns in either the bass or the melody lines. The first climax of the dance occurs in the fast running quaver pattern of variation 10.

Next there follow three alternating periods of *Trio* and *Tous*, which lead into and continue through the Confirmation. Here the music contrasts greatly with its opening, both in harmony, with the strong leaning towards C major, and in timbre with the alternating *Tous* and *Trio* sections. It is here, after the dance’s first climax, that the dance achieves stability through repeated four-bar phrases for variations 12 and 13. The dance’s second climax occurs in the third *Trio*, after the music has reached a climax and then returned to G major. While the turbulence of the constant turning and changes of directions of the first climax is matched with busy quaver melody runs favouring C major, this second climax is coupled with contrasting music. The hopped turns (all anticlockwise) and leg gestures conveying confidence and bravura are supported quietly, with the final trio section firmly in G major.

---

16 *Trio* = a section for three instrumentalists within the orchestra. *Tous* or *Tutti* = the whole ensemble playing.
Ex. 22. Variations 10–15 from Phaeton chaconne, which contain the Trio and Tous passages of the music and the climaxes of both the dance and the music.

The Peroration starts with variation 16 of three four-bar phrases. This variation contains the only true modulation, which is to D major, and returns to G major for the third phrase. Pécour, maintaining an interaction with the musical structure, adds contrast by coupling the three four-bar musical phrases with two six-bar dance phrases firmly punctuated by steps into fifth position. The dance and music cadence (almost) together with a hemiola
in the music to heighten the musical cadence and firmly re-establish the G major tonality.¹⁷

Ex. 23. Variation 16 from *Phaeton* Chaconne. The different phrases of the dance and music are indicated, and the modulation to D major shown.

Having resolved the tension in and between music and dance in this variation, the two following variations of the Peroration bring a grand and harmonious finish to the dance and music.

Variation form demonstrates a progression by means of development of the material, whereas rondo form is constantly referring back to its main theme. The variations are rooted in a foundation of bass and harmony, which allows travel far from the music’s point of origin while still maintaining its identity, unlike the rondo which is always returning home. I would argue that, while both rondo form and the free forms used in the later eighteenth century still express a range of moods and temperaments, it is variation form that most strongly suggests a journey or progression, as demonstrated here, and therefore why the chaconne has most strongly been associated with variation form throughout its history and remains so today.

¹⁷ The anacrusis typical of chaconne music, in contrast to the chaconne dance’s propensity to start on the first beat of the bar, and dance all counts of the final bar as in bar 136, is yet another example of interplay that I only briefly touch on. Furthermore, while the difference between Baroque chaconne music having an anacrusis and Baroque passacaille music starting on the strong beat of the bar is a well-established fact, this distinction becomes more apparent when considering the dance also. The overlapping phrases of dance and music in the chaconne (when they are of equal length) compared with the more equally matching phrases of the passacaille makes these different aspects of the two dance/music types considerably more pronounced.
I prepared this dance to perform at a Baroque Dance Workshop held at Stanford University in 2001. Although I performed it several times afterwards, now, having analysed the music and dance relationship, I am aware of various nuances in the interplay that I missed when I treated it only as a memorizing exercise. Wendy Hilton, the director of the workshop, asked if I could perform the dance without thinking about the steps. I understood in part what she was asking, but am even more aware of her meaning now. Instead of thinking of it as a marathon of (seemingly) endless steps, one should present the steps within a context, more as a soliloquy, thus reflecting the dance’s rhetorical structure.

*Chacone of Amadis perform’d by Mr Dupré*

The chaconne in Lully’s opera *Amadis* is a grand finale of magnificent proportions. It is based on a medieval tale, in which the knight Amadis, having proven his faithfulness to Oriane, is permitted to pass through the “l’arc des loyaux amants” (arch of loyal lovers) and in so doing sets free a host of heroes and heroines from an enchantment that could be lifted only by the most faithful of lovers.

The instrumental chaconne is a celebration of joy by these heroes and heroines, Amadis having just passed through the arch. The music segues into a grand chorus of heroes and heroines, in the same style as the chaconne. Other groups and soloists continue to sing the chaconne, including Amadis and Oriane’s confidants, Florestan and Corisande, who pledge their love for each other despite being prevented from passing through the arch. The grand chorus is repeated and then there is a return to the instrumental chaconne, finishing with the grand chorus once again.

---

18 This was a change from the previous opera subjects, which were based on mythology. The subject of *Amadis* was apparently Louis XIV’s choice (Rosow, 1992. 1: 103.).


20 The “instrumental chaconne” would have accompanied the dancing. I have avoided referring to it as the “danced chaconne”, however, both to avoid confusion when referring to L’Abbé’s dance notation which is only to the middle/C minor section, and also to avoid any implication that the sung chaconne did not or could not include dancing.

21 This chorus and following solos and duets from now on are referred to as the “sung chaconne”. The “entire chaconne” refers to both the instrumental and sung chaconnes.
The reference to “Les Héros et Héroïnes” implies a large group dance. It is also possible, however, that segments of the instrumental chaconne were danced by smaller groups, couples or solo dancers, in a similar manner to the sung chaconne of solos and various groupings. It is equally possible that the dancing continued during the sung chaconne, although in a less energetic or prominent manner.

The entire chaconne’s suggestion of a journey, which parallels the events depicted in this opera, is well utilized here. While the chaconne reflects the journey-like aspect of the entire plot, it also touches on the adventures of each hero and heroine that resulted in becoming enchanted. It also projects forward, with the two couples—Amadis and Oriane, and Florestan and Corisande—pledging themselves to one another. The range of moods and emotions of all these characters is captured here, showing their immediate plight and predicting or suggesting a bright future for them all.

The entire chaconne is in variation form, consisting of 35 variations for the instrumental chaconne and 26 variations for sung chaconne. To perform the chaconne as instructed—repeating the instrumental chaconne, both preceded and followed by the Grand Chœur—brings the total number of variations to be performed to 102. With all of these repeats,

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22 The subtitle for the chaconne is “Les Héros et Héroïnes témoignent leur joie par des danses mêlées de chants” (The heroes and heroines testify to their joy with dances mixed with songs).
this chaconne would last about twenty minutes, and is a fine example of the majestic spectacle that the dance and music of the chaconne provided.

The instrumental chaconne is in the key of C major with a middle section in C minor. The following sung chaconne similarly has a C major section and a C minor section.

All variations consist of two four-bar phrases, except for three that consist of three four-bar phrases (variations 9, 19 and 40), and two variations that consist of two eight-bar phrases (variations 33 and 47).

Although the dance notation analysed previously is only for a portion of this chaconne music, the following analysis demonstrates a musical structure with passages of harmonic stability and instability, to which a dance structure could respond. Having outlined the entire chaconne’s structure, I will focus on the C minor instrumental chaconne section and how L’Abbé engaged with this structure.

Variations generally consist of bass lines in a descending or ascending pattern. The harmonic progressions are typical of the chaconne, using variations of $I\rightarrow V_b\rightarrow vi\rightarrow V$, as illustrated below.

For the major section, descending:

Ex. 24. Variation 1 from *Amadis* chaconne. The typical chaconne chord progression is indicated.

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23 This estimate is based on recordings of the instrumental chaconne. These recordings, however, are too fast for me to dance L’Abbé’s notated dance to the minor section. To slow down the minor section would also mean some slowing down of the other sections, making this estimate quite conservative. N.B. Although these recordings are too fast (for me) to dance L’Abbé’s notation, that does not mean they are being played too fast for a chaconne.

24 Keyboard reductions prepared from the *Amadis* score, ed. Henry Prunières, and *Chaconne from Amadis* full score, ed. Mario Bolognani.
Ascending:

Ex. 25. Variation 5 from *Amadis* chaconne illustrating the ascending bass line and the corresponding chord progression.

Key changes to G major (the relative dominant) and F major (the relative subdominant) can be implied in these descending and ascending progressions, with a Perfect cadence (V–I) in the new key before returning to C major for the final cadence (most often between the final chord of the phrase (V) and the first chord of the following phrase (I):

Descending, suggesting G major:

Ex. 26. Variation 2 from *Amadis* chaconne. The secondary dominant that suggests G major is outlined with the square bracket.

Descending suggesting F major:

Ex. 27. Variation 4 from *Amadis* chaconne, with F major implied.
Ascending suggesting F major:

Ex. 28. The third phrase of variation 8 from *Amadis* chaconne. The brief modulation to F major is shown.

Only variation 7 remains in the modulated key (G major) for the entire eight bars.

Ex. 29. Variation 7 from *Amadis* chaconne, indicating the modulation to G major.

Interestingly, the final chord progression of the instrumental chaconne implies both F and G major, but neither resolves (the B in the bass is flattened to lead to F major but is immediately followed by an F# to lead to G major, which is followed with a C major chord).

Equally the minor section has similar chord progressions over descending and ascending bass:

Descending:

Ex. 30. Variation 12 from *Amadis* chaconne—the second variation of the minor section. The characteristic descending chaconne bass line is shown.
or:

Ex. 31. Variation 11 from *Amadis* chaconne—the first variation from the minor section. An adaptation of the characteristic bass line is used.

Ex. 32. Variation 13 from *Amadis* chaconne—the third variation of the minor section. Another adaptation creating a chromatic descending bass line.

Ascending:

Ex. 33. Variation 17 from *Amadis* chaconne—the seventh variation of the minor section. This variation uses an ascending bass line, similar to variation 5 in Ex 20.

In the minor section Lully uses the raised sixth and seventh notes of the ascending melodic minor to create harmonic colour rather than modulations. His most transitional passages are the first and second trio passages, which indicate the beginning and ending of the dance’s Confutation. In the first *Trio* Lully uses a descending sequence of suggesting perfect cadences (V–I) and the second *Trio* a descending sequence of suggested plagal cadences (IV–I). This second *Trio* accompanies the dance’s climax.

25 The harmonic progressions of each phrase in both of these variations are adapted so the three repeats of the sequence are sometimes only implied rather than perfect or plagal cadences in the truest sense.
Table 8: *Chacone of Amadis*
Music: Jean-Baptiste Lully
Dance: Anthony L’Abbé

**MUSIC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar number*</th>
<th>Tutti I (85)</th>
<th>9 (93)</th>
<th>17 (101)</th>
<th>25 (109)</th>
<th>33 (117)</th>
<th>41 (125)</th>
<th>49 (133)</th>
<th>57 (141)</th>
<th>65 (149)</th>
<th>77 (161)</th>
<th>85 (169)</th>
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<td>Trio I</td>
<td>Tutti II</td>
<td>Trio II</td>
<td>Tutti III</td>
<td>Trio III</td>
<td>Tutti IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variation*</td>
<td>1 (11)</td>
<td>2 (12)</td>
<td>3 (13)</td>
<td>4 (14)</td>
<td>5 (15)</td>
<td>6 (16)</td>
<td>7 (17)</td>
<td>8 (18)</td>
<td>9 (19)</td>
<td>10 (20)</td>
<td>11 (21)</td>
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<td>aa</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aa’</td>
<td>aa’</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>aa’</td>
<td>aa’</td>
<td>aa’</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase length</td>
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<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4+4</td>
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<td>4+4</td>
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**DANCE**

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<th>28</th>
<th>41</th>
<th>49</th>
<th>57</th>
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<th>77</th>
<th>85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poetic action</td>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>Intrigue</td>
<td>Denouement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Exordium</td>
<td>Narration</td>
<td>Confutation</td>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>Peroration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase length</td>
<td>4+5</td>
<td>5+4</td>
<td>5+4</td>
<td>4+5+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>4+4</td>
<td>5+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notation page no. (no. of bars)</td>
<td>1 (16 bars)</td>
<td>2 (11 bars)</td>
<td>3 (13 bars)</td>
<td>4 (8 bars)</td>
<td>5 (12 bars)</td>
<td>6 (12 bars)</td>
<td>7 (9 bars)</td>
<td>8 (11 bars*)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Bar and variation numbers are for L’Abbé’s dance notation. Bar and variation numbers for the entire chaconne are shown in parentheses.
* While the key remains primarily in C minor transient passages in the first and second trio sections occur as indicated with ——.
* A bar line is missing from the dance notation, giving only 10 bars, which is an error.
It is interesting that the turbulent jumping and turning of the dance’s climax should be accompanied by quiet music, just as for the second dance climax in *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un nomme*. Here, however, while dynamically the music and dance are opposed, they are unified harmonically, both being most distant from their original source. In the dance’s Confirmation that follows, they switch roles, the dance becoming more reflective and the music returning to *Tutti*. They still remain unified harmonically, however, as the music returns to C minor and the dance reflects this balance in the use of step symmetry.

Having performed this dance I find this passage a great challenge. Being used to the modern convention of matching the dance climax dynamically, to execute these steps strongly with quiet yet otherwise supportive music requires a courage and independence with which I am unfamiliar. This passage for me highlights the complex and sophisticated interrelationship between dance and music of the Baroque period, and the equality of status of the two art forms.

The Grotesque dances

**Lambranzi**

Little is known of Lambranzi and the origins of his work, other than what he himself says in his foreword:

> I can assure the reader that I have myself performed these dances in the most distinguished theatres of Germany, Italy and France, and that nearly all are my own compositions.\(^{26}\)

Lambranzi claims to have written most of the tunes used in the illustrations. The music for these dances is mostly titled by the characters’ names, although a few are identified by dance-type. Harlequin’s tune is labelled *Chicona* (sic). Other dance types that are named are a *Loure* for Scaramouche, a _Rigaudon_ for Harlequin to play tricks on a blind man, and a _Bolongnesa_ (sic) for the doctor.

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31. Harlequin and his wife step forward as shown above. Now he runs round her with his usual movements and then she round him. Afterwards Harlequin goes to the extreme back of the stage and the woman to the extreme front, where she dances alone facing the audience with her back to the man. Then Harlequin beckons to the woman as if intimating they should go off, but she turns round and shows that she has no intention of doing so. Harlequin runs towards his wife and she to where he formerly stood. Afterwards Harlequin dances alone as she did, and now she beckons to him in the same manner. Finally they approach each other, hold each other’s left hand, draw their swords or bats, strike each other on the shoulder and exit.

