SECTION II

CONTEXTS, HISTORIES, SOURCES

CHAPTER 4

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MUSIC AND DANCE IN THE
ANCIEN RÉGIME

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LAWRENCE M. ZBIKOWSKI

IN 1777 Johann Philipp Kirnberger paused in the production of his monumental *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (1771–79) to publish a *Recueil d'airs de danse caractéristiques*. On the one hand, the relationship between the modest dances of Kirnberger's collection and the careful, methodical setting out of the art of strict musical composition is not immediately evident, as the two seem to belong to rather different intellectual registers. On the other hand, there is evidence that, for Kirnberger, the relationship between the two works was quite intimate. As the preface to the *Recueil* makes clear, the twenty-odd dances gathered by Kirnberger were meant to set out for the young musician the characteristic features of different dance types, as he believed familiarity with these was essential to understanding musical organization.

> In order to acquire the necessary qualities for a good performance, the musician can do nothing better than diligently play all sorts of characteristic dances. Each dance has its own rhythm, its passages of the same length, its accents on particular places in each measure; one thus easily recognizes them, and becomes accustomed, through playing them often, to attribute to each its particular rhythm, and to mark its patterns of measures and accents, so that one recognizes easily, in a long piece of music, the rhythms, sections and accents, so different from each other and so mixed up together. One learns, furthermore, to give each piece its special expression, for each type of dance melody has its own characteristic movement and value.
>
> Um die zum guten Vortrag nothwendigen Eigenschaften zu erlangen, kann der Tonkünstler nicht bessers thun, als fleissig allerhand *charakteristische Tänze* spielen. Jede dieser Tanzmusiken hat ihren eignen Rhythmus, ihre Einschnitte von gleicher Länge, ihre Accente auf einerley Stelle in jedem Saz; man erkennet sie also leicht, und durch das öftere Executiren gewöhnt man sich unvermerkt, den einer jeden eigenen Rythmus zu unterscheiden, und dessen Säze und Accente zu bezeichnen, so dass man endlich leicht in einem lange Musikstücke die noch so verschiedenen und durch einander gemischten Rythmen, Einschnitte und Accente erkennet. Man gewöhnt sich ferner jedem Stücke den eigenthümlichen Ausdruck zu geben, weil

> jede Art dieser Tanzmelodien eignen charakteristischen Tact und Wehrt der Noten hat. (Kirnberger 1777: 1–2)

It was knowledge of this sort that Kirnberger believed was essential to anyone wishing to learn composition, not least because he understood it to form the basis for musical expression. Thus in the first section of the second volume of *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*—the section toward which Kirnberger, at the end of the preface to the *Recueil*, directed his reader for a fuller account of the importance of studying dance—it becomes clear that the discussion of tempo, meter, and rhythm taken up there will only make sense if one has studied dances. In noting, for instance, that the aspiring composer must acquire the correct feeling for the natural tempo implied by different meters, he observes: "This is attained by diligent study of all kinds of dance pieces. Every dance has its definite tempo, determined by the meter and the note values that are employed in it" (Kirnberger 1982: 376).

Kirnberger's observations in the *Recueil* were important for the development of topic theory during the late twentieth century, for his remarks provided evidence that musical materials associated with different dances could serve as a compositional resource and that these materials could be combined within longer musical compositions. Within topic theory the dance topic has usually been conceived of in terms of the characteristic rhythmic features and character of dances popular in the eighteenth century. In Kofi Agawu's analysis of the first movement of Mozart's String Quintet in C major, K. 515, for example, the bourrée topic found in mm. 46–54 (and which is shown in Example 4.1a) is a rhythmic figure in duple time that begins with two eighth notes on the last quarter of the measure; by contrast, the gavotte topic found in mm. 57–65 (shown in Example 4.1b) begins with two quarter notes starting in the second half of the measure (Agawu 1991: 87). In her work on the topical organization of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, Wye Allanbrook took the idea of a dance topic somewhat further and proposed that the musical materials associated with different dance types could activate knowledge about the movements specific to the dance and the affectual states correlated with such movements. On this view, Mozart's use of a bourrée topic for Figaro's music in the opening duet of *Le nozze di Figaro* (which is shown in Example 4.2a) activates knowledge about the physical movements characteristic of the dance, which includes steps whose central feature is a lift onto the first beat of the measure (Allanbrook 1983: 75–76).[1] Employing a gavotte topic, as Mozart does with Susanna's music in this same duet (and which is shown in Example 4.2b), activates knowledge about a contrasting set of physical movements that begin on the third beat of the measure and then pass through the first beat to conclude on the second. This knowledge then shapes our understanding of the dramatis personae to whom we have been introduced—as Allanbrook observes, "the swaggering, cocksure bridegroom and his pert bride-to-be celebrate their coming marriage right in character, the one surveying for the nuptial bed, the other in innocent vanity admiring her new hat" (Allanbrook 1983: 76).[2]

The fuller understanding of dance topics that follows from Allanbrook's approach points to the importance of understanding the relationship between the steps of a dance

and the music for a dance. Indeed, this is much the same point Kirnberger makes in *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* in his discussion of meter. Having likened the steps of a regular walk to a musical measure and proposed that each step consists of small movements that are like beats, Kirnberger observes, "If a precise uniformity is observed in the steps and small movements, this results in the measured walk which we call dance, and this is precisely analogous to measured melody. In just the same way as dance expresses or portrays various sentiments merely by motion [*Bewegung*], melody does it merely by notes" (1982: 382).[3] A close affinity between the steps of a dance and the music for that dance is part of the legacy of French noble dance of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which had as its ideal a perfect alignment of choreography and music. Another part of that legacy was an extensive assortment of dances, each with its own character. As one indication of the importance of French dance practice to conceptions of dance music in the later eighteenth century, twelve of the sixteen different dance types set out in Kirnberger's *Recueil* derive from the dance traditions of France's *ancien régime*.

