



Scène  
**Européenne**

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Regards croisés  
sur la Scène européenne

**La danse française**  
entre Renaissance et baroque  
Le manuscrit *Instruction pour danser*  
(vers 1610)

Recueil d'études issues de la journée d'étude  
de Tours 15 décembre 2012

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Textes réunis par  
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## Référence électronique

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Nicoline Winkler, « "Desmarcherez 3 pas sans bouger" On the practicability of the Instruction pour dancer », dans *La danse française, entre Renaissance et baroque. Le manuscrit Instruction pour dancer (vers 1610)* [En ligne], éd. par H. Hazebroucq et J.-N. Laurenti, 2016, mis en ligne le 03-01-2017, consulté le XX XXXX 2017.

URL : <https://sceneeuropeenne.univ-tours.fr/regards/instruction-pour-dancer>

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# REGARDS CROISÉS SUR LA SCÈNE EUROPÉENNE

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est publiée par le Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance,  
(Université François-Rabelais de Tours, CNRS/UMR 7323)  
dirigé par Benoist Pierre

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**ISSN**

2107-6820

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# “Desmarcherez 3 pas sans bouger”

On the practicability of the *Instruction pour dancer*

Nicoline Winkler  
Heidelberg

The anonymous Darmstadt manuscript *Instruction pour dancer les dances cy apres nommez*<sup>1</sup> is a source of particular interest as it is one of the rare documents on the threshold of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that gives a glimpse of the richness of French dancing at a time when the fashion in dances was changing. The reappearance of the manuscript and its publication took place approximately 400 years later in 2000<sup>2</sup>, but, contrary to all expectations, there was no run on the new dances after their release and the beauties of the source continued to remain unnoticed. All the more welcome therefore is the Journée d’Étude (15<sup>th</sup> December 2012) on the initiative of CESR, the aim of which is to combine the separate approaches in an attempt to make public this unparalleled account of dancing material. It is however undoubtedly a difficult task. As a rare representative of a largely forgotten epoch of French dance-culture, when most contemporaries were apparently silent on the subject, the work is, for us nowadays, set against a highly obscure background, as is its author.

There is first of all the question of the author’s own competence, is he a dance-expert of amateur stamp, or rather an established dancing master?<sup>3</sup> The source does not reveal. Its heading *Instruction pour dancer les dances cy apres nommez* at least implies some interest for public use. If the compiler had had an eye on posterity he could hardly have paid more careful

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<sup>1</sup> HS 304, Hessische Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek at Darmstadt.

<sup>2</sup> *Instruction pour dancer, An anonymous Manuscript*, ed. by Angene Feves, Ann Lizbeth Langston, Uwe W. Schlottermüller and Eugenia Roucher, Freiburg im Breisgau, Fagis 2000.

<sup>3</sup> May a possible authorship be claimed by Anthoine Emeraud, dancing master to the Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel? See “Introduction” by A. Feves, *op.cit.*, 31-33.

attention to the neat outward appearance of the script, striving to present the material in a tolerably uniform way. All we can tell with certainty is that the writer had a positively observant eye for the dance culture of his time. He steps before us armed with a considerable amount of information, with a certain cognisance of dance terminology and supplied with a sufficiently analytical mind to realise his intentions. He devotes his talents almost exclusively to the description of the choreographies of a repertoire of French dances with which he was familiar. Unfortunately, he is less inclined to deal with technical and stylistic requirements for the use of the dances. His carelessness or willful omission in matters of technique and style weighs heavily, given the fact that he was a representative of the period during which dance was undergoing rapid development, and where alterations took place in the world of dance-culture that were particular to the intervening years between the Renaissance and Baroque styles.

The author was not at all an inventor of new dance types. He participated in the general process of the French dancing life that was centred on the court or that was favoured among fashionable circles.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless with his *Instruction* he created an instrument to further this process (among German courts, as far as we know), but on the whole his work does not seem to have had any known impact on future generations.

### **“Patience passe sciences”: exploring the source**

As the uniqueness of the source allows only little help to be derived from environmental studies, there is very little left but to sharpen one's senses and to turn into an acute observer of what lies before us. To start with, it is important to deal with the source as an autonomous cosmos. Using it as a means of identifying the nature of the relationship between use of language and dance description, it renders the modern reader sensitive to the information given and the way it is imparted. By finding the keys that unlock the text's wealth of information, obvious or hidden, it may become in time a guide to dance practice. As a next step other contemporary sources such as dance manuals, dictionaries, literary and musical sources can provide additional information. Examples of the dif-

**4** Among the *Instruction* dances *Les quatres bransles de Loraine* and *Le passepied de Bretaigne* bear the additional remark “que l-on danse/dance a la cour”. *Les quatres branles de la Grennee* are headed “qui sont nouueaulx”. However their career at court seemed to decline pretty soon after 1600: “La pavanne espagnolle, le branle de la grenee, la volte de Bretaigne, le[s] passe pieds de Metz et de La Belle ville sont trop antiques pour les courtisans de la Cour” (s.d., “Le Purgatoire des bouchers”, in: *Variétés historiques et littéraires. Recueil de pièces volantes rares et curieuses en prose et en vers, revues et annotées*, éd. par Edouard Fournier, 10 vols., Paris 1855-63, vol. 5, 272) [dated around 1600 in: Gay, Victor, *Glossaire archéologique du moyen âge et de la Renaissance*, vol. I, Paris 1887 (repr. 1974), 541a].

**5** Chosen from a collection of proverbs and aphorisms by J. de Lannoy in his songbook, Lille, ca. 1620 (see footnote 53), quoted according to: Gerold, Theodor, “Das Liederalbum einer französischen Provinzdame um 1620”, in: *Festschrift zum 15. Neuphilologentage in Frankfurt am Main 1912*, Frankfurt a.M. 1912, 123.

ferent approaches will be given concerning the topics of the Journée d'étude *Le Branle simple* and *La Bourree*, but also including aspects on other dances from the source.

### Between the lines: Contextual studies

In analysing the linguistic “agility” of a given document, it is essential to concentrate on the smallest unit of the text, the words out of which it is constituted and the context in which they display their meaning. Segmenting the source keyword by keyword and producing a synopsis of its nomenclature creates the substance of the author’s choreographic world. Technical dance terms and descriptive phrasings, all to be examined within their context, must be considered not as mere literary evidence of a former obsolete use but as a vocabulary of dance with distinctive features for their practical application. Within the task of reconstructing steps one constant at least is vital: we must not be content with any solution as long as the duration of a step fails to remain consistent throughout the whole source.

At first it seemed a hopeless business to consider the whole range of technical dance terms without any official explanation from the author. But the results drawn by the comparison of words and contexts were far from fruitless. There is a helpful tendency in the source to mix scientific terminology with verbal instructions of a more colloquial tenor. Step names such as “pas démarché” coexist with verbal phrasings such as “aller en arrière”, “démarcher (un pas) sans bouger” or “démarcher en avant” / “pas démarché en allant à gauche”,<sup>6</sup> thus illuminating the different meanings of going “backwards” in brawls: from the basic meaning of moving to the right anti-clockwise upon retreating “on the spot”, that is moving away from the centre (“sans bouger d’une place”<sup>7</sup> may be added for “on the spot”<sup>8</sup> in compliance with the final expression in *Le branle simple*) to moving backwards to the left (“en avant” or “à gauche”) in a clockwise direction.<sup>9</sup>

**6** Examples are chosen from *Le Branle simple* “les autres troy pas suivan [sic] vont en erriere” *Instr* 49[11,13]), and *Les quatre Branles de la Grenee* “desmarcherez 3 pas du pied droict sans bouger” (troisieme branle, *Instr* 117[18r,14/15], “3 pas desmarchez en allant a gauche”, (*ib.* [20/21]), “aduancerez le pied droict en auant des marchant [sic]” (“quatrieme branle”, 119[18v,3/4]). The *Instruction* manuscript will be referred to as: *Instr* page-number of edition[fol.nr.,line].

**7** Italics in citations are added by the author for emphasizing words or text passages.

**8** François de Lauze in his *Apologie de la Danse et la parfaicte methode de l’enseigner tant aux Cavaliers qu’aux dames*, [Paris], 1623 (facs., Minkoff, Genève 1977) uses a similar expression, “sans quasi bouger d’une place” (“Methode pour les Dames”, *Cinquiesme Branle*, 63).

**9** In spite of the period’s polysemy of *démarcher* (“abandonner sa position, commencer à marcher, foulé aux pieds, etc.” Walther v. Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes* [FEW], Basel 1958ff., vol. 16,528b), my interpretation is based on the principal meaning of “reculer, tirer/marcher en arrière”, to be witnessed for instance in Stoer, Jacob, *Dictionnaire françois-allemand-latin*, Genève 1621: *desmarcher* “hindersich weichen”, *faire desmarcher* “zu ruck machen gehen”.