Ill. 26. Plate 31 from Part I of New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing, with Derra de Moroda’s translation, showing Harlequin dancing the Chicona with his wife.

Lambranzi’s Chicona does not fit readily with the musical definition of a chaconne. It is not in variation form, instead consisting of three phrases of different lengths (thirteen, six, and nine bars respectively), each of which is repeated. It is in triple time, but it does not
start with a two-beat anacrusis, it does not feature the characteristic chaconne rhythm and only the third phrase uses the typical chaconne chord progression.

While it is not a chaconne by a strict definition and nor does it demonstrate great mastery in composition, we must not dismiss it too quickly. It has the same structure as the music to *A Chacone by Mr Isaac*, and similarities with Lully’s *Chaconne des scaramouches, trivelins et arlequins*, which was used for three of the four Harlequin chaconnes. Lully’s chaconne, while harmonically and rhythmically fitting the chaconne definition, also takes liberties by not starting with an anacrusis, has a four-section structure of differing bar lengths (ten, twelve, thirteen and eight bars) and concludes with a repeat of the second section.

Lambranzi’s and Lully’s chaconnes are both in triple time and in the key of G major with a transition to D major (in the middle phrase for Lambranzi and the third phrase for Lully). The most striking similarity is in the two melodic motifs of Lambranzi’s third phrase, which is similar to Lully’s second phrase.

This similarity of melodic motif could either have been common in the earliest of Spanish chaconas, which did not transfer into the court chaconne but was preserved in the commedia dell’arte companies; or it may have been that Lully’s tune was adopted and adapted by travelling musicians and players, and this is how Lambranzi knew it some 45 years after it had been composed.

---

27 That is |♩♩♩♩|
Ex. 35. Chaconne des scaramouches, trivelins et arlequins by Lully. The similarity of the B section—particularly bars 12–14 (and its repeat, bars 45–47) with the motive in the last line of Lambranzi’s Chicona.

Chaconne des scaramouches, trivelins et arlequins

Like the one in Campra’s L’Europe galante, the chaconne in Lully’s Ballet des Nations appears in the Italian entrée. The scene opens with a woman singing of her virtue being overcome by passion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ah! Che resiste puoco</th>
<th>Ah! What heart of ice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cor di gelo a stral di fuoco!</td>
<td>Can resist such fiercely burning flames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma si caro è’l mio tormento,</td>
<td>Ah, how sweet are these torments,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolce è si la piaga mia,</td>
<td>Sweetly do they plague me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’il penare è’l mio contento,</td>
<td>So that suffering makes me content.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’l sanarmi è tirannia.</td>
<td>‘Twould be tyranny to cure me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah! che più giova e piace,</td>
<td>Ah, how much better one feels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quanto amor è più vivace!</td>
<td>When one’s heart is alive with love!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Scaramouches, Trivelins and Arlequins enter and dance their chaconne. A man then joins the woman and they sing a duet, in the style of a chaconne, with the chorus:

---

While this chaconne demonstrates Lully using variation form (albeit very loosely), which he would develop further in his operas, the text also reflects the carefree spirit of the chacona in Spain. Presumably this is in keeping with the association with commedia dell’arte and the version of the chaconne that they brought to France.

The two extant notations discussed in chapter three (namely Chaconne D’arlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne and Entrée d’arlequin) are solos, so it is unlikely that they would have been used in the ballet de cour that concludes Le bourgeois gentilhomme. Nevertheless, to see these two notations intentionally mis-matching a clearly defined five-part structure in the music with a four-part dance structure and then be left with a section spare is intriguing. The spectacle of Harlequin paying so little attention to the craft of relating the dance to the music stresses by default the significance of that relationship in the noble style of dance.

A further act of ironic anti-genius on Harlequin’s part is the use of hemiolas to create rhythmic tension and interest. These two dance compositions stretch the usual two-bar cross-rhythm to a four-count rhythm repeated three times over four bars, and even in one dance a seven-count rhythm repeated twice over five bars. Both dances use this pattern for the climax, and inevitably create an impression of being out of time with the music. Again, Harlequin illustrates the importance of creating and maintaining a harmony between music and dance during the Baroque period by seeming to either ignore or be ignorant of such fundamental principles.

The Music and Dance Recomposed

Many authors have described either the music or the dance aspects of the chaconne but little comment has been made about how the two art forms interrelate, as the preceding analyses demonstrate.

29 Four sections and a repeat of the second section.
The Ballroom Chaconnes

Of the three extant noble dance notations expressly for the ballroom there is much that could be said, but the aspect relevant to this thesis is that these three chaconnes are defined more by character than by structure.

Only one is in variation form, yet all three exemplify the chaconne’s character: they are moderate in tempo, in triple time, and with an emphasis on the second beat of the bar—both in the music, with the chaconne rhythm \( \frac{\text{q} \text{q} \text{q}}{} \), and in the dance. All three of these dances are of English origin. Further research would be required to determine whether this emphasis on character rather than structure was a ballroom and/or an English trait.

These three chaconnes—two by Isaac and one by L’Abbé—are all dedicated to female royalty of England, which is in keeping with the dance type’s royal associations in France. While not as difficult or virtuosic as the theatrical chaconnes, these three ballroom dances still require a reasonable level of proficiency from the performer. Issac’s female solo *Chacone*—more virtuosic than the other two dances for a couple—demonstrates the skill required of the dancer to express the dance’s phrasing and structure, independently and in relation to (and even as a consequence of) the music and musical structure. It is essentially the dancer who adds the interest to the many potentially monotonous repeats of the five simple four- and eight-bar musical phrases.

The Noble Theatrical Chaconnes

Turning now to the theatrical chaconnes in the noble style, which provided the high point to many French Baroque operas, these could be a conundrum for a director of modern productions. How could a single dance and chorus maintain the audience’s interest for twenty minutes or more? The answer the director seeks is in the complexity of the dance, or at least the spectacle in which dance plays a prominent role. While expectations of today’s audience have changed considerably from those of the seventeenth and

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30 L’Abbé’s *Princess Ann’s Chacone*, music by John Ernest Galliard, has five variations.

31 More than the three mentioned examples would be necessary to be conclusive. As these are the only chaconne ballroom dance notations, further examples would need to be “music-only” chaconnes written expressly for the ballroom, which would not strongly relate to the relationship of dance and music, and therefore not considered relevant to this study. I have observed, however, that Purcell’s chaconnes, which were clearly structured in variation form—both in a theatrical and chamber music context—would suggest that this is more likely to be a ballroom characteristic than an English one, if indeed it is either.
eighteenth centuries, along with the whole theatrical experience, the extant dance notations can solve the mystery.

The audience’s interest is maintained not only through an equal emphasis on the visual and the aural aspects, but particularly by ensuring that the visual and aural aspects are in harmony. The dance and musical structures generally are crafted to fit together so that the audience’s interest is sustained. That these Baroque dances have been created with such attention to the detail of the music yet reflecting a rhetorical structure of their own, demonstrates the interrelationship of dance and music on a large scale. One presumes this is how these chaconnes sustained the interest, at the end of a five-hour-long opera, of an educated audience aware of the structures and conventions involved.32

It is interesting to note that both the dances by Pécour and L’Abbé climax to the quiet musical trio section. For the music to provide space for the dance to make its point demonstrates independence and respect between the two arts, so that the two structures remain complementary, neither being relegated to an auxiliary role.33

Within these structures further examples of complementary and contrasting periods and phrases are to be found. The irregular phrases of the dances of Isaac, Pécour and L’Abbé fall against the regular eight-bar structure of the music, creating an extra dimension of interest, thus increasing the complexity of the “chaconne package”. The musicians should not feel restricted by the music’s regular eight-bar phrasing, because the accompanying dance’s counter-phrasing provides added interest.34

Within the corresponding phrase structures, further interest can be found in the interplay between music and dance rhythms; for example the musical hemiolas might be anticipated, echoed, matched, or even counteracted by the dance. Pécour places hemiolas in the dance, not simultaneously with those in the music but either just before or just after them.

---

32 This development of music and dance together also happens to a certain extent in the ballroom dances, although this is less obvious, given that the three ballroom chaconnes are coupled with another dance.
33 It could equally be said that one’s expectation for a musical climax to be loud and using all forces available is another example of having lost the subtleties and variety that Baroque music offers us.
34 One should bear in mind that the predominance of a four- and eight-bar phrase structure that we are so familiar with today was not so strongly the case in the Baroque period.
Responding to the hemiola is not specific to the theatrical dances. Isaac in his ballroom Chacone on one occasion responds to one hemiola with pas tombé—the disruption in the musical meter paired with a disruption in the flow of the dance. And at other times he has the dance continue a strong triple-time rhythm as the music quickens to the duple-time feel of the hemiola. Feuillet, on the other hand, matches the hemiola in the music with one in the dance. Such devices demonstrate the interrelationship of dance and music at the bar level; that is, on a small scale.

**The Grotesque Theatrical Chaconnes**

The grotesque dances for Harlequin are equally interesting in the way they interact with the music in a similar way to both the noble dances. Still more intriguing are the points where they intentionally do not interact, at least not in an expected way, which tells of the importance of this interaction in the noble-style dances, as outlined in the discussion of these dances in the previous chapter. A convention has to be very securely established and valued before it can be effectively parodied or purposely subverted.

Like the noble dance, Harlequin’s also provides counter-rhythms and hemiolas to the music, but taking it to such an extreme that it seems he is out of time with the music. How Harlequin constructs his dances fits within the rhetorical formula, but his example acts as a warning to those who do not pay attention to the musical structure. For Harlequin is left finishing the dance with music to spare, to which he either makes a seemingly impromptu exit or hops around waiting for the music to finish, only to be caught unawares when it does.35

Clearly to appreciate at all either the skill or the comedy of his performance requires an audience that is highly literate in the conventions and boundaries of both the dance and the musical forms—more so perhaps than is needed to enjoy their noble counterparts. So the ways in which Harlequin debases the form and spirit of the noble dance paradoxically sheds light for us on the sophisticated way the noble dance and its music were understood.

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35 As there are notations for the express purpose of recreating a dance, that is a descriptive record (as opposed to the transcripive recording of an existing performance), it is more conclusive that Harlequin intended not to match the music. If we were reliant on video recording or someone’s verbal description (transcripive recording), it would not be clear whether this “mistake” was intentional or unintentional.
Chapter 5

Chaconnes in the Twentieth Century

The danced chaconnes of the early eighteenth-century prominently represent the significant relationship of dance and music, as demonstrated in chapters three and four. This illustrates my statement from the opening chapter, that dance music and dance are integrally related, and that both, therefore, should be examined equally if the full character of either is to be understood.

Fewer and fewer chaconnes were composed from 1750 until 1900, and by the twentieth century the musical chaconne’s obvious association with dance had been lost, as indeed was the case with all Baroque dance-types. This chapter will examine:

• the general absence of a close relationship between music and dance in Baroque musical performances today
• the advantages of an analytical approach to one’s art
• chaconnes since 1800; considering music performance practice and the spirit of the dance, with a case study
• the advantages of an emotional approach to one’s art
• a twentieth-century work that combines the approaches of emotion and analytical thought.

Making a “Song and Dance” of the Chaconne—Baroque Music Performance Practice

The present revival in “authentic” musical performance has brought with it a resurgence of interest in Baroque music generally. Many groups worldwide specialize in the playing of Baroque music on period instruments, with scholarly study of the research into appropriate performance techniques.
One group that has received considerable acclaim is Les Arts Florissants, founded by William Christie, and based in France at the Théâtre de Caen. They have performed and recorded much French Baroque music, including several of the theatrical works of Rameau, such as *Les Boréades*, released on DVD with an accompanying “making-of” documentary, *The Triumph of Love*.¹

In this documentary Christie states that he would prefer to work with and play for a modern production.² The stage director for *Les Boréades*, Robert Carson, says that you can recreate everything historically except the audience. One might infer from these comments that both Christie and Carson believe it is more important for the art to be alive and speak to their current audience than to be historically faithful while leaving the audience cold.

This placing of the audience first, however, seems contrary to Christie’s general approach to musical performance. Les Arts Florissants place a strong emphasis on the reproduction of an authentic sound, on authentic instruments, with authentic instrumental and singing techniques, and seemingly give little consideration to keeping the work accessible to a modern audience. The audience is instead educated to appreciate this “new” interpretation, which is evidenced by Les Florissants’ subsequent international acclaim.³

One might expect that this practice of seeking authenticity and yet maintaining vitality would be desirable in other artistic areas, but generally it remains only an aural consideration, while the visual element is left entirely to the director’s imagination with no regard for authenticity expected.⁴

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² Christie says, “I personally am more at home with someone like [stage director] Robert Carson than I am with someone who might be traditionally… with wigs and eighteenth-century costumes and what have you.” (*The Triumph of Love*. Dir. Reiner E. Moritz. DVD, Opus Arte, 2003. 10’02”)
³ For these modernized stage productions the musical equivalent would be to play on synthesizers, and with amplified instruments and voices. This would not be an option for groups focussing on authentic performance practices, and possibly not desirable for the modern audience either, who generally have been educated in what is appropriate for musical performance. This is in contrast to their theatrical expectations. This educating of the audience could, in fact, be argued as a type of recreating an historical audience.
⁴ Christie expresses his preference for a modern production, yet in the 1980s he collaborated on other opera productions in France with dances composed in the Baroque style by Francine Lancelot. Some of these performances were mounted in both Paris and Boston, USA, where reviews spoke highly of them. One cannot be sure whether it is because of these productions or in spite of them that Christie in the 1990s expresses his preference for modern productions. One such production was Lully’s *Atys*, performed by the Paris Opera at the Salle Favart in 1987, and repeated at the Brooklyn Academy of Music in 1989. Excerpts of this production, mostly dances, can currently be viewed on YouTube. See bibliography for details.
In *Les Boréades*, choreographer Edouard Lock pairs the intricate and detailed French Baroque music with his typically busy and frenetic choreographic style. While the music and choreography may seem similar on first viewing, the busyness seen in the dance and heard in the music have been arrived at by quite different paths: the music has a solid foundation which is enhanced through ornamentation; the dance, on the other hand, consists of fundamental movements executed at a very rapid pace. The result is that the frenetic dance movements appear as further ornamentation to the music, which thereby makes the music-and-dance structure top heavy.

