

The 'Passacaille of Armide' Revisited: Rhetorical Aspects of Quinault's / Lully's *tragédie en musique*

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The *tragédie en musique* is a dramatic genre invented by Philippe Quinault and Jean-Baptiste Lully in the tradition of French musical theatre; *Armide* was the last collaboration of those creators, and was first staged in 1686. The arch-shaped (palindromic) symmetry of the verbal, musical and dramatic structures of this genre has been pointed out by a number of scholars,¹ whereas few have discussed its rhetorical order, another structural feature of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century compositions. Judith Schwartz was one of the few to analyse the choreography of the 'Passacaille' from Act V of *Armide* with reference to rhetorical structure.² Notwithstanding, she applied the theory exclusively to choreography, leaving the music outside the rhetorical framework, which Schwartz regarded as 'asymmetry at odds with the symmetrical impulses of the accompanying music'.³ To my mind, rhetorical order is not 'at odds with symmetry'; these two systems share certain features, which are distinguished by distinct perspectives. Her positing of a structural discrepancy between music and choreography in fact contradicts the concept of rhetoric, which is essentially to bring harmony to a composition. This paper aims to clarify the similarities and differences between these structural principles, and to re-examine both the music and choreography of the 'Passacaille' in reference to rhetoric. Furthermore, the entire opera of *Armide* shall be examined from the structural point of view, for the essence of rhetorical order is to achieve coherence between the segments and the whole of a composition. My rhetorical analyses of drama, music and dance will rationalise the implications of the 'Passacaille' scene, while reassessing the role of the Prologue, which at a glance appears to be dissociated from the drama, to embrace it within the rhetorical unity.

Classical rhetoric

Rhetoric was the 'art of persuasion', conceived for oratory though was also applied to the arts from its early stages in ancient Greece, eventually becoming the overarching principle of the classical arts at the French Academies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While musical rhetoric was widely discussed in Germany,⁴ dance treatises did not theorise the rhetoric of dance as such, but regarded dance as 'silent oratory'. Claude François Ménéstrier discussed the structure of musical theatre from the perspective of rhetoric.⁵ Ménéstrier produced ballets at the Jesuit College, Louis-le-Grand, where rhetoric was a major subject in the curriculum. The librettist in Jesuit ballets was usually a professor of rhetoric, and the performers were students of the rhetoric class, alongside professionals from the Paris Opéra.⁶ Although Ménéstrier did not explicitly refer to the theory of oratory in his writings, rhetorical concepts were the basis of his discussions. Later, Louis de Cahusac and Jean Georges Noverre described the structure of ballet, which was effectively the same as rhetorical order.⁷ Also John Weaver nominated rhetoric as cardinal knowledge for dancers.⁸

Rhetorical theory consists of five criteria of oratory – *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria* and *pronuntiatio* – of which the *dispositio* and *elocutio* are relevant to my analysis here. The *dispositio*, or structure, aims to unify the segments and accomplish harmony in the composition, while the *elocutio* concerns the manipulation of words and phrases

for the effective deliverance of ideas. Oratory can strengthen its impact by elaborating the usage of words, and to this end, techniques of word arrangement were systematised into 'figures' and 'tropes'; the former was absorbed into German music theory, and named *Figurenlehre*. According to the *Figurenlehre*, musical motifs are manoeuvred in the same manner as words in oratory. Although dance treatises never mention rhetorical figures, the ways steps are arranged in the notated choreographies bear a striking resemblance to these figures. A short sequence of steps often forms a choreographic motif, which functions as a building block of a phrase through repetition, enlargement, diminution and inversion – just as the manipulation of words in speech and the manoeuvre of motifs in music. This manoeuvring of choreographic motifs and phrases contributes to the construction of a dance.

Although the details of rhetorical structure differ according to the theorist, the chief concept does not change throughout its long history. To summarise the theories from antiquity to the eighteenth century, the theme of a composition should be presented in the opening section (Exposition), corroborated by refuting its opposition in the middle section (Intrigue) and recapitulated at the Denouement.⁹ The 'refutation of the opposition' is metaphorical in artistic compositions; it is achieved by introducing contrasting elements as the representation of otherness before restoring the original element. The unique characteristic of Western rhetoric is this introjection of a contrasting idea as the Other.