A “retirade” is a withdrawing step or step sequence which is most vaguely explained by the only remark “en arriere”. But there seemed to be several sorts of “retirades” in usage in the *Instruction*’s world and when assigned to definite steps we can decipher the meaning. In *La Pauanne*’s quatrième passage it was done “grouement” which implies its execution with “pas graves” stepping backwards (the cavalier retreats while the lady turns before him with two “pas graues” in order to chase him backwards with three “fleurets”).<sup>10</sup> It may even denote as in *La Bourree*’s “la retirade que vous faictes de la gauotte” a step-pattern in which the dancer advances, describing a circle that turns backwards.<sup>11</sup>

And thus along with codified step names we sometimes find self-explanatory passages of considerable communication. For example le “temps releue” in *Le branle simple* (“tant relleue du pied droict” *Instr* 49[1r,12]) is fully explained, even touching stylistic points, in *Le Branle de Bretaigne* (“leuerez le pied droict pour faire un petit relleue du tallon du pied gauche tenant le pied droict en l-air”, *Instr* 121[19r,17-19]). Associated with “relevé” and “petit relevé” they stand in contrast to “pas relevé” which has a quality of its own, indicating a step on one foot raising the other leg in the air.<sup>12</sup>

The term “fauory” (pl. “fauoritz”), which we despair of understanding at first sight denotes a step quite common throughout the source. It appears in several brawls<sup>13</sup> and is a basic element of *La Gauotte*: “il fault faire troys fauoritz du coste gauche l-un du pied gauche et l-autre du pied droict et encores ung du pied gauche” (*Instr* 51[iv,22]-53[2r,1]). It reveals itself in several passages, e.g. in the first *Bransle de Lorraine*: “[...] ayant le pied [gauche] leue pour auancer en auant du coste gauche saultant” (*Instr* 109[16r,1-3] or in *Le troisieme Bransle de Lorraine*: “portez le pied droict du coste droict en saultant” (*Instr* 111[16v,7/8])). We can deduce from it a leap starting from one or both feet onto one foot and it is generally executed to the side.<sup>14</sup> A special quality of the step is that it is most

<sup>10</sup> “vous ne ferez que deux pas graues en auant et comme verrez que la damoiselle yra dauant vous ferez deux retirades en arriere grouement l-un du pied gauche et l-autre du pied droict” (*Instr* 97[13r,3-6]).

<sup>11</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> passage, *Instr* 57[3r,13], with its repetition on the other foot described as “un tour dansant les pas de la gauotte en tournant un peu en arriere” [18/19].

<sup>12</sup> *Le Branle de Poictou* demands most clearly a “pas relevé” with a change of foot (“[...] le premier ce sont 3 pas descoupez [on the left, right, left,] le quatrième c'est un pas releue du pied droict[,] les cinquième, sixième, septième se [sic] sont trois pas marchez sur le mitan du pied commandant du pied gauche [...]” (*Instr* 49[1r,22]-51[1v,3]).

<sup>13</sup> *Le [Branle] double de Montirande* (51[iv,18]), *Les quatre Branles de la Grenee* (113[17r,20]; 115[17v,6]; etc.), *Les quatres Bransles de la Chappelle* (*Instr* 81[9r,6]; 83[9v,19]).

<sup>14</sup> In my opinion there is no evidence in the source conducive to the idea that the term “fauory” anticipates the later “demi-contretemps”, a hop on one foot followed by a step on the other foot. Since the contretemps steps emerged from the gavot family it is very tempting to declare the “fauory” (which plays an essential role in the gavot brawl described in the Darmstadt manuscript) as the origine of the untraced Baroque step. Nevertheless the family of contretemps-steps appears to be a slightly later achievement in dance technique, not wholly unconnected with the transfer of accent that affected the musical form of the gavot from a downbeat

often performed in a group of three with the second “fauory” crossing in front: “[...] ayant le pied [gauche] leue pour auancer en auant du coste gauche saultant et passerez le pied droict par dessus le pied gauche en saultant et aduancerez encores le pied gauche en saultant” (*Instr* 109[16r,1-5]) or in *Le quatrieme Bransle de Lorraine*: “porter le pied droict du coste droict et porter aussy le pied gauche passant par dessus le pied droict et porterez encores le pied droict [...]” (*Instr* 113[17r,7-9]). Furthermore there are two clear cases in which the author uses the term “fauory”: the first case is taken from the second *Bransle de la Chappelle*, where the text runs parallel with the above mentioned examples “ayant le pied gauche leue [...] pour faire un *fauory* a gauche du pied gauche et un autre *fauory* du pied droict passant par dessus le pied gauche et faire encores un *fauory* du pied gauche” (*Instr* 81[9r,4-9]) and the second is taken from the first *Branle de la Grenee* “passerez le pied droict par dessus le pied gauche *en fauory*” (*Instr* 115[17v,5-6]).

We gladly accept the author’s whims of paraphrasing and his descriptions of the same step-sequence in endless different ways if he provides us with important information, e.g. in *La Bourree* and the implanted “pas de la gauotte”. We understand that “troys pas en tournant et un petit saulx” (“Le second passage”, *Instr* 57[3r,4/5]) corresponds to “un/le tour faisant/dansant les/le pas de la gauotte et un saulx” (“Le cinquieme passage”, *Instr* 59[3v,18/19;24/25]) and “un tour dansant les pas de la gauotte en tournant un peu

to an upbeat genre with stress on the third crotchet. This happened in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and is common in the second half. The first evidence of the upbeat genre is in 1629 in a gavot (branle) published by François de Chancy in his *Tablature de mandore [...]*, Paris 1629 (fol. 18r). See my comment on the rhythmical relationship of the early “pas de la gavotte” to the later “pas de gavotte” in Baroque technique in: Winkler, Nicoline: “La Gillotte. Eine gavotte à figures”, in: *Morgenröte des Barock. Tanz im 17. Jahrhundert*. 1. Rotthenfelser Tanzsymposium, 9.-13. Juni 2004. Tagungsband, hg. von Uwe Schlottermüller und Maria Richter, Freiburg im Breisgau, Fa-gisis 2004, 248-251. In the author’s paraphrasing the “fauoritz” (“auancer en auant du coste gauche *saultant* / aduancerez le pied gauche *en saultant* / portez le pied droict du coste droict *en saultant*”) there is no hint whatsoever that the passage describes a step-unit of two movements (“movement” is not used here in the sense of the French technical dance term “mouvement” “a sink and rise”). Although the author does not clearly describe every feature of a dance, he is on the whole a reliable guide. Either he uses termini technici that typify the choreographic elements requisite for the dance, independent of the number of movements (“fleuriet”, “pas de la courante”, “pas de la volte”, “battu” etc.) or he tells us in an informal style what is to be done, movement by movement. Throughout the source he uses “sauter” either referring to a hop or a leap, but always comprising one single movement. A hop is expressed by “faire un petit saut sur” in “Le sixieme passage” of *La Pauanne* “le [pied droict] tenant en l-air et ferez un petit saulx sur le pied gauche ayant le pied droict en l-air” (*Instr* 101[14r,16-18]) or simply with “sauter” as in the text of “Le septieme passage” “[...] le pied gauche le tenant en l-air a celle fin de le remectre derriere en l-air en ce tournant dauant la damoiselle *en saultant*” (*Instr* 105[15r,20-22]). A leap from one foot to another is referred to in “ledit pied [gauche] yra du coste gauche *en sautant dessus*” (“Le troysieme passage” of *La Pauanne*, *Instr* 93[12r,7/8]) or in “porterez ledit pied droict [...] du coste droict *en saultant*” (91[11v,19-21]), where it is almost identical to the indirect description of a “fauory” in *Le troysieme Bransle de Lorraine* cited above. The author is very explicit in the *second passepied* (*Instr* 121[19r,6-8]) what “sauter” means to him: “leuer le pied gauche pour faire le quatrieme [pas] *en sautant le mettant en bas*”.

en arriere” (“Le troysieme passage”, *Instr* 57[3r,18/19]). We even learn that it is called “la retirade que vous faict de la gauotte” (*ib.* [3r,13]).

The benefit arising from the author’s inconsistency in describing the same facts in various ways can turn into a nuisance when the information given is inconsistent, or even sometimes self-contradictory as in the case of the closing of the feet at the turn of the middle to the final section of *La Pauanne*. Four cases hint at the option “closing the feet in first position while jumping” (moving from an open to a closed position, done while jumping)

tenant le pied gauche en l-air pour mectre les deux piedz ensemble *faisant* un petit sault ouurant la poincte des deux piedz (“Le premier passage” 87[10v,3-6])

ferez du pied gauche mettant les deuz piedz ensemble ouurant les deux poinctes des piedz *faisant* un petit saulx (“Le quatrieme passage” 95[12v,20-22])

le pied gauche estant en l-air [...] pour fermer mettant les deux piedz ensemble *faisant* un petit sault ouurant la poincte des piedz (“Le cinquieme passage” 99[13v,21-24])

le pied droict chassera le pied gauche pour fermer mettant les deux piedz ensemble *faisant* un petit sault ouurant la pointe des piedz (“Le septieme passage” 105[15r,24]-106[15v,1])

against three cases for the alternative “a close and a spring” (closing the feet without jumping followed by a spring in first position)

et au bout du fleuret fermerez du pied droict tenant les piedz ensemble *et ferez* un petit sault ouurant la poincte des deux piedz (“Le sixieme passage” 103[14v,16-19])

chasserez le pied droict pour fermer les deux piedz ensemble *et ferez* un petit saulx ouurant les poinctes des piedz (“Le second couplet [sic]” 89[11r,19-22])

tenant le pied droict en l-air pour apres fermer les deux piedz ensemble *et faire* un petit sault ouurant la pointe du pied (“Le troysieme passage” 93[12r,12-15]).