Being asked to watch with a modern eye and listen with an historical ear in recent productions of Baroque opera incorporating modern dance (such as *Les Boréades*) can be quite jarring, due to the lack of harmony between the visual and the aural components. Other recordings of modern Baroque opera productions also demonstrate this simultaneous yet independent presentation of dance and music with little inter-relationship between the two arts. Director David Pountney’s production of *The Fairy Queen* features dance prominently, but with little attention paid to the music other than general mood. The chaconne in Jurgen Flimm’s *King Arthur* involves the entire cast in triple-time dance-movements, but with little development of the dance to match the music. The chaconne in Laurent Pelly’s *Platée* contains a more structured approach, with consideration of the music but not to the extent it is considered in the dances analysed in chapter three. Balanchine’s ballet *Chaconne*, originally choreographed for a production of *Orphée et Euridice*, similarly pays attention to the music, and yet a feeling of two arts presented concurrently predominates, rather than the strong interplay present in Baroque dance.

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5 This is a trend reflected in many, although not all, modern dance choreographies, and not peculiar to Baroque opera productions. There are, however, other twentieth-century choreographers, such as Doris Humphrey, José Limón, Mark Morris, and Douglas Wright, who have created dances to Baroque music, reflecting and responding harmoniously to the structure and character of the music with their choreographies.


An audience educated towards a more authentic sound should now be educated with a more authentic spectacle as well. A performance of any art, music, dance or drama—be it modern, eighteenth century, or medieval—depends on the performers and production to give the art life, vitality and meaning for the audience. Age alone does not render art meaningless or irrelevant to a modern audience. If it did there would be no demand for the plays of Shakespeare, or the music of Handel or Mozart. Equally, dances—be they modern, ballet, or Baroque—need not be appreciated only for their historical interest, but can speak as relevantly to a modern audience as they did when the dance compositions were premiered.

The “Two Solitudes” Situation

This asymmetry between attention to the music and the dance in contemporary Baroque performance echoes the general regard for the chaconne since the 1800s. Alexander Silbiger says that the resurgence of chaconnes and passacaglias in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries amongst composers was largely influenced by the growing interest in the works of the German musical masters, Bach and Handel in particular, who in turn were influenced by Buxtehude and Pachelbel. Rather than using the French and Italian harmonic structure, Buxtehude and Pachelbel created their own bass, which featured as an ostinato, and added dense contrapuntal passages.10

Interest in the chaconne in the nineteenth century was mostly among German composers or composers based in Germany, and their interest in the chaconne came mostly from studying Bach or Handel. Brahms, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Schumann, and Busoni (born in Italy but active chiefly in Austria and Germany) all made arrangements of Bach’s chaconne for solo violin. Liszt arranged the sarabande and chaconne from Almira by Handel. Possibly the most significant chaconne to be written in the nineteenth century was the final movement of Brahms’ fourth symphony,11 which confirmed the trend for the chaconne to exist in the purely musical form it would have in the twentieth century.12

As the chaconne changed from a work of equal importance in dance and music to a purely musical form, so a similar shift occurred for the performing artist. The expectation

11 This movement is not identified as a chaconne in the score and could equally be regarded as a passacaglia. It is described as a chaconne, however, by Cantrell (1971).
12 Choreographed by Leonide Massine as the symphonic ballet Choreartium (1933).
of the Baroque artist was that he or she would be equally learned in both music and
dance, as shown in chapter two, through Lully, Beauchamp and others. On the contrary,
today’s professional artist is encouraged if not required to specialize in one or the other,
resulting in a lack of common ground between the two arts. With these two solitudes,
artists consequently lack understanding of each other’s art. This is evident in the opera
productions mentioned earlier in this chapter, in production values as well as
practitioners’ regard for their own art’s history. Different “languages” for expression in
and discussion of these two arts have arisen, and reinforce their separation. While there
remain common factors between the languages, conversation between dancer and
musician has become stilted.

For the modern performer, this distinction between the two arts starts at the inception,
because of the way each discipline is taught. Dance is largely taught in an oral tradition.
From the first class the teacher instructs the students in steps and demonstrates them, and
this method continues through to the professional level, with the choreographer or
répétiteur showing, explaining and describing to the dancers each of their parts. The
choreography has to be memorized for performance, so a professional dancer’s ability in
this sphere is extraordinary. Not only does the full-time professional dancer have to
remember the different ballets/dances of the company’s season or repertoire, but often
also different roles in each work. Other than the répétiteur or choreologist, few dancers,
teachers or members of the production team learn to read any form of dance notation.
Furthermore, there is rarely any expectation that they should do so.

Conversely, music today is taught primarily with a more theoretical approach. For many
music students, reading and writing music notation is taught simultaneously with the
practical technique of playing their instruments.13 Sitting a music theory exam is a
compulsory requirement for sitting more advanced practical music exams. As a result,
excepting soloists and a few professional chamber groups, most musicians perform with
their music in front of them.14

13 The Suzuki method, of learning music by memory, is a notable exception, and one often criticized by
conventional schools of teaching for this very reason.
14 Opera singers, and singers in staged performances generally, are another exception. This places them
more on a par with dancers and actors than the instrumentalist in this respect. Singing, in fact, is often
taught with less emphasis on theory than is the teaching of musical instruments. This is why “musicians”
(i.e. musical instrument players) sometimes regard singers, like dancers, as less musically skilled.
Having a standardized notation system for music allows musicians to take an intellectual approach to their art by analysis. A musician is more likely to analyse the music (than a dancer is the choreography), identifying the musical structure and harmonic and rhythmic motifs, preparing for the performance in a more methodical way. This analysis brings about better understanding of the work, and therefore a more informed and (potentially) better performance. I would argue it is this intellectual approach that has also allowed musical compositions to become such elaborate works of art that they have been able to leave their original soul-mates, song and dance, to become successful stand-alone works.

The development of polyphony in western music occurred simultaneously with the establishment of a musical notation. It is hard to be sure that one was the result of the other, and it is only speculation that a notation system allowed composers such as Bach to develop this polyphonic texture further in writing fugues; nevertheless, composers since have certainly been able to study Bach’s music because it was notated. They can consequently build on the forms and techniques that he established. Hence we have the virtuoso piano transcriptions of Liszt and Busoni, which include chaconnes and other dances, to be played as musical concert items without dancing.

As a musician I value access to a musical score for learning, preparation and performance. As a dancer I find a dance score equally valuable; but to use it in a similar way as I would a musical score poses several challenges the musician is spared. In preparation for a performance, committing a dance to memory is the dancer’s first task. Once the steps are committed to memory other factors essential to performance, such as applying a learned technique, expression and projection, can then be addressed.  

Another challenge to the dancer is the level of proficiency required to read a dance score. This is generally far greater than that required for the singer or orchestral instrumentalist to read a musical score. To read the notated movement instructions for just one person’s limbs is potentially the equivalent of reading four lines of musical notation simultaneously (not to mention movements for the head, torso, shoulders and hips). The variety of movement available to the human body makes the complexity of a movement-notation score for the dancer comparable to a chamber music score for the musician. To

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15 If working from a score, the dancer is restricted in arm and head movements by holding and reading the score. Similarly if dancers could free up their hands by using a “music stand” this would then restrict their movement around the space. To have a score at hand for consultation and revision is useful (for the few dancers who can read a notation and have the dances they wish to perform notated) but as soon as the dancer is no longer dependent on the notation the “real work” in preparation for the performance can begin.
simultaneously read all the lines of such a composite musical score, and with competence, is a skill that is required of few musicians other than composers and conductors.

Analysis of the work being performed brings about greater understanding of that work, and consequently a sense of ownership when performing it. Such analysis is greatly assisted by a graphic representation of the work, such as notation, although this is not essential. Dancers who persist in learning to read notation will discover this benefit. This analysis, however, is only one half of the preparation for performance.

“Music-Only” Chaconnes of the Twentieth Century

Silbiger, after discussing the German chaconne style, goes on to say, “The busy passage-work and contrapuntal density largely obliterated any dance feeling (except, some might hold, on a cosmic plane), and links with the genres’ [chaconne and passacaglia] origins became increasingly tenuous.” I agree with Silbiger that any dance feeling in twentieth-century chaconnes would rarely be there simply because of the chaconne’s former associations with dance; and I agree that these compositions of the last century would even less likely be specifically intended for dancing. I would be very hesitant to say, however, that the dance feel has been “obliterated” and is no longer present in these modern-day, music-only chaconnes.

Bearing in mind that the chaconne evolved from peasant roots to the form it took in the French court, it stands to reason that the dance would have evolved subsequently, had the developing chaconne continued its association with the dance instead of evolving as a music-only form. To say that the chaconne dance steps as they were last danced could not be danced to this new chaconne music, and that, therefore, music-chaconnes are not danceable, would be very short-sighted.

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16 The distinct difference here from being able to follow a score while listening to a performance or recording is worthy of note.
17 A keyboard musical score, particularly in a contrapuntal style, is another example of similar complexity to a dance score.
Examining the character of both the earliest Spanish peasant chaconnes and the French court chaconnes reveals a commonality: the chaconne as an allegory of journeying, as discussed in previous chapters. Many modern chaconnes reflect the composer’s past, or life-course: Sofia Gubaidulina’s *Chaconne* (1963) reflects her hardship and struggle as an artist under communist rule; Ligeti’s *Hungarian Rock (Chaconne)* (1978) displays the many varied styles influencing the composer, combining the ostinato bass patterns of 1960s popular music and the Baroque chaconne with a melody suggesting, though not wholly accepting, tonality, all in an Eastern European time signature from his cultural heritage. While these musical compositions contain features of the chaconne as defined in chapter one, they also find commonality with the “Dance of Life” which also links it to the carefree, even life-giving Spanish chacona and even with the abstract, technically difficult dances that exemplified French Baroque court life.

It is true, though, that any dance feel within modern-day chaconnes is often closer to the generic dance “footprint” that can be found in a wide range of music than to the dance-specific examples analysed. This “Dance of Life” presence in music consists of a recognisable rhythm (although not necessarily regular) and a stirring of the soul that invites at least the imagining of physical response. Many modern chaconne musical compositions are still music that “moves” their listener.

This emotional stirring is very germane to, but distinct from the approach dancers take to their art. As well as their opposing methods of learning and approaches to performance, this is another instance of musicians and dancers relating to their art in different ways: a sensory response to aural stimulus for musicians; an expression of emotion through bodily movement for dancers.

Musicians are taught to listen to the sound they are producing, and to take music beyond a mechanical process or science to make it an art form. This engagement with the senses could be mistaken for the equivalent of the dancer’s “feel”. But the closer match would be when dancers observe how they “look” rather than “feel”, music being the performance art of sound, and dance being the performance art of vision. This concern

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19 This is in contrast to other Baroque dances, which were more specific to particular moods or feelings.
22 According to the *Gran Chacona* text quoted on p. 46.
23 Stravinsky’s ballet *Le Sacre du printemps* is a case in point.
with “looks” and “sound” only partially expresses the complete dance or music composition.24

A trained dancer will often identify a problem—about their technique or about the choreography—simply by saying, “That doesn’t feel right.” When the dancer talks about how the dance “feels”, he or she can be speaking on either of two levels. The first level is a sensory response, and has to do with technique and safety in performance (and this is a very important level, for the dancer must know if they are at risk of injury or causing another dancer injury). At the next level, the one relevant to my point, the dancer is relating the movement of the choreography to the theme or mood being expressed through the dance. This latter level involves an emotional rather than sensory response, and therefore more fundamental to the expression of themes within the composition than a concern with just looks or sound. It is this level that turns the competent, even “technically brilliant”, dancer into an expressive artist.

Whether a musician moves into the same realm of concern with how the music “feels” is often dependent on the individual music teacher encouraging students beyond a purely aural perspective on music performance. I spoke with two music performers and teachers, Robert Oliver (voice and bass viol) and Richard Mapp (piano). Each mentioned moving around the room to music—for themselves and for their pupils—to help reach beyond the confinement of methodically playing notes to presentation of the whole of the musical message.25

The musician, who is already aware of structure and form, then needs to develop a sense of “feel” to convey the message and emotions that they perceive or identify with in the music. The musician could ask him- or herself, “If I were to move to this music, what would that movement express in terms of feelings, and how can I express that through my playing?”

This act of “feeling” the art—either dance or music, if not both combined—engages emotional responses between the artist and audience through the art. With the performer

24 Dancers’ opportunities for observing their appearance while they perform are very limited. Mirrors in the studio provide some assistance, but only when the dancer can see in them, and video recording can help further but is also limited. Video recording reduces its subject(s) as a small two-dimensional image. While generally all the movement can be captured, perspective and three-dimensionality is dependent on the viewer’s mind to reconvert the image. Many a novice dancer has been discouraged by seeing how “flat” their performance is on video, when it was not necessarily a bad performance.

25 Movement to music is also a standard practice of Suzuki music teachers.
as interpreter of the composer’s and choreographer’s creations (and in turn making an important contribution), the art becomes a message and not just an audio-visual experience. This “feeling” or registering and expressing an emotional response to and through the art is the second part of the performance preparation package.

For musicians, this emotional response to the music they are playing must include the dance feel in dance and dance-like music that they play, regardless of whether they are actually performing with dancers. Very different performances can result from the two approaches of purely intellectual, or intellectual and emotional responses combined, as demonstrated in two recordings of the following work.

**Chaconne (1946)**

_by Douglas Lilburn_

In 1946 Douglas Lilburn wrote a theme and variations for piano, entitled *Chaconne*. It was one of his most virtuosic piano pieces and would elude many pianists with its great variety of constantly changing styles, intricate rhythms and complex chordal passages. The work was finally premiered in London by the New Zealand pianist Peter Cooper, in 1954, and subsequently recorded by him for radio broadcast.

Upon hearing this broadcast tape, Lilburn was delighted to finally have heard his chaconne, and wrote to Cooper expressing his gratitude.

