

Taste and Ingenuity: Three English Chaconnes of the Early Eighteenth Century

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The dancing-masters Mr Isaac and Anthony L'Abbé, who were active in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, were highly regarded by contemporaries for their skill in making dances. John Weaver praised Mr Isaac for his masterly compositions of ball-dances and Monsieur L'Abbé for his admirable compositions in ballet (*Orchesography* 1706, preface), and F. le Roussau wrote of the taste and ingenuity which was displayed by L'Abbé's dances for the theatre (L'Abbé c.1725, preface). And Soame Jenyns, in his poem *The Art of Dancing* (1729 p. 31), placed Isaac in a class with Raphael and Virgil as deserving of eternal fame.

So if we wish to learn more about dance in early eighteenth-century England, we would do well to examine the compositions of these two masters. We may hope by examining their work to increase our general understanding of prevailing taste in dance of the period, and perhaps to glimpse the ingenuity which each of them brought to the art of choreography (used here in its modern sense of 'dance-making', rather than 'dance-writing').

There have been several worthwhile studies relating to English choreographic styles of the early eighteenth century, notably those of Carol Marsh and Richard Ralph. Marsh (1985), in her study of English sources, offered a perceptive comparison of dance manuals and insights to the analysis of English generic dance forms and notations between 1706 and 1740, and concluded that the main differences between English and French choreographic styles lay in the greater sense of individuality displayed by choreographers in England, particularly in their preference for imaginative floor patterns, use of asymmetrical passages, newly composed music, and irregular phrase structures. Ralph (1985) offered a thorough description and analysis of the various literary and cultural influences on, and subsequent effects of, the work of John Weaver as a choreographer, dancer, teacher and dance notator. Jennifer Shennan (1992) brought to light an important additional source, a notebook of the English dancing-master Kellom Tomlinson, which offers intriguing hints at French influence upon English choreography. Jennifer Thorp (1992) also alluded to the importance accorded to French influence on dance notations and manuals; and both she and Moira Goff (1991, also Goff 1993) have found evidence of complex networks of patronage and commercial rivalry between publishers and dance notators in London.

In this article we have considered three early eighteenth century chaconnes which survive in notated form as couple-dances: *The Favorite* by Mr Isaac, and *The Princess Ann's Chacone* and the *Chacone of Galathee*, both by Anthony L'Abbé (Little & Marsh 1992, nos 4700, 7080, 1860).¹ We have attempted to shed some light on the dance-making methods of L'Abbé and Isaac, and on the prevailing choreographic concerns of the period, by looking at the historical context of each of these dances, and by examining four aspects of their choreographic structure: (1) spatial symmetries, (2) dancers' body directions, (3) step symmetries, and (4) orthodoxy of step vocabulary. While our conclusions from so small a sample are necessarily tentative, we hope that the analytical methods we employ may develop into useful tools for future study and comparison of other notated baroque dances.

We chose these three dances because they are alike in many of their external characteristics. They are the only surviving notated chaconnes for a man and woman², choreographed by dancing-masters working in England (at court and in the theatres) in the years around 1700. Two of them are royal birthday dances and the other a theatre dance, and two of them allow comparison of Anthony L'Abbé's choreographic styles for court and theatre dances.

The chaconne has been defined as 'a baroque dance in triple metre whose musical scheme was incorporated into a continuous variation form'. The earliest documented references to the chaconne, found in Spanish literature from 1598 onwards, indicate that it was a triple-metre dance of lively character accompanied by song texts, and was regarded as a more exotic dance than the sarabande which it soon rivalled in popularity (Sadie, 1980, Chaconnes). Fourteen notated dances referred to as chaconnes survive from the first quarter of the eighteenth century, although the actual date of choreography may be earlier for some of them. Six are dances of English provenance and the other eight are French (see Table 1).

The Dances

The Favorite

The Favorite was published in 1706 by Weaver as one of the six dances comprising *A Collection of Ball Dances...by Mr Isaac*, and was reissued by Walsh and Hare, re-using Weaver's engraved plates, at least four times before 1714.³

The music was composed by James Paisible and appears in a collection of choreographed dances and country dances dating from no later than 1688.⁴ It consists of a chaconne of 64 measures (two four-bar strains and one eight-bar strain, each repeated; the whole played twice through), followed by a bourrée of 32 measures.⁵ Given the early date of the music it seems likely that the dance was created much earlier than 1706.

None of the notations in the 1706 edition has a title-page, but the first plate of notation for *The Favorite* indicates that it was 'A Chaconne danc'd by Her Majesty'. This suggests either that it was danced by Queen Anne at some time after her accession in March 1702 or that it was danced by the future Queen Anne while still a Princess but that Weaver automatically accorded her the regnal title when he published the dance in 1706. Walsh reissued this and other Isaac notations in c.1708 as separate dances each prefaced by a passepartout title-page onto which was pasted a slip of paper bearing the title of the dance concerned. The title-page stated that the dance was 'perform'd at Court on Her Majesties Birthday Feb. the 6th 17..' (see Figure 1). Walsh may genuinely have thought that *The Favorite* had been choreographed as a birthday dance, or he may have affixed a royal birthday title-page simply to boost sales.

Thus we have two related sets of questions about chronology. First, when was this dance choreographed? Does it date from 1688 or earlier, or is it a later composition using the same tune as an earlier *Favorite*? And second, when, if ever, did Queen Anne dance it? Did she dance it before or after she became Queen in 1702?

If it was devised for and danced by Queen Anne as Queen, the likeliest date for its composition was between 1702 and

The
FAVORITE
 a New DANCE
 Compos'd
 by *Com. Paiffle*
 M^r ISAAC
 Perform'd at Court
 on Her MAJESTIES
 Birth day
 Feby 6th
 17

Printed for J. Baskin, Stationer, at the Sign of the Crown, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, near St. Dunstons Church, in the Strand. Sold at the Sign of the Crown, in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church, in the Strand.

The
FAVORITE
 M^r ISAAC'S
 New DANCE.
 made for
 Her MAJESTY'S Birth Day

The Tune by M^r Paiffle.
 Engraven in Characters & Figures for y^e use of *Majestys*
 Not the following Dances by M^r Isaac are likewise Printed.

<p><i>Vz The Rigadoon Royal.</i> <i>The Royal Galliard.</i> <i>The Royal Portuquez.</i> <i>The Salar-ella.</i> <i>The Union.</i> <i>The Britannia.</i> <i>The Spartein.</i> <i>The Favourite.</i></p>	<p><i>The Richmond.</i> <i>The Rigadoon.</i> <i>The Rondeau.</i> <i>The Princes.</i> <i>The Glesier.</i> <i>The Marlborough.</i> <i>The Royal.</i> <i>The Northumberland.</i></p>
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Printed for T. Walshe, Stationer, in Ordinary to Her Majesty at the Sign of the Crown, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, near St. Dunstons Church, in the Strand, & J. Baskin, Stationer, at the Sign of the Crown, in the Strand, near St. Dunstons Church, in the Strand.

Figure 1. Title-pages by Walsh & Hare for different issues of *The Favorite*. That of c.1708 uses a passepartout title-page for royal birthday dances, the name of the relevant dance appearing on a pastedown slip near the top of the page; that of c.1711/12 uses a different passepartout title-page in which the name of the dance is written in manuscript near the top of the page and the other dances in the collection listed below.
 (G.U.L. Fuing Collection Q.c.62; B.L. Music Library h.993(11). By permission of Glasgow University Library and the British Library).