*La Bourree* in its gavot-based “retirade” consisting of “troys pas en tournant” followed by a “petit saulx”, apparently favours the second interpretation “mettant les deux piedz ensemble *pour faire* un petit saulx” (entry section, *Instr* 53[2r,13/14]) and thus provides us with an equal number of possible interpretations. Looking for help elsewhere, *Les quatres Bransles de Loraine* offer assistance: “[...] pour *fermer en saultant* mettant les deux piedz ensemble *pour faire* deux petitz saulx” (“Le troysieme branle”, *Instr* 111[16v,9-11]). The two “petits sauts” may clarify the matter. This quite ingeniously devised passage of two tiny springs in first position executed in complete accordance with the corresponding musical section might be ruined in its effect with a “close and a spring” in advance. The author’s intention seemed throughout the source to describe a “closing the feet while jumping”, a result consistent with the ending of many a Spanish pavan.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Thoinot Arbeau in his *Orchesographie. Traité en forme de dialogue par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre et pratiquer l'honnête exercice des danses*, Langres 1589 (facs., Dominique Guéniot 1988) and *Orchesographie, méthode, et teorie... par Thoinot Arbeau demeurant à Langres*, Jehan des Preyz, 1596

Belonging to different worlds, but united by a common interest: synchronic and diachronic comparative studies

Diachronically the *Instruction* is situated between Thoinot Arbeau's *Orchésographie* 1588 and De Lauze's *Apologie de la Danse* 1623. They differ widely in many respects, one source being directed at urban middle class society, the other at the nobility. Their different methods in describing steps and choreographies have a certain complementary quality. Arbeau gives an admirably clear exposition of the rules and basic technique of the dances using a sound technical vocabulary to convey the different qualities of movements, whereas De Lauze's emphasis is on the description of the separate movements leading to single and composed steps, often without giving them names. His movements and steps tend clearly to the Baroque style, but his instructions often fail to be explicit, which makes interpretation difficult. The *Instruction* is in between these two different systems, filling the gap in time and in orientation. It does not display Arbeau's educational mission or de Lauze's emphasis on stylistic matters, but assumes that the reader should have a knowledge of the essential dance technique. He focusses meticulously on choreographic information, and seldom fails to point out the exact foot requisite for the next step, which constitutes a great help in the reconstruction of steps and step-sequences.

Comparing these three successive French sources is a step towards a better understanding of each of them. The *Instruction* as the intermediate source combining earlier Renaissance dances with the latest fashion in dance culture has affinities in both directions. *La Danse du Chandellier* manuscript Darmstadt is an enlarged version for three dancers (one "gentilhomme" and two "damoyselles") of the old *Branle du Chandelier*-theme of Arbeau's time and description. It recalls the related Italian *Ballo del Fiore in terzo* in Caroso's *Il Ballarino* 1581.<sup>16</sup> But while the Italian version displays a small variety of steps, the French versions are very plain and use mainly one basic step. The "troys pas marchez et un releue" in *La danse du chandellier* (*Instr* 61[4r,20]) are similar or fall very short of Arbeau's "pied gaulche auancé—pied droit auancé—pied gaulche auancé—greue droicte" (*Orchésographie* 86v) identical in its turn to his *Allemande double* "pas du gaulche—pas du droit—pas du gaulche—greue droicte" (*ib.* 67v). In this case our job of interpretation is relatively simple.

The brawl suite placed at the beginning of the *Instruction* (*Branle simple, Branle gay, Branle de Poictou, Branle double de Poictou, Branle de Montiranday* and its *Double*

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(facs., impr. Minkoff, 1972), ends: "pieds jointcs, pied en l'air droit, pied en l'air gaulche, pied en l'air droit, pieds jointcs" (97r). Most of the Italian pavaniglias close the middle section with a *cadenza*.

<sup>16</sup> Fabritio Caroso, *Il Ballarino*, Venetia 1581 (facs., Broude Brothers New York 1967), 258r.

*de Montirande, La Gauotte*) however is one of the latest dances of the time.<sup>17</sup> Therefore we can see a close relationship to de Lauze's *Premier to Cinquieme Bransles* (the gavot is talked of but not described by him), allowing us to identify corresponding sections. The third branle for instance, *Le Bransle de Poictou*, is one of the dances hard to decipher in the Darmstadt manuscript. Undoubtedly the two sources describe more or less the same branle. The *Instruction*, having recourse to its codified step system, starts with: "le premier [pas] ce sont 3 pas descoupez" (*Instr* 50[1r,22]-51[iv,1]). We need all the descriptive finesse in de Lauze's third branle *Le bransle de Poictou* to decipher its meaning. He explains the movements down to the smallest details "porter le pied gauche à costé, & le droict deuant sur le mouvement d'iceux, puis [...], en desgageant le pied gauche, le glisser doucement à demy pied de l'autre" (*Apologie: Methode pour les Dames* 60). Certainly, we have to ignore the fact that de Lauze's treatise one or two decades later describes a style that is definitely more baroque,<sup>18</sup> and that we don't know the exact stylistic requirements in practice at the beginning of the century, but because of the complete lack of information on the topic in our source, de Lauze's descriptions provide us with valuable assistance.

As another point of comparison, European dance manuals may be helpful as far as they refer to similar dances or steps mentioned in the *Instruction*. We have at our disposal with the Italian treatises of Fabritio Caroso (1581 and 1600), Cesare Negri (1602), Livio Lupi (1607) and Ercole Santucci (1614)<sup>19</sup> interesting documents for diachronic and synchronic studies. A most beneficial point of comparison is the Spanish pavan. The cosmopolitan *Pavane espagnole* belongs to the French, Italian and Spanish dance culture from the last decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century on.<sup>20</sup> Two French versions have survived with

<sup>17</sup> The earliest musical source to my knowledge that already contains the new standardized branle-suite of the Early Baroque period, witnessed choreographically in the Darmstadt manuscript, is published in 1600: *Le Tresor d'Orphée. Livre de tablature de luth contenant ... suites de Bransles tant à cordes avalées qu'à autres ... mises par Antoine Francisque*, Paris 1600, [15v]-21v.

<sup>18</sup> De Lauze's style is characterised by a large amount of dancing "sur la pointe des pieds". Therefore the whole branle is to be executed on the balls of the feet. De Lauze continues the branle after an "assemblé" with "couler quatre pas sur le mouvement des pieds, les jambes bien tenduës" where the *Instruction* version advises "troys pas marchez sur le mitan du pied [...] et le huictieme le couppez" (*Instr* 51[iv,2-4]). *Mitan* is an old designation for "moitié, milieu" (13-19<sup>th</sup> century) that survived in French dialects and in the occitano-gascon languages of Southern France. Does it indicate a step on the flat foot, see also in *Le branle gay* ("le premier [pas] commence du pied gauche sur le mitan du pied" *Instr* 49[1r,17])? Cf. its regional use in the Département Deux-Sèvres / *mitâ d la mē/* [phonetic form] along with other examples "pomme de la main [flat of the hand]" (FEW, vol. 13¹,92b/93a article lat. TANTUS "so gross; so viel"). But it is difficult to tell if *mitan* may not just as well refer to a movement on the ball of the foot.

<sup>19</sup> Fabritio Caroso, *Il Ballarino*, op. cit.; id., *Nobiltà di dame*, Bologna 1600; Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore*, Milano 1602; Livio Lupi, *Mutanze di gagliarda, tordiglione, passo e mezzo, canari e passeggi*, Palermo 1600; 1607; Ercole Santucci Perugino, *Mastro da Ballo*, Perugia 1614 (facs. ed. by Bengt Häger and Barbara Sparti, Hildesheim / Zürich / New York, Olms-Verlag 2004).

<sup>20</sup> Caroso's *Il Ballarino* of 1581 represents its first printed appearance in Italy; in Spain there is a first occurrence

Arbeau's *Pavane d'Espagne* (*Orchésographie* 96v/97r) and the *Instructions's La Pauanne* (*Instr* 85[10r,5]-107[15v,12]). Both documents give the impression that the Spanish pavan is an established figured couple dance of presumably a fixed number of passages. It consists of three sections: an invariable introductory part is followed by the main part of the dance, which is open to variations, and it is closed by an equally invariable end section.<sup>21</sup> Thoinot Arbeau gives us the first and basic passage and hints at varying choreographic patterns for the main part “on fait avec aultres nouueaulx mouuements le second passage, puis les aultres consequemment, lesquels pourrez apprendre tout à loisir” (*Orchésographie* 96v).<sup>22</sup> With the *Instruction's La Pauanne* and its “sept passages” we have a fully described figured couple dance of seven couplets. The first passage proves it to be at an advanced stage compared to the Arbeau version, the middle part of the former with 7 “fleurets” developed into a more demanding and appealing section of 2 “fleuretz”, 2 “battuz”, 2 “fleuretz creusez”, 2 “battuz”, 1 “fleuret”. If we follow the author's instructions and repeat every couplet starting on the other foot retrograding or turning back to the initial position, it concurs exactly with the 14 couplets of Mersenne's description in his *Harmonie Universelle*: “La Pauanne vient d'Espagne [...] elle [...] a 16 mesures & 14 couplets”.<sup>23</sup>

The Spanish pavan flourished in Italian *Pavaniglias*. The popularity of its musical and choreographic theme stimulated Italian dancing masters to create their own versions, some of considerable length with regard to “tempi” or “parte”.<sup>24</sup> But they share a common material that makes it possible to recognise similar structures among them and it is even possible to discern affinities in choreographic as well as in step-patterns to the *Instruction's La Pauanne*. Choreographically the second couplet of *La Pauanne*, which travels after the introductory part in a sideways direction “estant tourne dauant sa damoyselle allant tous deux ensemble de coste” (*Instr* 89[11r,4-6]) echoes for example the “quarta parte” of Santucci's *Pavaniglia di Lodovico Padoello da Padova* (“voltandosi co la

mentioned in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century: the undated catalan “de l'Hospital” or Tarragó manuscript contains a *Pavana* identified by C. Mas as an old Spanish version of the *Pavaniglia*. For further information see the article by Barbara Sparti, Christine Bayle, Carles Mas, “A hit tune becomes a hit dance. The travels of a pavane through Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, France and Germany”, in: “All'ungaresca—al español”. *Die Vielfalt der europäischen Tanzkultur 1420-1820*. 3. Rothenfelser Tanzsymposium 6.-10. Juni 2012, Tagungsband, hg. v. Uwe Schlottermüller, Howard Weiner und Maria Richter, Freiburg im Breisgau, Fa-gisis 2012, 147-173.