EXAMPLE 4.1 Mozart, String Quintet in C major, K. 515/i: (a) mm. 46–54 (bourrée topic) and (b) mm. 57–65 (gavotte topic).

(*Continued*)

EXAMPLE **4.1** (Continued)

EXAMPLE **4.2** Mozart, *Le nozze di Figaro*, Act 1 Scene 1, Duettino "Cinque…dieci…venti": (a) Figaro's entrance (bourrée topic) and (b) Susanna's entrance (gavotte topic).

(*Continued*)

EXAMPLE 4.2 (Continued)

In this chapter I would like to explore the contribution French noble dance made to the topical universe available to composers in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The first section that follows will focus on the dance culture of the *ancien régime* (especially as it was developed during the reign of Louis XIV) and on dance notations of the period that shed light on the relationship between the steps of a dance and its music. The second section will offer a close reading of the steps and music for a bourrée, the choreography for which was published in 1700, with the aim of developing a fuller understanding of the sort of knowledge that dance topics summoned during the eighteenth century. The third section will conclude with a brief overview of the role of dance topics in analyses of the instrumental music of the later eighteenth century.

MUSIC AND DANCE IN THE *ANCIEN RÉGIME*

The French dance master Pierre Rameau, writing in his *Maître à danser* of 1725, made an observation with which few of his contemporaries would argue: "We can say, to the glory of our race, that we have a real gift for beautiful dancing. Foreigners, so far from denying this, have, for nearly a century, come to admire our dances, and to educate themselves at our performances and in our schools. There is hardly a Court in Europe where the dancing master is not French" (Rameau 1970: xii). That this should be so was a consequence of a variety of factors, a full consideration of which would warrant its own study: the young Louis XIV's gift for dancing; the deployment of this gift in entertainments for the court organized by Jules Mazarin, prime minister during the regency of Louis's mother, Anne of Austria (which began in 1643); and Louis's determination, once he assumed absolute power, to exclude other members of the nobility from active roles in the governance of the country and to keep them occupied with courtly entertainments, central to which were a wide range of dances (Hilton 1997: 7–9). The study of dance thus had political as well practical aims, both of which are evident in the decree through which Louis XIV established the Académie Royale de Danse in 1661, the same year he became the absolute ruler of France:

> In that the Art of Dance has always been recognized as one of the most honorable and necessary methods to train the body, and furthermore as the primary and most natural basis for all sorts of Exercises, including that of bearing arms, consequently

it is one of the most advantageous and useful to our Nobility, as well as to others who have the honor of approaching Us, not only in time of War for our Armies, but even in Peacetime while we enjoy the diversion of our court Ballets. (Needham 1997: 180, translation modified)[4]

One of the results of the establishment of the academy was the development of dance notations, which were aimed at recording choreographies so that they could be preserved and taught to others. By the 1680s there were as many as four kinds of dance notation in circulation (Harris-Warrick and Marsh 1994: 83–87; Pierce 1998), although that of Pierre Beauchamps—at that time composer of the royal ballets and private dance tutor for the king—was by far the most successful. Having developed the notation, however, Beauchamps apparently saw no need to publish it or his choreographies, being content to allow them to circulate among other dance masters and their students. It was left to another dance master, Raoul-Auger Feuillet, to realize the broader potential of Beauchamps's notation through a series of publications in the early eighteenth century, beginning with his *Chorégraphie, ou l'art de décrire la dance* (1700a).[5] The "art of describing dance," published by Feuillet, involved an exhaustive system of figures and diagrams that made it possible to represent both the steps of a dance and the paths the dancers took as they moved across the floor. Using this notation, Feuillet was able to publish annual collections of ballroom dances; among the first of these was a collection of nine ballroom dances choreographed by Louis Guillaume Pécour, each of which was for a man and a woman (Feuillet 1700b).