Table 1. Extant Chaconne Notations

The English dances (with their date of publication) are

Choreog.	Title	Solo/ duo	Music by	Year	LMC no.
Isaac	The Favorite	HF	Paisible	1706	4700
Isaac	Chacone and Minuet	HF	unknown	1711	1820
L'Abbé	Princess Ann's Chacone	HF	Galliard	1719	7080
L'Abbé	Chacone of Amadis	H	Lully	c1725	1840
L'Abbé	Chacone of Galathee	HF	Lully	c1725	1860
Le Roussau	Chacon for a Harlequin	H	Charpentier ²⁶	1720	1980

The French dances are

Pecour	Chaconne de Phaeton	H	Lully*	1704	1960
Pecour	Chaconne pour Homme	H	unknown	1704	2000
Pecour	Chaconne pour Femme	F	Lully*	1704	2020
Feuillet	Chaconne	H	Campra	n.d.	1900
Feuillet	Chaconne for solo man	H	unknown	n.d.	1920
anonymous	Chaconne de Phaestons	H	Lully*	n.d.	1940
anonymous	Entrée d'Arlequin	H	Lully**	n.d.	2760
de la Montagne	Chaconne Darlequin	H	Lully**	n.d.	1880

* these three dances use the same music.

** these two dances use the same music.

1704. Queen Anne may have danced at her own birthday ball in February 1703, or at the court balls held regularly at Windsor throughout that summer (Bucholz 1993 p. 231), but by 1704 she had become so fat and gout-ridden, according to ambassador Spanheim (Doebner 1887 p. 765), that she had given up dancing altogether and no court balls were held that year.

Even before she had given up dancing, it is unlikely that the Queen would have performed specially presented birthday dances, and all the evidence suggests that professional dancers were brought in for command performances on these and other occasions in the Court Calendar which were celebrated formally with 'dancing and entertainment'.⁶ The first birthday ball of Queen Anne's reign occurred in February 1703 but an advertisement of the time referred to 'Mr Isaack's new dances danced at court for Her Majesty's birthday, the tunes by Mr Lefevre', which suggests that *The Favorite* (with music by Paisible) was not among them, or not mentioned by Walsh. A similar advertisement for 1704⁷ notes that the tunes that year were by Mr Paisible, but does not name the dances nor make any reference to their presentation at Court, and it is known that no birthday ball occurred that year. From 1705 until the end of Queen Anne's reign those royal birthday dances which were presented are accounted for in extant advertisements or notations but do not include *The Favorite*.

The most plausible explanation seems to be that *The Favorite* was danced by the future Queen Anne when still a Princess, the music perhaps reissued by Walsh in 1704 along with dances for that year, and the notation reissued in c. 1708 and later with an assumption that it had been a royal birthday dance. Both Paisible and Isaac had connections with the royal court from at least 1675 when both were involved in a production of the masque *Calisto* at Whitehall (Ashbee 1986 pp. 146, 150). At that date Mr Gohory was dancing-instructor to the Princesses Mary and Anne (Chamberlayne 1674–1682), but by 1694 if not earlier Mr Isaac had a place within the royal court as the dancing-master called in to teach hapless new maids-of-honour poise and deportment before

they were allowed to appear before the Queen (Harris 1992). Paisible's music for *The Favorite* dates from at least as early as 1688, and it is not impossible that Isaac taught that and other dances to Princess Anne at some date during the 1680s. He might conceivably have partnered her in private performances of it, although if she ever performed it in public a more acceptable partner in terms of court etiquette would have been her cousin the Duke of Richmond,⁸ to whom Weaver dedicated the *Collection of Ball-Dances* in 1706 as someone who had performed 'all or most' of them and who had 'admirable Proficiency ... in the Art of Dancing' (Isaac 1706, preface).

Whatever the date of its choreography, there are strong indications that this dance was held in high regard by Queen Anne. Its title, the frequent reissues during her reign, and the note on the first plate of the notation are reinforced by Pemberton's comment in 1711 that this dance alone justified the use of notation as a means of transmitting dances of good taste to posterity (Pemberton 1711, preface).

The Princess Ann's Chacone

Anthony L'Abbé's dance for the birthday celebrations of King George I on 28 May 1719 was advertised by John Walsh as 'The Princess Anne's Chaconne, Mr l'Abée's new dance for his Majesty's Birth-Day, 1719. The tune by Mr Galliard, to which is added the newest Minuets, Riggadoons, and French Dances, perform'd at Court and Publick Entertainments, price 6d' (Smith, 1948 no. 568).⁹

The music by John Galliard has not yet been traced, and Pemberton's notation of the tune may be all that survives. It consists of a chaconne of 44 bars followed by a hornpipe of 24. The chaconne section has only one internal repeat (the opening four bars, repeated near the end) and uneven, asymmetric phrases (one possible reading is 4+5+4+4+4+5+6+4+4+4 measures).

It is not known whether *The Princess Ann's Chaconne* was actually danced at court in 1719, or by whom. Princess Ann, the King's eldest granddaughter, was only ten years old at the time, and although L'Abbé averred that she was a fine dancer

Table 2. Dance analysis

The Favorite

Musical strain	A				A'				B				B'				C				C'				A				A'											
Measure number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
Spatial symmetry	m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m	*	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	a	*	m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Body directions	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	o	-	-	o	f	f	o	-	o	f	-	f	o	o	f	-	-	-	f	p	-	-	-	p	f	f	o	o	f	-	f	p
Step symmetries	a	b	a	b	c	c	d	d'										b	b				e	e			f	f		g	b	g'	b	h	i	h	i			
Step orthodoxy	h	o	h	o	o	o	h	h	h	o	o	o	n	h	h/h	o	h	h	o	o	h	h	o/h	n	n	n	h	n	o	o	n	o	h	o	o	o	o	o	o	h

The Princess Ann's Chacone

Musical phrase																																								
Measure number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
Spatial symmetry	m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m	*	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	a	*	m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Body directions	p	-	-	p	f	f	p	o	o	f	o	o	f	-	-	-	-	-	f	o	f	-	-	f	o	-	o	f	o	o	p	o	p	o	p	o	p	-	p	o
Step symmetries			a	a													b	b		c	c'			d	d	e	d	d	f	g	h	g	h							
Step orthodoxy	h	n	o	o	h	h	h	h	h	o	h	h	h	o	h	o	o	h	h	n	h	h	h	h	n	n	h	o	h	h	o	h	o	h	o	h	o	h	n	h

Chacone of Galathee

Musical strain	A				B				C				D				E																							
Measure number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
Spatial symmetry	m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-
Body directions	p	p	f	f	p	o	f	f	o	-	-	o	p	-	p	o	f	-	-	f	o	o	p	-	-	p	f	-	f	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	p
Step symmetries									a	a'							b	c	b	c'																				
Step orthodoxy	h	h	n	h	n	n	h	n	h	h	h	n	n	n	h	h	o	n	n	n	h	n	o	h	h	h	h	n	n	n	h	o	n	h	n	n	o	n/n	n	h

Key:

- Spatial symmetry m = mirror; a = axial; * = asymmetry
- Body directions p = presence; f = facing partner; o = other
- Step symmetries letter pairs indicate symmetric steps; a prime mark (') indicates a slight asymmetry
- Step orthodoxy o = orthodox; h = heterodox; n = not shown
(two letters divided by a slash indicate different steps, man/woman)

Hyphens indicate a continuation of the same mark

and had already dedicated two dances to her and named another after her younger sister¹⁰, there is no evidence that any of the Hanoverian royal family ever danced the compositions named after them.¹¹

It seems likely that by this date most if not all of the birthday dances were performed by professionals, who might then add them to their own theatre repertoire. *The Princess Ann's Chacone* was performed at Covent Garden by Dupré and Mademoiselle Delorme on 28 May 1735 (Avery *et al*, 1960–63); it is possible that it may have been performed earlier although no record of the event has been found.