> I felt as though I’d written some sort of testament of faith, hard to explain, but anyway packed an enormous amount of myself into the notes[…] now that I’ve heard you play it I’m convinced that it’s some of the best music I’ve written[…] It’s not easy sometimes to follow your own vision when you’re very much alone with it, as I was when I wrote that work.\(^{26}\)

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Ill. 27. The first page of Douglas Lilburn's *Chaconne*, in the composer's own hand. Published by University of Otago Press, 1972.
Lilburn’s *Chaconne* is in triple time, marked *Largamente ma sempre con moto*. The tempo and metre are the work’s closest connections to the Baroque chaconne dance-type. Also Baroque in style, although not specific to the chaconne, is the use of double-dotted rhythms (*notes inégales*), and trills followed by fast scale passages (variation III).

The form used is a theme with variations. There are thirty-one variations, each sixteen bars in length. The variations are based on melodic and rhythmic motifs from the theme, thus differing from the variations on a harmonic progression used in Baroque chaconnes. Although this is a deviation from past chaconnes, the use of a kind of variation form provides a limited resemblance to the Baroque chaconne.

The thirty-one variations can be divided into three sections. The first (variations I-X) consists of four variations that gradually build, like a mountain stream starting as a trickle, swelling, cascading over rocks and gathering momentum until it rushes into a tranquil pool in the quiet and reflective variation V. Once again it builds and suddenly dies away to another reflective passage (variation IX), only to build again in the following variation.

The middle section (variations XI-XX) has a recurring Scottish-sounding theme (variations XI, XIV and XVII) which gives it the feel of a rondo. The third section (variations XXI-XXXI) starts with a very loud restatement of the first theme. Once again it builds to the vigorous octave passage of variation XXIV and subsides through the next variation into an extended reflective passage reminiscent of the first section. A birdsong-like motif sounds in variation XXVII and a gigue-like rhythm briefly appears in variation XXX. The final variation returns once again to the first theme, slowly building to a bold statement, and then dying away once again.

These attributes of metre, tempo and structure present a similarity with the Baroque chaconne, making Lilburn’s chaconne danceable on a superficial level, yet it is not these features that contribute the most towards the work’s dance-like spirit.

Imagery of New Zealand bush scenes with running streams, waterfalls and birdsong, and the constantly changing moods and scenes of each variation suggests an allegory of life.

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27 Broadly but always with motion.
as a journey. Lilburn presents a dance within the music by capturing his West Coast experiences while walking in the South Island.

Lilburn’s personal character is also reflected within the work, or, in his words, he “packed an enormous amount of myself into the notes.” Quiet reflective passages of solitude in the first section are contrasted with the final section that is strong(minded) and determined, both recognised as characteristics of Lilburn by those who knew him. The middle section has Scottish references, reflecting Lilburn’s heritage.

It is this visual imagery and personal reflection that allude to a dance of a more general kind. This character within the music gives a sense of movement and of a journey, thus implying a dance-like experience.

Two contrasting recordings of Lilburn’s *Chaconne* are the first commercial release by Peter Cooper, and that by Thomas Hecht. They are two quite different interpretations, which demonstrate quite clearly the different results of an emotive and an intellectual approach. Most strikingly, there is a great difference in timings between the two recordings, with Cooper taking 14’05”, and Hecht 24’16”.

While this is not to say that one recording is better than the other, my preference is for Peter Cooper’s performance, because it is more dance-like. Where Hecht presents each variation as a static picture, Cooper plays through the variations continuously, creating a sense of movement from one scene into the next. Cooper’s interpretation expresses to me a sense of journeying, with a tranquil mood of reflection on the past and quiet but determined contemplation of the future.

Hecht’s performance comes from a purely musical perspective, with each variation clearly outlined. At this slower tempo—while there are still suggestions of Lilburn’s dance rhythms—a feeling of transition and movement is much less obvious. Hecht’s performance demonstrates an analytical approach to the learning, preparation and understanding of this work for performance/recording. Cooper’s rendition, however, is

28 I recently visited the west coast of the South Island, and, sixty years on, bush tracks and a few narrow metal side roads still reflect the character Lilburn would have experienced.


31 The score (published 1972, University of Otago Press) suggests the duration to be 18 minutes.
full of spirit and passion, clearly reflecting a performance methodology that not only understands but also “feels” the music.

**Danced Chaconnes of the Twentieth Century**

Little and Jenne discuss dance types as used by Bach, including the chaconne. They conclude that although Bach would have been aware that the chaconne was a dance, he would have had little exposure to the actual dance, and consequently his chaconne does not have a strong dance feel. “Dance as a premise is only a distant memory, however, in the gigantic Ciaccona that concludes the Fourth Sonata for solo violin (BWV 1004).”

Little and Jenne are possibly referring specifically to the dance type of the Baroque chaconne, but the repeated use of Bach’s chaconne by twentieth-century choreographers is proof that the music does indeed have a dance feel. Possibly the best-known of these choreographies is by José Limón (1942), with others by Bill T. Jones (2003), several by William Forsythe (Artifact, 1984; Steptext, 1985; Artifact II, 2002; Artifact Suite, 2006), and Twyla Tharp’s choreography to the D minor Partita which includes this chaconne (Bach Partita, 1984).

That so many twentieth-century choreographers should choose this music is more a matter of twentieth-century dance vocabulary being a better match for the large-scale, expressive character of Bach’s work, than a dance feel or spirit having evolved or appeared in the music. Perhaps I am one of those thinking on the “cosmic plane” that Silbiger referred to, but if the Bach chaconne is without dance feeling it then remains a mystery why so many choreographers today have chosen it to choreograph. These choreographers are responding to a dance feel that has always been present in this music, in composition if not always in performance, and therefore musicians should also acknowledge this dance feel, whether they are playing for dancers or not.

Dancers’ general approach to their art, once technical mastery has been achieved, is from an emotional angle, but this is not to say that dance compositions are without structure. Equally, skilled musicians approach their art more from an intellectual angle, but music

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also requires the emotion to be expressed in performance. These two approaches—the intellectual and emotional—are the common ground for dancers and musicians to come together speaking the same, or better still, each other’s languages. I say this from my own experience of being both musician and dancer. It is this quality of understanding the music and the dance on both an intellectual and emotional level that was so strong in the Baroque period, but has generally been lost in the performance of the two arts today.

I now examine one exceptional example of a twentieth-century choreographer who demonstrates this integration of the intellectual and the emotional in his work.

**Chaconne (1942)**

by José Limón

In 1942, under the tutelage of Doris Humphrey, José Limón choreographed a solo dance to perform himself. The music he chose was Bach’s Chaconne in D minor, from Partita no. 2 for solo violin, transcribed for piano by Ferruccio Busoni.

When the choreography was completed Limón showed it to Doris Humphrey. He described this moment in his memoir:

> For me Doris’s regard was the “magnum desideratum.” When my dance was ready, I showed it to her privately at the Studio Theatre. It was a long and demanding work. [...] On concluding, I stood totally spent, and Doris was silent for a long time. Then, she left her seat, came to me, and said in her quiet voice, “This is one of the most magnificent dances I have ever seen. It is that for a number of reasons, but chiefly because it is a man dancing.”

This dance was one of Limón’s first serious efforts at choreography and included a very personal reflection of himself, as recognised by his teacher and by many audience members since. Here Limón has given us a dance of life, or at least a dance of his life thus far.

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*Chaconne* was included in an all-Bach programme, with three other choreographies by Humphrey, which opened 27 December 1942. The programme was such a success that the season was extended from the three scheduled performances to eleven.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{35}\) Limón continued to dance and choreograph, and formed his own company in 1946 with Doris Humphrey as artistic director and co-choreographer (Owen, 1998. 118). Although Limón died in 1972 the company still continues. ([Limón Dance Company Institute + Foundation.](http://www.limon.org/home.html) 19 September 2007)
To the opening chords of the music the male dancer, having entered from upstage left, slowly extends his left leg forward. He lunges forward and then stands erect, with feet together (right foot devant sur le cou-du-pied), and both arms are raised purposefully above his head with the palms facing outward. He repeats this phrase and then stands in attitude derrière with a very erect posture in the torso and with two rounded arms, one extended upwards and the other down. Next he lunges sideways to the left and gestures with his left hand to address the audience and invite them to join in the journey he is about to undertake.

As if to retire, he withdraws to the back of the stage as the music quietens after its strong, resonating opening chords. He extends his left leg to the side, toe to the floor. He swiftly draws it back in underneath him, and then extends it once again, just as quickly. This he also repeats, turning to face the back and then once again to the front, each time with a little more urgency.

As the music begins to build, the dancer slowly increases his pace. A new dance phrase of attitude, a gesture of sleeping, a stretching of the leg to the side, then repeated twice, suggests the regular pace of daily life. Then, as if to upset that regularity, while walking he quickly gestures upward on the fourth step, twice over, providing a counter-rhythm against the triple-time music. Next, with a sweeping gesture, he brushes aside all that may hinder his progress and, slowly and with much conviction, extends the leg forward and steps assertively on to it. He repeats this sweep and step forward, boldly claiming his advancement.

As the music becomes almost frantic, so does the dancer. Flailing arms propel him in several turns in arabesque and attitude. From a turn he drops onto one knee and propels himself around. The music reaches its most determined spirit; the dancer also jumps, spins and “goose-steps” further forward with equal determination. The music now metamorphoses into a fantasia of descending and ascending scales while the dancer moves hurriedly back and forth on the floor. The music reaches grand proportions, while the dancer strikes bold and authoritative poses at centre-stage.

The torrent of music suddenly passes and we find the dancer, still centre stage but on one knee and facing the back, quite motionless, with arms above his head and palms turned
outward. Slowly, sublime in movement as is the music, he turns around in a full circle, and, when facing the back once again, slowly lowers his arms.

As arpeggios cascade from the piano, he stretches his leg to the side and then slowly turns to the front. Standing once again, he lightly hops with the heels off the floor, echoing the music’s bubbling arpeggio figures. As the bass line rises and falls by step, the dancer flicks his foot on the offbeat and then turns away. As the music gets busier he begins to circle around the stage faster and faster, stepping into retiré and, on the fourth step, a turn as well.

The music continues to build, previous phrases from the dance are repeated, but this time more agitated, as if in a desperate clinging to familiarity and routine in a time of uncertainty. Eventually the chaos resolves with a return to the opening chords, and with it the opening dance phrase, finishing on one knee.

A quieter passage of music continues, so too does the dance. Reaching forward and back the dancer slowly rises into an arabesque alongé. A turning sequence follows which gradually gets faster and faster as the music builds for the final time, until the dancer is pirouetting continuously. As before, he circles around the stage until the music leads him to his opening position for the final statement of the opening chords and corresponding dance phrase. As the final chords sound, the dancer slowly steps back, takes a deep bow and as the final chord resonates he recovers to a standing position.  

In his memoir Limón explains the process for choreographing *Chaconne*. He confesses an affinity with this music of Bach: “I had lived with Bach’s Chaconne for a number of years. It had been a constant and beloved companion. It had seen me through some dark moments […]”.\(^{37}\) Limón’s emotional connection with the music is clear.

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He continues to describe the music, demonstrating his intellectual understanding of it, and referring to “the grandeur of its architecture and the sublimity of its concept.”38 This understanding of the music is reiterated in his choice of movement to match: quieter passages involve softer, gentler movements; rapid passages feature locomotion; and strong chords receive equally strong gestures.39 Limón further demonstrates his understanding of the music and relating the dance to it when discussing the variation-form structure of Bach’s *Chaconne*.40 He persisted in emulating this form by creating an eight-bar dance phrase from which the rest of the dance would flow.41

Limón’s great understanding and comprehension of music on both an intellectual and an emotional level is demonstrated in the description of his working process for the *Chaconne*—which was one of his early works in a hugely prolific output. To be able to identify the musical structure and then create a dance that did not just copy this structure but instead created a strong presence of its own alongside the music displayed a depth of musical understanding and emotional acumen that would continue to be demonstrated in his later works.

As the Baroque dances expressed interplay between music and dance at the bar level, the phrase level, and in the overall structure, so does Limón’s dance. His own choreographic style is reflected strongly in the dance, but the music has still been considered, and provides a significant contribution to the dance.

How much of the close relationship of music and dance in this modern choreography came from a methodical analysis, or as purely instinctive response, is not important. What is important is for musicians and dancers to be aware of both components and to work as one ensemble; and for the audience, as both viewers and listeners, to recognise this, and thus enhance their appreciation of the performance.

39 While this is not the only possible treatment, as Pécour and L’Abbé demonstrate, all show an appreciation of, and consequent responding to the music.  
41 Those familiar with Bach’s music and this choreography will be aware that Limón omits the middle section of the music in the relative major key. This “editing” of the music for the choreography does not necessarily represent a disregard for the music, as L’Abbé demonstrated with his *Chacon of Amadis* analysed in chapters three and four. While some musicians might be horrified at this musical editing, it could be compared to a musical performance of ballet music without any dancers at all. There is less regard for Bach’s music, however, in Forsythe’s *Steptext*, where he fades the music in and out through the choreography, although not without effect. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bhy5SgwCMHo&feature=related>
Conclusion

The Final Cadence

It is remarkable to think of the long journey that the chaconne itself has taken. Having been popular in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the worthy exemplar of Lilburn’s *Chaconne* to appear in the Antipodes in the twentieth century is evidence of this. Perhaps it is not insignificant that the premiere of this work was to take place in Europe.

But the dance is believed to have been from Latin America before being documented as a sung dance in late sixteenth-century Spain. During the Baroque period the chaconne travelled from Spain to Italy, through the French and English court and theatre, and then rested as a purely musical form in Germany, most notably as Bach’s renowned solo violin composition. It is this composition by Bach that was chosen by José Limón, a Mexican by birth, for a twentieth-century solo dance.