The first page of Feuillet's notation for Pécour's choreography *La bourrée d'Achille* is shown in Figure 4.1. At the top of the page are the first eight measures of a bourrée to which the opening of the choreography is set. (*La bourrée d'Achille* takes its music from the "Entrée des Genies de Talie" in the prologue to Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Achille et Polixène* (Lully 2007). (It bears mention that Lully completed only the overture and Act 1 of *Achille et Polixène*; the Prologue and Acts 2–5 were written by Pascal Collasse.[6]) This part of the entrée consists of a bourrée followed by a minuet, which Pécour arranged into a short suite by following the minuet with a reprise of the bourrée; all told, the choreography published by Feuillet runs to eleven pages.) The space below the musical notation represents a bird's-eye view of the performance space for the dance. The portion of the performance space corresponding to the top of the page was reserved for what was known as the Presence, and would be occupied by the person, or persons, of highest rank (Hilton 1997: 85). At the bottom of the page are two symbols that represent the starting positions for the two dancers: the man on the left (a semicircle joined to a straight line), the woman on the right (two nested semicircles joined to a single straight line); showing due deference, they begin by facing toward the Presence. Immediately above the symbols for the dancers are two small circles to which short lines are connected; these indicate that the dancers start with their feet in fourth position.[7] Two solid lines extend toward the top of the page; these indicate the track that the dancers will take across the floor. Midway up the page the track shows each dancer making a right-angle turn; the man to his left, the woman to her right, such that they briefly proceed in
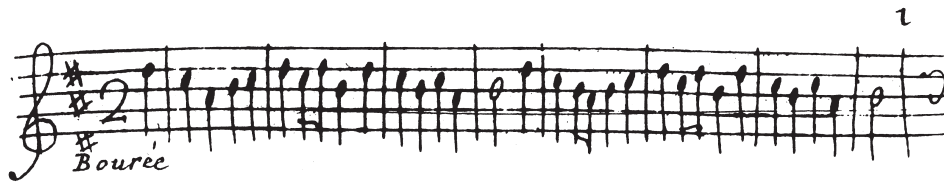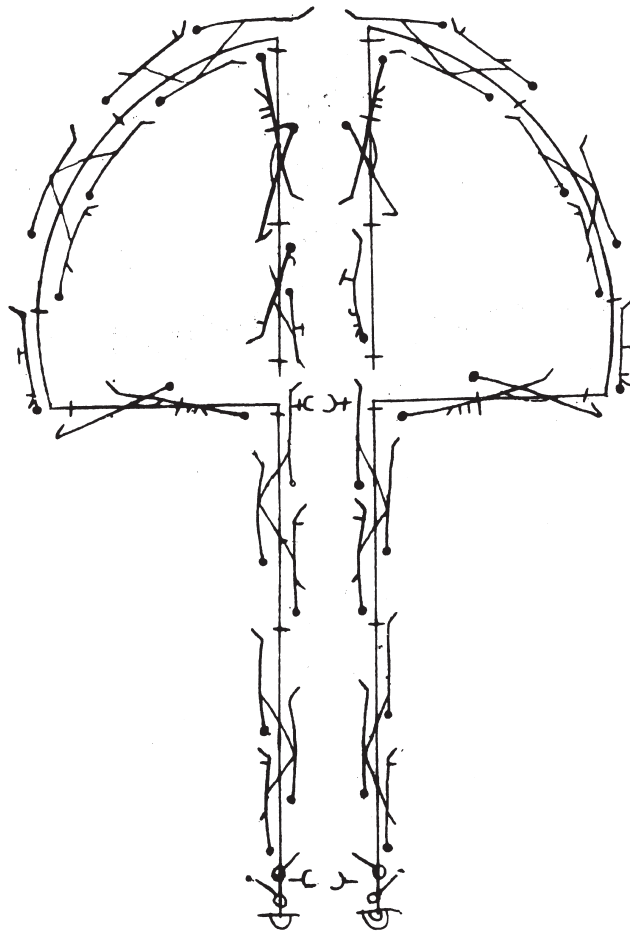
FIGURE 4.1 The first page of Raoul-Auger Feuillet's notation for Louis Guillaume Pécour's choreography *La bourrée d'Achille*, from Feuillet, *Recueil de dances* (1700), 2.

opposite directions. Each dancer then makes another turn (the man to his right, the woman to her left) and then follows an arc toward the top of the room and each other. The dancers then make one more sharp turn (the man to his right, the woman to her left) and, once again side by side, move toward the center of the room. The track itself is crossed by a number of very short perpendicular lines, each of which corresponds to a bar line of the music shown at the top of the page; the first portion of the track (when the dancers move directly toward the Presence) corresponds to two measures of music, their movement in opposite directions from each other after their first turn corresponds to one measure, and so on for the eight measures of the bourrée given on this page. Symbols for the steps each dancer performs are drawn to either side of (and occasionally across) the track; those on the left side of the track are for the left foot, and those on the right side of the track are for the right foot.

In her work on French noble dance (a large portion of which was given over to the interpretation of Feuillet's notation) Wendy Hilton offered helpful distinctions between the step (a passage of the foot forward, backward, or to the side), a step-unit (made up of a number of steps), and a step-sequence (a sequence of step-units that reaches a point of conclusion) (Hilton 1997: 73). In the opening of the choreography shown in Figure 4.1, the male dancer begins with three steps (left–right–left) that together make up the step-unit known as the *pas de bourrée*. (The female dancer also does a *pas de bourrée*, but starting on the right foot, thus creating a mirror image of the movements of the male dancer.) As do many of the step-units within the French noble style, the *pas de bourrée* begins with a *mouvement*—bending the knees down and then up again (a *plié* followed by an *élevé*)—that leads directly to a step, a combination known as a *demi-coupé* (Hilton 1997: 75).

One of the challenges faced by those notating choreographies was the precise coordination of music and movement: in some cases a number of steps were correlated with a single musical event (such as a held note); in other cases a single step was correlated with a number of musical events (such as make up a short scalar passage). A further complication was that most step-units could be used interchangeably in duple and triple time: the *pas de bourrée*, for instance, could be employed equally well to dance a bourrée (in duple time) or a sarabande (in triple time) (Hilton 1997: 186). As a means of clarifying the relationship between music and movement, Feuillet's *Chorégraphie* included a brief section that described in slightly more detail how various aspects of musical rhythm corresponded with different dance movements (Feuillet 1700a: 87–92); most subsequent dance tutors included similar sections, often given the title "Treatise on Cadence." In the "Traité de la cadence" appended to his 1725 *Abbregé de la nouvelle méthode dans l'art d'écrire ou de traçer toutes sortes de danses de ville*, Pierre Rameau made one aspect of the relationship between movement and music particularly clear: in all cases the *plié* of the initial *demi-coupé* in a step-unit occurred on the upbeat to the measure, and the *élevé* on the downbeat (Rameau 1725: 103–11). The *élevé* of the *demi-coupé* was thus associated with an accent, a feature that could, in some instances, be used to create cross rhythms between movement and music (as occurred with the second *demi-coupé* of the typical *pas de menuet* step-unit) (Hilton 1997: 191).