Chacone of Galathee

Anthony L'Abbé apparently choreographed the *Chacone of Galathee* for stage performance, probably at Drury Lane theatre, and there is no evidence that it was ever performed at court. The dance does not seem to have become available as an engraved notation until the 1720s when F. Le Roussau published *A New Collection of Dances ... by Monsieur L'Abbé*.¹²

The music is taken from Lully's *Acis et Galatée* (1686), a work which L'Abbé also mined for two other pieces which he choreographed.¹³ For L'Abbé's chaconne, the music forms what might be called a 'typical' chaconne structure: a set of eight-bar variations over a repeated harmony. There are five such sections, which are then repeated, giving a total of 80 measures.

Le Roussau indicates that the *Chacone of Galathee* was danced by Hester Santlow and Charles Delagarde, who were two of the leading dancers of the day. Santlow made her debut as a dancer in 1706 at Drury Lane theatre where L'Abbé was already a member of the company. Her highly successful

career as an actress and dancer continued until 1733, and both Isaac and L'Abbé choreographed for her in the first decade of her dancing career.¹⁴ The French dancer Charles Delagarde started to appear in London theatre notices from 1705 onwards, first at the Haymarket, subsequently at Drury Lane, and from 1715 onwards at Lincolns Inn Fields. He danced regularly with Hester Santlow between November 1707 and February 1708 at Drury Lane, and returned there to dance with her again at her benefit performance on 2 May 1712 (Avery *et al*, 1960–63). Thus it is likely that the *Chacone of Galathee* dates from about 1707 or 1708, and probably no later than 1712.

Analysis of the dances

In analysing these dances, we have looked at four different, rather abstract, characteristics: (1) spatial symmetries, (2) dancers' body directions, (3) step symmetries, and (4) orthodoxy of step vocabulary (see Table 2 and Figures 2–4). The first two mainly concern the use of space, while the other two concern the choice of steps. They are related, since it is by means of steps that the dance moves through space, but they are nevertheless sufficiently distinct to be considered separately.

These four aspects of choreography are also related to the music for the dance, in that the music determines the time – that is, both the meter and the length – of the dance. We have used the music as a substrate for our analyses. But more work must be done before we can begin to understand the way in which other aspects of the music may influence the choice of space and steps.¹⁵

We have chosen these categories because choreographers and dancers of this period were evidently very concerned

The
PRINCESS ANN'S
 Chacone

A New Dance
For his Maj. Birth-day
Compos'd by
 M^r. LABEE

For the Year 1719
Writ by M. Pemberton.

And Sold by him at the Iron
Rails, y^e lower end of Osindon-street,
near y^e Hay-market.

The Princess Ann's Chacone

Figure 2. The chaconne section of L'Abbé's *The Princess Ann's Chacone*, 1719. For comparison with the other two dances see Marsh (1991) pp 22–30, and Ralph (1985) pp 315–319. (B.L. Music Library h.801.b.(2). By permission of the British Library).

25–63), there are occasional step asymmetries, in which the man does one step, the woman another. Unlike the asymmetric steps at measures 15 and 24, which serve to change between mirror and axial symmetry, these step differences have no utilitarian purpose; rather, they are occasions for ornamentation in the man's part. Such ornaments might represent normal 'performance practice' for male dancers, or they might reflect Mr. Isaac's choreographic ingenuity (or even Weaver's notational fancies). *The Princess Ann's Chacone* has no such ornamentation, and the *Chacone of Galathee* has only three such ornamental departures from symmetry, one fairly subtle (measure 38) and two quite blatant (measures 44 and 72).

The Princess Ann's Chacone is the simplest of the three as far as spatial symmetry is concerned, with one section of axial symmetry (measures 14–31) between two mirror-symmetric sections of almost equal length. This simplicity is something of a surprise, given the highly asymmetric form of the music.

The opening mirror-symmetric section of *The Princess Ann's Chacone* (measures 1–12) is somewhat reminiscent of the *Chacone of Galathee*, measures 9–24. In both, the dancers move downstage, then circle upstage to cross over while facing away from the presence. Although the body directions and direction of curve differ, the overall patterns are similar. Likewise, there is some resemblance in the axial-symmetric patterns of *The Princess Ann's Chacone* measures 20–25, and the *Chacone of Galathee* measures 50–57: the dancers begin facing each other across stage, and pass (man upstage, woman downstage) to face one another again in a new orientation (up and down stage for *The Princess Ann's Chacone*, across stage for the *Chacone of Galathee*) prior to embarking on axial-symmetric curved paths. The use of a similar up and down stage axis in *The Favorite* has been noted above.

As in *The Favorite*, the single axial-symmetric section of the *Chacone of Galathee* (measures 49–63) occurs relatively late in the dance, eight measures into the second playing of the music. Thus in both of the dances where the music is repeated (*The Favorite* and the *Chacone of Galathee*), the axial-symmetric section divides a single playing of the music; the dancers are in mirror symmetry as the musical repeat begins. Also as in *The Favorite*, the *Chacone of Galathee* has instances (measures 38, 44, and 72) where the man's and woman's parts differ for decorative rather than practical reasons. The man's caper¹⁷ in measure 38 and his entrechat-six in measure 72 may be seen as ornamented versions of the woman's steps; but in measure 44 both parts are ornamented: to a basic vertical jump, the woman adds a full turn in the air, and the man adds beats to give another entrechat-six. (One might wonder if Le Roussau forgot to notate a similar turn on the woman's part at measure 72).

Dancers' body directions

Having established the basic framework of mirror and axial symmetries, we next examined the directions of the dancers' bodies, as shown by the notation. We have adopted the following categories: 'Presentational' (dancers facing the presence at the end of a given measure), 'Face-to-face' (dancers facing one another), and 'Other' (dancers facing neither the presence nor one another). We recognize that there is some arbitrariness in looking only at the end of each measure to determine body direction, but we feel that these

definitions are nevertheless useful as a first approximation.

Note that our categories refer only to body directions, and not to the directions in which the dancers might turn their heads or focus their eyes. These, of course, the notation does not show. Note also that by our definition the axial-symmetric sections of the dances cannot be Presentational, since axial symmetry is impossible when both dancers are facing the presence.

The Favorite begins presentationally (measures 1–8), and has three additional Presentational sections at measures 28–32, 40–44, and 57–63. The first of these occurs at the end of the first playing of the music, and moves the dancers downstage for the predominantly Face-to-face passage (measures 33–39) which begins the second playing. The other two Presentational sections contain ornamented steps for the man, as discussed above. Of the intervals between these clearly defined Presentational sections, the first two are mostly Face-to-face, and the last is entirely Other. The first of these intervals includes the only axial-symmetric section of the chaconne section, apart from the very last measure which leads in to the bourrée.

The pattern of body directions in *The Princess Ann's Chacone* is essentially tripartite, with predominantly Presentational sections at beginning and end (measures 1–7 and 32–43) and a predominantly Face-to-face section in the middle (measures 8–31). Except for the first six measures, this central section is axial-symmetric. Whereas in *The Favorite* the Presentational sections are clearly defined, in *The Princess Ann's Chacone* there is a greater mix of Presentational, Face-to-face, and Other, with the final section having only the slimmest majority of Presentational steps. The central section however is more clearly defined, with its uninterrupted stretches of Face-to-face steps (measures 13–20 and 22–25).