The work of art, as well as a speech, was divided into three to six sections following this overall principle. When a composition consists of six sections, these are called the Exordium, Narratio, Propositio, Confirmatio, Confutatio and Peroratio (Table 1).

When a work comprises five sections, the Propositio is incorporated in the Narratio, which is further merged with the Exordium if the opening section is indivisible. The order of the middle section is interchangeable, with the Confutatio being followed or preceded by the Confirmatio, for the contrasting elements can be introduced before or after the corroboration of the theme. The Confirmatio and Confutatio are sometimes indivisible, as the corroboration of the theme and the refutation of the opposition may intertwine within a section. Ultimately, rhetorical order is fused into three sections: the Exposition, the Intrigue and the Denouement.¹⁰

Rhetorical theory states that not only should an entire work accomplish rhetorical order, but that its individual segments ought to be structured in the same way, so as to achieve compositional coherence. This is the ground for the

Table 1. Rhetorical Structure

| Principal division | Six-part division | Function |
|--------------------|-------------------|---|
| Exposition | Exordium | Introduction of the theme |
| | Narratio | Narration of the theme |
| | Propositio | Clarification of the theme |
| Intrigue | Confirmatio | Corroboration of the theme |
| | Confutatio | Introduction and refutation of opposition |
| Denouement | Peroratio | Conclusion with recapitulation |

application of a rhetorical concept of structure to the analysis of individual dances in a large composition. In order to see the structural cohesion between a segment and the whole, I shall examine the entire opera *Armide*, before focussing on the 'Passacaille'.

Tragédie en musique, Armide

Quinault took the theme of *Armide* from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberate*, his epic poem about the First Crusade; the episodes of the sorceress Armide (Armida) and a crusader Renaud (Rinaldo) appear in its latter half. The pagan enchantress and the Christian warrior are born to be enemies, but Armide becomes obsessively drawn to Renaud when she fails to attract him with her womanly charms, which easily win most crusaders' hearts without using magic (Act I). She captures Renaud but cannot kill him, for she is overcome by love for the knight (Act II). Under her spell, Renaud surrenders to sexual pleasure with Armide, at her palace hidden in the desert. The sorceress, ashamed of her love for her foe, calls upon the help of Hate to save her from the inhibited emotion, but she then renounces her own request and resolves to cling on to her desire (Act III). Two crusader knights arrive in the desert in search of Renaud. Though the terrain is guarded by evil traps, they are armed with a magical weapon of their own and succeed in breaking through (Act IV). Renaud, when rescued and reminded of his sacred mission by the knights, leaves Armide's sumptuous palace. The pagan princess is devastated by his departure and vows that she will wreak revenge on him (Act V).

Buford Norman points out the parallel between Acts I and V of this opera.¹¹ The opening scenes of these Acts present Armide's discourses: in Act I-i with her confidants, regarding her military victory and womanly charms, and in Act V-i with Renaud, on the subjects of love and pleasure. In Act I-ii Armide's dilemma, of being torn between duty and love, is presented in a dialogue with her uncle, the magician Hidraot; at the end of Act V-i the sorceress departs to consult with demons in order to resolve her inner conflict. In both Acts the course of the drama changes with the arrival of new characters after the *divertissement*: in Act I-iv a messenger enters and announces Renaud's emancipation of Armide's captives; in Act V-iii the rescuing knights break Armide's spell on Renaud. The last scenes of both Acts proclaim Armide's vengeance. These echoing Acts create an arch-shaped symmetry with Act III at its centre, highlighting Armide's torment through her two monologues (LWV 71/42, 43).

Act IV, however, shifts the perspective and turns the palindrome to a completely different form. This Act represents the crusader knights' struggle in pagan territory and their success in overcoming of the evil, without the presence of the protagonists. In rhetorical terms this is a presentation of otherness, the function of the *Confutatio*. The Other is 'refuted' by returning the scene to Armide's palace in Act V. When reunited with the rescue knights, Renaud leaves the sorceress, clarifying that he belongs to the Other. Armide seeks the help of the Underworld on two occasions, in Acts III-iii and V-i, reinforcing the central theme of the drama (Armide's dilemma) by rhetorically corroborating in Act III and recapitulating in Act V. To tally its rhetorical functions, Act I introduces Armide's conflicting emotions towards Renaud, which constitutes the exposition of the theme (*Exordium*). Act II depicts the theme in the concrete events: she bewitches Renaud but cannot accomplish her mission on