As suggested by this brief overview, the "gift for beautiful dancing" that Rameau attributed to his countrymen was hardly an accident but instead a consequence of the importance accorded to dance within France's *ancien régime*. This, backed by France's political power during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, gave rise to a highly influential set of cultural practices in which music and dance were in an intimate relationship with one another. As a way of studying this relationship, I would like to take a closer look at Pécour's choreography for the first bourrée in the choreography of *La bourrée d'Achille* with the aim of developing a fuller sense of the nature of the knowledge that dance topics activated for composers of and listeners to eighteenth-century instrumental music.
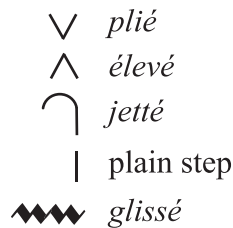
Music and Dance in La *bourrée d'Achille*

As with many of Pécour's choreographies for *danses à deux*, that for the initial bourrée from *La bourrée d'Achille* involves a relatively small number of step-units (Witherell 1983: 7–15). In addition to the *pas de bourrée*, these include the *contretemps de chaconne* (which, after the initial *plié*, involves a spring from one foot onto the same foot, followed by two plain steps), the *temps de courante* (a *mouvement* that leads to a single sliding step), the *coupé soutenue* (a *demi-coupé* followed by a sliding step), the *coupé simple* (a *demi-coupé* followed by a single plain step), and the *pas de sissonne* (a hop, or *jeté*, that finishes on two feet, followed by another hop that finishes on one foot).[8] Table 4.1

Table 4.1 Step–Units Used by the Male Dancer and Corresponding Measures for Pécour's Choreography for the Initial Statement of the Bourrée from *La bourrée d'Achille*

Step–Unit	Measure	Step–Unit	Measure
pas de bourrée	1	*pas de bourrée*	5
pas de bourrée	2	*pas de bourrée*	6
contretemps de chaconne	3	*contretemps de chaconne*	7
temps de courante	4	*coupé soutenue*	8
pas de bourrée	9	*pas de bourrée*	17
pas de bourrée	10	*pas de bourrée*	18
pas de bourrée	11	*pas de bourrée*	19
pas de bourrée	12	*pas de bourrée*	20
pas de sissonne	13	*pas de sissonne*	21
pas de sissonne	14	*pas de sissonne*	22
pas de bourrée	15	*pas de bourrée*	23
coupé soutenue	16	*coupé simple*	24

EXAMPLE 4.3 Meredith Little's analytical symbols for the main features of step-units.

$$\vee \quad \textit{plié}$$

$$\wedge \quad \textit{élevé}$$

$$\frown \quad \textit{jetté}$$

$$| \quad \text{plain step}$$

$$\blacktriangleleft\blacktriangleleft\blacktriangleleft \quad \textit{glissé}$$

provides a list of the various step-units used by the male dancer in Pécour's choreography for the initial statement of the bourrée from *La bourrée d'Achille*, together with the measure that corresponds with each step unit.

A fuller account of Pécour's choreography for *La bourrée d'Achille* would have to include not only a much more thorough description of the various steps and step-units but also the movement of the dancers' arms, the small differences between the step-units used by the male dancer and those used by the female dancer, and the paths the two trace across the floor (including movements forward and backward) as they perform the dance. For the purpose of understanding the relationship between movement and music in the French noble style, however, it will be sufficient to limit consideration to the most distinctive aspects of the step-units given in Table 4.1 and the musical events with which they were correlated. To this end, I would like to introduce an analytical notation developed by Meredith Little for the purposes of studying relationships between music and movement in French noble dance (Little 1975). Little used five symbols for the main features of different step-units, which are shown in Example 4.3: these include symbols for the *plié* and *élevé* of the *mouvement*, as well as for the *jeté*, the plain step, and the *glissé* (the sliding step used in the *temps de courante* and *coupé soutenue*). Example 4.4 provides the score for the whole of the bourrée in a keyboard reduction of the harmonization used in the prologue to *Achille et Polixène* together with the appropriate symbols for the main features of the various step-units. Brackets beneath these symbols show each of the step-units, and the letters above the symbols show whether the right foot (R), left foot (L), or both together (T) are being used.

Both Collasse's music and Pécour's choreography for the bourrée fall into two main parts: Section 1 comprises mm. 1–8, and Section 2 comprises mm. 9–24. Each of these is divided by a reprise: in Section 1, mm. 5–8 restate the material of mm. 1–4 (with the material for the last measure changed as a way to mark the end of the section); and in Section 2 mm. 17–24 restate the material of mm. 9–16 (with the last measure changed to signal an end to the dance). In what follows I shall consider the music and choreography for each section in turn.

Section 1 of the Bourrée

In Section 1 the harmonies alternate in a regular pattern: m. 1 is focused on the dominant, m. 2 on the tonic, m. 3 on the dominant, and so on throughout the section. In

EXAMPLE **4.4** Keyboard reduction of the bourrée from the "Entrée des Genies de Talie" from Pascal Collasse's prologue to Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Achille et Polixène*, with analytical symbols for Pécour's choreography.

general, the dominant is rendered less stable than the tonic, either through a bass line that leads away from the root of the chord (mm. 1 and 5) or with an auxiliary harmony on the second quarter of the measure (as in mm. 3 and 7).

