Dance in Pasticcios – Pasticcios in Dance

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Studying the role of dance in pasticcios shows that there are two types: either dances were inserted into operatic pasticcios or danced works like ballets or *entr'acte divertissements* were pasticcios themselves. In both cases the pasticcio techniques and the reason for their use will be investigated. Since the question of pasticcio and dance has not yet been addressed on a general level, this article is intended as an overview rather than a detailed study of an individual case. For this reason, four examples are presented which serve as suggestions for a more intensive study of the topic.

Dance in pasticcios – Handel's *Oreste*

In the early 18th century, dance was an essential component of opera. Single dances or ballets were usually performed at the end of the acts and sometimes within an act. In French opera, the dances were not just an 'external' *divertissement* (although they are called such), but an integral part of the plot. In Italian style these dances were often independent and without connection to the plot.[1] While the choreographies were undoubtedly the responsibility of the dancing master, the music could come from several agents involved in dance productions: from the dancing master as well as from the composer of the opera or even from a musician in the orchestra. If the dances were integrated into the plot, they were mostly written by the composer of the opera itself. If dances by a second person are used, due to the lack of sources it is often uncertain if they were newly composed for the actual opera production or if they were taken from already existing compositions. In the latter case the opera could be considered a pasticcio solely due to its dance *entrées.*

Several of Handel's opera scores contain dances written by the composer himself. His pasticcios, which were all staged in London, do not have dances, with one exception: *Oreste*. Handel's pasticcios were based mostly on contemporary Italian works. He

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1   Concerning the role of dancing in French and Italian opera see for example Kuzmick Hansell, 1991, and Harris-Warrick, 2009.

also presented London's audiences with excellent virtuosos, which he partly engaged personally in Italy. Accordingly, the selection of the arias takes into account the preferences and needs of the respective singers of a production.

Handel, who was until this point music director at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, began to collaborate with the theater manager John Rich in autumn 1734. Rich had produced *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728 and his success allowed him to build his own theater, the Theatre Royal at Covent Garden, in which Handel would subsequently stage his works. During his first opera season the following works by Handel were presented:[2]

9 November 1734: *Il pastor fido* (third version, HWV 8b) with newly added prologue
    Terpsicore (HWV 8c)
27 November 1734: *Arianna in Creta* (second version, HWV 32)
18 December 1734: *Oreste* (HWV A[11])
8 January 1735: *Ariodante* (HWV 33)
16 April 1735: *Alcina* (HWV 34)

The fact that in his new workplace he initially reverted to two earlier works and then created a pasticcio, may be related to the fact that the composer was heavily absorbed in his work on his new operas *Ariodante* and *Alcina*.[3] The season 1734/35 differs from the earlier ones by the strong inclusion of dance in the operas.

The reason was a group of dancers who were under contract with Rich, and in particular the dancer Marie Sallé. She was one of the most important dancers of the 18th century. Sallé performed alternately in Paris and London and enjoyed great success. Both as a dancer and choreographer she was significant for the development of pantomime and the *ballet d'action*. Her innovative and expressive dancing style was an inspiration for the great dance reformer Jean-Georges Noverre.[4] Her first appearance at the Theatre Royal in 1734 was in *Pygmalion*, a ballet-pantomime she choreographed herself, which was remarkable for a female dancer at that time. She caused a great sensation not only for her choreography but also for her costume, because "She dared to appear in this entrée without a pannier, without a skirt, with her hair all dishevelled and no ornament on her head; dressed neither in a corset nor a petticoat, but in a simple muslin robe arranged as a close-fitting drapery, in the manner of a Greek statue."[5] Sallé was not unknown to Handel, because in 1717 she had already danced in *Rinaldo* at the age of ten.[6] Her art

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2   Händel, 2012, p. VIII.

3   Voss, 2009, p. 419.

4   McCleave, 2007.

5   "Elle a osé paroître dans cette Entrée sans panier, sans jupe, sans corps et échevelée, et sans aucun ornement sur sa tête; elle n'estoit vêtuë, avec son corset et un jupon, que d'une simple robbe de mousseline tournée en draperie, et ajustée sur le modele d'une Statue Grecque." *Mercure de France*, April 1734, p. 772, translation from McCleave, 2007, p. 166.

6   McCleave, 2013, p. 140.

of dancing had an important influence on Handel's artistic work, which finally resulted in the extensive dance scenes in his prominent 'dance-operas' *Ariodante* and *Alcina*.[7]

Concerning *Oreste* the inclusion of dance is not the only aspect which stands out from Handel's other pasticcios, but also the fact that this is his first self-pasticcio.[8] As libretto he used Giuseppe Barlocci's *L'Oreste*, which was set to music for the first time by Benedetto Micheli (Rome 1723) but in the latter opera no dances were included.[9] The leading role was written for the castrato Giovanni Carestini, who had an excellent reputation both as singer and actor. But the opera was unsuccessful and removed from the program after three performances.[10] For Sallé and her troupe, to which her brother also belonged, Handel planned extended ballet *entrées* at the end of each of the three acts. No choreographic hints, let alone choreographies have survived, which regrettably is generally the case with almost all operas. The following table gives an overview of the dances and their origin.

Table 1: Dances in Handel's Oreste.[11]

Dance	Origin
End of 1st act ("A dance"/"Segue il Ballo" [Dance of Grecian Sailors])	
No. 11 Gavotte	newly composed[12]
No. 12 Gavotte	*Lotario* (HWV 26), extract from the overture
No. 13 Jigg	presumably newly composed
End of 2nd act ("A dance"/"Segue il Ballo")	
No. 25 Prélude	*Terpsicore* (HWV 8c), Prelude[13]
No. 26 Air	*Terpsicore* (HWV 8c), Air[14]
No. 27 Ballo	*Terpsicore* (HWV 8c), Ballo[15]
End of 3rd act ("A dance"/"Segue il Ballo")	
No. 37 Gavotte	*Arianna in Creta* (HWV 32, 2nd version Nov. 1734), I.1 Gavotta[16]
No. 38 Menuett	*Arianna in Creta* (HWV 32, 2nd version Nov. 1734), I.2 Lentement

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7   Ibid., 2013, pp. 70-112 (chapter 3). The two operas were given the designation "dance-opera" by the contemporary periodical *London Daily Post*.