account of her impossible love (*Narratio*). Act III presents Renaud's indulgence in erotic love and Armide's anguish over their unequal relationship, wherein she is attracted to his natural charms, while he is drawn to her solely because of her magic. This Act serves for the corroboration of the theme (*Confirmatio*). Act IV introduces new characters – the two Christian warriors, who are given the instruction to find the hidden palace where Renaud is held in thrall to the sorceress, and a magical weapon to break her evil spells in order to rescue their fellow crusader. It functions as the *Confutatio*, overturning the viewpoint of the drama. In Act V the three Christian knights are reunited, and Renaud decides to leave his temporary lover. The *Denouement* is composed of a poignant monologue of Armide, who deplors Renaud's departure and proclaims her vow to seek revenge on him (*Peroratio*).

The drama of *Armide* and Renaud is thus completed in five Acts. Yet, as was a convention of the *tragédie en musique*, the Prologue presents the ultimate theme of the opera – the glorification of Louis XIV. In the Prologue the French king reconciles Fame (*la Gloire*) and Wisdom (*la Sagesse*), who together acclaim Louis for his lenience and mighty deeds. The tale of Renaud is introduced at the end of the Prologue, analogising the valiant Christian knight with the king, in his courage to 'Follow faithful and wise counsels' and to leave 'the enchanted palace / Where for love of Armida he was held in thrall' (LWV 71/10).¹² Christian counsel is represented by the two knights, who are sent by Godfrey of Bouillon, the leader of the Christian camp. In Tasso's epic, these knights travel through a desert island, resisting bewitchment even when two naked enchantresses try to seduce them. The knights' hearts are unmoved by the voluptuous sight or sweet voices of these maidens; they leave the evil enchantresses with total indifference (Canto 15). By contrast, Quinault's knights are in trouble, for the maidens disguise themselves as their beloveds; however the crusaders narrowly succeed in breaking the spells with the aid of the magic wand given them by the Wise Man of the Christian troop, in the same way as Renaud is later saved. In this context Act IV functions as the *Confirmatio*, rather than the *Confutatio*, and demonstrates the sacred power of the crusaders, analogous to the power of the Christian king of France.

Act IV was infamous among eighteenth-century critics – *Le Mercure de France*, Louis de Cahusac, Lecerf de la Viéville and the Parfaict brothers – and Étienne Gros of the twentieth century, who unanimously condemned its lengthy deviation from the main story.¹³ However, this Act plays a pivotal role by accomplishing the rhetorical agenda through its dual function, that of the *Confirmatio* in a six-part division and of the *Confutatio* in a five-part division. Act IV brings otherness to Armide's story in five Acts, yet at the same time corroborates the symbolic theme of the Prologue, demonstrating the hardships and sacred powers of the crusaders. Under the classical norm, therefore, this Act is indispensable at its full length, to combine the Prologue with the rest of the composition.

Critical condemnation of Act IV stems from concerns over the dramaturgical effects. The true protagonist of the drama is Armide, who suffers the dilemma of being torn between duty and love. She is a warrior herself, and falls in love with Renaud because of his military brilliance and mental strength, though on account of the latter he remains indifferent to her physical beauty. Compared to Armide's

psychological complexity, Renaud's psyche is flat, lacking in depth in this opera. His chivalrous accomplishments are described only verbally – there are no battle scenes on stage – and he remains oblivious to his mission from Act II-iii to Act V-ii. When released from her spell, he shows neither love nor hatred towards Armide. Although he tries to console her, by not acknowledging their conflicting standings his words sound empty and unconvincing:

If you suffer, you may rest assured
That I reluctantly forsake your eyes,
You will reign for ever in my memory,
And, after Glory, you will be
The one I shall love most.¹⁴

Reading this opera as Armide's drama, Act IV is distracting, if not redundant, but without it the Prologue loses its dramatic relevance. Like Act IV, Act III also holds dual functions – of the Confirmatio in a five-part division, and the Confutatio in a six-part division – as it focuses on Armide's inner drama without depicting the crusaders. In short, the composition operates at two levels: on the dramatic level it tells the story of Armide, with Act I as the Exordium, Act III as the Confirmatio and Act IV as the Confutatio, while on the symbolic level it is a celebration of Louis XIV in association with the crusader knight, with the Prologue as the Exordium, Act III as the Confutatio and Act IV as the Confirmatio. Act V serves as the Peroratio on both levels, concluding with Armide's anguish and Renaud's return to his sacred mission.¹⁵