Rhythmically, the compositional strategies used by Collasse are focused on creating a steady succession of quarter notes, with three exceptions: the first halves of mm. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 all include a dotted-quarter note leading to an eighth note or two sixteenths; mm. 3 and 7 include eighth notes on the second quarter of the measure, and a dotted-quarter/eighth figure in the last half of the measure; and mm. 4 and 8 begin with a dotted half note in the upper parts (which, in the case of m. 8, coincides with a dotted half note in the bass). These disruptions to the flow of quarter notes inform the rhythmic design of Section 1 in two ways: first, most measures begin with an agogic accent; second, the two measures that do not begin with an agogic accent (namely, mm. 3 and 7) have an agogic accent on the second main beat of the measure, which is preceded by an auxiliary harmony embellished with eighth-note motion.

This rhythmic design together with the harmonic strategies deployed by Collasse produce a sounding representation of a series of regular movements (mm. 1–2 and 5–6) that are disrupted (mm. 3 and 7) and then pause (equivocally in m. 4, more definitively in m. 8). I should note that my wording here reflects a desire to maintain a distinction between sequences of sound materials and the displacement of objects in the material world: I view the relationship between the two to be analogical, and "musical motion" to be a metaphorical concept.[9] From this perspective, Collasse's music offers a sonic analog for a dynamic process that begins with regular movement, is disrupted, and then comes to a pause.

As I have described it, the dynamic process represented by the music of Section 1 conforms, in most respects, with the dynamic process enacted by Pécour's choreography. Pécour begins with two *pas de bourrée* (which set up something close to a series of regular movements) that are followed by a *contretemps de chaconne* (which introduces a *jeté* and which disrupts the alternation of L–R–L and R–L–R) leading to a *temps de courante* that momentarily halts the progression of steps. This pattern is then repeated almost exactly, save for the introduction of a *coupé soutenue*—a step-unit that typically concludes a step-sequence—in m. 8. One aspect of the dance not as clearly represented by the music is the regular succession of *mouvements*, which provide a physical correlate for the arrival on each strong beat. Although these arrivals are also marked by a change in harmony, the music does not provide a strong analog for the physical tension created on each upbeat as the weight of the dancer's body is taken on flexed knees.

Section 2 of the Bourrée

In comparison with Section 1 the harmonies of Section 2 are rather more varied and participate in a compositional design that unfolds over a longer span of musical time. Collasse opens the section with the submediant in $\frac{5}{3}$ position. This gives way to a succession of $\frac{6}{3}$ harmonies (beginning on the fourth quarter of m. 9 and extending through the

first half of m. 11, mediated only by the $\frac{5}{3}$ chord on the last quarter of m. 10) that leads, in the latter half of m. 11, to the dominant of A major, embellished by a 4–3 suspension. (All of the features of mm. 9–16 are, of course, reprised in mm. 17–24.) The subsequent arrival on A major leads, almost immediately, to a return to the tonic. Collasse then repeats the melody of mm. 9–12 but provides it with a new harmonization: m. 13 (which corresponds to m. 9) begins with the tonic in $\frac{5}{3}$ position, and m. 15 (which corresponds to m. 11) is focused on the dominant of D major. Perhaps most important, however, are two details of this reharmonization. First, although the opening of m. 14 is identical to that of m. 10, Collasse harmonizes the last quarter of m. 13 with the leading-tone chord of D major, thus connecting the tonic in $\frac{5}{3}$ position on the third quarter of m. 13 with the tonic in $\frac{6}{3}$ position on the first quarter of m. 14. Second, beginning with the fourth quarter of m. 14 the harmonies set out an orderly circle-of-fifths progression (F♯ minor, B minor, E minor, A major) which culminates in an arrival on tonic in m. 16.

In contrast to the comparatively subtle play of rhythm in Section 1, the rhythmic strategies used by Collasse in Section 2 are both simpler and of more marked effect. The half notes on the second quarter of mm. 10, 12, and 14 create an agogic accent at a moment in the rhythmic cycle that has not, up to this point, received any emphasis at the same time that they preclude the possibility of marking a moment—the third quarter of the measure—that *has* received emphasis. The contrast provided by these measures is mitigated in two ways: first, mm. 9, 11, and 13 each make use of rhythmic patterns established in mm. 1–8; and second, mm. 15 and 16 revisit the basic materials of the rhythmic cadences of mm. 3–4 and 7–8. As a consequence, the displaced accents introduced in Section 2 function as interruptions of the normative rhythmic patterns established in Section 1 rather than as a permanent shift of the pattern of metrical accents.

Within Section 2 Collasse uses the resources offered by harmony and rhythm to craft a succession of musical events that suggest a dynamic process that begins with the upbeat to m. 9 and continues through the downbeat of m. 16 (and which is revisited in mm. 17–24). The midpoint of this temporal span is articulated by the arrival on A major in m. 12—an arrival prepared by giving over the last half of m. 11 to the dominant of A, complete with a 4–3 suspension in the alto voice and an octave skip in the bass— which is rendered contingent by the displaced accent on the second beat of the measure. (Compare, for instance, the effect of mm. 11–12 with that of mm. 3–4.) The fluidity— even uncertainty—associated with successions of $\frac{6}{3}$ harmonies and displaced accents only starts to resolve with the circle-of-fifths sequence and more regular rhythmic structure that commences on the last quarter of m. 14 and that reaches its conclusion with the arrival on the tonic in m. 16. As a whole, the passage provides an analog for a dynamic process that moves away from previously established safe ground, ventures over novel topography, and then slips almost effortlessly back to the place where it began.