8   The arias are drawn from the following earlier London operas: *Radamisto*, *Floriodante*, *Ottone*, *Tamerlano*, *Riccardo I*, *Siroe*, *Lotario*, *Partenope* and *Sosarme*. The recitatives were newly composed. (Händel, 2012, p. XIII).

9   McCleave, 2013, p. 84.

10   Voss, 2009, p. 419.

11   The information is based on Händel, 2012, pp. 157, 161 and 165.

12   In 1739, it was included in the Trio Sonata op. 5, no. 7 (HWV 402; 5th movement).

13   Händel, 1890, p. 56. The work has not yet been published in the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe.

14   Ibid., pp. 63f.

15   Ibid., p. 66. In 1739 it was included in the Trio Sonata op. 5, no. 7 (HWV 402; 6th movement).

16   In 1739, it was included in the Trio Sonata op. 5, no. 1 (HWV 306; 5th movement).

Dance	Origin
No. 39 Gavotte	*Arianna in Creta* (HWV 32, 2nd version Nov. 1734), III.1 Gavotte
No. 40 Musette	*Arianna in Creta* (HWV 32, 2nd version Nov. 1734), III.2 Musette (shortened version)[17]
No. 41 Menuett	*Arianna in Creta* (HWV 32, 2nd version Nov. 1734), III.3 Menuetto (same music as the following choir "Bella sorge la speranza")

The majority of these dances originate from recently staged works, where they were specifically composed by Handel for Sallé.[18] The libretto does not tell us anything about their character and their cast, but only states "A dance" resp. "Segue il ballo".[19]

The plot of the first act ends dramatically: Oreste's wife Ermione, who is looking for her missing husband, is captured and sentenced to death by Toante, the King of Tauris. He importunes her but she rejects him and then laments her fate. The following dance[20] was, according to newspaper reports, a "Dance for Grecian sailors" which was choreographed by Leach Glover.[21] The title indicates that it was danced by men, but the number remains unclear: one report mentions five, another six dancers.[22] That the dramatic ending of the act is followed by a comic dance, is strange at first sight, but "[…] Handel was drawing on an English theatrical convention where comic characters sometimes intensify the tensions in a tragic story."[23]

At the end of the second act Oreste and Ermione are reunited but sentenced to death by Toante. The couple bid each other a long farewell. The dances which comment on the plot are all taken from *Terpsicore*.[24] There they were assigned to the title role and thus to Marie Sallé. This suggests that she also danced as a soloist here in *Oreste*.[25] Whether she performed identical choreographies or whether she created something new, remains unknown. But Sallé could draw on her whole gamut of expression to portray the despaired feelings of the loving couple – in *Terpsicore* the corresponding dances represented the passions of love and the fire of jealousy.

The final act ends with a *lieto fine*: the tyrant Toante is put to death and Oreste is finally reunited with his wife Ermione. A suite of five dances concludes the opera,[26] followed by the final choir in which the people of Tauris express their joy. The homogeneousness of dance and action is established in such way that the music of the minuet

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17   It was later included in unabridged form in the overture to *Alcina*.

18   See the work list of the 1734/35 season above.

19   The facsimile of the libretto is printed in HÄNDEL, 1991, pp. XXX-XXXIX.

20   HÄNDEL, 2012, pp. 52-54.

21   *Daily Journal* from 17 April 1735, cited in MCCLEAVE, 2013, p. 86. Leach Glover was appointed dancing master at the royal court in 1738.

22   IBID.

23   IBID., p. 87.

24   HÄNDEL, 2012, pp. 95-98.

25   IBID., p. 88.

26   HÄNDEL, 2012, pp. 137-140.

uses the same theme as the final choir. Although the libretto gives no further information, it has to be assumed that the choreography was performed by the whole group of dancers as was common at the *finale*.

Through the dances Handel wrote for Sallé and her troupe, his *opera seria* was enriched by French style elements. *Oreste* was not only written due to time restrictions or, as was common with pasticcios, to present excellent singers like Giovanni Carestini.[27] It was also Handel's tribute to his own muse Terpsicore, Marie Sallé.

Dance in pasticcios – the ballad opera

A special form of pasticcio is the English ballad opera which satirized the conventions of the *opera seria*. Instead of extended Italian arias and recitatives, it used short familiar tunes and spoken dialogues in English. In contrast to complicated mythological and historical plots, the ballad opera addressed current social topics of the time like poverty, prostitution or corruption, and was therefore an allusion to contemporary politics. This form of opera was thus not reserved for an exclusive upper class like the *opera seria*, but also addressed the middle class, which is why it gained enormous popularity. The tunes of the ballad opera were popular folk songs, dance tunes, famous arias by contemporary composers and especially broadside ballads on which the term ballad opera is based.[28] In the textbooks, the tunes were listed in a separate index to give the audience a first impression of what to expect. The melodies were also printed in the librettos and one can imagine that the audience sometimes sang along. The recognition effect was crucial for the tunes, because they were parodied. As a result, they were not only entertaining, but also ambiguous, since the original text or context was very familiar to the audience.[29] Intertextuality is an important aspect in the ballad opera, because by the subtle allusion to the original texts, moral and political messages were created. This was the reason why many of the ballad operas were censored or banned, as was the case with *Polly*, which will be discussed below.