The tonal organisation of the music reflects the dramatic structure (Table 2). Following the overture in C major the Prologue largely remains in the same key. Act I begins in F major, but soon moves the tonal centre back to C (ii-iv) and commences a tour of dominant keys: to G in Act II (ii-iv) and then to D in Act III (i-iv), oscillating between the major and minor modes at each key. D minor brings back its relative key of F major in Act III-iv, to recall the opening of Act I. Act IV introduces a new key, B flat major, in the scene where the two knights slay the monsters (i), but C major returns to corroborate the original key (ii). Act V, having begun in F minor, moves to G minor for the 'Passacaille' (ii), the same key as Act III-iii, where Renaud falls foul of Armide's witchcraft. B flat major returns when the knights break the spell on Renaud (iii). The opera concludes in G major for Armide's proclamation of vengeance.

Table 2. Rhetorical structure and tonal organisation of the Armide

| | Rhetorical structure | | Tonal organisation |
|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| | Symbolic representation | Dramatic representation | |
| Prologue | Exordium | N/A | C-a-C |
| Act I | Narratio | Exordium | F-C-c-C |
| Act II | Propositio | Narratio | C-G-g-G-e (-a)* |
| Act III | Confutatio | Confirmatio | d-g-D-d-F-d |
| Act IV | Confirmatio | Confutatio | B \flat -C-a |
| Act V | Peroratio | Peroratio | f-g-B \flat -g-G |

* () for the entr'acte music

The 'Passacaille' in Act V-ii (LWV 71/61)

At the end of Act V-i Armide leaves her palace to consult with demons in Hell, desperate to overcome her fear of the end of her happiness with Renaud. Upon departure she summons a troupe of Fortunate Lovers (*les Amants fortunés*) to entertain her captive during her absence. Scene ii constitutes the *divertissement*, composed on the same ground bass throughout, descending from tonic to dominant of G minor, during which the lovers sing and dance of the pleasures of erotic love (LWV 71/61–63). The repetitive bass-line and harmonic cycle produce a hypnotic effect, as if to enchant the audience as well as Renaud.

The image displays a musical score for the 'Passacaille' in Act V-ii, divided into three sections: Trio III, Tutti IV, and Trio IV. Each section is transcribed for Violin I, Violin II, Viola I, Viola II, and Cello/Viola (Vc.). The Trio III section spans measures 101 to 106. The Tutti IV section spans measures 107 to 112. The Trio IV section spans measures 113 to 118. The score shows a consistent rhythmic pattern and a descending bass line across all sections.

Figure 1. The 'Passacaille', Trio iii-Tutti IV-Trio iv
Transcription by the author from the Lully score¹⁹

Table 3. Rhetorical and Musical Structure of the ‘Passacaille’

| Rhetorical division | Exposition | | | | | | | Intrigue | | | | | | | Denouement | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|---|---|-----------------|----------|----|---------|-----------------|-----------|----|----|-------------------|----------------|----------|-------------------|---------|-----|-----|
| | Exordium | | | Narratio | | | | Confirmatio | | | | Confutatio | | | Peroratio | | | |
| Bars | 1–24 (24 bars) | | | 25–60 (36 bars) | | | | 61–100 (40bars) | | | | 101–124 (24 bars) | | | 125–149 (25 bars) | | | |
| Orchestration | Tutti I | | | Trio i | Tutti II | | Trio ii | | Tutti III | | | | Trio iii | Tutti IV | Trio iv | Tutti V | | |
| Key | g | | | g | | | | g | | | | B _b -d | B _b | g | g | | | |
| Period | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| Ground bass | O | O | O | I | I-O | V1 | D1 | O | V2 | V3 | V4 | V5 | x | D2 | D3 | D3' | V5' | V5' |

O – original ground bass (descending tetrachord); I – inverted ground bass; V – variation of the tetrachord; x – no ground bass

Schwartz illustrates the palindromic symmetry of this music, dividing it into five sections based on the shift of the orchestral setting between tutti and trio.¹⁶ Among the five tutti sections and the four trios in-between, Tutti I (24 bars) and V (25 bars) echo each other, containing three 8-bar phrases each (the last phrase needs an extra bar in order to conclude the ground-bass ostinato), to sustain the central Tutti III, the longest section comprising five 8-bar phrases. Between these structural stays, Tutti II (12 bars), Trio iii (10 bars) and Tutti IV (6 bars) insert phrases of irregular lengths to create an arch-shaped symmetry (Table 3).