**21** Occasionally an extended main part shortens the introductory part or supersedes the final part.

**22** Other traditions imply the same notion of an established and complex form in use, e.g. John Ramsay's *Practise for Dauncinge* (ca. 1609) alludes to, rather than describes, a *Spanish Pavine* by stating: “It must be learn[']d by practise & demonstration, beinge perform[']d w(i)th boundes & capers & in the ende honour” (Ian Payne, *The Almain in Britain, c. 1450-c.1675*, Ashgate 2003, 225).

**23** Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy 1636 (facs. Éditions du CNRS, 1965), Deuxième Partie, Livre second des chants, Proposition XXIII, 164.

**24** Santucci's *Pavaniglia dell'Autore* (440-451) has 21 parte (already including the repetitions of the “passeggi” starting on the other foot).

faccia, e persona in prospettiva, faranno [...] andando per il longo del Ballo” Santucci 435) and of Caroso’s *Pavaniglia* in *Il Ballarino* (“L’Huomo [...] voltando il viso alla Dama, poi ha da fare [...] al fianco sinistro” Caroso 1581, 37v). They confirm that the couple does not start this passeggiò as usual on the same foot, but “cominciando il Cavaliere ditto passo puntato col sinistro, e la Dama col destro” (Santucci 435). *La Pauanne* starts its sideways travel with “deux coulades du coste gauche”. In the Italian manuals the yet unknown “coulades” are represented by “Balzetti”, which does not mean that “coulades” are to be interpreted as such, but that different cultures tended to replace foreign steps by similar movements from their own step repertoire.<sup>25</sup>

Even much later documents can lead to a better understanding of the original *La Bourree*. English country dancing borrows the tune of *La Bourree* and inserts some of its typical elements in *Parsons Farewell for four*, published from John Playford’s first edition of *The English Dancing Master*, London 1651 unto the 7<sup>th</sup> ed. of 1690. It starts with “Meet all, foure slips to the left hand. Back all, foure slips to the right hand”,<sup>26</sup> a choreographic figure that is to be met with in a slightly different but undoubtedly related manner in the first part of “Le quatrième passage” and its readoption in “Le sixième passage” of *La Bourree*:

il faut faire quatre florets sur le pied en avant et trois glissades du coste gauche en tirant du coste en arrière et un relleue[,] aultant du pied droit du coste droit et un relleue[,] ferez encores en avant quatre florets sur le pied” (*Instr* 57[3r,20-24]; also 61[4r,1-4]).<sup>27</sup>

**25** Another example of a shared choreographic pool displaying different cultural particularities is to be seen in the step-unit of passage 3 of *La Pauanne*. It shows affinities for example to the “sesto” (and its repetition the “settimo”) “tempo” of Caroso’s versions of 1581 (Caroso *Ballarino* 38r) and 1600 (Caroso *Nobiltà: Amorosina Grimana. Pavaniglia* 105/106). The following French description of a step-sequence “leuerez apres le pied droit en l-air le mettant derrière en sautant [“sur le pied gauche” is omitted] et puis porterez ledit pied droit[,] qui est derrière[,] du coste droit en sautant et en mesme temps leuerez le pied gauche le mettant aussi derrière le pied droit” (“Le troysieme passage” 91[11v,17-23]) and its repetition to the other side expressed more intelligibly: “apres leuerez le pied gauche en l-air sautant sur le pied droit le mettant derrière et ledit pied yra du coste gauche en sautant dessus et en mesme temps le pied droit sera en l-air” (93[12r,5-9]) has its Italian counterpart in the “gropo” belonging to Caroso’s and Santucci’s “sesto” and “settimo tempi”, a step-unit generally consisting of three “trabuchetti incrocicchiati” [sort of “saltetto” on one foot with the other foot crossing behind without touching the ground] and a “sottopiede”. The French source however describes a slightly different version of the “gropo” as described by Livio Lippi in his *Libro di Gagliarda, Tordiglione, Passo e mezzo, Canari è Passeggi*, 1607, 15 (“farai un Trabocchetto à man manca, e nell’istesso tempo incrociarai il piede diritto dietro il calcagno del manco, con bassar alquanto le genocchia. l’istesso à man dritta”); Lehner, Markus, *A Manual of sixteenth-century Italian dance steps*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Fa-gisis 1997, 77).

**26** John Playford, *The English Dancing Master* (EDM), I, 1, London 1651, 6 [nr. 6].

**27** Were the “glissades” in *La Bourree* performed in the same manner as later French glissades of Baroque technique? And what did the four “slips” in *Parsons Farewell* look like? We cannot tell. But sliding steps seem to constitute a typical French dance step, as witnessed by its frequent use in the *Instruction*: “glisse”, “pas glisse”, “glissade”, “glissade releuee”, “cadence glisée”. De Lauze cites them in his *Apologie*—unfortunately without further explanation—in the third part of *Le cinquiesme Bransle*: “deux glissades du coste gauche, & deux au-

Another correspondance can be witnessed with the “troys petitz saulx sans bouger” in *La Bourree*'s fifth passage (2<sup>nd</sup> part, bars 3-4) which have their sequel at the very same bars in Playford's first passage “rise all four times”.<sup>28</sup>

Baroque “follow-ons” of Early baroque dances are primarily interesting because of their later dealing with the choreography of given musical structures, but they may also bear traces of the original dances in trying to hold onto the specific elements of these famous old dances. A series of Baroque dances in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation, collected in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, sound like relicts of ancient dances, as the epithet “vieux/vieille” in their title suggests: *La Vieille Bourrée*, *La Vieille Pavane*, *La Vieille Gaillarde*, etc., in their turn often “contrasted” by versions entitled “nouveau/nouvelle”. Some of them, not all, display characteristics of the older dances, for instance a preference for circular paths or a reduced step system based primarily on the basic step representing a dance-type.<sup>29</sup> The anonymous *La Vieille Bourrée* of unknown date, which also appears as *La Petite Bourrée*,<sup>30</sup> fulfills both criteria. Its name is taken up by *La Petite Bourrée nouvelle* in Pécour's *Recueil 1709*.<sup>31</sup> Another contemporary bourrée entitled “new” is *La Bourrée Nouvelle par Mr. Balon* of 1716.<sup>32</sup> None of them matches the ancient *La Bourree*

tres du costé droit” (64) presumably corresponding to the *Instruction*'s “cadance glissée” in *Le double de Montirande* (51[iv,20/21]). They are further mentioned in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle*, Paris 1636, Livre second des chants, Proposition XXIII, 165, when he describes the sarabande: “ses pas sont composez de tirades, ou de *glissades*”.

Borrowed by English dance culture sliding steps appear in English measures, such as *The Black Alman*, where they actually refer to French sliding steps travelling sideways: “slyde 4 french slydes to the mans right hand” (*The Black Alman Measures*, London, Inner Temple Records (about 1640-75)) and its copy “slide four french slides to the mans right hand” (London, Royal College of Music, MS 1119, s.d.), in: Peter and Janelle Durham, *Dances from the Inns of Court 1570-1675*, by the Authors 1997 [concordance *The Black Alman*, last page: Inner Temple and RCM].

**28** The *Instruction*'s whole initial sequence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> part “ferez ung glissé et un relleue du coste gauche et ung autre glissé et un relleue du coste droict[,] apres ferez troys petitz saulx sans bouger” (*Instr* 59[3v,15-17]) corresponds roughly to *The Dancing Master*'s “Men rise once, We rise once, rise all four times”.

**29** See the discussion of these “old dances” in Hubert Hazebroucq, *La Technique de la Danse de Bal vers 1660. Nouvelles perspectives*, Mémoire sous la direction de Monsieur Bertrand Porot, Université de Reims-Champagne-Ardennes, UFR de Lettres et Sciences Humaines / Musique et musicologie, Année universitaire 2012-2013 ([http://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/file/index/docid/994362/filename/memoire\\_M2\\_2013\\_Hazebroucq\\_Hubert.pdf](http://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/file/index/docid/994362/filename/memoire_M2_2013_Hazebroucq_Hubert.pdf)), 89 ss, notably p. 92.