In contrast to the clear sense of departure occasioned by the introduction of the submediant at the opening of Section 2 (and affirmed by the displaced accents of mm. 10 and 12), the first portion of Pécour's choreography begins with four successive *pas de bourrée*—that is, an unbroken succession of the same step-unit that served to anchor the choreography of Section 1. With regularity of movement thus having been established,

Pécour then introduces the most animated step-units thus far: two successive *pas de sissonne*, which comprise four successive hops. These are then followed by another *pas de bourrée*, and the step-sequence concludes with either a *coupé soutenue* (in m. 16) or a *coupé simple* (in m. 24). The overall pattern is one of regular movement interrupted by a brief flurry of activity and concluding with a smooth approach to closure. The dynamic process enacted by the dance steps of Section 2 is, in consequence, markedly differ-ent from that suggested by the music. Emblematic of this difference is the mismatch between movement and music on the third quarters of mm. 10, 12, and 14 (as well as mm. 18, 20, and 22) when the dancer's step (or hop) onto his left foot is met with no cor-responding musical event.

It bears mention that while Collasse's music and Pécour's dance steps both reach a conclusion in m. 16 (and again in m. 24) they do so through different means. The music initiates in a rather precipitate manner the sequence of events that culminate in m. 16; once on its way, however, the music proceeds as though its goal is never in doubt, each two-measure unit leading securely to the next. The dance steps, by contrast, continue with their *pas de bourrée* as though oblivious to the adventurous course of the music but then hurry to catch up, becoming slightly unpredictable at the very moment that the music catches sight of the course it will take to cadence. This sort of playful divergence between music and dance constituted a significant expressive resource within French dance practice: in Nicholas Cook's terms, the independence of music and dance created a true instance of multimedia (Cook 1998: 98–129).

Relationships between Music and Dance in *La bourrée d'Achille* and the *Ancien Régime*

In summary, then, Pécour's choreography for the first statement of the bourrée in *La bourrée d'Achille* demonstrates two slightly different strategies for the correlation of music and dance. In Section 1 music and dance fit closely with one another: the dynamic process summoned by Collasse's music finds a visible and physical representation in the movements of Pécour's dancers. In Section 2 music and dance are more independent of one another, although they ultimately arrive at similar goals.

Although I chose to begin my analysis of relationships between music and dance in *La bourrée d'Achille* with Collasse's music (which, after all, was created long before Pécour's choreography), I could just have easily started with the dance steps and then proceeded to the music. One of the distinctive features of the French noble style of dance was the close coordination of music and dance in both conception and practice: those known chiefly as composers were intimately familiar with choreographic conventions (and were often, as was Lully, dancers themselves), and those known chiefly as chore-ographers were also performers and composers of dance music (Beaussant 1992: 24–36; La Gorce 2002: 56–102; Hilton 1997: 23–33). For practitioners of dance within the *ancien régime*, the two were likely inseparable: hearing the music summoned the steps of the dance, and seeing the movements of the dance summoned the sound of the music.[10] In

terms of the perspective I adopted in my analysis of *La bourrée d'Achille*, and have developed more fully elsewhere (Zbikowski 2008a, 2012), the music for the dance may thus serve as a sonic analog for the dynamic process constituted by the steps of the dance.

Broadly speaking, this approach to the relationship between music and dance is quite similar to that developed by Wye Allanbrook, with two differences. First, my view is shaped by recent research in cognitive science, and especially on processes of analogy: for music to serve as an analog for the steps of a dance there must be clear correlations between the music and the dance. This, then, was part of the reason for my close reading of *La bourrée d'Achille*: I was interested in discovering the features of Collasse's music that correlated with the movements set out by Pécour's choreography. The second difference between my approach and that of Allanbrook follows from the first. Through her close consideration of the history and rhythmic characteristics of different dance types Allanbrook laid the groundwork for understanding how dance topics shaped the way listeners hear music. As my analysis of *La bourrée d'Achille* shows, however, we also need to pay attention to details of harmonic and melodic design if we are to fully understand how a sequence of musical sounds can evoke a sequence of physical movements and all these carry with them.

I should also note, however, that the relationships between music and dance that obtained within French noble dance could be considerably more complicated and more subtle than those demonstrated by a ballroom dance such as *La bourrée d'Achille*. There are, for instance, numerous examples of dance phrasing that runs contrary to musical phrasing and strong evidence that composers and choreographers played with this variability in their compositions (Schwartz 1998; Harris-Warrick 2000). One of the advantages of Feuillet's notation is that it makes it possible to discover such complications, for it was expressly designed to show how dance steps and music related to one another. As do all notations (whether for music or dance), it has its limitations. Since the music is only shown in a single stave, details of harmony or counterpoint can only be inferred—it is quite possible that the version of Collasse's music envisioned by Pécour was somewhat different from that used in the published prologue to *Achille et Polixène* (and there are indeed minor differences between Collasse's melody and that which accompanies Pécour's choreography). Understanding how the steps of the dance were to be performed requires an equal measure of interpretation, although thanks to the work of Hilton and others there is now far less guesswork than there once was. With that in mind, I would again emphasize that my analytical account of Pécour's choreography is radically simplified, having for the most part omitted mention of movements through the performance space, having nothing to say about steps performed backward or with turns, and having ignored the movements of hands and arms. It is also important to recognize that the practice of French noble dance embraced a wide range of dance types, and that choreographers responded to these dances in a variety of ways. And so while the general characterization of a bourrée as a dance expressing "moderate joy" (Allanbrook 1983: 49) conforms with the basic expressive resources offered by the dance it hardly exhausts them. To fully understand the affective character of a given bourrée— or any of the dances of the *ancien régime*—it is necessary to consider carefully how the

musical materials for the dance are organized, to explore how these are correlated with dance steps, and to place the whole in the broader context within which it took place.