The Chacone of Galathee is far more complex than the other two in its transitions to and from Presentational sections. One of the choreographic themes of the dance, stated with the full pirouettes in measure 2, seems to be 'Presentational turning'. Nonetheless, we can identify Presentational sections at measures 1–5, 13–15, 24–27, 31–39, 42–46, and 68–80. The most overtly stated of these occurs at measures 33–39 (the end of the first time through the music) with a series of hops, chassées, leaps and variously ornamented steps travelling downstage. Of the intervals between Presentational sections, the most extended, predominantly Face-to-face, passage occurs at measures 49–68 during which the dancers change places, circle halfway round one another and back again, and then cross to opposite sides before turning towards the presence once again.

Symmetric step pairs

Given the importance of spatial symmetry in choreographies of the period, we wondered if there might also be indications of symmetry in the choice of steps. Dancers are bilaterally symmetric, and (in theory, anyway) whatever they can do on the right they can do on the left. So it seemed worthwhile to look for 'symmetric pairs' of steps. We have defined a symmetric pair as a pair of steps or step-sequences in which the second is a repeat of the first, but on the other foot. For example, in *The Princess Ann's Chacone* measures 3–4 (two pas de bourrée en présence) form a symmetric pair; so do measures 33–37 of the same dance.

One might imagine that *The Favorite* and the *Chacone of*

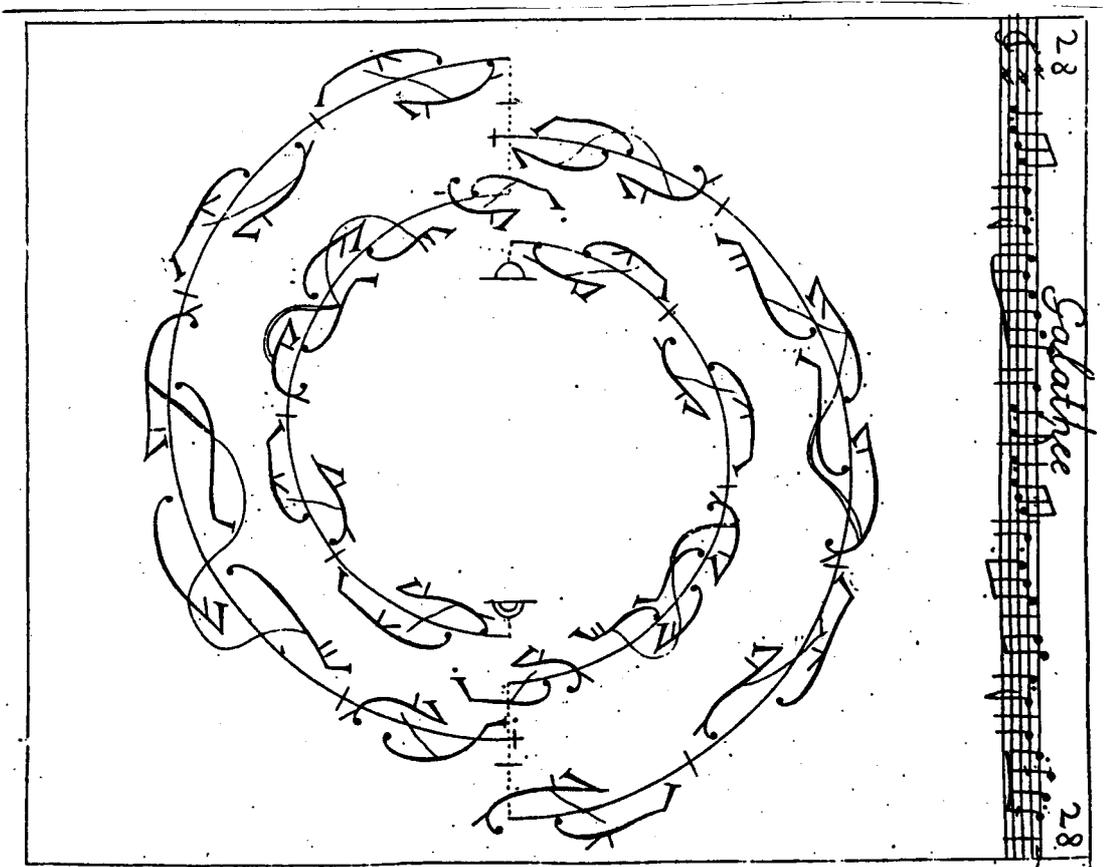
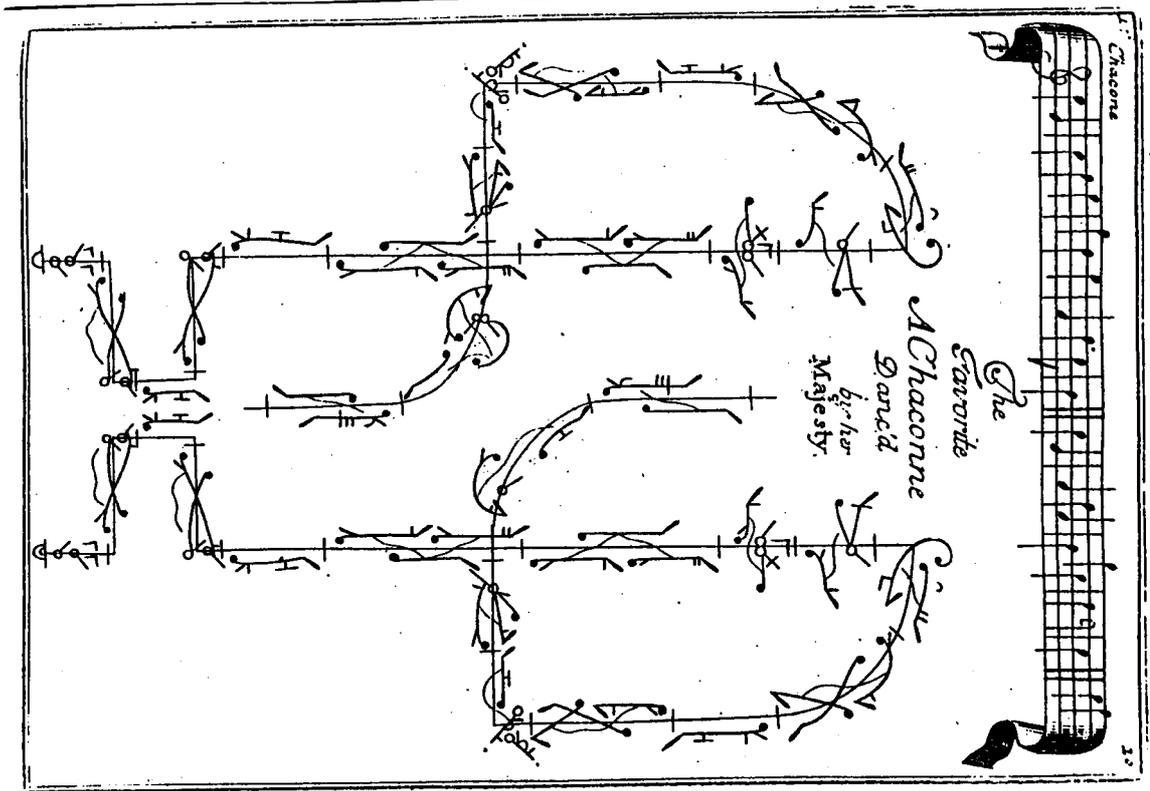


Figure 3. Mirror and axial symmetry: the opening 16 measures of *The Favorite* indicating mirror symmetric steps and sets of symmetrically paired steps until measure 15, and measures 57–64 of the *Chaconne of Galathée* indicating axial symmetry and sets of symmetrically paired steps throughout. (B.L. Music Library h.993(11) and King's Library K.11.c.5. By permission of the British Library).