The first and most successful ballad opera was *The Beggar's Opera* by John Gay (text) and Johann Christoph Pepusch (music). Bertolt Brecht said that the title meant an "opera *for* beggars", but this is not correct because it is an opera written *by* a beggar as the introduction explains.[30] The piece was produced by John Rich and premiered on 29 January 1729. It was staged 62 nights in succession which was a theatrical record.[31] In

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27   Voss, 2009, p. 419. Carestini was in competition with Farinelli, who was at that time engaged at a rival company, the Opera of the Nobility.

28   A broadside ballad was a descriptive or narrative verse or song in a simple ballad form. Topics were, for example, love, religion or current news. It was sung or recited in public places or printed on a broadside – a sheet printed on one side – for sale on the streets.

29   Joncus, 2016, p. 31.

30   Gay, 1728, Introduction, n.p.

31   Barlow/Goff, 2015, p. 144.

1729 Gay and Pepusch wrote the sequel *Polly* with which they probably wanted to build on the success of *The Beggar's Opera*. However, because the political allusions were even more pointed than in its predecessor, the piece was banned from being performed.[32] Nonetheless, the censorship was a good advertisement and so Gay published *Polly* for subscription with success.

Before the dances of both operas are discussed, some general remarks about social dancing during that time are necessary. The theatrical and the social dances of the 'French noble style' or *belle danse* originated at the court of King Louis XIV and were adopted at other European courts. In this art of dancing lies the origin of classical ballet. Due to the high dancing level of the upper class – members of the nobility had dance lessons several times a week from early childhood on – the borders between dances for the stage and for the ballroom were fluid.

Popular stage dances were published for the next ball season and ballroom dances were adapted for the stage. The technically sophisticated solo and couple dances were notated in a special form of writing, the Beauchamp-Feuillet notation.[33] In England these dances were also popular but the prevailing form of social dances were the country dances, which had their origin in Britain. Their most common form is 'longways for as many as will', in which any number of couples danced in a row. The dances had catchy melodies which initially were taken from folk songs and later were also newly composed. In England they were danced by all social classes.

At the end of the 17th century the country dance came to mainland Europe where it soon enjoyed much popularity as the *contredanse*. As well as the longways formation, in France the *cotillon* developed.[34] The *cotillon* was danced in a square by two or four couples. Country dances und *cotillons* gradually replaced the *belle danse* in the European ballrooms and became the leading social dances which were still danced in the 19th century. Country dances were published for the first time in 1651 by John Playford. His collection *The Dancing Master* was printed by himself and his successors in 18 editions and five supplement editions until 1728 and contained a total of more than 1,000 dances.[35] In contrast to *belle danse*, English country dances were notated in verbal form.[36]

The Beggar's Opera contains some dance tunes from *The Dancing Master*, which are based on folk songs and which are sung in the opera. Three dances were not only

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32 GAY, 1729, Preface.

33 Pierre Beauchamp was the actual inventor of the notation, but his pupil Raoul-Auger Feuillet published it without Beauchamp's permission. Thanks to contemporary dance manuals, more than 300 extant choreographies can be reconstructed and danced today.

34 Since the second half of the 18th century the longways formation is called *contredanse anglaise* and the square formation is called *contredanse française*.

35 All editions and their dances are indexed in the internet database by KELLER, *The Dancing Master 1651-1728. An Illustrated Compendium*.

36 In the first half of the 18th century in France and Germany a simplified form of the Beauchamp-Feuillet notation was used.

sung but also performed.[37] The first of them is in Scene 4 in a tavern where Macheath is in company of eight prostitutes. He asks a musician to "Play the French Tune, that Mrs. Slammekin [one of the prostitutes] was so fond of". The stage direction states: "A Dance a la ronde in the French Manner; near the End of it this Song and Chorus [music and text follow]."[38]

The tune is named *Cotillon* and comes from an eponymous dance which was choreographed in 1705 by Feuillet. It was the first *cotillon* which gave this dance form its name. The term *cotillon* ("petticoat") comes from the popular French tune "Ma commère quand je danse, mon cotillon va-t-il bien?" Maybe in *The Beggar's Opera* it was chosen as an allusion to the eight prostitutes in this scene.

The same melody was used for a longways dance in *The Dancing Master* from 1728 under the title *Toney's Rant*.[39] The question of what was really danced in this scene remains open. With eight people in the scene, dancing the choreography of *Toney's Rant* is just as possible as dancing a *cotillon*. "[…] a la ronde in the French manner […]" indicates the latter. However, the aforementioned *cotillon* by Feuillet could not have been used because it is for two couples. What speaks against a *cotillon* is the meter of the music: in the opera and also in the country dance it is notated with a downbeat whereby the accent is deferred by two beats; while the French original has an upbeat of two crochets which is typical for a *cotillon*. It is unlikely that Maceath danced together with the women because of the uneven number of dancers. It also remains unclear if the actors danced and sang simultaneously.

After Macheath is taken off for trial, in Scene 12 "A Dance of Prisoners in Chains" is performed.[40] This is the only dance for which no music is notated in the libretto. The title indicates that it was danced by several men. In later performances a hornpipe was played and danced, but as a solo for a single man. In contrast to the other two, this dance is neither connected with the plot nor with the actors, but rather serves as a *divertissement*.[41]

The last dance takes place at the end of the opera. Macheath is to be executed. In addition to Polly and Lucy, four other women unexpectedly appear and claim to be married to him. An actor interrupts the plot and points out to the beggar, who in the beginning emerged as the author of the play, that Macheath should not die, "[…] for an Opera must end happily"[42] – which is an allusion to the *lieto fine* of the *opera seria*. Macheath is then released and asks all his women to dance together: "Ladies, I hope you will give me leave to present a Partner to each of you. And (if I may without Offence) for this time, I take Polly for mine."[43] So it was probably performed by six couples.[44] The country dance

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37 For a detailed discussion of the dancing scenes see Barlow/Goff, 2015.