When turning our attention to the tonal organisation, however, another structural principle emerges. The music is in G minor, but the key drifts away from the tonic in Trio iii and Tutti IV: the cadence of Trio iii arrives in D minor and Tutti IV concludes in B flat major (Figure 1).¹⁷ Coincidentally, the ground bass disappears in Trio iii, to reappear in an altered form in Tutti IV. In fact, the treble part of Trio iii descends from the tonic to the dominant of B flat major, as if to take over the ostinato from the bass. The treble of Tutti IV also presents a stepwise descent in the same key. Although the bass foresees the patterns of Trio iv and Tutti V, it is a far from obvious ground bass pattern, deviating as it does from the tetrachord. Trio iii and Tutti IV thus demonstrates an otherness, which is then ‘refuted’ in Trio iv by returning to the tonic key and retrieving the 4-bar bass pattern. In rhetorical terms this is the role of the Confutatio. Schwartz calls this section ‘Climax’, which is brought about ‘[b]eyond the

symmetrical elements’.¹⁸ It is puzzling that she does not consider the musical structure to be rhetorical. Rhetorically speaking, Tutti I presents the passacaille theme (Exordium), which is corroborated in Tutti III, where the original bass pattern returns (Confirmatio), and is later recapitulated in Tutti V, in the tonic key and with the tetrachordal ground bass (Peroratio), after the tonal deviation and the cessation of the ground bass in Trio iii-Tutti IV (Confutatio) (Figure 1).

As for dance, Schwartz provides an analytical diagram based on the notated choreographies: Pécour’s ‘Passacaille pour une femme dancée par Mlle. Subligny en Angleterre de l’opéra d’Armide’²⁰ and L’Abbé’s ‘Passacaille of Armide by Mrs Elford and Mrs Santlow’²¹, as well as ‘A Passacaille’²² adapted from the latter. These choreographies were all for entr’acte dancing on the London stage, to be performed outside the operatic context, but Pécour’s choreography might be an adaptation of a dance performed in the revivals of Lully’s musical tragedy at the Paris Opéra,²³ for Pécour became the ballet master of the *Académie de musique* in 1687, and Marie-Thérèse Subligny appeared in the passacaille scene of the Academy’s 1703 production of this opera.²⁴ In keeping with the drama, the ‘Passacaille’ could be danced by pairs of lovers, but the surviving libretto for the 1703 revival lists four male and four female anonymous dancers along with Mlle de Subligny as soloist for the passacaille scene, which renders Pécour’s setting feasible within the opera (which would have been accompanied by a group of dancers). This arrangement mirrors the musical setting of the

Table 4. Rhetorical and choreographic structure of the ‘Passacaille’

| Rhetorical division | Exposition | | | | | | | Intrigue | | | | | | | Denouement | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|------------------|---|----|----|--|----|----|-------------------|----|----|----|
| | Exordium | | | Narratio | | | | Confirmatio | | | | Confutatio | | | Peroratio | | | |
| Bars | 1–25 (25 bars) | | | 26–61 (36 bars) | | | | 62–101 (40bars) | | | | 102–125 (24 bars) | | | 126–149 (24 bars) | | | |
| Period | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
| Pécour | <i>Anaphora, ellipsis</i> | | | <i>ellipsis</i> Passacaille step | | | | <i>ellipsis</i> | | | | Metrical and phrasal conflicts between music <i>epizeuxis</i> | | | Passacaille step | | | |
| L’Abbé | Passacaille step | | | Passacaille step | | | | Passacaille step | | | | | | | | | | |