One wonders how much of a coincidence it is that a chaconne should be chosen by a Latin American, who knew the music intimately and choreographed this personal, dance-of-life male solo. The journey has gone full-circle and yet continues to dance on.
Appendix A
Baroque Dance Notation and How to Read It

In the late 1670s Louis XIV commissioned his dance-master, Pierre Beauchamp, to devise a system of dance notation. From written accounts it seems that Beauchamp accomplished this, although no early examples of his own manuscripts have been conclusively identified. In 1700 Raoul-Augur Feuillet published this notation, or something very similar, along with a treatise on how to read it, and claimed it as his own. Great debate as to who owned the rights to the notation schema ensued. Beauchamp unsuccessfully filed a legal petition against Feuillet, and for reasons unknown Beauchamp took the case no further. Three other dancing masters of the time, however, published treatises on the notation, and were eager to have it attributed to Beauchamp at least equally with Feuillet.¹ Most scholars today refer to the system as “Beauchamp–Feuillet notation.”

There are over 330 dances extant in Beauchamp–Feuillet notation,² dating from the end of the seventeenth century until the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of these compositions are solo or couple dances. While solo and couple dances may have predominated in the ballroom, group dances were often required in the theatre, as can be seen in scores and libretti for theatrical works, such as operas, masques and comédie-ballet.

There could be several reasons that few group dances were notated. The most likely are that the complexity of group dances may have resided in floor-patterns created by the dancers rather than their actual steps, and that to notate each dancer’s part would have

² Little, Meredith Ellis, and Carol G. Marsh. La Danse noble: An Inventory of Dances and Sources. Williamstown, MA: Broude Brothers, 1992. xiii.
resulted in a very lengthy and detailed score. There are a few full notations for ballets of eight and nine dancers;\(^3\) there are also many other notations for large groups which only trace the floor patterns.\(^4\) Other factors may be the ability to rely on collective memory in recalling a dance, and lesser public demand to buy such dances, since they required more organizing of people and a larger space.

While the number of dance notations extant reflects only a sample of dances from that period in history, they still are of great importance. That Louis XIV and the dance-masters of the time took up the challenge to devising a notation schema, and consequently explaining it, arguing over who devised it, (not to mention all the courtiers who could read it, and some who wished to be courtiers), demonstrates the social significance of dance in European culture of the Baroque period. Many of the notations extant, as well as documentation of others that no longer survive, were printed and sold to the public, thus making dance in the noble style no longer exclusive to members of the court.

**Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation**

To read this notation one starts each page at the half-circle symbol: \(\bigcirc\) indicating dance steps for a man, and \(\bigotimes\) for a woman. The notation schema consists of a continuous line on the page, known as the *tract*, or *du chemin*, which represents the floor-pattern of the dance, with one line for each dancer. (Occasionally a solid line becomes a dotted line. This is merely to move the notation onto a fresh part of the same page. This dotted line does not represent any movement or passage of time for the dancer.) This tract is marked with small bar-lines, which correspond with the bar-lines of the music along the top of the page.

Onto this *tract* are placed symbols indicating specific steps: a dot at one end of each symbol indicates the starting point, and an angled dash at the opposite end represents the finishing point. The angle represents the toes pointing slightly outwards, as had become

\(^3\) Such as Feuillet’s *Balet de Neuf Danseurs* as notated in his *Recueil de dances, compose’es pr M. Feuillet, Maître de Dance*. (1700), 67.

\(^4\) Such as the minuets published in Pemberton’s *An Essay for the further improvement of dancing; being a collection of figure dances, of several numbers, compos’d by the most eminent of masters; describ’d in characters after the newest manner of Monsieur Feuillet* (1711). Many *contredanses* were also recorded in this manner throughout the eighteenth century.
the customary way of walking for members of the French court in the mid-sixteenth century. Beauchamp formalized the five positions of the feet, which is still used by various western dance techniques.

Ex. A1. The five positions of the feet as notated in Beauchamp–Feuillet notation and in Kinetography/Laban, reflecting a Baroque dance style. See p. 159 for a key to Baroque dance style using Kinetography/Laban.

Steps in any direction can be notated, and this angled dash—angled off to the left to indicate the left foot, and the opposite for the right foot—often helps the reader/dancer to quickly distinguish which foot is moving and which way to face.

Ex. A2. Stepping forward, sideways to the right, and back—all on the right foot—as notated in Beauchamp–Feuillet notation and in Kinetography/Laban

By using these symbols the following walking exercise can be notated.

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The walking exercise shown in Beauchamp–Feuillet notation above and in Kinetography/Laban alongside. Both notate the steps of the written description below.

Start with the feet in first position. In duple time to the tune of *Frère Jacques* perform the following steps.

Bar 1: Starting with the left foot, take four steps forward.
Bar 2: Travelling sideways to your right, take four steps starting with your left. The left foot comes in front of the right foot on count one and behind the right on count three.
Bar 3: Four steps back starting with the left. On the fourth step the right closes immediately behind the left foot (in third position).
Bar 4: Starting with the left foot take three steps forward going back over the path you have just travelled. There is no step on count four, and the weight remains on the left foot.

While “starting on the left, take four steps forward, four to the right, four steps back and three steps forward again” would describe the same steps in fewer words, it is not as detailed nor as specific, allowing for several different interpretations.
Further marks indicating when to bend, rise, jump, hop, turn, delay, slide or fall are added to these basic step symbols as shown below. All are shown on a forward step onto the right foot except for those that do not transfer weight, such as touch the floor, pirouettes, and beating gesture.

Ex. A4. Examples of the different step symbols in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation with a written description and equivalent symbols in Kinetography/Laban

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Although many Beauchamp–Feuillet symbols most commonly occur in combination with other symbols, for clarity in explanation I have kept it to one symbol per description. The kinetograms reflect this, with the exception of the *Fall or Tombé*, which most often occur from a high level. Similarly the pirouettes most often consist of a bend and rise in preparation as shown here in both notation systems.
These symbols can be combined to form step-units, which make up the Baroque dance vocabulary, such as:

Ex. A5. Four step-units of the Baroque dance vocabulary involving the symbols to bend, rise, slide, fall, and in the case of the contretemps to hop on the left before stepping forward on the right.

Several dance masters wrote treatises on the art of dancing and the interpretation of this notation system: Feuillet in 1700 (translated into English by John Weaver in 1706); Pierre Rameau in 1725 (translated into English by John Essex in 1728); and Kellom Tomlinson, whose account was completed in 1724, but not published until 1735.7

As well as explaining the notation, these treatises also explain the appropriate arm gestures to accompany most of the step combinations, and general deportment and etiquette. The treatises make it possible today to recreate dances recorded in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation. In 1981 Wendy Hilton published a comprehensive account, Dance of Court and Theater: the French Noble Style 1690–1725,8 in which she compiled and compared the various steps as described in the seventeenth-century treatises.

No treatises explained the steps used in theatrical dances. The noble dances of the theatre use largely the same schema as the ballroom dances in their notation, however, and many of the symbols unique to the noble theatrical dances are drawn and named in the ballroom treatises but not described. One is left to make an educated guess from their names and categories as to how these few steps were performed.

7 See the bibliography for full publication details of these treatises.
Table A1: Key to Kinetograms to Reflect Baroque Dance Technique

Please note: Although arm and upper body movements are significant in the style and performance of Baroque dance, and it was possible to record them using Beauchamp–Feuillet notation, most dance compositions recorded in this system do not include them. Through the conventions described in the various treatises and summarized in Hilton it is possible to recreate with confidence the arm movements that would have been performed with the step-units the notations have recorded. A certain amount of the performer’s discretion is required, however, for how he or she uses the arms and upper body. It is because of this that I have kept the transcription from Beauchamp–Feuillet notation to Kinetography/Laban notation to reflect only the originally notated footwork.
Appendix B

Chaconne Dance Notations
(Alphabetically by Dance Composer)

Noble Dances

L’Abbé, Anthony 1666/7–c.1753.

Chacone of Amadis
Chacone of Galathee
The Princess Ann’s Chacone

Feuillet, Raoul-Augur 1659/60–1710.

Chaconne (to Les Symphonies pour les soupers du roi. Suite 9)
Chaconne (to L’Europe galante)

Isaac, Edward 1643–c.1720.

A Chacone by Mr. Isaac
The Favorite

Pécour, Louis Guillaume c.1651–1729.

Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme
Chaconne pour un homme
Chaconne pour une femme: Chacone de Phaeton

Unidentified:

La chaconne de Phaestons
Grotesque Dances (for Harlequin)

La Montagne, Pierre de, (attrib.)

*Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne*

Le Roussau, François.

*Chaconne for Arlequin*

*Chacoon for a Harlequin*

Unidentified:

*Entrée d’arlequin*

Not available for inclusion:

Feuillet, Raoul-Auger, 1659/60–1710.

*Chaconne d’Arlequin*

NB: The dance notations presented here have been cleaned and edited. Some of the hand-drawn notations have also been repositioned on the page for clarity in reading, and are not, therefore, a true facsimile the original manuscript.

All page numbers in the descriptions refer to the page number of that specific notation as identified in each caption. If the notation is from a volume with different page numberings this number is also given in parentheses.

Catalogues of dance notation include:

L&M = Little, Meredith Ellis, and Carol G. Marsh, *La Danse noble* (1992)

Noble Dances

Dance Title: Chacone of Amadis: performed by Mr. Dupré
Dance Composer: L’Abbé, Anthony, 1666/7–c.1753.
Music Composer: Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 1632–1687.
Date: c.1714, published c.1725.
Notation Source: A New Collection of Dances: Containing a Great Number of the Best Ball and Stage Dances, pp. 57–64.
Catalogue Nos: L&M 1840; FL 1725.1/09
Dance For: Male solo
Note: Dance composition is to the middle/minor section (bars 85–177) of the complete instrumental chaconne, which is 297 bars in length.

Description: 92 bars (91 bars dance notation)
Dance: 8 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation
Musical Form: Variation form (11 variations)

This is the most virtuosic of the solo chaconne notations. It includes many beaten jumps, cabrioles and pirouettes à la seconde. Page 3 (59) has a pirouette à la seconde with 2½ turns, and page 8 (64) has 3 pirouettes in a row of one double turn to the right followed by two single turns to the left. Page 3 also includes a pas échappé into fourth position (a step frequently used by Harlequin). Page 7 (63) includes pas tortille—a swivelling of feet. This theatrical step-unit is rarely found in court dances. Page 8 has one bar less in the dance notation than in the music notation. The most likely place for the missing bar-line has been inserted as well as the corresponding rests following the pas assemble.¹

¹ For further analysis of this dance composition see pp. 72–79, and its music 117–124. The accompanying DVD includes this dance in performance, which is then repeated with rhetorical sections indicated with subtitles.
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 1
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 2
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 3
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 4
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 5
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 6
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 7
Chacone of Amadis:

Page 8
Dance Title: Chacone of Galathee: perform’d by Mr. La Garde and Mrs Santlow

Dance Composer: L’Abbé, Anthony, 1666/7–c.1753.

Music Composer: Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 1632–1687.

Date: Published c.1725. Charles Delagarde and Hester Santlow danced together Nov 1707–Feb 1708 and May 1712 at Drury Lane.²

Notation Source: A New Collection of Dances: Containing a Great Number of the Best Ball and Stage Dances, pp. 22–30.

Music Source: Acis et Galatée (1687). Act II, sc. 5. LWV 73/32.

Catalogue Nos: L&M 1860; FL 1725.1/04

Dance For: Couple—a man and a woman.

Note: See also Thorp, Jennifer and Ken Pierce. “Taste and Ingenuity: Three English Chaconnes of the Early Eighteenth Century.” Historical Dance. 3.3 (Winter 1994): 3-16.

Description: 80 bars (79 bars of dance notation)
Dance: 9 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation
Musical Form: Variation form (5 variations repeated)

The dance consists mostly of the same steps for the man and woman, in mirror symmetry. Pages 6–7 (27–28) are in rotational symmetry.

Steps of note include on page 3 (24) pirouette à la seconde for the woman (not commonly found in women’s dances), on page 4 (25) a cabriole for man danced with a jeté for the woman, on page 5 (26) a woman tour en l’air for the woman with a beaten jump for the man, and on page 8 (29) a sauté for the woman with another beaten jump for the man.

The engraving for page 7 (28) has missing bar lines in both man’s and woman’s tracts, which have been inserted in this copy.

Chacone of Galathee:

Page 1
Chacone of Galathee:

Page 2
Chacone of Galathee:

Page 3
Chacone of Galathee:

Page 4
Chacone of Galathee:

Page 6
Dance Title: *The Princess Ann’s Chacone*

Dance Composer: L’Abbé, Anthony, 1666/7–c.1753.

Music Composer: Galliard, John Ernest, 1666 or 1687–1747.

Date: 1719

Catalogue Nos: L&M 7080 (FL not listed)

Dance For: Couple—a man and a woman.

Note: Dance composition consists of:

a) Chacone

b) Hornpipe


Description: 69 bars (44 Chacone; 25 Hornpipe)

Dance: 5 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation (3 Chacone, 2 Hornpipe), plus a title page.

Musical Form: Chacone in variation form (5 variations)

Hornpipe in ternary form (ABA)

The dance starts in mirror symmetry for the first page, changing to rotational symmetry in bar 14. Page 2 is in rotational symmetry, changing to mirror symmetry for page 3, and finally to rotational symmetry for the hornpipe (pages 4 and 5). Dance finishes with couple circling around each other, and then the man walking backwards and the lady forwards up the room, with the woman turning into final révérence.

There are no variations between the steps for man and woman other than to change for floor pattern symmetries.
The

PRINCESS ANN'S
Chacone

A New Dance
For his Maj.'s Birth-day
Compos'd by
M. L'ABEE

For the Year 1719
Writ by M. Pemberton.

And sold by him at the Iron Rails, y'lower end of Oxindon-street, near y'Hay-market.

Princess Ann's Chacone:
Title Page
Princess Ann’s Chacone:

Page 1
Princess Ann’s Chacone:

Page 2
Princess Ann’s Chacone:

Page 3
Princess Ann’s Chacone:

Page 4
Princess Ann’s Chacone:

Page 5
Dance Title: Chaconne
Music Composer: Lalande, Michel Richard de, 1657–1726.
Date: c.1695–1710, notated c.1700–1720.3
Catalogue Nos: L&M 1920; FL Ms05.1/23
Dance For: Male solo

Description: 64 bars
Dance: 8 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation
Musical Form: Variation form (8 variations)

More difficult than Feuillet’s Chaconne to the music from L’Europe galante, possibly suggesting both of Feuillet’s chaconnes were composed with the abilities of specific performers in mind.