**30** *La Vieille Bourrée* in: *Chorégraphie ou l'Art de D'Ecrire la Danse Par caracteres, Figures, Et Signes Demontatifs*, F-Po (Paris, Bibl. du Musée et de l'Opéra)/Rés. 1163, s.ds.l. [1728-1750], 109-113; *La Petite Bourree*, [*Chorégraphie par*] Deslan, Paris, B.N., Ms.fr. 14884 [1748], 219-223; *La Vieille Bourree*, [Recueil de danses] F-Po/Rés. 934, 428-432; *La Belle dance*. Catalogue raisonné fait en l'an 1995 sous la direction de Francine Lancelot, Paris, Van Dieren 1996, 341.

**31** *La Petite Bourrée* par Mr. Pécour, *VIII<sup>e</sup> Recueil de danses pour l'année 1710*, Paris 1709, 7-12; *La Petite Bourrée nouvelle*, Deslan, *op. cit.*, 196-201; *La Petite Bourree nouvelle*, F-Po/Rés. 934, 438-443; *La Belle dance*, *op. cit.* III. The tune of *La Vieille/Petite Bourrée* figures also as *La Bourée des Basques* (*La Belle Danse*, *op. cit.* 341).

**32** *La Bouree Nouvelle Par Mr. Balon* in: *XIIIF Recueil de Danses pour l'année 1716* par M<sup>r</sup> Dezais, Paris [1716], 8-11; *La Belle dance*, *op. cit.* 177. The music of Balon's *Bourée Nouvelle* identified as belonging to *Les Festes de*

as to its melody and choreography, but all belong to a Baroque musical repertoire and are composed accordingly in Baroque dance style. *La Vieille/Petite Bourrée* however is different. Its choreographic and technical simplicity is even a rare document in French Baroque dance. It consists throughout of “pas de bourrée”, only occasionally employing “pas grave” or “pas coupé”, and thus gives the impression that it is either a “school”-version of a Baroque Bourrée intended for step practice or to represent an “old” dance transferred and adapted to Baroque rules. Its exhaustive use of “pas de bourrée”-sections may indicate reminiscences of *La Bourree*’s A-parts where tracks and paths were mostly executed with “fleurets sur (le) pied”.<sup>33</sup> Especially the Baroque floor-pattern of the fourth diagram of *La Vieille/Petite Bourrée* may be inspired by part A of the first passage in *La Bourree*,<sup>34</sup> shaped incidentally into a more regular form.

Another claim to ancientness has *La Vieille Pavane* which is rooted in the old Spanish pavan. It is like *La Vieille/Petite Bourrée*, due to the history of both dances, characterized by a special relationship to the main step involved, the “pas de bourrée”.

The “fleurets sur (le) pied” of *La Bourree* are early representatives of the Baroque “pas de bourrée/fleuret”-family. “Fleurets” are known from Thoinot Arbeau on. Another dance in the *Instruction* besides *La Bourree* in which they are crucial is *La Pauanne*. In the first passage of Arbeau’s *Pavane d’Espagne* and of *La Pauanne/Instr*, “fleurets” constitute the basic steps of their middle sections and undergo variations in the following passages (see above p. 11). “Pas de bourrées” are also fundamental to *La Vieille Pavane*, a modernized version in Baroque style of the old Spanish pavan.<sup>35</sup> Melody and step system have changed, but the ancient structure of the dance is still maintained.<sup>36</sup> It is certainly

*Thalie. Balet représenté pour la première fois [...] 1714* is inconsistently referred to as Bourrée or as Rigaudon (*La Belle dance, op. cit. 177*).

- 33** A striking feature of *La Bourree*’s choreography is that its A-parts, nearly exclusively restricted to “fleurets” (with few exceptions of “glissades” inserted in passages 4 and 6), contrast with its B-parts that are almost entirely free of “fleurets” (except one set of “fleurets croisés” in passage 4).
- 34** “Il faut faire cinq fleuretz sur le pied en ayant et commander du pied gauche [...] le sixieme pas s'est un autre fleuret sur pied qui tourne demy tour du coste gauche et quictant la damoyselle et faire deux fleuretz reuenant a votre place” (*Instr* 55[2v,1-6]).

- 35** *La Vieille pavane* (Deslan, *op. cit.*, 392-399) figures also as *La Pavane* in [*Recueil de danses*] F-Po/Rés. 934, 531-538 (pièce 29). A five-part setting of this air named “Pavane” is preserved in Pascal Colasse’s tragedy of 1690 *Enée et Lavinie* where it belongs to a dance suite of shepherds; in Philidor’s *Suites de danses* [1701-1712] the air is called *Pavanne de Mr Pecourt* (*La Belle dance, op. cit.* 363; although its unusual musical structure is mentioned, it isn’t assigned to the Spanish pavan, but classified as a dance-type similar to a Bourrée).

- 36** Its melody is slightly reminiscent of the old Spanish pavan, similar to the famous courante *La Vignonne* transformed by Jacques Cordier dit Bocan into *La Bocanne* (Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, Paris 1636, Livre Second des Chants, 170). With the Spanish pavan we are however dealing with a dance-type which is choreographically much better witnessed. Built on a strain of 16 bars played four times (4 x A16), *La Vieille Pavane*’s choreography still echoes the underlying old structure: after an entry section of 6 bars (in the 3<sup>rd</sup> passage of only 4 bars, a feature also known in passages of *La Pauanne/Instr*) a new choreographic segment is introduced.

no coincidence that in its first passage the middle section is introduced with two “pas de bourrées” (bars 7-8) corresponding to *La Pauanne*’s two “fleuretz”. We don’t know the stylistic changes “fleurets” underwent between Arbeau’s time where they were executed with two ”pieds en l’air, sans petit sault” and a “greue droicte” (*Orchésographie* 58v) and the baroque representatives of the “pas de bourrée/fleuret” family. Their time value however remained unchanged, as each step-unit consumes one bar of music.

Was *La Bourree* instrumental in developing the future designation of “pas de bourrée”? A dance like *La Bourree* with large parts based on “fleurets” could well be imagined to transfer its name to the main step involved, the “fleuret” or \*“pas de la bourree”<sup>37</sup> in analogy to the *Instruction*’s terminology of “pas de la courante”, “pas de la volte”, “pas de la gauotte”.

The *Instruction* seems to foreshadow many a fundamental Baroque step:

The Baroque “pas de gavotte” seems to have originated (in terms of its rhythmic formula) in the ancient gavot step which entered the dance scene with the *Instruction*’s “pas de la gauotte”. Originally an element of *La Gauotte* and the brawls based on it (*La Gillotte* and *Les quatres Bransles de Lorraine*), its extracted short version of “troys pas et un saut” already leads an independent life (independent of the branle-Gavotte) in *La Bourree*.<sup>38</sup>

*Le second passepied de Bretaigne* called *Le Virdet* may lead us to the minuet step: “Il fault faire troys pas desmarchez commancant *du pied droict* et leuer le pied gauche pour faire le quatrieme en sautant le mettant en bas” (*Instr* 121[19r,5-8]). The simple step-pattern of three “pas marchés” and a leap from one foot to the other foot, always starting on the right foot (!), irrespective of its rhythmic structure as well as the fact that it is danced backwards in the *Instruction*, may announce the future combination of a bourrée step and a “bound”,<sup>39</sup> which constitutes a variant of the “Pas de menuet à deux mouvements” or, according to Tomlinson, the “English Minuet Step”.

A last example to be observed is one that concerns a stylistic feature. One of *La Pauanne*’s distinct features is the “pas grave” in each entry section. Not used by Thoinot Arbeau or unfamiliar to him, the French term of *pas grave* is mentioned for the first time in the *Instruction*’s *La Pauanne*. Devoid of any precise description apart from “poser/ mettre le pied a terre” (*Instr* 95[12v,5;11], we can assume it to be a single step with a transfer of weight providing a change of foot for the following steps<sup>40</sup>. It is in particular the

<sup>37</sup> The asterisk indicates that this term is hypothetical.

<sup>38</sup> Discussed in Winkler, Nicoline, “La Gillotte” (for reference see footnote 14).

<sup>39</sup> “Minuett Step with a Bound”, in: Weaver, John, *A small treatise of time and cadence in dancing*, London 1706 (appendix); Tomlinson, Kellom, *The Art of Dancing Explained by Reading and Figures*, London 1735, 104; dealt with in Judith Cobau, “The preferred Pas de Menuet”, *Dance Research Journal* 16, 1984, 13-17; p. 16 figure 2a.

<sup>40</sup> The early “pas grave” has a contemporary equivalent in the Italian “passo grave” of the Pavaniglia tradition. Some Pavaniglias start their initial section using the step sequence of a “puntata grave” followed by a “passo

*Instruction's* context that we should pay attention to. Traces of the Baroque “pas grave” are already apparent at the very beginning of each entry of *La Pauanne*. The typical rise of the Baroque “pas grave” in first position, before transferring weight, is indicated with “Il faut *s-enlever les deux piedz ensemble du coste gauche et apres chasser du pied droict le pied gaulche et le tenyr en l-air pour faire un pas grave* du pied gauche et le poser à terre contant 3 pas” (Le quatrième passage, *Instr* 93[12r,21]-95[12v,3]). This rising embellishment preceding the “pas grave” at the beginning of each passage is not yet considered as part of the “pas grave” itself in the *Instruction*, but the impressive step combination of “relevé-chassé-pas grave” may have had an impact on the later “pas grave” being given its initial rise.