The Culture of Dance in the *Ancien Régime*

Thanks to a complex coincidence of factors—not the least of which was Louis XIV's talent for dancing—the practice of dance held a central place in the court life of the *ancien régime*. On the one hand, the noble classes viewed dance as a means of refining the physical disposition through which they distinguished themselves from those whom they ruled (Needham 1997: 180; Rameau 1970: xii). On the other hand, dance provided an opportunity for the nobility to give corporeal presence to the aesthetic of *galanterie* (Cowart 2008: 14). Although *galanterie* was hardly a stable construct during the time of the *ancien régime*, to the extent that it was construed as a desirable attribute it was an intensely social one, the essence of which was to gain distinction by bringing pleasure to others (Viala 1997). Accordingly, the ballroom settings that Feuillet and other dance masters had in mind was one in which the dancers performed before an audience of their peers, beginning with the couple of highest rank and proceeding through the rest of those assembled (Rameau 1970: 37–39). Within the *ancien régime*, then, dance was a site for the development and display of a comportment that pleased, something possible only if dance and music were carefully adapted to one another. A sense of the pleasure afforded by such an adaptation is readily apparent in Kellom Tomlinson's early eighteenth-century account of the effect of a close coordination of music and dance:

> every Turn, Step, Spring or Bound seen in one will be at the same Instant observed in the other, in such an exact Symmetry and Harmony of the Parts agreeing with the Notes of the *Music*, as to cause the most agreeable Surprize in the Beholders of the two *Dancers*; or admitting a Dozen or more in Number, by observing them all to move as only one Person. This is the natural Effect of good *Dancing* adorn'd with all its Beauties, in that the *Music* seems to inspire the *Dancing*, and the latter the former; and the Concurrence of both is so requisite to charm those who behold them, that each of them in some Measure suffers by a Separation. (Tomlinson 1735: 150)

The extent to which this ideal persisted over the course of the eighteenth century is an open question. While Allanbrook notes the importance of training in the Kapellmeister tradition—which included developing a thorough knowledge of courtly dance—to composers like Mozart, she also notes that by midcentury styles had changed, and that the bourgeoisie of the later eighteenth century were far more interested in dances that could be easily learned than in those that required specialized training and hours of practice (Allanbrook 1983: 30–31). Indeed, that Kirnberger saw a need to publish his *Recueil* suggests that knowledge about courtly dances was fast waning. And yet the larger lesson of the *Recueil*—and, for that matter, Allanbrook's *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*—is that a true knowledge of music must include deep familiarity with the rhythmic and melodic patterns of dance music, patterns that I here suggest serve as sonic

analogs for the dynamic process of performing the steps of the dance. This, then, is perhaps the most important contribution dance topics drawn from the traditions of French noble dance make to the discourse of—and about—music of the late eighteenth century, for they foreground the importance of embodied knowledge to the ways that musical materials are organized in order to facilitate musical communication.

Dance Topics in Analysis

Leonard Ratner began his discussion of musical topics in *Classic Music* with a survey of different forms of dance, which he viewed as making an important contribution to the topical universe available to composers in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Ratner used this opportunity to draw an important distinction between two different ways topics could be employed: as types (by which he meant fully worked-out compositions) and as styles (in which figures or progressions characteristic of a type appeared as part of a longer composition). He noted that the distinction between type and style was flexible: "minuets and marches represent complete types of composition, but they also furnish styles for other pieces" (Ratner 1980: 9).

In that Ratner's focus was more on the expressive resources represented by dance types than on the patterns of movements associated with various dances, he tended to view diverse forms of dance as relatively closely related to one another. Thus the passepied was classified as a rather lively minuet and the sarabande as a slow minuet, despite important differences between the execution of the steps and the musical organization of each dance as well as the social context within which they would have been performed. In this Ratner seems to have been influenced by Johann Mattheson, who, in the chapter of his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* in which he considered categories of melodies, described different dance types in terms of their broad affective characteristics with no mention whatever of the steps of the dance (Mattheson 1739: 224–32; Harriss 1981: 451–64). Again, Allanbrook's work serves as a healthy corrective to this approach: while retaining Ratner's focus on the affective aspects of each dance, her detailed consideration of the steps, musical organization, and social context of different dance types shows how the interaction of these two expressive media shapes listeners' understanding.