Steps of note include the waving step combined with the contretemps de chaconne on page 2 (40). Page 5 (43) includes a pas échappé into second position, and the pas tombé on page 6 (44). More turning sequences are included than in Feuillet’s other Chaconne, in particular the contretemps turning a full circle to the right immediately followed with a jumped half turn to the left on page 2 (40), and the final page (47) that includes one full turn jumped followed with a piroquette à la seconde. Many pages finish with a cabriole (pages 2 (40)–5 (43), 7 (46)).

Chaconne (Lalande):

Page 2
Chaconne (Lalande):
Page 3
Chaconne (Lalande):

Page 4
Chaconne (Lalande):

Page 8
Dance Title:  *Chaconne*

Dance Composer:  Feuillet, Raoul-Auger

Music Composer:  Campra, André

Date:  c.1697–1710, notated c.1705–1720.⁴

Notation Source:  Rés 817, Bibliothèque du Musée et de l’Opéra, Paris, fol. 60


Catalogue Nos:  L&M 1900; FL Ms05.1/16

Dance For:  Male solo

Description:  80 bars

Dance:  10 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation

Musical Form:  Rondo form (ABACA)

This notation provides the simplest chaconne dance-composition extant. In contrast to the other noble chaconnes there are only a few beaten jumps or leg gestures, and no *pirouettes à la seconde*. All phrases are repeated on the other side. A particular point of interest in this dance is the use of the *pas de bourrée emboîté* to punctuate a phrase in pages 5 to 7. The phrases on page 8 conclude with a *pas de bourrée emboîté* followed by a *temps de courante*.⁵

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⁴ Lancelot, 1996, 298.

⁵ For further analysis of this dance composition see pp. 64–68, and its music 106–109.
Chaconne (L'Europe galante):
Page 2
Chaconne (L’Europe galante):
Page 5
Chaconne (L’Europe galante):
Page 6
Chaconne (L’Europe galante):
Page 7
Chaconne (L’Europe galante):
Page 8
Chaconne (L’Europe galante):

Page 9
Dance Title: A Chacone by Mr. Isaac
Dance Composer: Isaac, Edward, 1643–1721
Music Composer: Unidentified
Date: 1711
Notation Source: An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing: Being a Collection of Figure Dances, Of Several Numbers, Compos’d by the Most Eminent Masters, Describ’d in Characters After the Newest Manner of Monsieur Feuillet.
Catalogue Nos: L&M 1820 (FL not listed)
For: Female solo
Note: Dance composition consists of:
   a) Chacone
   b) Minuet

Description: 112 bars (64 Chacone; 48 Minuet (i.e. 96 musical bars))
   Dance: 12 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation (6 Chacone; 6 Minuet)
   Musical Form: Chacone is three-part form (AABBCC repeated)
                 Minuet is a loose binary form (AABBBB repeated).

This dance effectively contrasts the chaconne and minuet. Distinctive features include the long entrance travelling down the room for page 1 and half of page 2; pas coupé sans poser le corps, and jumps from second to fifth positions of the feet.

The Minuet includes pas de menuet à deux mouvements à la Bohémiènne, which does not plié after the opening demi-coupé (Tomlinson describes this step-unit as out of fashion by the time of his treatise in 1735). Hilton recounts none of the treatises she examines specify the timing for this step-unit. References to the Menuet ordinaire are made: travelling in an “S” figure on pages 10 and 12, and finishes with three pas de menuet steps, turning a complete circle to the left for each step-unit.7

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7 For further analysis of this dance composition see pp. 56–63, and its music pp. 102–106.
A Chacone by Mr Isaac:

Page 1
A Chacone by Mr Isaac:
Page 2
A Chacone by Mr. Isaac:

Page 3
A Chacone by Mr Isaac:

Page 5
Minuet.

A Chacone by Mr Isaac:
Page 7
A Chacone by Mr Isaac:

Page 8
A Chacone by Mr Isaac:

Page 10
A Chacone by Mr Isaac:

Page 101
A Chacone by Mr Isaac:

Page 12
Dance Title: *The Favorite: A Chaconne Danc’d by Her Majesty*

Dance Composer: Isaac, Edward, 1643–1721?

Music Composer: Paisible, James, c.1656–1721.

Date: c.1688,\(^8\) published 1706, published separately in c.1708 and c.1712.

Notation Source: *A Collection of Ball-Dances Perform’d At Court*, pp. 20–24.

Music Source: *Deusiesme [sic] recueil*, p. 30 (1688)

Catalogue Nos: L & M 4700 (FL not listed)

Dance For: Couple—a man and a woman

Note: Dance composition consists of:

a) *Chacone*

b) *Boree*


Description: 100 bars (64 *Chacone*; 36 *Boree*)

Dance: 5 pages Beauchamp–Feuillet notation (3 *Chacone*; 2 *Boree*).

Musical Form: *Chacone* in rondo form (ABAC);

*Boree* in binary form (AAAB)

The *Chacone* starts with the dancers’ steps in mirror symmetry, changing to rotational for page 2 (21), then back to mirror symmetry half way through this page in which it remains for page 3 (22). Page 3 is a mastery of engraving, consisting of 32 bars, clearly describing the intricate floor pattern that finishes the chaconne. (Note, however, the error of 2 bars in the music (18 and 19) shown as duple time.) Distinction between the man’s and woman’s steps on this page include the man doing a double *ronde de jambe* (bars 9 and 10) while the woman only does a single *ronde de jambe*; the man beats his *pas coupé sans poser le corps* while the woman does not (bars 29 and 30).

The *Boree* starts in rotational symmetry: the dancers circling around themselves and then around the room. On page 5 (24) they join hands and circle minuet-like around each other. They separate; changing to mirror symmetry dance forward along the outside of the room, cross over and then dance up the room to finish.

\(^8\) Thorp, Jennifer and Ken Pierce, 1994. 3–5.
The Favorite

A Chaconne

Danc'd

by her Majesty

The Favorite:

Page 1
The Favorite:

Page 2
Dance Title: *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme*

Dance Composer: Pécour, Louis Guillaume, c.1651–1729.

Music Composer: Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 1632–1687.

Date: 1704

Notation Source: *Recueil de dances: contenant un tres grand nombres, des meillieures Entrées de Ballet*, pp. 185–194.


Catalogue Nos: L&M 1960; FL 1704.1/29

Dance For: Male solo

Note: “non Dancée [sic] a l’Opera”

Same tune also used for *Chacone pour une femme* by Pécour and *La chaconne De Phaestons*.

Description: 152 bars

Dance: 10 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation

Musical Form: Variation form (18 variations)

The dance travels mostly forwards and backwards. Emphasis is mostly on beaten jumps, leg gestures, turns and combinations of these. Steps used frequently are *pas coupé avec overture, contretemps de chaconne* and turning *contretemps de gavotte*.

Page 4 (188) in bar 54 includes the theatrical step *pas tortille*, which is not described in detail in any treatises. Page 8 (192) in bars 121–123 includes a sequence involving hopped ½ turns with *ronde jambe en l’air*.

The significance of “Aa” on page 1 (185) and “Bb” page 9 (193) is unknown, but does not appear to relate to the dance/music structure. ⁹

Both this notation and the following *Chacone pour une femme* by Pécour illustrate his use of “I” to indicate the end of the first eight-bar phrase in both the music and the dance notations, on pages consisting of two eight-bar phrases.

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⁹ For further analysis of this dance composition see pp. 68–72, and its music 109–117.
Chaconne de Phaeton
pour un homme.
non Dancée a l'opéra.
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:

Page 2
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:

Page 3
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:

Page 4
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:

Page 5
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:

Page 6
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:
Page 7
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:

Page 9
Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme:

Page 10
Dance Title: *Chaconne pour un homme*

Dance Composer: Pécour, Louis Guillaume, c.1651–1729.

Music Composer: Unidentified

Date: 1704


Catalogue Nos: L&M 2000; FL 1704.1/28

Dance For: Male solo

Note: “non dancée [sic] a l’Opera”

Description: 80 bars

Dance: 9 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation

Musical Form: Rondo form (AAA'BACAA)

This dance demonstrates examples of both the chaconne’s virtuosic display with beats and cabrioles, leg gestures, and turns; as well as Pécour’s skills of dance composition. Passages worthy of note include page 5 (180) with 3 half turns in a *contretemps de gavotte*, and page 6 (181) with a *pirouette à la seconde* followed by another half turn. Page 8 (183) has similarities with Harlequin’s chaconnes: *pas échappé* into fourth position, and the most curious three jumps in fifth position travelling to the right. Six of the nine pages (pp. 1 (176)–4 (179), 7 (182) and 9 (184)) clearly punctuate the phrase with a *sauté* or *cabriole*, landing in fifth position, which is sometimes followed by stepping into fourth position (on pages 2 (177) and 9 (184)).

An interesting feature of the music is the seven-bar phrase of the main theme in D major. The dance helps to define this phrase length. This is particularly noticeable at the end of page 1 (176) by firmly punctuating the phrase with a beaten jump, landing in fifth position on the first beat of the bar. The melodic theme on page 3 (178) consists of a motif in sequence over two bars preceding the third stating of the theme extending the phrase to nine bars (2+4+3). The melodic theme is repeated again on page 5 (180) in A major, and returns to the original key for the last page (184), repeating the last four bars. The seven- and four-bar phrases of the last page (184) are reiterated in the dance.
Chaconne pour un homme

non dançée à l'opéra.
Chaconne pour un homme:

Page 2
Chaconne pour un homme:

Page 3
Pour un homme:

Page 4
Chaconne pour un homme:

Page 5
pour un homme

Chaconne pour un homme:
Page 6
Chaconne pour un homme:

Page 7
Chaconne pour un homme:

Page 8
Chaconne pour un homme:

Page 9
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Dance Title:</strong></th>
<th><em>Chacone pour une femme: Chacone de Phaeton</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dance Composer:</strong></td>
<td>Pécour, Louis Guillaume, c.1651–1729.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music Composer:</strong></td>
<td>Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 1632–1687.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>1704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Notation Source:</strong></td>
<td><em>Recueil de dances: contenant un tres grand nombres, des meilleures Entrées de Ballet</em>, pp. 10–19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music Source:</strong></td>
<td><em>Phaéton</em> (1683). Act II, sc. 5. LWV 61/40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catalogue Nos:</strong></td>
<td>L&amp;M 2020; FL 1704.1/03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dance For:</strong></td>
<td>Female solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong></td>
<td>Same tune also used for <em>Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme</em> by Pécour and <em>La chaconne De Phaestons</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong></td>
<td>152 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dance: 10 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musical Form: Variation form (18 variations)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dance consists of simpler footwork than is found in Pécour’s *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme*, as is characteristic for a woman’s solo of the period. There are only a few beats, for example. The dance’s composition consists of many *pas coupé à deux mouvements*, including page 3 (12) where they are performed in a square. There are several turns and turning sequences, including page 7 (16), where each *demi-coupé* is executed with a half turn.

Dance interest, instead, is created through more interesting floor patterns than Pécour’s two chaconnes for a man: pages 3 (12) with the turning and sideways travel preceding the square figure, and curving figure of pge 6 (15).
Chacone pour une femme:
Chacone pour une femme:
Page 3
Chacone pour une femme:
Chacone pour une femme:

Page 5
Pour une femme:

Chacne pour une femme:

Page 6
Chacone pour une femme:

Page 7
Chacone pour une femme:

Page 8
Chaconne pour une femme:

Page 9
Chacone pour une femme:
Page 10
Dance Title: *La chaconne De phaestons*
Dance Composer: Anonymous
Music Composer: Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 1632–1687.
Date: c.1710-1720, notated 1748
Catalogue Nos: L&M 1940; FL Ms17.1/10
Dance For: Male solo
Note: Same tune also used for *Chaconne de Phaeton pour un homme* and *Chaconne pour une femme*, both by Pécour.

Description: 152 bars
Dance: 8 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet notation
Musical Form: Variation form (18 variations)

Less virtuosic than Pécour’s *Phaeton de Chaconne pour un homme*. There is a balanced sequence in its composition through often repeating one side then other, similar to Feuillet’s *Chaconne* to *L’Europe galante*.

The dance uses *pirouettes*, executing full turns both on two feet, as on page 4 (76), and a *pirouette à la seconde* on page 6 (78).
La Chaconne De phaestons:

Page 1
La Chaconne De phaestons:
Page 3
La Chaconne De phaestons:

Page 5
La Chaconne De phaestons:

Page 7
Chaconnes for Harlequin

Dance Title: *Chaconne Darlequin: de Monsieur dela (sic) Montagne*
Dance Composer: La Montagne, Pierre de (attrib.)
Music Composer: Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 1632–1687.
Date: c.1701–1712; notated c.1701–1720.\(^{10}\)
Notation Source: Rés 817, Bibliothèque du Musée et de l’Opéra, Paris, fol. 29
Catalogue Nos: L&M 1880; FL Ms05.1/07
Dance For: Male solo
Note: Dance notation includes instructions for movements of head and hat. Same tune as for *Chaconne d’Arlequin* and *Entrée d’arlequin*.

Description: 56 bars
Dance: 5 pages Beauchamp–Feuillet notation
Musical Form: Resembling variation form (ABCDB)

Travel is mostly forwards and backwards. Page 4 involves a circular path of quick steps high on the toes. The seeming parody of steps includes the *pas coupé à deux* of pages 1 and 3. False steps and instructions for the hat reveal the Harlequin character with movements and stances. Jumping/skimming movements of side to side and forwards and back appear on pages 2 and 5, as well as jumping into turned-in or false-foot position and back to first position repeatedly on page 2.

The angling of the foot in notation to indicate false-foot position is obviously intentioned in such passages, but other times it is ambiguous, as with the *jetés chassées* on page 3. Bars 4 and 6 on page 2 are difficult to decipher what is intended, and possibly an example of the shortcomings of this notation schema for describing a grotesque dance.