Table 3. Categorization of steps, based on Weaver's step tables

Dance	Orthodox		Heterodox		Not Shown	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
The Favorite	30	47	26	41	8*	12
Pr. Ann's Chacone	10	23	28	65	5	12
Chac. of Galathee	6.5**	8	38	47	35.5**	45

* representing six different steps, since two of them are repeated.

** in measure 44 the man's side is Orthodox, the woman's Not Shown.

Galathee, with their symmetric musical structures, would each have a larger number of symmetric pairs than the musically irregular *Princess Ann's Chacone*. For *The Favorite* this is the case: it has symmetric pairs at measures 1–4, 5–6, 19–20, 25–26, 29–30, 37–40, 41–42, 44–45, and 61–62; it also has quasi-symmetric (almost but not quite symmetric) pairs at measures 7–8, 49–52, and 33–36. Thus at each playing of the music, the dance at the first strain (repeated: measures 1–8 and 33–40) consists entirely of symmetric or quasi-symmetric pairs. Overall, fully half of the dance (32 measures out of 64) is made up of symmetric or quasi-symmetric pairs. Furthermore, in measures 49–52, the steps are quasi-symmetric along the path, although the path itself is not quasi-symmetric.

As mentioned above, *The Princess Ann's Chacone* has symmetric pairs at measures 3–4 and 33–37; it also has one at measures 18–19. We have also considered measures 22–23, a sort of turning balancé, as a quasi-symmetric pair; and measures 27–32 as another quasi-symmetric pair, but with a difference at the final step (coupée or temps de courante rather than pas de bourrée vite). This makes a total of 16 measures of the dance (37%) consisting of symmetric or quasi-symmetric pairings.

In the *Chacone of Galathee* choreographic display prevails over step symmetry. The dance contains only two strictly symmetric pairs, which turn out to be identical: measures 45–46 and 73–74. However, there are several interesting quasi-symmetric pairs at measures 13–14, 25–28, 57–64, 65–68, and 70–71. (As in measures 49–52 of *The Favorite*, the steps in measures 65–68 are quasi-symmetric but the path is not.) It is also worth noting that the quasi-symmetric pair at measures 57–64, in which the dancers circle half way round each other and then return, is longer (eight measures) than any found in the other two dances. Symmetric or quasi-symmetric pairs make up 24 measures (30%) of this dance.

Step orthodoxy

Although there are many possible baroque dance step combinations, there seems to have been a relatively small set of commonly used steps; a set which no doubt was dictated by, and helped to define, prevailing taste. The tables of steps published by Feuillet in *Chorégraphie*, and by Siris and Weaver in their translations, were said to contain 'all or the greatest Part of the Steps us'd in Dancing'.¹⁸ And Weaver, giving rules to be observed in writing dances, suggests that the would-be notator use the table in notating a given step, first considering what step it is, whether courante, coupée, bourrée, bound, contretemps, etc.; and then, having found the step in question, 'observ[ing] after what manner it is describ'd, and then writ[ing] it down in your Dance' (*Orchesography* pp. 57–58). He seems to imply that every step whatsoever might be found in his step-table.

In comparing the steps in the three chaconnes with those in the step tables, we have determined three categories of steps: 'Orthodox' (steps which are in the step tables exactly as notated), 'Heterodox' (steps which are similar to those in the step tables, but which differ in some detail – turn or position symbols, tie lines, etc.), and 'Not Shown' (steps which do not appear in the step tables). We do not mean to imply, by our use of the terms 'Orthodox' and 'Heterodox', that there was an enforced doctrine of step vocabulary to which dancing masters were obliged to adhere; we refer merely to a step's relation to steps shown by Weaver.

Evidently the line between Heterodox and Not Shown is subjective, but we felt it necessary to distinguish between these two categories. The first two steps of *The Princess Ann's Chacone* may serve to illustrate the distinction: the first step is not actually shown in the tables, but it differs only because of the eighth-turn symbols, so we have labelled it Heterodox; the second step does not appear in the tables, nor does anything like it, so we have labelled it Not Shown. (See below for a discussion of this step). In deciding whether a given step should be considered Heterodox or Not Shown, we allowed ourselves to be influenced by the number of exemplars of a given step-type. For instance, because of the large number of Orthodox pas de bourrées and the corresponding large number of possible Heterodoxies, we were fairly strict in labelling a turning pas de bourrée in *The Favorite* (measure 50) as Not Shown. On the other hand, because Weaver gives only two coupées of two movements in his tables (table 7 no. 9), both of them forward, we were willing to consider a sideways coupée of two movements (e.g. the *Chacone of Galathee* measure 7) to be Heterodox rather than Not Shown.

In this article we have referred to steps in the tables of Weaver's *Orchesography* by plate number followed by location on the plate, reading across the plate row by row. For example, Weaver's 'Galliard step' would be 1;7. We have used Weaver as our reference for several reasons. First of all, we thought it important to have an English source, since the three chaconnes were published in England. Second and more interesting, Weaver's tables differ in important ways from Feuillet's. He includes steps such as the coupée of two movements, and even whole plates of steps, notably his 'Table of Chassees and Falling Steps' (plate 34), which are not in Feuillet. He also adds a 'Supplement [*sic*] of Steps' (plate 42) which he specifically relates to dances by Mr. Isaac.¹⁹ Thus it is possible that Weaver's tables more accurately reflect current English choreographic practice than do Feuillet's. Siris's translation also includes steps not found in Feuillet (including chassées and falling steps) but does not include any supplementary tables nor refer to contemporary choreographers working in England, and so in this context is less useful than Weaver.²⁰

Weaver published *The Collection of Ball Dances by Mr Isaac*, including *The Favorite*, at the end of June 1706. It was