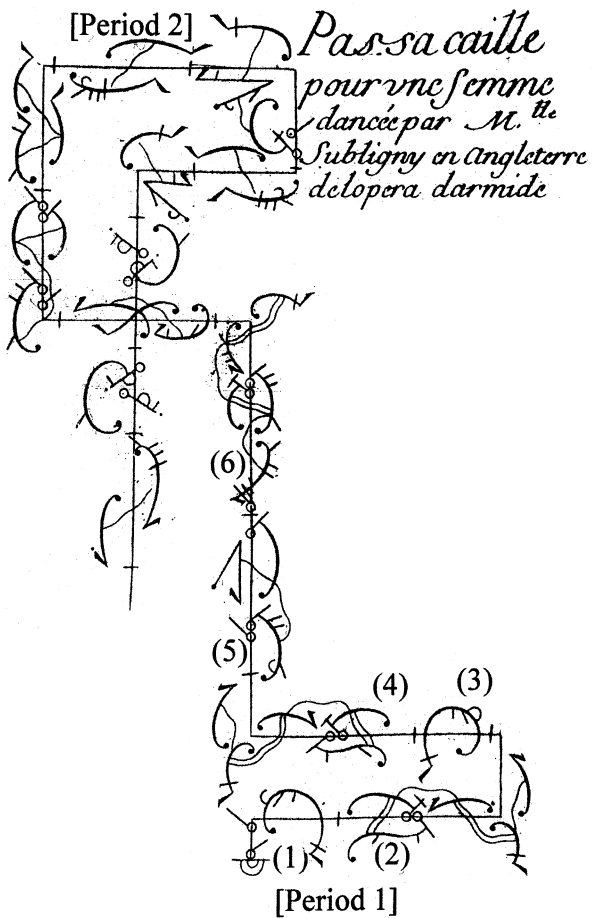


Figure 3. Pécour, figure 1.

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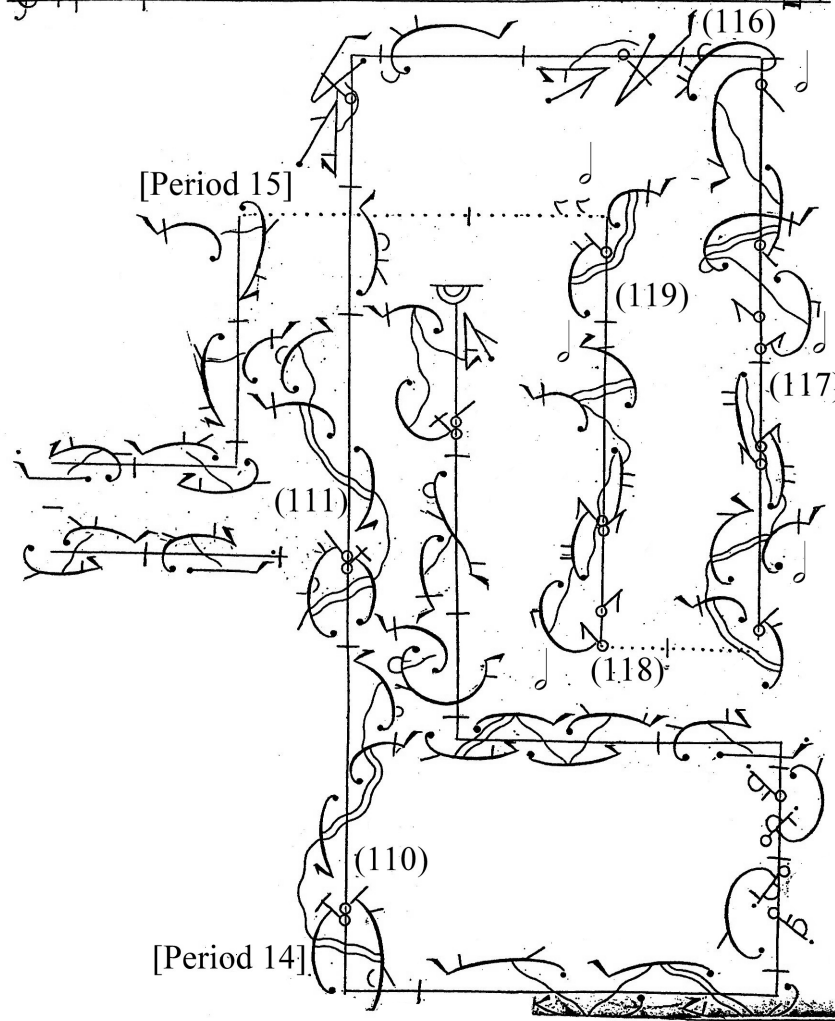
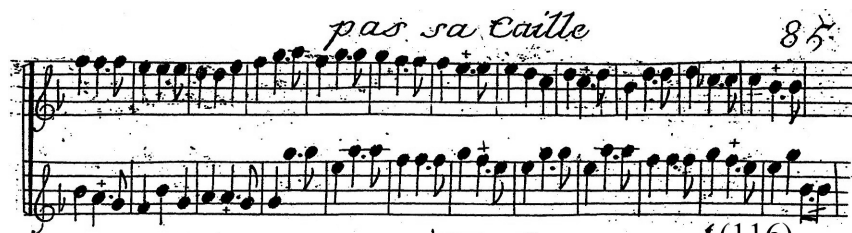


Figure 4. Pécour, figure 7.