38 Gay, 1728, p. 29.

39 Barlow/Goff, 2015, pp. 146f. and Little/Marsh, 1992, pp. 22 and 97.

40 Gay, 1728, p. 70.

41 Barlow/Goff, 2015, pp. 148f.

42 Gay, 1728, p. 74.

43 Ibid., p. 75.

44 The libretto only says "A Dance".

Limps of Pudding was chosen as the tune and probably the six couples also danced its choreography, which is a longways formation. However, here questions also remain open, because song and instrumental parts alternate in the score. Maybe it was danced first, and then sung to the same music.[45]

From the second season onwards, *The Beggar's Opera* was performed at Rich's theater with additional *entr'acte* dances, which had no connection to the opera. In the 1730/31 season the famous Marie Sallé and her brother were among these dancers – probably to lure the audience into the well-known piece.[46]

In the sequel *Polly* dance is performed only at the end of the ballad opera: "Let the sports and dances then celebrate our victory."[47] For that the dance *The Temple* is played, which was published in the Playford editions between 1701 and 1728. This country dance in turn is based on the music of Jeremiah Clarke's famous *Prince of Denmark's March* resp. *Trumpet Voluntary*. Again, several questions arise: who danced (probably all members of the cast because of the finale), what was danced (maybe the published choreography) and was singing and dancing done simultaneously or successively?

Not only are the danced pieces interesting, but also those that were presented in the form of song. Compared to its predecessor, *Polly* contains significantly more songs with dance melodies. Of the 71 numbers, 28 are dances from the *Dancing Master*.[48] The oldest appeared in the first edition of 1651; all of them are included in the then current 18th edition of 1728. Some of them, for example *Christ Church Bells*, are based on well-known tunes. Furthermore, *Polly* contains two minuets from Handel's *Water Music*,[49] and *Les Rats*, a popular *cotillon* from France for two couples.[50] The fact that pieces, as mentioned above, were chosen not only for their nice melodies but also for their hidden meaning is shown by an example from Scenes 6 and 7. The plot of *Polly* is set in the Caribbean, where both Macheath and Polly ended up. In the scene, the Caribbean people and Polly fight against the pirates led by Macheath. At the beginning of the battle, *Prince Eugene's March* will be heard and *Marlborough* sounds at the end when the pirates surrender. *Prince Eugene's March* is a country dance, which was published for the first time in *The Dancing Master* in 1710. The title is an allusion to Prince Eugene of Savoy. *Marlborough* was a dance for a couple which was choreographed in 1704 or 1705 by the dancing master of the court, Mr. Isaac, in the style of French *belle danse* and was for the first time "Perform'd at Court on Her Majesties Birth day Febr. ye 6th".[51] The dedicatee was the First Duke of Marlborough. With same title and melody, a country dance was published in 1706. The majority of the

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45   Barlow/Goff, 2015, p. 151.

46   Ibid., p. 145.

47   Gay, 1729, p. 72. The melody is printed in the added score part on p. 31.

48   Ibid. The dances and their publication dates were identified using the database by Keller.

49   Air no. 19 corresponds to the minuet in F (no. 6) and air no. 28 to the minuet in D (no. 14) in Handel's *Water music*. See Gay, 1729, score part pp. 2f. and 31.

50   Air no. 55, ibid., score part p. 24. The choreography has been preserved in a manuscript of French provenance (Anon., s.d., vol. 1, pp. 38-49).

51   Little/Marsh, 1992, pp. 46 and 105.

audience will have known the country dance, even if the couple dance belonged to the ball repertoire. Both dedicatees, Prince Eugene and especially the Duke of Marlborough were famous in England, because they defeated the French and Bavarian troupes in the War of the Spanish Succession in the battle of Blenheim in 1704.[52] The fact that the two dances in *Polly* sound at the beginning and at the end of the battle signaled to the audience musically that 'the good ones' (the Caribbean people) will emerge victorious.

In case of the ballad opera dances were indeed performed, but this was less important than the musical integration of the pieces. On the one hand, the melodies were chosen for their entertainment value and their popularity; on the other hand, they had a subtext between the lines, which often contained political or moral messages, which was the reason why one or the other work fell under censorship.

From today's point of view, the ballad operas are also interesting for the reception history of the included dances, as their selection shows which dances in England were known and popular at the time. In the case of *The Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*, the majority of the dances are from the famous collection *The Dancing Master*, all from the latest edition of 1728. Gay and the audience were therefore up-to-date. Also, the use of Handel's works shows their great popularity. The inclusion of French repertoire in addition to English is enlightening, because the two *cotillons* show that this comparatively young French dance form was also widespread in England, which is all the more interesting since for the first half of the 18th century no English *cotillon* choreographies are known.[53]

Pasticcio in dance – ballets by Lauchery

From the 1740s, the dance scenes in the operas – regardless of whether they were connected to the plot or not – were replaced by extensive *entr'acte* ballets which were now completely independent stage works.[54] They had a self-contained plot, which had nothing in common with the opera and which was usually published in a scenario. The ballets also had their own stage decoration. Compared to earlier years, dancing masters now composed the music for the ballets only in single cases. Although there was of course genuinely composed ballet music, the borrowing of music was common practice. There was appreciation for the difficult task of selecting individual pieces appropriately and putting them together in a coherent manner. This changed only from the 1820s.[55]

In addition to operas, orchestral and chamber music also served as a source for the selection of pieces.[56] Pragmatic reasons such as saving time and work were certainly

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52   Blenheim is a French malapropism of Blindheim, a village near Höchstädt. In German, the famous battle is called "Second Battle of Höchstädt".

53   In contrast, performances of *cotillons* on London stages have been proven by announcements in newspapers (BARLOW/GOFF, 2015, p. 146).