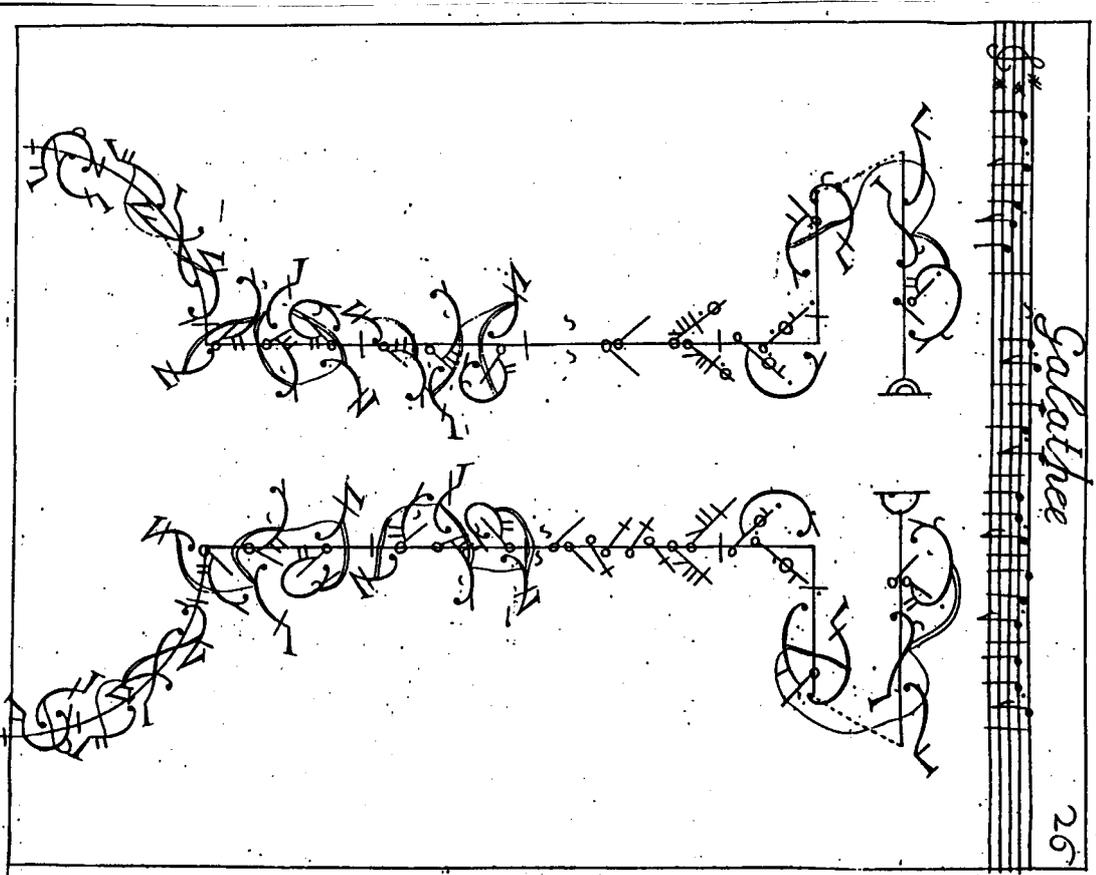
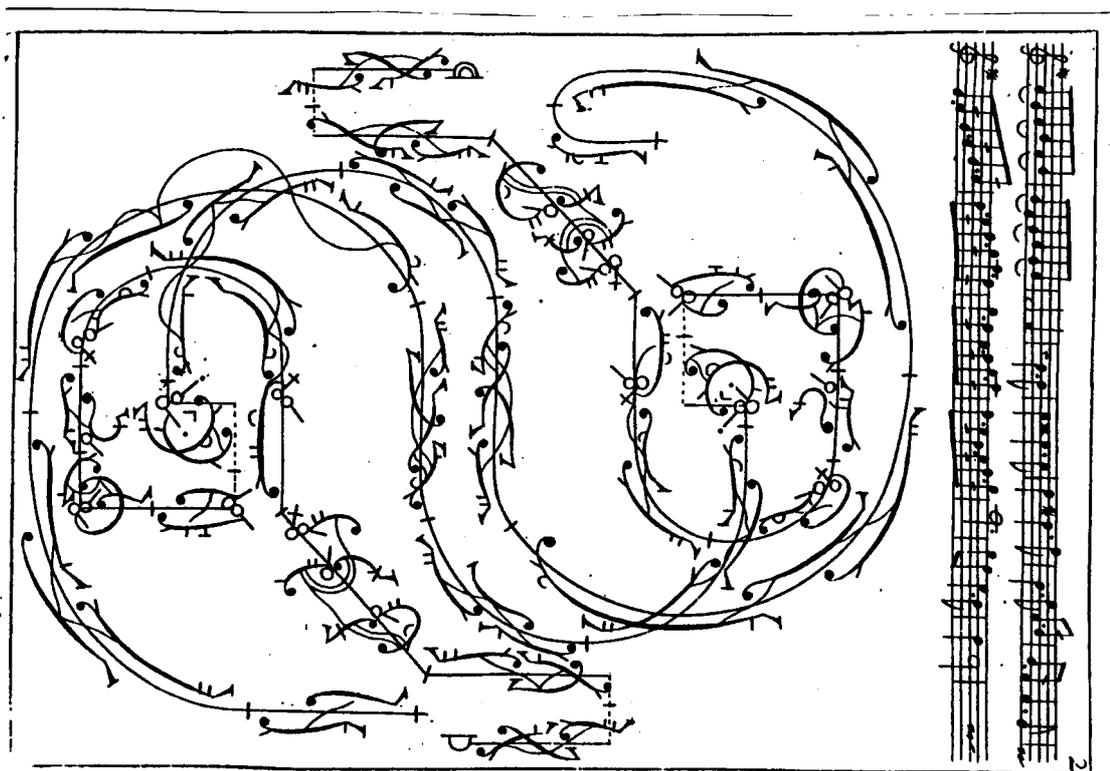


Figure 4. L'Abbé's use of step vocabulary: *The Princess Ann's Chaconne* measures 18–32 (bourrées with a bound, chassées in place and pas de bourrée vites, with differing steps to change the symmetry at measure 32) and the *Chaconne of Galathée* measures 42–48 (pirouettes, chassées in place and pas de bourrée vite, with differing ornamentation on measure 44).
 (B.L. Music Library h.801.b.(2) and King's Library K.11.c.5. By permission of the British Library).

advertised as 'the second part of *Orchesography*' which had been published two months earlier.²¹ Given that sequence of events, and that Weaver himself had notated the collection, we might expect that his step tables in *Orchesography* would have accounted for all the steps in *The Favorite*. This however is not the case. Although most of the steps are either Orthodox or Heterodox, there are eight which we have labelled Not Shown (see Table 3). Of these Not Shown steps, four appear only once each and do not seem particularly significant: a pirouette followed by a sliding step (measure 13), a 'quasi-temps de courante' with a quarter turn (measure 28), a spring followed by a coupée (measure 31), and an unusual pas de bourrée (measure 50). The other two Not Shown steps occur more than once and may represent fairly common steps in the English repertory. These are a 'chassée of three steps' (measures 44, 45), which is described by Tomlinson (1735 pp. 66–67 and plate I), and what might be termed a 'temps de courante of two movements' (measures 25, 26), the notation for which is analogous to that of the balonné (Weaver 28;1) and which apparently resembles a gentler, non-jumped version of that step.

Seven of the steps in *The Favorite* are also found in Weaver's plate 42, the supplementary table. Three of these are balancés forward and back (Heterodox versions of 42;8, the balancé side to side); another two are bourrées with a bound (42;13); and two are contretemps with a bound (42;14).²²

In *The Princess Ann's Chacone* we have found relatively more Heterodox steps (28, or 65%) and fewer Orthodox steps (10, or 23%) than in *The Favorite*. Twelve of the Heterodoxies involve turn symbols, and it is worth asking whether the added turns represent a general change in taste in the years following Weaver's publication; or a personal style of L'Abbé; or whether they reflect differences between Pemberton's and Weaver's notational styles.

Five more of the Heterodox steps are the sideways 'pas de bourrée vites'.²³ The sideways pas de bourrée vite is Heterodox in both direction and timing. A few of the remainder may represent differences in notational, rather than choreographic, style.

Steps in *The Princess Ann's Chacone* which we have labelled Not Shown are a temps de courante of two movements (measure 2), which also occurs in *The Favorite*; three chassées in place (measure 20), a step which also occurs (with slight notational differences) in the *Chacone of Galathee* (measures 45, 46, 73, 74)²⁴; a temps de courante followed by a step closing behind (measure 25); an assemblé followed by a leap (measure 26); and a pas de sissonne variant (measure 37). Of these, the first two are probably the most significant.