\(^{10}\) Lancelot, 1996. 289.
Frequently used steps are *pas de assemblé* and jumps in first position. *Chassés* are also used and *jetés chassés* backwards. *Pas échappées* into second and fourth positions also appear frequently, as they do in *Chacoon for a Harlequin*. Another feature is the interesting use of step sequences across the musical phrase, such as the *jetés chassés* on pages 2 and 3, and the seven-count sequence that begins page 3. Page 5 includes a hopping sequence. The ending is unusual, ending with six jumps in first position travelling backwards up the stage.\(^{11}\)

Editorial notes include the anacrusis for the music’s C phrase, which is in the final bar of page 2 and repeated at the beginning of page 3; and on page 5, bar 7 the *pas échappée* is unlikely to have been intended a three-count duration so I have suggested rests on the first two counts of the bar.

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\(^{11}\) For further discussion of this dance composition see pp. 87–98, and its music 127–128.
Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne

Page 2
Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne

Page 3
Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne

Page 4
Dance Title: Chaconne for Arlequin
Published Title: Chacoon for a Harlequin
Dance Composer: Le Roussau, François
Music Composer: Charpentier, Marc-Antoine, 1643–1704. (attrib.)
Date: 1720, published 1728.
Notation Source: A Collection of New Ball- and Stage Dances Compos’d by Several Masters, pp. 65–75 (manuscript)
Music Source: Le Malade Imaginaire (1673). 1er Intermède.
Catalogue Nos: L&M 1980; FL Ms13.1/09
Dance For: Male solo
Note: Notation contains information on head and arm gestures and rules for moving the hat.
Manuscript used as a model for the engraving of the published edition.12
Published version dedicated to “Le Grand Dupré” (Louis Dupré, fl.1714–1751.)

Description: 56 bars
Dance: 7 pages of Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation
Musical Form: Rondo form (ABACADA)

Travels mostly forwards and backwards, with page 2 having a circular path of 3 \( \text{pas de bourrée vite} \) and page 7 consisting of eight \( \text{pas de bourrée vite} \) in an S-shape to exit. As well as \( \text{pas de bourrée vite} \) for travelling, other steps used frequently are turning \( \text{contretemps de gavotte, pas échappées and jetés chassés} \). Atypical of Baroque dance is the the jumping/skimming along the floor, side to side, forwards and back, and around on page 5, which also appears in \( \text{Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne} \). The inclusion of head and arm gestures and poses demonstrate the \( \text{commedia dell’arte} \) character required for the dance and standing in fourth position, being a typical Harlequin stance.13 Introduction and first page of manuscript have been included to allow a comparison with the published edition.

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13 For further discussion of this dance composition see pp. 87–98. The accompanying DVD includes this dance in performance, which is then repeated with images of the period from which the character of the dance has been recreated.
Advice to the Reader

Several persons, having declared that I should never have written this, I must state to them that I have only written it for my own use, and I should be very glad to see it adopted by others. It is not a perfect work, and I have endeavored to make it as perfect as possible, and I hope it will be satisfactory. To the public, I am sure it will be a great improvement. It is not a whole, but a part of something better. It is not a whole, but a part of something better. It is not a whole, but a part of something better.

Chaconne for Arlquez

Introduction pages 1 and 2
Leaving the head down on the right shoulder.

Stretching the neck and head forwards without moving the shoulders.

Halt.

Motions of the arms:
It is to be observed, that there are no alterations in the rules of this finance except that 1. to the end of the arm a little head is given to represent the hand which takes off or puts on the hat.

Example:
1. To raise the arm as high as your head.
2. To lower it in a line with the shoulders.
3. To stretch your arm forward, draw it back again, and then move it forwards again which is the imitation of an allegro.

To raise your arm turning your wrist to put on your hat.

To turn your arm round your shoulders.

You shall know by a stroke of the pen in what time and with what step you must make these motions of the head or turning of the arm.

Example:
1. To carry your hand to your hat.
2. To pull off your hat.
3. To put on your hat again turning your Spirit.
Chaconne for Arlequin

Page 1
A Chacoon for a Harlequin

With all the Postures, Attitudes, Motions of the Head and Arms, and other Gestures proper to this Character.

Being the first that ever appeared in this Gust Compos'd Writt in Characters and Engraved by F: LE ROUSSEAU Dancing-master

LONDON

and sold by S. author in F. hallm-street and at M. Barrett's musick-shop at the Harp & Crown in Piccadilly.
to Mz Louise Dupre

Sir

The neatness with which you perform the Character of Harlequin in all its different Attitudes which belong to it, they wish you give with so much Force or suppleness; obliges me to take liberty to offer you this little work, it being first of this kind that ever yet appeared in publick. My chief design being to describe on paper, the postures which are used in practice for the Harlequin. I have endeavoured to represent some of your postures, but however without pretending (by these figures) to demonstrate Excellency of your motions; it is a Task I leave to more expert Drawers than I can pretend to be, whom nevertheless I would think my self sufficiently recompens'd of my pains by your approbation (which will draw a regard of those of my profession). I have also satisfaction to tell them excited thereby to render more perfect this sort of Choreographie, or Description of Dancing Attitudes. I am with all Consideration your most humble & most obedient servant

F: Le Rouxveau

To the Reader

Several persons having desired I would present you with these Harlequinades I had made but for my own use. I have endeavoured to make them as perfect and as useful as possible, and I doubt not but those who will examine them with care will find them satisfactory.

You shall see in each page the attitude or full posture the Harlequin must be in when he begins each part, and as no person ever attempted to write the Harlequinades before I think it necessary to explain the different Motions of the Head, and the postures in this Chaconee.

Though the motions of the Arms are fully described in the first Collection of Mr. Foullet I have observed that few Dancers minded them though they are very necessary for this sort of Character and for that reason I explain the turnings & motions of the Arms, for this Dance only, and I shall do the same in all other Dances. I shall hereafter give to you publick.

N.B. I could not observe the same rules for the motions of the Head as Mr. Foullet has given in his first book because the situation of the picture could not allow it. You must only observe that it matters not whether the picture is on the right or left side of the line, look only on the true situation of the picture.
Chacon for a Harlequin

Explanation

Face straight forwards.

Face turn'd to your left, or looking over your left shoulder.

Face turn'd to your right, or looking over your right shoulder.

Leaning your head down on your left shoulder.

Leaning your head down on your right shoulder.

Stretching your neck and head forwards without moving your shoulders.

The Hatt.

Motions of your Arms

It is to be observed that there were alterations in the rules of the Scuollet, excepting I add to your arm a little half move to represent your hand which takes off, or pulls on your hatt.

Example

To Raise your right arm as high as your head...

To lower it in a line with your shoulder...

To stretch your arm forwards, draw it back again then move it forwards again. It is a salutation of an Harlequin.

To raise your arm, turning your wrist to put on your hatt...

To turn your arm round your shoulder...

You shall know by a stroke of your pen in what time and with what step you must make your motions of your head, or turnings of your arms.

Example

To carry your right hand to your hatt...

To pull off your hatt...

To pull on your hatt again turning your wrist.
Chacoon for a Harlequin

Composed by Mph. Rouxau

Chacoon for a Harlequin

Page 1
Chacon for a Harlequin

Page 2
Chacoon for a Harlequin

Page 3
Chacon for a Harlequin

Page 4
Chacon for a Harlequin

Page 5
Chacoon for a Harlequin

Page 6
Chacoon for a Harlequin
Page 7
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Dance Title:</strong></th>
<th><em>Entrée d’arlequin</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dance Composer:</strong></td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music Composer:</strong></td>
<td>Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 1632–1687.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>1748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Notation Source:</strong></td>
<td>Ms fr.14884, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, pp. 13–18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music Source:</strong></td>
<td><em>Le bourgeois gentilhomme. Ballet des nations</em> (1670), Act IV. LWV 43/36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catalogue Nos:</strong></td>
<td>L&amp;M 2760 (FL not classified. See <em>Chaconne d’Arlequin</em>, p. 296)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dance For:</strong></td>
<td>Male solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Note:</strong></td>
<td>Includes arm and head gestures. Uses the same music as for <em>Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne</em> and <em>Chaconne d’Arlequin</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong></td>
<td>56 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dance: 6 pages Beauchamp–Feuillet Notation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musical Form: Resembling variation form (ABCDB)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dance travels very little. Exceptions being page 2 (14) of quick steps in a circle, a jumping backwards sequence turning feet in then out six times on page 4 (16) and the backwards travelling *chassés* on page 5 (17). Directions for hat and arm gestures are included, as for *Chacoon for a Harlequin* although not with such a detailed description.

Frequently used steps are *jeté chasses*, particularly on page 3 (15), and incorporated with turning on page 6 (18). The unusual use of step sequences of more than a bar, similar to *Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne*: page 4 (16), in bars 33–37 using a four-count sequence, and arm gestures on page 5 (17).¹⁴

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¹⁴ For further discussion of this dance composition see pp. 87–98, and its music 127–128.
Entrée d’arlequin
Entrée d'arlequin
Page 2
Entrée d’arlequin

Page 3
Entrée d'arlequin
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dance Title:</th>
<th>Chaconne d’Arlequin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dance Composer:</td>
<td>Feuillet, Raoul-Augur, 1659/0–1710.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music Composer:</td>
<td>Lully, Jean Baptiste, 1632–1687.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>1695–1710, notated 1705–1720.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notation Source:</td>
<td>Recueil de danses. Private collection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogue Nos:</td>
<td>FL Ms05.2/01 (L&amp;M not listed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance For:</td>
<td>Male solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note:</td>
<td>Notation: Similar to Entrée d’arlequin with significant difference in the ending.(^{15}) Uses the same music as for Chaconne Darlequin de Monsieur dela Montagne and Entrée d’arlequin.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{15}\) Lancelot, 1996. 311.
Appendix C

Twentieth Century Choreographies Titled Chaconne or to Chaconne-Titled Music—A Selective List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choreographer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Music Composer</th>
<th>Premiere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Childs, Lucinda, 1940–</td>
<td>Chacony</td>
<td>Britten, Benjamin, Quartets, strings, no. 2, op. 36. Chacony</td>
<td>White Oak Dance Project, 2002.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Includes dances titled Chaconne as well as choreographies to chaconne music
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massine, Leonid</td>
<td>Choreartium</td>
<td>Brahms, Johann 1833–1897. Symphonies, no. 4, op. 98, E minor.</td>
<td>Colonel de Basil’s Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomasson, Helgi</td>
<td>Chaconne for piano and two dancers</td>
<td>Handel, George Frideric, 1685–1757.</td>
<td>San Francisco Ballet, 1999</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

Music Before 1800 Identified as Chaconnes—A Selective List

Anglebert, Jean Henry d’, 1628-1691.
   Pièces de clavecin. Quatrieme suite. Chaconne rondeau.

Bach, Johann Christian, 1735–1782
   Amadis de Gaule. Chaconne

Bach, Johann Sebastian, 1685–1750
   Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006. Partita, no. 2. Chaconne

Biber, Heinrich Ignaz Franz, 1644–1704.
   Ciacona, violin

Blow, John, d. 1708.
   Chaconne, keyboard, G minor
   Chaconne, violins (2), viola, continuo, G major

Böhm, Georg, 1661–1733.
   Chaconne, G major

Buxtehude, Dietrich, 1637–1707.
   Chaconnes, organ, BuxWV 159, C minor
   Chaconnes, organ, BuxWV 160, E minor
Campra, André, 1660–1774.

*L'Europe galante*. Chaconne

*Fêtes vénitiennes*. Chaconne

Charpentier, Marc-Antoine, 1644–1704.

Médée. Chaconne (Act II, Sc. 7)

Sonate à huit, H.548, C major. Chaconne

Clerambault, Louis Nicolas, 1676–1749.

Sonatas, no. 5. Chaconne

Corbetta, Francesco, c.1615–1681.

Guitarre royale (1671). Caprice de chaconne

Corelli, Arcangelo, 1653–1713.

Trio sonatas, op. 2. No. 12, G major

Couperin, François, 1668–1733.

Pièces de clavecin. Premier livre. *La Favorite* (Chaconne-Rondeau

Couperin, Louis, ca. 1626–1661.

Chaconnes, harpsichord, B. 121, G minor

Eckelt, Johann Valentin, 1673–1732.

Chaconne, harpsichord, C major

Ferrari della Tiorba, Benedetto, c.1603–1681.

*Incoronazione di Poppea. Pur ti miro, pur ti godo*

Fischer, Johann Kaspar Ferdinand, c.1665–1746.

Pieces de clavecin

Frescobaldi, Girolamo, 1583–1643.

Toccate e partite d’intavolatura di cimbalo e organo
Geminiani, Francesco, 1687–1762.
Chaconne in D minor on a Corelli theme

Gluck, Christoph Willibald, Ritter von, 1714–1787.
Alceste (Paris). Chaconne
Alessandro. Ciaconna
Armide. Chaconne
Iphigénie en Aulide. Chaconne
Iphigénie en Aulide (Paris). Chaconne (Lentement)
Orphée et Eurydice. Chaconne
Paride ed Elena. Ciaconna e gavotte

Grabu, Louis, d. 1694.
Albion and Albanius. Chaconne

Handel, George Frideric, 1685–1759.
Almira. Chaconne
Chaconnes, harpsichord, HWV 435, G major
Chaconnes, harpsichord, HWV 442, G major
Chaconnes, harpsichord, HWV 484, C major
Chaconnes, harpsichord, HWV 486, G minor
Suites, harpsichord, HWV 430, E major. Chaconne (Harmonious Blacksmith)
Suites, harpsichord, HWV 448, D minor. Chaconne
Suites, harpsichord, HWV 453, G minor. Chaconne
Suites, harpsichords (2), HWV 446, C minor. Chaconne

Jommelli, Nicolò, 1714–1774.
Periodical overture (The celebrated overture and favourite chaconne)

Lully, Jean Baptiste, 1632–1687.
Acis et Galatee. Chaconne
Achille et Polyxène. Chaconne
Alcidiane. Petit chaconne pour les Plaisirs
Alcidiane. Chaconne “Les Maures”
Amadis. Chaconne
L’Amour médecin. Ouverture
Atys. Chaconne

Bourgeois gentilhomme. Ballets des Nations. Chaconne les Scaramouches,
Trivilens et Arlequins.