Taking a cue from Allanbrook's work, I would like to propose that composers of the later eighteenth century could deploy dance materials in a number of different ways, and that these can be thought of as occupying places along a continuum organized according to the social and cultural function to be realized by the music they produced.[11] On one end of this continuum is music specifically intended for dancing, whether in social or balletic settings. In such music there was a close relationship between music and dance, not least because the two were conceived as intimately coordinated with one another. Connecting with but conceptually distinct from music for dancing are instrumental dances of the sort found in dance suites of the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries. On the one hand, there is a clear connection between, for instance, bourrées that were danced and those written for instrumental performance (especially within seventeenth-century French practice); on the other hand, inasmuch as the only communicative medium involved in an instrumental dance movement was that of music, the "dance" aspects would have to be imagined by the listener. As I have shown elsewhere, in at least some cases the result was a work that adhered even more closely to the basic rhythmic and melodic figures associated with a given dance than did those works meant to be performed with dancers (Zbikowski 2008a: 295–96). At a further remove from actual dance practice would be the incorporation of portions of dance pieces within longer works (which was the compositional strategy to which Kirnberger alluded in the preface to his *Recueil*): in such cases not only would the relevant dance have to be imagined by the listener, but she would have to decide when the "dance" ended and when another dance—or nondance music—began. I would regard dance topics of the sort identified by Allanbrook in her analysis of Figaro and Susanna's opening duet (and shown in Example 4.2) as exemplifying this sort of compositional strategy. Finally, at the far end of the continuum would be passages that borrow portions of the rhythmic figuration of different dance types but whose meaning is largely dependent on the musical context within which they are embedded. I would include here instances of the sort that Agawu identified in his topical analysis of Mozart's String Quintet in C major, K. 515. Although the entry of the bourrée topic in the second violin on the last beat of m. 46 (shown in Example 4.1a) provides a clear analog for the forward motion of the dance (in which the *plié* and *élevé* of the *pas de bourrée* step-unit carry the dancer across the barline), the repeated f¹s that conclude the figure seem to stall that motion. This is offset slightly by the entrance of the two violas at the end of m. 47, but the effect is less that of a single dancer (or pair of dancers) moving forward and more that of successive dancers entering and then pausing. With the entry of the first violin at the end of m. 48 and the successive iterations of the bourrée topic that follow the forward momentum picks up, but against the anchoring A♭ of the cello the figures sound more antic than dance-like. The cumulative effect, then, is of music that recalls momentarily some of the characteristic features of a well-known dance but only to use them as a means of enacting the larger harmonic discourse within which they are embedded. (Compare, for instance, the regular pattern of movement built up by the bourrée topic that accompanies Figaro's entrance, and which is shown in Example 4.2a.) The sense that one is dealing more with dance-like music than a topical reference to a specific dance is, if anything, more pronounced in the case of the gavotte topic that Agawu identified in mm. 57–65 of the string quintet (and shown in Example 4.1b). Here only the half-measure upbeat typical of the dance remains; the one time its forward motion is continued (the first violin's version in mm. 58–59) stands out as an exception. The regular repetitions of the figure and the strong sense of movement toward the downbeat that it offers are indeed dance-like, and yet there is little sense that reference here is to any specific dance. At this end of the continuum we are indeed a considerable distance from the exquisite coordination of music and dance described by Tomlinson, but we have also entered a domain in which musical communication, and all that it offers to the imagination, has taken center stage.[12]

These last examples would seem to suggest that labels for different dance topics that some analysts have applied to music of the eighteenth century are less important than offering a careful account of the rhythmic and melodic features of the musical materials that a composer deploys, especially where the compositional strategies behind these materials seem to contrast with each other in marked ways (as do those identified by Agawu in his topical analysis of mm. 47–65 of Mozart's quintet). By means of such analyses we might come to a better understanding of the ways in which musical materials can serve as sonic analogs for dynamic processes, whether the processes are those associated with the dance steps of the *ancien régime*, with patterned movement of a rather different sort, or with psychological and physiological processes associated with the emotions.[13] Through an understanding of this sort—one that fully embraces the importance of embodied knowledge across the range of human experience—we can come to a more complete appreciation of the resources that dance music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provided to composers of the later eighteenth century.

Notes

1. On the steps characteristic of the bourrée see Little and Jenne (2001: 37).
2. A detailed discussion of the interplay between the bourrée and the gavotte in Mozart's Duettino can be found in Stephen Rumph's chapter, this volume (pages 000–000).

    AQ: Cross-reference needed. Please update at proofs stage

3. Note that the term used here for the movement associated with dance—*Bewegung*—is the same frequently used for tempo (and which indeed served as the heading for the section on tempo in *Die Kunst*). For the use of *Bewegung* within a musical context in the early nineteenth century, see Koch (1802: col. 241–42).
4. For a similar perspective on the importance of dance for distinguishing nobility see Rameau (1970: xii).
5. The part played by Beauchamps in the development of the notation broadly attributed to Feuillet has only recently come to light. Although Beauchamps filed a petition against Feuillet in 1704 for infringement of his work, he failed to win the case and it was only with the appearance of two English translations of *Chorégraphie* in 1706 (subsequent to the expiration of the royal privilege granted Feuillet) that Beauchamps's role in the development of the notation became more widely known, for each acknowledged Beauchamps as the inventor of the notation that had been so successfully exploited by Feuillet. For a full discussion see Hilton (1997: 46–49).
6. My thanks to Rebekah Ahrendt for drawing this to my attention.
7. The five canonical positions used in French noble dance (and later adopted for ballet) were first codified by Pierre Beauchamps in the late seventeenth century. See Rameau (1970: 5) and Hilton (1997: 98–99).
8. On the *contretemps de chaconne*, the *temps de courante*, the *coupé soutenue* and the *coupé simple*, and the *pas de sissonne* see Hilton (1997: 214, 201, 177, and 223).
9. For a further discussion of the role of metaphor in conceptualizations of music see (Zbikowski 2008b).
10. Although we can only speculate on the knowledge of dancers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, recent neuroimaging studies of expert dancers supports the close

relationship between movement and music I suggest here. See Calvo-Merino et al. (2005) and Brown, Martinez, and Parsons (2006).

11. The continuum I describe here captures some of the strategies outlined by Ratner in his consideration of how dances were incorporated into classic music; see Ratner (1980: 17–18).
12. For more on this approach to musical communication see Zbikowski (2008a).
13. With respect to sonic analogs for the psychological and physiological processes associated with the emotions see Zbikowski (2011).

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