Fourteen of the steps in *The Princess Ann's Chacone* are found also in Weaver's supplementary table: three contretemps with a bound (measures 12, 21, and 42), six bourrées with a bound (measures 18, 19, 27, 28, 30, 31), and the five pas de bourrée vites mentioned above. The relatively frequent occurrence of these steps may represent a shift in choreographic taste in the years following 1706, or they may reflect L'Abbé's personal choreographic style. This issue requires further study.

In the *Chacone of Galathee*, a large percentage of the steps are of the Not Shown category (45%). This is in striking contrast to the other two dances, but is not particularly surprising given the more theatrical nature of this dance. It

would be fruitless to catalogue here the steps that are Not Shown; the seven Orthodox steps comprise a coupée ouvert, a contretemps, a pas de bourrée, a pas de bourrée emboité, a pas de bourrée (man's part) and a coupée (woman's part), an entrechat-six, and another pas de bourrée (measures 17, 23, 32, 37, 44, 64, and 66). Eight of the Heterodox steps, all of them sideways pas de bourrée vites, are found in the supplementary table (42;4).

Conclusion

We have analysed these three dances according to criteria which, consciously or unconsciously, may have influenced their choreographers. We have assumed that each of them provides an example of early eighteenth century taste and ingenuity, as one important reason why they were published and why their choreographers were praised so highly at the time.

Each of these dances exhibits what we consider to be a typical pattern of spatial symmetry, beginning in mirror symmetry, switching once to axial symmetry, and returning to mirror symmetry. None of the three shows translational symmetry. Asymmetries can be either functional, providing a transition from one type of symmetry to another, or decorative, providing the dancers a chance to show a bit of individuality. *The Princess Ann's Chacone* has only two asymmetries, both functional; the *Chacone of Galathee* has five, of which two are functional and three are decorative; and *The Favorite* has nine, of which all but two are decorative.

Each dance also exhibits some alternations among Presentational, Face-to-face, and Other body directions. Not surprisingly, the highest percentage of Presentational steps (45%) is found in the *Chacone of Galathee*, which was made for the theatre; but this dance also has the most extended Face-to-face section, an indication that onstage as in the ballroom the relation between the two dancers remained important.

The percentage of symmetric step-pairings ranges from 50% for *The Favorite* down to 30% for the *Chacone of Galathee*. Each dance has at least one fairly extended section (eight measures or more) of symmetric step-pairs; *The Favorite* has two. Musical symmetry alone doesn't seem to be a strong predictor of step symmetries.

Despite Weaver's claims for the comprehensiveness of his step tables, each dance included some steps not found therein. Even in *The Favorite*, which Weaver himself had notated, fewer than half the steps are Orthodox. It is perhaps not surprising that 45% of the steps in the theatrical *Chacone of Galathee* are Not Shown in Weaver's tables; but the 65% Heterodoxy rating of *The Princess Ann's Chacone* may well signify changes in choreographic fashion; it may be that Weaver's 'Supplement of Steps' was an early indicator that such changes were in the air.

What can we say in summary about each of these dances? *The Favorite*, though in some respects the most conservative, with a relatively high percentage of Orthodox steps and with four clearly-defined Presentational passages, is also the most extravagant when it comes to decorative asymmetries in the steps. We know from his other choreographies (e.g. *The Rigadoone*) that Isaac was not averse to occasional asymmetries in his dances; and we might consider whether his use of asymmetry represents a slightly earlier style than

L'Abbé's.

The Princess Ann's Chacone is in a way the most intimate of the three, with the longest axial-symmetric section (18 measures, 41%), during much of which the dancers face one another, and with no extended, purely Presentational sections: the dance is at its most Presentational during the first four measures, and even here (measure 1) the dancers turn slightly toward one another.

The *Chacone of Galathee* is, as we'd expect, the most theatrical, with a high percentage of showy steps and with a couple of lengthy Presentational passages; yet structurally it is not all that different from the other two, and we can even begin to recognize, in some of the floor patterns and in the penchant for turning steps, the hand of the L'Abbé who would later choreograph *The Princess Ann's Chacone*.

The three dances we have looked at suggest that Isaac and L'Abbé did have slightly different styles of choreography, although again more work needs to be done on a wider sample of notations. L'Abbé's work seems to reflect his theatrical background, even in the ball dances he created for the royal family. A large percentage of his step vocabulary departs from the models given by Weaver (77% in *The Princess Ann's Chacone*, 92% in the *Chacone of Galathee*: see Table 3), and his steps include beats, turns, steps set into quite long passages of rhythmic complexity, and steps ornamented or made asymmetrical for effect. His choice of music included French theatrical music. Isaac on the other hand seems to have worked more consciously within the etiquette of the royal court, which during the reign of Queen Anne promoted the monarch as a more dominant 'presence' than was to become the practice under the Hanoverians. This may be reflected in his choreographies as represented by *The Favorite*, with its relatively conservative step vocabulary. As noted above, his use of asymmetry as ornamentation may reflect an earlier style; it may also reflect the expectations of the royal milieu for which he choreographed. His choice of music (if the sample of extant notations is adequately representative) reflects close association with composers who were established at the English court.

We have been able to draw only tentative conclusions from so small a sample as three dances, and we are left with many questions. One set of questions concerns the process of transmitting, or transferring, the dance from choreographer to notation, and the resultant accuracy of the notation. What were the different phases of the process, and how many of them did L'Abbé or Isaac personally oversee? To what extent did they tailor their choreographies to the dancers, and to what extent did the dancers themselves make alterations which were subsequently notated (and perhaps altered again by the notators)? These questions become more tantalizing when we consider the apparent lag of over a decade between date of composition and date of publication for two of the dances we've considered.²⁵

Furthermore, although we can be tempted to infer from these three dances ideas concerning the uses of steps and spatial patterns in other early eighteenth-century choreography, we must be careful not to base our conclusions about taste and ingenuity solely upon notated dances. Steps and space are not always strictly determined; we need look no further than the ballroom minuet to find a dance in which there was at least some degree of improvisation. Dances which were notated for publication may have been chosen partly on the basis of their orderly use of steps in space.

We hope that this article might encourage further work on the development of different types of dance composition in England during the early eighteenth century. We hope also that the methods we have explored might provide useful tools for the analysis and comparison of other notated dances.

Acknowledgement

We are grateful to Rebecca Harris-Warrick for reading this article in draft form, and making many valuable suggestions and comments.