In the context of dance history the *Instruction* has to be regarded as a source of real consequence because it reveals the first signs of a development leading to Baroque dance.

We may safely conclude that the *Instruction* has a lot to tell between the lines. Luckily for us, as dance was essentially practical rather than theoretical, the author appears to have felt an acute need to provide additional, helpful information beyond the mere skeleton of choreographic features, as is immediately apparent and although his vocabulary at first sight appears less explanatory, it in reality gives us a practical and helpful insight. Much, however, remains sadly unsolved.

## Reflections on *La Bourree*

One of the main problems in reconstructing the *Instruction* dances concerns *La Bourree*. The preliminary section of the dance description, which anticipates the “refrain” theme of the dance, is written in a comprehensible manner, but the author seems suddenly to deal inconsistently with bars and steps throughout almost the rest of the dance. He wavers unsteadily between choreographic sequences based on a 4- or a 6-bar musical structure. Irregularities in the description as well as omissions of text add to the confu-

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grave”, for instance the *Pavaniglia* in Fabritio Caroso’s *Il Ballarino*, tempi 2-16 (37r-39v). Caroso’s final tempo 16, middle section, presents a step sequence of several “passi gravi” in succession: three advancing and three moving backwards, resembling a similar sequence of four “pas graves” in the *Instruction’s* 4<sup>th</sup> passage executed by the cavalier (*Instr* 95[12v,9-14]: four “pas graues” advancing with a half turn in front of the lady, and in the repetition of the passage, *ib.* 97[13r,3-6]: two “pas graues” advancing and two “retirades en arriere” performed “grouement”). The name of the Italian “passo grave” refers to its time duration which is one ‘battuta semibreve’ corresponding to one measure or one modern bar of music. Caroso in his *Nobiltà di Dame* (22) allows for this fact, introducing the formerly called “passi gravi” in his chapter of step descriptions as “passi naturali semibrevi” (“Regola decima”). The time unit of the “passo grave” is quite consistent with the *Instruction’s* “pas graue” as well as with the later Baroque “pas grave”/“temps de courante” that occupies one measure of duple- or triple-time. The Baroque choreography of *La Vieille Pavane*, however, is entirely free of “pas graves” (as some of the Italian Pavaniglias were also of “passi gravi”, for instance Caroso’s *Amorosina Grimana* in his *Nobiltà di Dame*, 103-107).

sion. The compiler fails to even give the third passage its due graphical autonomy, but instead the text runs on without inserting a new paragraph between passage two and three. Such an alarming number of errors, oddities and inconsistencies implies at first sight that the scribe must have been at fault. But the history of the early Bourrée is not as smooth as that either. Praetorius in his *Terpsichore* 1612 gives the most famous example of *La Bouree*.<sup>41</sup> His four part setting presents two melodically and structurally different tunes. *La Bouree-1* has the structure A<sub>6</sub>A<sub>6</sub>B<sub>12</sub>B<sub>12</sub> (we may refer to it as type 1) while *La Bouree-2* and 3 belong together (number 3 being a variation of 2) and are structured A<sub>4</sub>A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub> (type 2). It is a striking coincidence that the only surviving choreographic source of the early Bourrée seems, with its ambiguity of 4 and 6-bar structures, to reflect both of Praetorius' *La Bouree* versions. But a convincing harmonisation between the extant music and the requirements of the *Instruction*-description of the dance, however desirable the task would be, is difficult to achieve for several reasons. If we give credit to the assertions of the writer's instructions and its needs, we have to cope with an irregular structure of musical phrases, in a strange order too—a task still aggravated by doubtful passages and the sloppily written end of the sixth passage.<sup>42</sup>

Since the description in the text is more than usually faulty and arbitrary in its mode of phrasal organisation, thus scarcely allowing smooth musical and choreographic passages, a reconstruction of the *Instruction-Bourree* would always be in need of a considerable amount of "doctoring". This fact induced me finally to avoid the conflict of reconstructing *La Bourree* in the hybrid form the description would demand. Instead I resolved to favour *La Bourree* in its regular musical form of A<sub>4</sub>A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub> - a form which reflects the majority of its tradition.<sup>43</sup> A strong inducement was the happy coincidence of having a contemporary version at hand that suited the purpose admirably: Jacques Mangeant's *La Bourree*, printed in his *Recueil des plus belles chansons de dances de ce temps* Caen 1615. Melodically Mangeant's *La Bourree* is similar to Praetorius' *La Bouree-2/3* and its six stanzas match exactly the six passages of the Darmstadt manuscript. As Mangeant's print was clearly intended as a dance collection we can conclude that a figured dance *La Bourree* to the well known tune, structured in regular 4 bars, was extant.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Praetorius, *Terpsichore* (1612), bearbeitet von Günther Oberst, Wolfenbüttel/Berlin, Möseler Verlag 1929, 41 [XXXII]: *La Bourree*.

<sup>42</sup> Numbers of bars requisite for a strictly literal interpretation of *La Bourree* as communicated in the manuscript: passage 0 A<sub>8(?)</sub>B<sub>16</sub>, passage I A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>9</sub>, II A<sub>12</sub>B<sub>12</sub>, III A<sub>12</sub>B<sub>16</sub>, IV A<sub>12</sub>B<sub>16</sub>, V A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>16</sub> and VI A<sub>12</sub>B<sub>16(?)</sub>.

<sup>43</sup> My decision was equally associated with the pressures imposed by the recording of some of the *Instruction*'s dances. For the production of the Compact Disc I Ciarlatani, *Le Bal: Social Dances in the Early Baroque*, Christophorus CHR 77295, Heidelberg 2008 I had to make a series of decisions concerning practicability and find solutions for unclear passages. One of the main decisions involved *La Bourree*.

We have no musical or choreographic attestations of *La Bourree* reaching back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Arbeau is unfamiliar with the dance as yet. But shortly after the turn of the century the popularity of the Bourrée held a firm place in the French en vogue dances of the period. A songtext published in 1608 cites it as the most fashionable social dance: “Le doux branle de la Reine / A chassé l’air d’Avignon, / La bourrée est souveraine / Entre maints bons compagnons”.<sup>44</sup>

Melodical representatives of *La Bourree* type 2 are to be found in France and elsewhere and prove that the version of  $A_4 A_4 B_8 B_8$  is the most widespread formula. An early example slightly prior to Praetorius is documented in a lute tabulature of French origin, a small Parisian manuscript from ca. 1605-10, identified by Monique Rollin<sup>45</sup> as the second *Bouree* of Praetorius. Their number increases in the second decade, as dance collections of the epoch bear witness.<sup>46</sup> In a German keyboard manuscript from between 1610 and 1620 approximately it is transformed into an *Allemande* and bears the title “Dantz”.<sup>47</sup> An ornamented version of *La Bourree* is to be found in a manuscript tablature for mandora in Southern Germany which contains a collection of dances and popular airs with the year 1626 marked in the manuscript.<sup>48</sup> Philidor’s *Recueil de Plusieurs vieux Airs ...* (1690) includes among other ancient dance tunes, some corresponding to those in the *Instruction*, a 6-part setting of *La Bourree* with the title *Bourée D’Avignone*<sup>49</sup> which mirrors the *Bouree-2* by Praetorius. Later examples of the tune are to be found in Jacob van Eyck’s *Der fluyten lust-hof* (1649)<sup>50</sup> and from 1651 on it appears with a choreography of its own in John Playford’s *The English Dancing-Master* as *Parson’s Farewell*. In the 1665 Supplement to Playford’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (tune number 57) figures a new tune called *The old*

**44** *Ce n'est ici un ramas de thresors mal rhitmez, ny ceste fleur premiere par plusieurs imprimez, Mais bien L'Eslite de toutes les chansons amoureuses et airs de court [sic].* A Rouen, chez Adrien de Launay, 1608, information from: Gérold, Théodore, *L'art du chant en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Strasbourg, Commission des publications de la Faculté des lettres 1921, 70.

**45** *Sources manuscrites en tablature*, p.p. François-Pierre Goy, Christian Meyer, Monique Rollin, vol. I: *Confœderatio Helvetica, France*, Baden-Baden & Bouxwiller 1991, 98: Paris, B.N., Rés. F 993: Nr. 8, 3r [Bourrée] = Praetorius XXXII-2.

**46** For instance p. 115 Subplementum: “La Bourre” and p. 144 Subplementum: “La Bourree, variatio secunda, primam invenies fol. [sic] 115”, in: Georg Leopold Fuhrmann, *Testudo Gallo-Germanica*, Nürnberg 1615.

**47** “Tabulatur Zweibrücken”. Landesbibliothekszentrum/Bibliotheca Bipontina, Zweibrücken. HS 42, 193.

**48** Mandora-Tabulatur. Stadtbibliothek Ulm. Ms. Smr. 133B, Nr. 48: “La Bouree”. For further information on the mandore repertoire in this manuscript, see Tylor, James, “The mandore in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries”, *Early Music*, January 1981, 22-31.

**49** “Bourée D’Avignone” in: *Recueil de Plusieurs vieux Airs faits aux Sacres, Couronnements, Mariages et autres Solemnitez faits sous les Regnes de François I<sup>er</sup>, Henry .3., Henry .4. et Louis .13.* Recueillis par Philidor l’Aisné en 1690, Recueil de vieux Airs: p. XXII.