54   Mostly the first *entr'acte* was a *ballet sérieux*, the second a *ballet demi-caractère*.

55   SMITH, 1988, p. 12f.

56   IBID., p. 8.

reasons for the choreographer to put together a pasticcio ballet. Also, there were enough dance movements, for example, in instrumental music – why not use them when the music was beautiful and appropriate in character?[57] However, there were other reasons that differed from those of the pasticcio opera. Unlike the opera, the ballets do not focus on the music but on the dance. The music had to serve the ballet and should not compete with the dance, so one could save the effort of writing a composition.[58] Since the ballets dispensed with the sung and spoken word, the action was only implemented through dance, gesture and mime. Although there was usually a printed scenario summarizing the plot, there were voices complaining that they did not understand everything that was danced on stage.[59] Music that was generally well-known could be used deliberately to make the danced action understandable. The original music was connected with a specific plot or context which was familiar to the audience. When the same music was used in a ballet with similar content it helped the audience to understand the scene.[60] A special case here was the *air parlant*, a "[…] popular air, or fragment thereof, which recalled to mind the words joined to the melody" and not only a general situation.[61] In a way, these methods are similar to the targeted use of tunes in the ballad opera. Choosing suitable music for pasticcio ballets therefore was a demanding task.

One encounters a problem concerning ballets of the 18th century; in the majority of cases no scores have survived, but only scenarios. The latter was printed for the audience and the music existed in manuscript form for use in the theater. Compared to an opera, ballet music was considered even more utilitarian and thus less worth preserving. Even when both music and scenario survived it is, in most cases, problematic to fit the two together. And last but not least the most important part is always missing: the choreography. Except for two exceptions (discussed below), not a single choreography of ballets has survived.[62] Despite the poor situation of sources, numerous aspects of pasticcio ballets can be examined, which will be done here with the example of Lauchery.

Étienne Lauchery is one of the representatives of the *ballet d'action*, but stands in the shadow of Jean-Georges Noverre and Gasparo Angiolini, because in contrast to them, he didn't write theoretical reflections on this new form of theatrical dance. He was employed as a dancer at the Mannheim court and was eventually appointed dancing master there. However, his colleague François André Bouqueton was responsible for the ballets. Perhaps this was the reason why Lauchery went to Kassel in 1764. Eight years later he returned to Mannheim, where he took over his predecessor's duties. In 1778 the

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57   Ibid., pp. 8f.

58   Ibid., p. 4.

59   Ibid., pp. 7f.

60   Ibid., pp. 6f.

61   Léon and Marie Escudier, cited from Ibid., p. 9.

62   From the first third of the 18th century choreographies of single dances from operas have been preserved since they were adopted into the ballroom and were published for this purpose. Complete stage choreographies do not exist.

court, and so Lauchery, moved to Munich when Elector Palatine Karl Theodor inherited the Electorate of Bavaria.[63]

During his eight years in Kassel he choreographed 54 ballets. In the seven years in Mannheim 23 works by Lauchery were staged; some of them from his time in Kassel.[64] According to current knowledge, no scores from the Kassel ballets have survived, and from Mannheim just eight scores are extant without however a single pasticcio.[65] In contrast, the scenarios of all ballets are preserved.

Although he worked in Kassel and Mannheim for almost the same amount of time, more than double the number of Lauchery's works were put on stage in Kassel. Among other reasons, this was due to the fact that in the operas in Kassel, often three instead of the usual two *entr'acte* ballets were played, while in Mannheim only one or two ballets were required. Looking at the portion of pasticcios in total, we can notice that they clearly dominate in Kassel where just 56% of the ballets are pasticcios compared to just 9% in Mannheim.[66] It has to be assumed that this was due to the comparatively many ballets required in Kassel, so that Lauchery mainly used pasticcios because of time restrictions.

In the majority of pasticcio scenarios, the composers are not specified, but it is only noted "the music is by different authors" ("La musique est de differents auteurs"). In terms of quantity, these pasticcios are followed by pasticcios based on works by Christian Cannabich and Carl Joseph Toeschi as well as by Johann Joseph Rudolph and Florian Johann Deller. Lauchery knew Cannabich and Toeschi from Mannheim, where they were responsible for ballet music. Rudolph und Deller were employed at the Stuttgart court, where they wrote the music for Noverre's ballets. In some cases, works by one Mannheim and one Stuttgart composer were combined, and once Lauchery himself contributed music to a pasticcio.[67] Composers from the Kassel court were not involved. This is restrictive, however, and one must say that due to missing scores and other documents it cannot be clarified for certain whether they are 'real' pasticcios or collaborative compositions. One argument which points against the latter is the fact that pasticcios were common practice. Also, only composers were chosen who were responsible for ballet music at their courts, thus providing sufficient repertoire. Finally, in some cases besides Lauchery in Kassel, a composer both from Mannheim and Stuttgart was involved. A real cooperation of the three would have been difficult and time-consuming from the perspective of communication and traveling at that time. Thus, most of the arguments speak in favor of the fact that the ballets are actually pasticcios.

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63   For his further biography see DAHMS, 2003.

64   The scenarios of his ballets are collected in ANON., 1768, and [*Collection de Ballets 1765-1781*]. A work list is published in DAHMS, 1992.

65   For a list of extant Mannheim scores see CORNEILSON/WOLF, 1996.

66   30 pasticcios of a total of 54 ballets in Kassel, two of a total of 23 in Mannheim. The numbers are determined on the sources from n. 64.

67   *Ceyx et Alcione,* for example, is based on music by Christian Cannabich (Mannheim) and Niccolò Jommelli (Stuttgart); *Hylas et Eglée* is by Lauchery and Deller (ANON., 1768 and [*Collection de Ballets 1765-1781*]).