Cadmus et Hermione

Carnaval, mascarade (LWV 52). Chaconne d’Arlequin, pour les Scaramouches et
les trivelins

Muses. Chaconne “Les Magiciens”

Phaeton. Chaconne

Plusieurs pieces de symphonie

Psyché. Chaconne

Roland. Chaconne

Temple de la paix. Chaconne

Thésée. Chaconne

Triomphe de l’Amour. Entrée de mars et des Amours

Triomphe de l’Amour. Chaconne (Bacchus, Indiens, Ariane ed dames Grecques)

Trios pour le coucher du Roi. Chaconne

Lully, Jean Baptiste, 1632–1687 / Anglebert, J. Henry d’ (Jean Henry), 1628–1691.

Acis et Galatee. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for harpsichord)

Phaeton. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for harpsichord)

Marais, Marin, 1656–1728.

Pieces a deux violes du premier livre. Chaconne

Marcello, Benedetto, 1686–1739.

Stravaganza, SF C703, in C major, ciacona con variazioni

Meder, Johann Valentin, 1649–1719.

Chaconne, violins (2), continuo

Méhul, Etienne Nicolas, 1763–1817.

Adrien. Chaconne

Le jugement de Paris. Chaconne
Monteverdi, Claudio, 1567–1643.
Zefiro Torna, a 2 voci

Morel, Jacques, fl. c.1700–1740.
Pièces de violle, 1er livre. Chaconne en trio

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 1756–1791.
Idomeneo. Nettuno s’onori, quell nome risoni (Intermezzo)
Idomeneo. Act III, Scena Ultima (Ballet)

Muffat, Gottlieb, 1690?–1770.
Componimenti musicali

Pachelbel, Johann, 1653–1706.
Chaconnes, organ, F minor
Chaconnes, organ, D major
Chaconnes, organ, D minor

Purcell, Henry, 1659–1695.
Chaconnes, strings, Z 730, G minor
Fantasias, Z 731
Fairy Queen. Chaconne (Dance for Chinese man and woman) (Act V)
Gordian knot unty’d (Z597). Chaconne
King Arthur. Chaconne
Timon of Athens. Chaconne

Rameau, Jean-Philippe, 1683–1764.
Hippolyte et Aricie. Chaconne (Act V)
Les Indes Galantes. Chaconne
Platée. Chaconne (Act III. Sc 3)
Pygmalion. Chaconne (Sc. IV)
Chaconne et musette
Traetta, Tommaso 1727–1779.

Antigona. Festa che termina lo spettacolo (Chaconne)

Vitali, Tommaso Antonio, 1663–1745.

Chaconnes, violin, continuo, G minor

Weiss, Silvius Leopold, 1686–1750.

Ciacona
Appendix E

Music After 1800 Identified as Chaconnes—A Selective List

Chaconne, violin, op. 69 (1949)

Adams, John 1947–

Bach, Johann Sebastian, 1685–1750 / Brahms, Johannes, 1833–1897.
Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006. Partita, no. 2. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for piano, left hand)

Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006. Partita, no. 2. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for piano)

Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006. Partita, no. 2. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for violin and piano)

Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006; arr. (Arranged for violin and piano)

---

1 This list includes works either titled “chaconne” (and its variant spellings) or referred to by either the composer of scholars as being chaconne–like. The latter are indicated with *
Bach, Johann Sebastian, 1685–1750 / Sarkozy, Gergely.
  Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006. Partita, no. 2. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for guitar)

  Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006. Partita, no. 2. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for guitar)

Bach, Johann Sebastian, 1685–1750 / Wilhelmj, August, 1845–1908.
  Sonaten und Partiten, violin, BWV 1001–1006. Partita, no. 2. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for violin and orchestra)

Badings, Henk, 1907–
  Chaconne, trumpet, electronic music (1965)

Bartók, Béla, 1881–1945
  Sonatas, violin. Tempo di ciacona

Baxter, Leigh.
  Chaconne, organ

Beethoven, Ludwig van, 1770–1827.
  32 Variations on an original theme (WoO 80)
  *Quartet, strings, no. 11, op. 95 F minor. Allegro assai vivace ma serioso (1810)

Berg, Alban. 1885–1935.
  *Wozzeck. Act I, Scene 4

Brahms, Johannes, 1833–1897
  *Symphonies, no. 4, op. 98, E minor. Allegro energico e passionate. (1884–5)

Britten, Benjamin, 1913–1976.
  Quartets, strings, no. 2, op. 36 (1945)

Buxtehude, Dietrich, 1637–1707 / Harris, William Henry, 1883–1973
Chaconnes, organ, BuxWV 160, E minor; arr. (Arranged for 2 pianos)

Cherubini, Luigi, 1760–1842
*Anacréon*. Chaccone

Chaminade, Cecile, 1857–1944.
Chaccone, piano, op. 8

Corigliano, John 1938–
*Red violin*. Chaccone
Symphonies, no. 1. Chaccone: Giulio’s son

Davidovsky, Mario, 1934–
Chaccone, piano trio

Dello Joio, Norman, 1913–
Variations, chaconne e finale

Dyson, George, 1883–1964.
Prelude, fantasy and chaconne, violoncello, orchestra

Chaccone for solo cello (2001)

Ferko, Frank, 1950–
Angels: chaconne for organ

Ciaconia über “Vater unser im Himmelreich”

Glass, Philip, 1937–
*Satyagraha*. The Kuru Field of Justice

Gubaïdulina, Sofía Asgatovna, 1931–
Chaccone, piano (1963)
Handel, George Frideric, 1685–1759 / Liszt, Franz, 1811–1886.
   *Almira*. Chaconne; arr. (Arranged for piano)

Handel, George Frideric, 1685–1759. / Vermes, Mária.
   Chaconnes, harpsichord, HWV 435, G major; arr. (Arranged for violin and viola)

Harris, Ross, 1945–
   Chaconne for solo viola

Henze, Hans Werner, 1926–
   Vitalino raddoppiato : ciacona per violino concertante ed orchestra da camera
   (1977)

Holst, Gustav, 1874–1934.
   Suites, band, op. 28. No. 1, E-flat major. Chaconne

Ligeti, Gyorgy, 1923–
   Hungarian rock : chaconne : fur cembalo

   Chaconne, piano (1946)

Locklair, Dan, 1949–

Marshall, Christopher, 1956–
   Chaconne

   Chaconne, violoncello, piano

Matthews, Colin, 1946–
   Chaconne with chorale, violin, piano
   Three-part chaconne, string trio, piano (left-hand)
Matthews, David, 1943–
Chaconne, orchestra, op. 43

Nielsen, Carl, 1865–1931.
Chaconne, piano, op. 32, (1916)

Music for children. Chaconne

Reger, Max, 1873–1916.
Sonatas, violin, op. 42. No. 4, G minor
Sonatas, violin, op. 91. No. 7, A minor (with chaconne)
Preludes and fugues, violin, op. 117. No. 4, G minor (Chaconne)

Reimann, Heinrich, 1850–1906.
Chaconne, organ, op. 32, F minor

Respighi, Ottorino, 1879–1936.
Chaconne

Rorem, Ned, 1923–
Quartets, strings, no. 3

Roubier, Henri.
Chaconne : pour le piano

Sanders, Bernard Wayne
Chaconne und Fuge in C über Salve Regina

Saxton, Robert, 1953–
Chaconnes, piano, 1 hand

Wells, John, 1948–
Chaconne, violin (1979)
Chaconne, 2 violins (1979)

Wernick, Richard, 1934–
Sonatas, violin, piano. … in the manner of a chaconne

Dance in form of a chaconne
Appendix F

Track Listing and Description of Accompanying DVD

Two Chaconnes

*Chacone of Amadis*
A dance by Anthony L’Abbé,
to music by Jean-Baptiste Lully.

*Chacoon for a Harlequin*
A dance by François Le Roussau,
with music attributed to Marc-Antoine Charpentier.

Performed by

**Keith McEwing.**

at 225 Aro St, on the 19 November 2007,

accompanied by the musicians
Andrea Oliver (Baroque flute)
and Robert Oliver (Bass viol).

Costumes by Jane Woodhall
Filmed by Paul Wolfram

Performed in the company of Professor David Carnegie, Janet Hughes, Georgia Hughes
and Jennifer Shennan.
Track 1 *Chacone of Amadis*

Track 2 *Chacoon for a Harlequin*

Track 3 *Chacone of Amadis* with subtitles identifying rhetorical structure

Track 4 *Chacoon for a Harlequin* with illustrations that have inspired this interpretation of the dance
Glossary

Anacrusis
“From the Greek anakrousis, ‘a striking up’. An unstressed note or group of notes at the beginning of a phrase of music, forming an upbeat. The term is also used of poetic metre.” (NOCM)

Baroque
“… commonly applied to music of the period c.1600–c.1750…” (NOCM). It was preceded by the Renaissance and followed by the Classical periods. It also encompasses the Rococo period, which was early eighteenth century and primarily French.

Character
The affect or mood inherent in a particular type of dance (in contrast to the structure of a dance-type).

Confirmation
Either third or fourth section of the four- and five-part classification of rhetorical theory. “… tries to convince the audience with various proofs.” (Mather, 1987. 88). “Proof of his argument.” (Ranum, 1986. 29).

Confutation
Either third or fourth section of the five-part classification of rhetorical theory (This section is omitted for the four-part classification). “… aggressively counters all opposing arguments; here the discourse reaches its highest emotional peak.” (Mather, 1987. 88).
The order of Confirmation and Confutation sections can be reversed to bring the peak or climax into the third (ie middle) section of the work.

Contretemps
A step-unit that begins by hopping onto one foot. The literal definition of the word “against time” refers to the sink on the strong beat of the bar, as opposed to the “rise” or temps which was considered natural.

Dance
(n, v) Used in this thesis in the broadest sense—as an expressive activity and in composition of artwork.

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Dance composition  A specifically choreographed piece. The twentieth-century equivalent term “choreography” in the Baroque period meant the writing down or notating of dances, and hence the term is avoided when referring to Baroque dance-compositions. Similarly “dance composer” is used instead of “choreographer.”

Dance feel  An inspiration of movement expressed by music that was not written expressly for dance (see also Dance spirit). Can be related to a particular dance-type (e.g. “… the feel of a waltz”), but does not necessarily last or remain the same for the entire piece of music. Equally, it can refer as much to a performance of music as it does to the original music composition.

Dance music  Music written expressly for performance in conjunction with dance, either specifically choreographed work or in more general social dancing. (See also Danceable music.)

Dance notation  A written recording of a dance composition in a standardized schema (e.g. Beauchamp-Feuillet notation or Kinetography/ Labanotation).

Dance spirit  The presence of a sense of movement in a musical composition, although not usually specific to a dance-type (see also Character and Dance feel).

Dance-type  A particular type of dance, e.g. chaconne, bourée, menuet, waltz etc. (The expression “dance form” is avoided to prevent confusion of the association of “form” referring to structure, e.g. variation form, rondo form, rhetorical form etc.)

Danceable music / Dance-like music  Music composed that reflects a dance feel but is not intended for the purpose of dancing to, but rather a music-only performance.

Denouement  Closing section of the three-part classification of poetic action. It is the equivalent to final part (Peroration) of the five-part classification (Mather, 1987. 87).

Exordium  Beginning of the four- and five-part classification of rhetoric theory “… addresses the listeners, alluding subtly to the coming theme” (Mather. 1987. 88). “… serves as a prelude… setting the mood” (Ranum, 1986. 28).

Intrigue  Middle section of the three-part classification of poetic action. It is the equivalent to the Confirmation and Confutation of the five-part classification. (Mather, 1987, 87-88).

Hemiola  “A term derived from the Greek, meaning ‘a whole and a half’, indicates the ration of 3:2. In modern musical notation, a hemiola occurs when two bars in triple meter (e.g. 3/2) are performed as if they were notated as three bars in duple meter (6/4), or vice versa.” (NOCM) It can occur either independently within the music and dance rhythm, or between music and dance rhythms as in the menuet.
**Movement**  
“A term used in connection with musical forms (such as the sonata, symphony, concerto etc.) that consist of a number of substantial sections, each one being called a ‘movement’…” (NOCM)

**Narration**  
Second section of the four- and five-part classification of rhetorical theory. States the main theme. (Mather, 1987. 88). “… should be emphatic (e.g. an exclamation)…” (Ranum, 1986. 29). Can be followed by a third section, after the narration introduces the main theme, a proposition states it more fully.

**Period**  
A section of prose, music or dance that consists of two or more phrases.

**Peroration**  

**Phrase**  
A section of prose, music or dance that consists of a single statement, finishing with a cadence of some kind.

**Poetic action**  
A three-part theory for the structure of prose devised in the seventeenth century, being formulated by Bernard Lamy (1668). Also applicable to other arts.

**Presence**  
The guest of honour at a ball, often the king or ruler, who would be seated centre front, and to whom the dance would be primarily danced for.

**Proposition**  
Beginning of three-part classification of poetic action. It is the introduction of the subject. It is the equivalent to the combination of Exordium and Narration of the five-part classification (Mather, 1987. 87).

**Rhetorical theory**  
A five-part classification for the structure of prose devised in the seventeenth century. Also applied to other arts.

**Section**  
In this thesis this word has been reserved to refer to a portion of the dance pertaining to a specific element of rhetorical structure in chapter three, and a portion of the music pertaining to a specific part of the musical structure in chapter four. In both chapters a section consists of several periods forming part of a movement or work.

**Step-unit**  
A predetermined configuration of movements, steps and transfers of weight, for example *pas de bourrée, temps de courante, contretemps de gavotte* etc.

**Structure**  
The actual layout of the dance/music in terms of the beats, bars, phrases, periods, sections etc. Some terms are specific to music (e.g. the structures of melody and harmony); others apply to both dance and music (e.g. the structures of rhythm and rhetoric).
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Audio/Visual Resources