**50** “Stil, stil en rees”, in: Jacob van Eyck, *Der fluyten lust-hof: vol psalmen, paduanen, allemanden, couranten [...]*, Amsterdam 1649, 18r.

*Bore* not only matching the structure A<sub>4</sub>A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>, but also preserving melodical elements of *La Bourree* in its B-part.<sup>51</sup>

Another strong claim on the prevalent existence of *La Bourree* type 2 is the abundant proof of sung Bourrées and their texts. The most quoted example is *La Bourree* mentioned above “Veux-tu donques ma belle” in Jacques Mangeant’s *Recueil* of 1615<sup>52</sup> where it is the final dance of the collection in the section “Airs de plusieurs ballets qui ont esté faits de nouveau à la Cour, avec *la Bourree*”. This delicious sung dialogue between “Le Berger” and “La Bergere” provided by Mangeant has a tiny drawback: there is one verse missing in the fourth couplet (“Jamais, / les rets / De tes douces amorces / Ne blesseront les forces / ... [line missing] / Je sc̄ais / Assez, / Quelle ruse subtile / Doit avoir une fille / Qui craint le point d’honneur”). A manuscript of songtexts without the corresponding music dedicated to a noble lady in Lille by her admirer<sup>53</sup> supplies the missing line: “de mon pudique honneur”. Most interesting is the heading of the Lille manuscript’s songtext which refers to *La Bourée* 2<sup>e</sup>. Next to Praetorius it is another indirect hint of an extant first Bourrée, presumably with a six bar structure.

Sung bourrées, sometimes under the title “La Bourrée de France”,<sup>54</sup> were all the rage in the Netherlands from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century on. One famous example, turned into a satirical song, is *La Boree* in Valerius’ *Neder-Landtsche Gedenck-Clanck* of 1626.<sup>55</sup>

There are few exceptions to these 4-bar based Bourrées. Nicolas Vallet in his *Secret des muses* reproduces both versions of Praetorius’ *La Bourree* (type 1 and 2). Vallet’s first book of 1615 contains a “Bourree d’avignon” corresponding to Terpsichore’s *La Bourree* 2 and 3 followed by an “Autre Bourree” reflecting Praetorius’ *La Bourree* 1 with its 6/12-bar structure.<sup>56</sup> Vallet’s second book repeats the same sequence in another key and refers to both unspecifically as “Bourree”.<sup>57</sup> The melody, though not the structure, of the first 2½ bars of *La Bourree* type 1 continue to survive from 1651 in John Playford’s *The English Dancing-*

<sup>51</sup> Two *New Bourrées* wholly unconnected with the old versions were published in 1695 (*The New Bourrée or The Indian Queen*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed., 267) and in 1701 (*The New Bore(e)*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed., 253), both in A<sub>8</sub>A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>-structure. *La Bourrée des Basques*, reflecting melodically *La vieille/petite bourrée*, (see footnote 31) appears as *Bore la Bass* in 1679 (Suppl. to 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 16).

<sup>52</sup> Jacques Mangeant, *Le Recueil des plus belles chansons de dances de ce temps*, Caen, Jacques Mangeant 1615, 58-59.

<sup>53</sup> J. de Lannoy, [Songbook]. Lille, ca. 1620, Paris, B.N., Ms. NAF 10443, 215-216.

<sup>54</sup> “La boré de France” in: *Apollo of ghesangh der musen, wiens li effjcke stemmen merendeels in [...]*, Amsterdam 1615, 110.

<sup>55</sup> “Ghy die tot een opper-Held / In den lande syt gestelt”, in: Adrianus Valerius, *Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck*, Haarlem 1626, 147.

<sup>56</sup> Nicolas Vallet, *Le Secret des muses* 1615 (Amsterdam, Jan Janszoon, 1618), 55.

<sup>57</sup> Nicolas Vallet, *Le Secret des muses* 1616, 5;6.

*Master* as a “Longways for eight” entitled *The Health*.<sup>58</sup> This English country-dance, choreographically wholly unconnected with the original *La Bourree* of the Darmstadt manuscript, is however based on a tune that has been transformed into an 8-bar structure. But there is an example of a *Bourée*, recorded by Philidor in his retrospective collections, which presents 6-bar patterns, though not reflecting the melody by Praetorius’ type 1. In 1617 the *Balet de la delivrance de Renaud dansé au Louvre* was performed at the court of Louis XIII. Between the sixth and seventh entry of the ballet a *Bourée*<sup>59</sup> is inserted with a 4/6-bar structure: A<sub>4</sub>A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>6</sub>B<sub>6</sub>, all the more interesting because of its combination of a 4- and a 6-bar part. But it should not be forgotten that it was intended for stage, where irregular bar structures are not an uncommon feature.

The duplicity shown in the early Bourrée tradition lives on in its Baroque representatives. *La Vieille/Petite Bourrée* (A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>/A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>) reflects exactly in its first passage (A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>) the musical structure of *La Bourree*-type 2. The next most similar to it, *La Bourrée Nouvelle par Mr. Balon* (A<sub>8</sub>A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub>), differs slightly due to an additional repetition of part A. *La Petite Bourrée Nouvelle* (A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>6</sub>B<sub>6</sub>/A<sub>8</sub>B<sub>6</sub>B<sub>6</sub>) however is a late representative of Philidor’s mixed Bourrée-structure for the stage.

The strange phenomenon betrayed by the Darmstadt manuscript of a 4/6-bar mixture may certainly prove once more the existence of two different Bourrée-types in the Early baroque, but I find it hard to believe that it portrays a valid form of *La Bourree* in social dance use at the time. Its title *La Bourree*, most frequently claimed by type 2, provides evidence that it is a commonly held Bourrée-structure, all the more so as the corrupted state of the *La Bourree*-description in the *Instruction* manuscript appears to me to suggest that it is not an altogether reliable witness.

As long as we are not certain what the structure of *La Bourree* actually was, we must help ourselves in the meantime as best we can. My suggestion is that a rectified choreography has to be reconstructed in its most common structure of A<sub>4</sub>A<sub>4</sub>B<sub>8</sub>B<sub>8</sub> based on the somewhat vague description in the manuscript (see appendix *La Bourree*). By doing so I tried to remain true to the logic of the dance, trying to correct the corrupted passages by adhering to the characteristics of the dance displayed in the more comprehensible sections.

The somewhat bad ‘management’ of the *Instruction*’s *La Bourree* description may impair our comprehension of the dance but need not negate our view of the author as a dance instructor. Occasionally the reader has to cope with the author’s inability to

**58** EDM, *op. cit.*, 1, 1651, 55.

**59** André Danican Philidor, *Recueil de Plusieurs anciens Ballets Dansez sous les Regnes de Henry 3[,] Henry 4[,] et Louis 13.*, vol. 1, Paris, 1690: « Ballets dansez sous la regne de Louis XIII », 139.

fully master the description to the entire satisfaction of the reader. He has to be patient with the scribe's habit of repeating passages and sequences of little consequence, about which he even becomes tedious while neglecting to give more important information elsewhere. But all these are acceptable defects. On the whole the *Instruction* remains an instrument perfectly true to its purpose and once more a proof of the complexities of verbal dance notation. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that dance is in the end an art, not a science.

## Annexe 1

### ***La Bourree (Instruction pour danser)***

#### **version rectifiée et adaptée à la structure A<sub>4</sub> A'<sub>4</sub> B<sub>8</sub> B'<sub>8</sub>**

[ ] rectifications et interventions sont mises entre crochets:

[en romain] rétablissement de texte omis (à l'aide d'autres passages non corrompus)

[en italique] corrections, propositions de ma part

Le signe démonstratif « / » a été introduit pour indiquer la durée d'un pas ou d'une unité de pas: / correspond à la durée d'une mesure, // à deux mesures etc.

Premierement

[AA']: [...] mais auparauant que de commander tout le passage vous entendrez la cadence des viollons qui joueront auparauant que de commander car il faudra faire la reuerance et puis commander a faire votre passage[.] ce passage ici n'est pointt compte des six passages

[B]: Il fault faire un glisse a gauche et un petit releue / ung glisse a droict et un petit relleue / et puis faire troys glissades a gauche et un [petit] releue // ferez encores troys glissades a droict et un [petit] releue // et troys pas en tournant du coste gauche mettant les deux piedz ensemble pour faire un petit saulx //

[B']: vous ferez encores le mesme passage du coste droict comme auez faict du commencement du coste gauche [...]