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that numerous pieces were chosen from composers who had collaborated with Noverre, especially when in some cases Noverre's scenarios also were used.[68] That Lauchery knew Noverre's ballets is certain; whether he knew him personally cannot be proven, but could be possible.[69] Noverre, who indeed also has some pasticcios in his *œuvre*, usually worked closely with his composers and had the music 'tailor-made' to his ballets, because for him the music had a very high priority in the *ballet d'action*.[70] The high quality of Noverre's ballet music was possibly the reason why Lauchery used it as the base for his own pasticcios. It is also possible that the decision to perform music from the courts of Stuttgart and Mannheim did not come from Lauchery, but from the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, who heard of their excellent reputation and wanted to have it performed at his own court. This is supported by the fact that Lauchery's successor "Regnaud" also used music from Mannheim and Stuttgart in his pasticcios.[71]

The structure of a scenario provides information on how many scenes a ballet is divided into and individual dances are also highlighted in the description of the plot. Moreover, the cast list gives an idea of how many soloists, figurants and extras were involved. However, unfortunately, it is not possible to assign the individual pasticcio parts to the respective composers. Some more information about Lauchery's pasticcios can be found in cases when they are based on a work by Noverre or when there are two versions by Lauchery. In the case of *La mort d'Hercule* both variants apply. A ballet pantomime of this title was first choreographed in 1762 by Noverre in Stuttgart. The music that has survived was written by Deller;[72] the choreography, as usual, does not exist anymore. If one compares Noverre's scenario with the score, it is difficult to assign all 19 musical numbers to specific scenes or actions. The first piece, "Marcia", played at the beginning of the ballet, as Hercules returns home triumphantly.[73] Yet the following *Allegro* cannot be clearly assigned. In the second scene there is a *pas de trois*, which is then extended to five dancers. This results in a dance for four and finally in a *pas de deux*.[74] For a contemporary spectator, this group of dances was the center and highlight of the ballet.[75] Therefore, the music of no. 8 was most probably used, which is by far the most extended dance and has a rondo structure.[76]

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68   In addition to the Stuttgart composers Rudolph and Deller, Jommelli and "Granier" also appear in ballets. The latter is probably the composer François Granier who collaborated with Noverre in Lyon.

69   Occasionally, it is falsely stated that Lauchery was Noverre's student.

70   Dahms, 1996, p. XII.

71   Some of Regnaud's scenarios can be found in [*Collection de Ballets 1765-1781*].

72   Deller/Rudolph, 1913. In this edition the music of *La mort d'Hercule* is ascribed to Rudolph, but Lauchery's scenario and other sources call Deller as the composer.
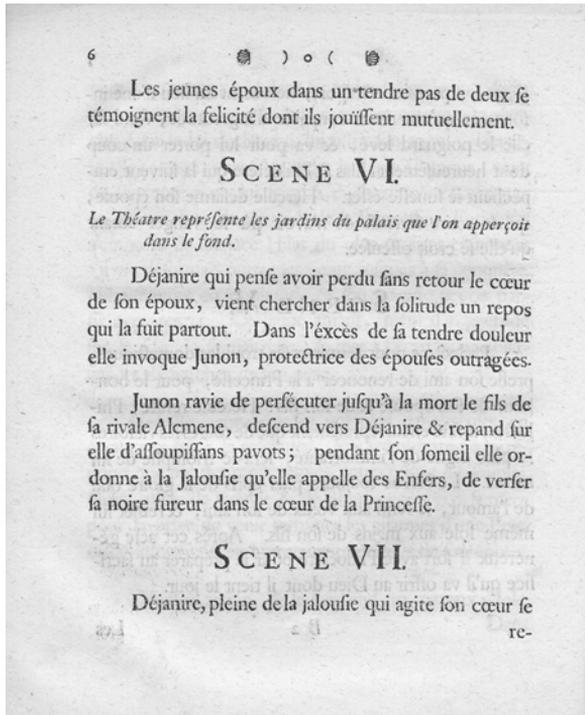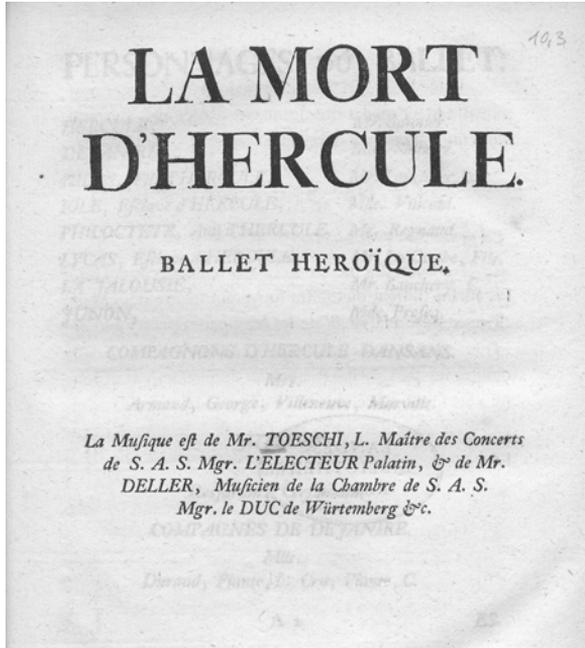
73   Ibid., pp. 191-195. The scenario of the ballet is printed on pp. XLf.

74   Ibid., p. XLI.

75   Ibid., p. XLII.

76   Ibid., pp. 203-219.

Figure 1: Étienne Lauchery, La mort d'Hercule*, Kassel 1767, title page and extract from the scenario (D-Kl, 34 8° H.lit. 475, n.p.).*

In 1767 Lauchery choreographed *La mort d'Hercule* for the Kassel court.[77] The ballet was a pasticcio with music by Deller and by the Mannheim composer Toeschi. The scenario is preserved, the music does not exist anymore. If one compares the scenario with Noverre's, one notices that the plot is basically identical, but divided into eight instead of four scenes in Noverre's version. The cast is the same for the soloists, but there are differences in the supporting roles such as the slaves and companions of Hercules. Although Deller's music for Lauchery's ballet has not been preserved, the high similarity of the scenes suggests that it was the same music as for Noverre's ballet. Additions made by Lauchery in the plot certainly corresponded with newly added music. For example, at the beginning of the triumph, Lauchery added a scene in which Dejanira, with her four companions – whose roles are not in Noverre's version – waited anxiously for Hercules' return.[78] Since this scene does not exist in Noverre's ballet, it was probably based on music by Toeschi.