Notes

- ¹ *The Favorite* and *The Princess Ann's Chacone* are examples of mixed dance forms (respectively chaconne plus bourrée and chaconne plus hornpipe). No other extant notations in England or France which employed mixed dance forms included chaconnes: Little & Marsh (1992; pp. 163–164). In this article we consider only the chaconne sections of these dances.
- ² Surviving notations of solo chaconnes are nearly all dances for a man. Three of these are dances for Harlequin; for other Harlequin chaconnes see Lambranzi (1716) plates 29–31.
- ³ The publishing history of *The Favorite* is complicated. Five copies of the notation are known: one in the Harvard Theatre Collection (1706 edition by Weaver and Vaillant of the collection of six dances by Isaac), one in the Library of Congress and another in the British Library (reissues of the same collection), one in Glasgow University Library (reissue by Walsh, Hare and Randall c.1708 of an enlarged collection in separate parts), and another in the British Library (Walsh and Hare's reissue of c.1711–12 with a new title-page naming Paisible as the composer of the tune and listing fourteen other dances in the collection). For facsimile see Ralph (1985; pp. 315–319).
- ⁴ The music appears with a bassline in the *Deusiesme Recueil* published by Anthony Pointel in Amsterdam, 1688 (Little & Marsh no. 4700). A copy is held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and we are grateful to Carol Marsh for access to her research notes on this source.
- ⁵ The rhythmic structure (dominated by crotchets) of the chaconne section is very similar to that found in the music for two solo dances by Feuillet: the *Chaconne* for a man and the *Sarabande Espagnole pour Homme* (Little & Marsh nos 1900, 7720). The choreography of Feuillet's *Chaconne* is highly symmetrical in its repetition of sequences of steps and floor patterns first to one side, then the other.
- ⁶ Bucholz (1993; pp. 214–219, 231–234). The court entertainment for the Queen's birthday in 1704 included a spoken Prologue by William Congreve, and a performance of Dryden's play *All For Love*, prefaced by an *Overture* consisting of a prologue by Matthew Prior and music, songs and dances by leading performers. The dances are listed as Skippers dance (de Ruell and Mayers), Dance (Elford and L'Abbé), Scaramouche dance (de Ruell), Dance (Campion and Cherrier), and Grand Spanish Dance (all six): *London Stage*, 7 Feb. 1704; *Congreve's Poems* (ed. M. Summers, 4 vols, 1925) vol. IV pp. 72–73; William Prior's *Overture* 1704 (copy in Yale University Library). It is possible that one of the unnamed dances, by Elford and L'Abbé or by Champion and Cherrier, may have been *The Favorite* but in the absence of evidence

- this must remain conjectural.
- 7 Smith (1948; nos 116, 145); Bucholz (1993; p. 231). One cannot be certain that advertisements of the time were always accurate, and no copy of either the 1703 or 1704 publication referred to has survived for comparison with Walsh's claim.
 - 8 Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond (1672–1723), illegitimate son of king Charles II and Aide-de-Camp to William III. For biographical details and contemporary descriptions see G.Cockayne, *Complete Peerage*.
 - 9 Three identical copies of the dance notation are extant, in the British Library, the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library and the Harvard Theatre Collection. Not available in facsimile, but see Figure 2 for the notation of the chaconne section.
 - 10 *The Princess Royal* 1715, *The Princess Anna* 1716, *The Princess Amelia* 1718. L'Abbé's comments on Princess Ann's ability as a dancer occur in the dedicatory prefaces to the first two dances.
 - 11 Princess Ann and her younger sisters did apparently enjoy less decorous types of dancing: there are contemporary theatre notices of harlequinades performed at the King's Theatre Haymarket 'by Command for the entertainment of the three young Princesses': performances included *Arlequin Esprit Follet* plus 'tumbling and dancing by Mr Glover', *Arlequin Laron, Grand Provost et Juge* plus 'tumbling, a leap over a man on a large Coach Horse, Italian Postures etc.': *London Stage* 12 Feb and 5 March 1719.
 - 12 The title-page of this collection asserts that the dances were performed at Drury Lane or Lincolns Inn Fields. Four copies of the notation survive, one in the Bodleian Library, and three others comprising what appears to be an amended reissue in the British Library, the Derra de Meroda Dance Archive at the University of Salzburg, and the Harvard Theatre Collection (which copy, formerly in private hands, has been published in facsimile by Stainer & Bell, 1991).
 - 13 *The Loure or Faune* and the *Entrée of Monsieur Desnoyer (Acis et Galatée Act II scene 6, and Prologue)*, both of which also appear in the *New Collection*: Little & Marsh nos 5260, 4180. It is unlikely that any of these dances were performed in productions of Lully's opera; rather, they were probably designed as entr'acte dances for Drury Lane plays. In the opera the chaconne serves as a ritornello in Act II scene 5, in which Galathée appears alone on stage, singing of her love for Acis; it does not appear that Lully intended it to be danced to.
 - 14 For a list of her dances by L'Abbé see Little & Marsh p. 157. To these may be added Isaac's *The Union* (performed with Debargues for the Queen's birthday in 1707), *The Saltarella* (performed with Delagarde on the Queen's birthday 1708), and *The Prince of Wales's Sarabande* (performed with Essex on Queen Caroline's birthday 1731): Rader (1992; ch.3).
 - 15 Some recent studies which have drawn comparisons between dance structures and conventions of rhythmic and rhetorical proportion found in poetry or song of the time, are: Ranum (1985), Mather (1987), Little & Jenne (1991).
 - 16 For example, Weaver's *Anatomical Lectures* (1721) noted that beauty arises from symmetry and harmony of all the parts of a body, and grace from a just position, disposition and contrast of proportionate parts (p. 89: Ralph facsim. p. 962). Addison had defined beauty in a similar way in his essays on *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (Smith, 1907, 1973, no. 412) but rated even more highly the observer's response to beauty through ingenuity of interpretation and imagery (ibid. no. 417).
 - 17 Where they exist and are meaningful we have adopted the step names found in Feuillet (1700 and 1701) or in the translations by Weaver (1706) and Siris (1706). Where no appropriate step name has been found (eg pas de bourrée en presence, pas de bourrée vite, assemblé) we have taken the step names used by Rameau (1725) as being the most helpful.
 - 18 Weaver p. 45, translating Feuillet's 'la plus grande partie des Pas qui sont en usage dans la Dance'. Siris translates this as 'the greatest part of the steps that are in use among Dancing-Masters'. A detailed analysis and comparison of all three manuals has been made by Marsh (1985) ch. 2.
 - 19 Despite Weaver's claim that the four last steps in plate 42 ('boree with a bound', 'contretem with a bound', 'sissonne with a contretemps' and 'contretemps with a slide') 'are seldom if ever found in any other dance whatever', the contretemps with a bound is to be found in Feuillet's *Recueil de Dances* (1700), and both Feuillet and Weaver devote a section of the treatise on Time and Cadence to the pas de bourrée vite (called there a 'fleuret with a bound'): Feuillet p. 89, Weaver p. 49. Feuillet's *Recueil de Dances ... Entrées de Ballet de Monsieur Pecour* (1704) also notates pas de bourrée vites in several dances, and contretemps with a bound in one (the *Contredance de Tancrede*).
 - 20 Siris's manual is also less accessible to modern readers than Weaver's, which is available in facsimile.
 - 21 *Daily Courante*, 23 April and 25 June 1706.
 - 22 Weaver specifically attributed the last two to Isaac's dance *The Rigaudon*, but they are also found in later Isaac dances like *The Spanheim* and *The Princess*; and see also above, n. 19. L'Abbé also used a softer version (ending in a sink and rise rather than a bound) of these steps in his early theatrical dances like *The Loure* and *The Passacaille of Armide*.
 - 23 Although there is an evident difference in timing, we have considered Weaver's 'minuet step with a bound' (42;4) to be at least roughly equivalent to the step which Rameau called a 'pas de Bourée vite où à quatre pas' (Rameau 1725, p. 129, and see also pp. 229–30). Rameau admitted that there was some confusion about the name. Tomlinson (1735, pp. 52–53) contributed further to the confusion by calling it a 'borée with a bound'.
 - 24 Tomlinson devotes an entire chapter to this step: 'Of the CHASSEE or DRIVING STEP, of three Springs in the same Place, from the third Position' (1735, pp. 77–78).
 - 25 Marsh observed an often lengthy delay in publication for several of Isaac's court dances and some of L'Abbé's theatre dances: Marsh (1985) pp173–175, 186–188.
 - 26 Little & Marsh do not cite the musical source, which is Charpentier, *Le Malade Imaginaire* (1673), premier intermède.

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