Le premier passage de la bourree

[AA']: Il faut faire cinq fleuretz sur le pied en auant et commander du pied gauche comme ferez tous les autres passages // le sixieme pas s'est un autre fleuret sur pied qui tourne demy tour du coste gauche et quiant la damoyselle / et faire deux fleuretz reuenant a votre place //

[B]: et puis ferez un glisse du coste gauche et un petit relleue / [un glisse du coste droict et un petit relleue] / et faire apres troys glissades à gauche et un petit relleue // et troys autres glissades a droict et ung petit relleue et troys autres glissades a droict et ung petit relleue [à biffer] // apres ferez en tournant [du coste gauche] troys pas et un saulx //

[à ajouter B']: [puis ferez un glisse du coste droict et un petit relleue / un glisse du coste gauche et un petit relleue / et faire apres troys glissades a droict et un petit relleue // et trois autres glissades a gauche et ung petit relleue // apres ferez en tournant du coste droict troys pas et un saulx //]

Le second passage

[AA']: il fault faire quatre floretz sur le pied en auancant et alant a demy rond [et commander du pied gauche] // plus quatre [à remplacer par: « deux »] autres floretz en tournant un tour du coste droict // et quatre [à remplacer par: « deux »] autres floretz qui tourne [sic] du coste gauche //

[B]: ung glisse qui tourne un peu du coste gauche avecq un petit releue / un autre glisse du coste droict sans tourner et un petit relleue / et puis ferez troys glissades qui tourne [sic] en la place de la damoyselle du coste gauche [et un petit relleue] // [et troys glissades du coste droit et un petit relleue exécutées à la place de la demoiselle face à elle] // [et ferez troys pas en tournant du coste gauche et un petit saulx] //

[B']: il faut repeter du mesme pied et la mesme fasson qu-avez faict[:] un glisse qui tourne un peu du coste gauche avecq un petit releue / un autre glisse du coste droict sans tourner et un petit relleue / et puis ferez troys glissades qui tourne [sic] en votre place avec un petit saulx [à corr: en: « un petit releue »] // et encores faire troys glissades du pied droict et ung petit saulx [à corr: en: « ung petit releue »] // et ferez troys pas en tournant [du côté gauche?] et un petit saulx //

Le troysieme passage

[AA']: douze [à remplacer par: « huit »] fleuretz [et commander du pied gauche] en tournant et rond [à corr: en: « en rond »] du coste droict et qui sont une oualle en changeant de place avec la damoyselle // et retournant a votre place //

[B]: plus une glissade [*à corr. en*: « un glisse »] et un [petit] relleue du coste gauche / et aultant du coste droict / troys [grands] pas en auant et un saulx // ferez deux glissades du coste gauche / et deux glissez [*à corr. en*: « deux glissades »] du coste droict / et la retirade que vous faicte de la gauotte [*correspond à* « troys pas en tournant du coste gauche et un petit saulx »] //

[B']: et ferez de l-autre pied droict un glisse et ung petit relleue du coste droict / et aultant du coste gauche / troys [grands] pas en auant et un saulx // ferez deux glissez [*à corr. en*: « deux glissades »] du coste droict / et deux glisses [*à corr. en*: « glissades »] du coste gauche / et apres ferez un tour dansant les pas de la gauotte en tournant un peu en arriere [*correspond à* « troys pas en tournant du coste droict et un petit saulx »] //<sup>60</sup>

#### Le quatrième passage

[AA']: il faut faire quatre floretz [*à substituer par*: « deux »] sur le pied en auant [*et commencer du pied gauche*] // et troys glissades du coste gauche en tirant du coste en arriere et un [petit] relleue // aultant du pied droict du coste droict et un [petit] relleue // ferez encors en auant quatre [*à remplacer par*: « deux »] « floretz sur le pied » //

[B]: estant pres du pied [*à lire*: de] la damoyelle ferez signe du coulde [gauche] faisant un fleuret croise du pied gauche / et aultant du coude droict faisant aussy un fleuret croise du pied droict / et puis ferez troys glissades du coste gauche et ung petit relleue // et troys autres glissades du coste droict [*et ung petit relleue*] // et un tour de troys pas [*en tournant du coste gauche*] et un saulx //

[B']: vous ferez encors un signe du coude droict faisant un fleuret croise [*du pied droict*] / [*et aultant du coude gauche faisant aussy un fleuret croise du pied gauche*] / et puis vous en retournez en votre place faisant troys glisses [*à corr. en*: « glissades »] du coste droict // et troys autres glissades du coste gauche // et faire troys pas en tournant [*du coste droict*] et un saulx //

#### Le cinquième passage

[AA']: il fault faire quatre floretz en auant [*et commencer du pied gauche*] prenant le bras droict de la damoyelle en tournant tous deux ensemble //// chacun retourne en sa place faisant tousiours des floretz [*tour de bras gauche avec quatre fleurets*] ////

[B]: et apres ferez un glisse et un [petit] relleue du coste gauche / et ung autre glisse et un [petit] relleue du coste droict / apres ferez troys petitz saulx sans bouger [*d'une place*] // avecq un tour faisant les pas de la gauotte et un saulx [*correspond à* « faire troys pas en tournant » *du côté gauche* (?) « et un saulx »] // et puis auancerez troys grandz pas en auant [*commençant du pied gauche*] avecq un petit saulx //

[B']: vous ferez encors commençant du coste droict ung glissé et un [petit] relleue / aultant du coste gauche et un [petit] relleue / et ferez troys petits saulx sans bouger [*d'une place*] // avec le tour dansant le pas de la gauotte et un saulx [*correspond à* faire troys pas *en tournant du côté droict* (?) et un saulx] // vous retirerez les 3 [grandz] pas en arriere [*commençant du pied droict*] avecq un saulx //

#### Le sixième passage

[A]: il fault faire quatre [*à remplacer par*: « deux »] floretz en auant sur pied [*et commencer du pied gauche*] // et apres faire troys glissades a gauche retirant en arriere // et aultant du coste droict // et puis faire encors 4 [*à remplacer par*: « 2 »] floretz en auant //

<sup>60</sup> L'*Instruction* présente une confusion entre les termes *glissé* (« glisse ») et *glissade*. À mon avis, il s'agit pour le terme *glissé* d'un pas avec un seul appui (dans ce sens « glisse » est presque toujours suivi ou complété dans l'*Instruction* par un « relleue »), tandis que *glissade* se réfère à un pas à deux appuis (utilisée dans la source souvent en forme de trois « glissades » le plus souvent terminées par un « (petit) relleue »). L'erreur est évidente dans l'exemple « faisant troys glisses [!] du coste droict et troys autres glissades[!] du coste gauche », *Instr* 59[3v,8-9], v. 4<sup>e</sup> passage B') ou dans « une glissade et un relleue du coste gauche et aultant du coste droict» (*Instr* 57[3r,9-10], v. 3<sup>e</sup> passage B). L'emploi synonymique de « glissade » avec « glisse » qui se trouve dans *Le troisième branle de Loraine* semble cependant voulu par l'auteur comme le montre l'opposition d'une « glissadde relleuee tenant le pied droict en l-air » (*Instr* 111[16v,3-4]) à une « glissadde a gauche tout entiere » (*ib.* [6]).

[B]: et prendrez la damoyselle par les deux mains faisant ung glisse a gauche et ung [petit] relleue / et ung glysse a droict et un [petit] releue / et puis 3 glissades à gauche et un [petit] relleue // et aultant du coste droict et un [petit] relleue // [apres ferez en tournant du coste gauche troys pas et un saulx] //

[B']: et aultant du coste droict [ung glisse a droict et ung petit relleue / et ung glysse a gauche] et ung [petit] relleue / tenant tousiours les mains ensemble de la damoyselle faisant les mesmes glissades [a droict et un petit releue // et puis troys glissades a gauche et un petit relleue] // sinon que a la fin il n'y a que la damoyselle qui tourne [du coste droict troys pas] et puis le gentilhomme la faict saulter // voila la fin de la bourree

Formule rythmique proposée pour le « pas de la gauotte » (3 pas en tournant / et un saut /):  
 ⋮ ⋮ — / — — (v. aussi note 14)

## Annexe 2

### « Le Branle simple a 8 pas a terre et 2 tant rellevez » (Instr 49[1r,9-15])

Le *Branle simple* de l'*Instruction* s'est (re)créé sur la base du *Branle simple* de Thoinot Arbeau (*Orchésographie*) répondant au désir de diminuer les pas de base. Le « double à gauche » du Branle simple décrit par Arbeau est découpé dans l'*Instruction* en deux doubles d'un tempo plus rapide : un *double* en avant se terminant par un *pied en l'air* au lieu d'un *pied joint* (« les 3 premiers pas sont en auant commandant du pied gauche [...] et le quatrième c'est un tant relleue du pied droict ») suivi d'un *double* en arrière (« les autres trois pas suivant [sic] vont en erriere et le huictieme est un temps relleue du pied gauche »); en vue d'un déplacement de la ronde vers la gauche, je propose que le double à gauche soit d'une amplitude plus grande que celui à droite. Le *simple* à droite de l'*Orchésographie* garde sa valeur temporelle dans l'*Instruction*, mais les appuis changent de « pied droit largy, pied gaulche joint » (*Orchés.* 71r) à un appui gauche et un appui droit qui se font à place (« les deux derniers pas se font sans bouger d'une place »). « En auant » et « en arrière » offrent deux possibilités d'interprétation : 1. soit exécuté par mouvements latéraux (aller à gauche et à droite, la vue dirigée vers le centre, comme dans L'*Orchésographie*) ou 2. soit le déplacement est frontal, la vue en direction de marche, et, en tournant un demi-tour à droite, continuer vers la gauche en reculant (interprétation soutenue par des passages d'intention correspondante dans *Le troisieme Branle de la Grenee*: « pas desmarchez en allant a gauche » (117[18r,20/21]), et dans *Le quatrieme Branle*: « aduancerez le pied droict en auant desmarchant [ms. « des marchant » est à corr.]» (119[18v,3/4]). Le *branle simple* se termine par les deux derniers pas apparemment avec le corps tourné vers le centre du cercle. Le « temps relleue » donne l'option d'une ouverture ou d'un rond de jambe qui accompagne la rotation du corps de la solution 2.