In 1772 the choreographer brought the ballet to the Mannheim stage.[79] Names of composers are not specified this time; the German scenario gives only the hint "the music consists of various beautiful pieces from several eminent masters" ("[…] die Musik bestehet aus verschiedenen schoenen Stuecken mehrern beruehmten Meistern"). The scenario is fundamentally identical to the one from Kassel but the action was extended and protracted, so that the Mannheim version had 14 scenes. Moreover, the number of figurants was increased again, for example with regard to the slaves or the companions of Dejanira. The latter now appeared with twelve figurants instead of four solo dancers. Most likely, this expansion also required more new pieces of music, though it cannot be said whether they came from Deller and Toeschi, or even from one or more additional composers.

Table 2: Comparison of the three versions of La mort d'Hercule.

	Noverre (Stuttgart 1762)	Lauchery (Kassel 1767)	Lauchery (Mannheim 1772)
Composer/s	Deller	Deller & Toeschi	various composers
Subtitle	*Ballet tragi-pantomime*	*Ballet héroïque*	*Ballet héroï-tragique*
Cast[80]			
Hercules	x	x	x
Dejanira, wife of Hercules	x	x	x
Philoctet, friend of Hercules	x	x	x

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77 Anon., 1768, fols. 276r-282r.

78 Ibid., fol. 278r.

79 Anon., 1772. In Mannheim, *La mort d'Hercule* was an *entr'acte* in the opera *La fiera di Venezia*. The scenario is printed at the end of the libretto.

80 Unless otherwise stated, these are danced roles.

	Noverre (Stuttgart 1762)	Lauchery (Kassel 1767)	Lauchery (Mannheim 1772)
Hilus, son of Hercules	x	x	x
Iole, slave of Hercules	x	x	x
Lycas, slave of Hercules	x	x	x
Jealousy	x	x	x
Juno	Extra	Dancer	Dancer
Companions of Hercules	One couple of Americans, Africans, Europeans, Asians each (8 dancers)	4 dancers, as well as an indefinite number of extras	1 soloist and 12 figurants, as well as an indefinite number of extras
Slaves	Slaves of different nations (indefinite number of extras),[81] 1 Thessalonian slave (female extra)	3 female slaves and 2 male slaves dancing, as well as slaves of different nationalities (an indefinite number of extras)	2 African, European, Asian and Scythian male slaves each, 1 female slave dancing, as well as slaves of different nationalities (an indefinite number of extras)
Combatants	3 or 4 dancers[82]	2 dancers	—
Companions of Dejanira	—	4 soloists	12 figurants
Priest/s	At least 2 extras	1 extra	1 extra
Sacrificer	An indefinite number of extras	4 extras	An indefinite number of extras
Musicians	"jouans de divers instrumens militaires dans la marche triomphante d'Hercule" (extras)	"jouant dans la marche" (extras)	extras
Soldiers and people	—	—	An indefinite number of extras
Divinities of the Olympus	An indefinite number of extras	—	An indefinite number of extras
Jupiter	1 extra	—	—
Number of scenes	4	8	14
Scene decoration			
Room in the palace of Hercules	—	—	1st-2nd scene

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81   The eyewitness account speaks of twelve slaves (Deller/Rudolph, 1913, p. XLI).

82   Three dancers are listed in the libretto, the eyewitness, however, speaks of four (ibid.).

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	Noverre (Stuttgart 1762)	Lauchery (Kassel 1767)	Lauchery (Mannheim 1772)
Square with triumphal arch	1st-2nd scene	1st-3rd scene	3rd-4th scene
Iole's room	—	4th-5th scene	—
Garden of the palace	3rd scene	6th-7th scene	5th-12th scene
Wood at the shore of the sea	4th scene	8th scene	13th-14th scene

Lauchery proceeded similarly with other pasticcio ballets which were first performed in Kassel and later in Mannheim. Almost always the plot of the scenarios has to a large extent the same wording, but as a rule it was expanded for Mannheim and there were minor changes in the roles.[83] For this procedure, the pasticcio method was well suited, as it was easy to remove or add new pieces. Scores of Lauchery's ballet pasticcios may be hidden somewhere in libraries, in which these trains of thought could be checked.

Pasticcio in dance – extant choreographies

Among the surviving choreographies in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation, two stand out because they contain complete stage choreographies – an absolute rarity when one realizes how many ballets there have been. Therefore, these two sources are valuable testimonies for the stage dance of the 18th century. And there is something else about them – both are pasticcios. These are *Ludus pastoralis* and a manuscript by Auguste Ferrère.

Ludus pastoralis is a Jesuit school ballet which dates from 1734.[84] It was dedicated to the new bishop of Metz und was performed at the local Jesuit college. Ballet and drama were important components of the Jesuit's educational program, as evidenced by numerous extant scenarios. The beautiful decorated manuscript of *Ludus pastoralis* contains the whole play including poetry, music and dance. Thereby it is a unique testimony for the Jesuit's college repertoire. The shepherd play which was performed by nine students of the college is an allegory which symbolizes the faith of the dedicatee.[85] The manuscript indicates the performers as well as the creators of the play. The composer was "Maillard" and the choreographer "Dalizon". The composer most likely must be identified with Pierre-Joseph Maillard, who, at the time, was *maître de musique* at Metz cathedral.[86] The identity of the choreographer remains unclear, but it was probably the dancing master of the Jesuit college.

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83 DAHMS, 1996, p. XVII.

84 ANON., 1734.

85 An overview about genesis and content of the manuscript is found in BERTON, 2007.

86 ROSE, 1992, p. 32. Berton erroneously takes the "D." before the surnames of Maillard and Dalizon for the initials of their first names. But it is the Latin abbreviation for "dominus" (see "Ludi argumentum" in ANON., 1734, n.p.).

Although Maillard is mentioned as a composer, the ballet is a pasticcio, because at least one musical piece comes from someone else. This concerns the penultimate dance, which is overwritten with "Gigue".[87] However, in terms of dance and music, it is a *gavotte*.[88] The music was taken from a dance called *La Transilvanie* which was published in Jacques Dezais' *XIII Recueil de danses pour l'année 1715*.[89] The origin of the music remains unknown. It was choreographed by Claude Balon for a couple[90] while the dance from Dalizon is a solo. The music in *Ludus pastoralis* was transposed from the original D minor to E minor and the musical structure was changed at some point: *La Transilvanie* has the structure ABACAA compared to ‖:ABAC:‖A in the *gigue*. In the choreographical structure (floor tracks, step sequences), however, there are no borrowings.

Against the background of this case, the question arises whether other dance tunes from the repertoire of *belle danse* are borrowed. Perhaps the composer Maillard named in the manuscript wrote only instrumental and vocal parts and the choreographer Dalizon chose music that best suited his choreographies. The present author searched for concordances for the other six dances, but without success.[91] This raises the question of why only one piece in the play is borrowed. (The choreographies preserved today are only a fraction of what existed. Many dances have not survived but also many are still undetected in archives, so this question may possibly be clarified sometime in the future.)

The other remarkable source is a manuscript by the dancing master Auguste Ferrère from 1782.[92] It contains three ballet pantomimes, one *ballet demi-caractère* and *entr'acte divertissements* for three stage works. They are all written in a grotesque or comic style and are therefore lighter than the ballets by Noverre.[93] The manuscript contains not only music and dance, but also gives information concerning other elements of staging: pantomimic gestures, the timing of entrances and exits and even the timing for raising the curtain.[94] To record all this information, the Beauchamp-Feuillet notation was not sufficient. Therefore, Ferrère combined it with simplified dance notation, verbal instructions and small drawings. The music is not reduced to the upper melody as is usual in dance notation, but written in two to five voices and contains details of instrumentation. In its unique form the manuscript is an invaluable source for understanding ballet in the late 18th century.

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87   Anon., 1734, fols. 31r-33r.

88   The music of *La Transilvanie* is in *alla breve* time with two crotchets upbeat, which is typical for a *gavotte*, while a *gigue* is always in 6/4 or 6/8.

89   Dezais, [1714], pp. 1-7. Nicoline Winkler is credited with this valuable discovery.

90   Ibid., p. 1.

91   An incipit search was conducted in the catalogue *La Belle Dance* by Francine Lancelot, Paris 1996, and in RISM.

92   Ferrère, 1782.

93   Marsh/Harris-Warrick, 2005, pp. 231f.

94   Ibid., p. 189.

In at least five of the eight stage pieces, pasticcio elements have been detected so far and possibly even more are included in the score.

Table 3: Borrowings in the Ferrère manuscript.

Title	Borrowing
Le Peintre amoureux de son modèle (ballet pantomime)	*contredanse générale* (pp. 9f.): *entrée* from Jean-Philippe Rameau's *opéra-ballet Les Fêtes d'Hébé* (1739)[95]
Les Trois cousines (3 *entr'acte divertissements* for an opera)	Some music was taken from Jean-Claude Gillier (1700) who wrote the music for the eponymous stage play by Florent Dancourt[96]
Les Bûcherons et les sabotiers (ballet pantomime)	*La Sabotière* (p. 39): *vaudeville* tune "Dans un bocage frais" from Favart's *opéra-comique Raton et Rosette* (1753)[97]
L'Embarras des richesses (2 *entr'acte divertissements* for a stage play)	*Tambourin sérieux* (pp. 47f.): *tambourin* from Rameau's *tragédie en musique Castor et Pollux* (1737)[98]
Myrtil et Lycoris (2 *entr'acte divertissements*)	Some music was taken from the eponymous *pastorale* by Léopold-Bastien Desormery (1777)[99]

The list confirms, on the one hand, the statement that the pasticcio technique was common practice in ballets in the second half of the 18th century. On the other hand, it shows the wide range from which Ferrère took his music both in period and genre: there are compositions between 1700 and 1777, and they range from the *tragédie en musique* to the *vaudeville* tune. The manuscript also makes it possible to study the close connection between music, dance and pantomime.[100] Concerning the pasticcios, the reasons for choosing specific pieces of music and the question whether this music specifically supports dance and gesture could be a project for further studies.

Conclusion

As shown in the examples, dances could be integrated in pasticcio operas. On the other hand, danced stage works such as ballets or pastorals could also be pasticcios themselves. All the examples have in common that the pasticcio technique refers to the music which was used, while the choreographies usually come from the pen of a single dan-

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95   Harris-Warrick/Marsh, 2005, p. 190.

96   Ibid., pp. 192f.

97   Marsh/Harris-Warrick. 2005, p. 253.

98   Harris-Warrick/Marsh, 2005, pp. 194f.

99   Ibid., pp. 190 and 195.

100   Which was done in Marsh/Harris-Warrick, 2005.

cing master. Whether pasticcios also existed in choreographic terms cannot be proven for lack of sources. Although the pasticcio method is similar to that of the opera, there are partly other and thereby different motivations and reasons for the decision to write a pasticcio.

Like the arias in pasticcio operas which were chosen by a composer for a particular virtuoso, dances could also be inserted when the composer had the opportunity to collaborate with excellent dancers. Also, pragmatic reasons like time restrictions could play a role in the decision to write a pasticcio. In the case of ballad opera, performing dances was not as important as the use of their tunes. On the one hand, they were chosen because of their entertainment value and popularity; on the other hand, they transported a subtext which often contained political or moral messages. When writing a ballet, choreographers often used pasticcio techniques. By choosing suitable music, these could help to support the danced action and to make it more understandable.

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