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corroboration of the choreographic theme are set to the tutti sections, this new motif is applied to Trio iii, manifesting a sense of otherness for the Confutatio.

Conclusion

The opera of *Armide* is a complex composition with layers of implications, and my rhetorical reading is by no means intended to invalidate other interpretations. Rhetoric within an artistic composition is a metaphor for the art as an oratory, and readings of a metaphor are pluralistic. The application of rhetorical theory to my analysis of drama, music and dance does not suggest that librettists, composers and choreographers would have consciously thought of rhetorical theories during their creative processes. Rather, those may have affected their artistic creations on a subconscious level, for these concepts were ingrained among the educated classes. No matter whether or not the rhetorical design contributed to the better understanding of the audience at the time, it certainly helps us – modern performers and audiences alike, to whose mindset those concepts are alien – to grapple with the rigorously encoded compositions, such as Quinault's and Lully's *tragédie en musique*. Structural analyses like these unveil how the composition works, for us to make sense of it.

The *divertissements* of Lullian operas are well integrated into the fabric of the drama. The 'Passacaille' of *Armide* encapsulates the eponymous heroine's enchantment, with a hint of poignancy suppressing her anguish. The structural cohesion between this scene and the entire opera empowers *Armide's* sensuality on both dramatic and symbolic levels. Dance in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century musical theatre was not a sheer display of corporeal movements but intertwined with literary and musical connotations in the classical tradition, which had been cultivated under the absolute monarchy.

Notes

- 1 Those include Schneider, H. Strukturen der Szenen und Akte in Lullys Opern. In: La Gorce, J. and H. Schneider (editors) *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque / Kongreßbericht*, Laaber Verlag, 1990, 77–98; Rosow, L. How eighteenth-century Parisians heard Lully's operas: the case of *Armide's* fourth act. In: Heyer, J. H. (editor) *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the music of the French baroque: essays in honor of James R. Anthony*, Cambridge University Press, 1989, 213–237; Rosow, L. The articulation of Lully's dramatic dialogues. In: Heyer, J. H. (editor) *Lully studies*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, 72–99; Norman, B. *Touched by the Graces: the libretti of Philippe Quinault in the context of French classicism*, Summa Publications, Birmingham, Alabama, 2001; Rosow, L. (editor) *Le théâtre de sa Gloire: essays on Persée, tragédie en musique by Quinault and Lully*, *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, x-1, 2004, <http://sscm-jscm.press.uiuc.edu/jscm/v10no1.html/>
- 2 Schwartz, J. L. The *passacaille* in Lully's *Armide*: phrase structure in the choreography and the music. *Early Music*, xxxvi, 1998, 300–320.
- 3 The *passacaille*, 301. This article is primarily about the symmetrical structures of musical and choreographic phrases, and the emphasis is laid upon symmetries rather than rhetoric.
- 4 Dressler, G. *Praecepta musicae poeticae* (MS, 1563); Burmeister, J. *Musica poetica* (1606); Mattheson, J.

Kern melodischer Wissenschaft (1737) and *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739). Other German writers who proposed the rhetoric of music are Spiess, M. (1745), Baron, E. G. (1756), Kürzinger, I. F. X. (1763), Sulzer, J. G. (1771–74), Forkel, J. N. (1777) and Wolf, E. W. (1788). See Bonds, M. E. *Wordless rhetoric: musical form and the metaphor of the oration*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1991, p.81, n.91. Outside of Germany too, Bacon, F. (*Sylva sylvarum; or a naturall historie*, London, 1627), Mersenne, M. (*Harmonie universelle*, Paris, 1636), Descartes, R. (*Compendium musicae*, Amsterdam, after 1650) and Saint-Lambert, M. de (*Les principes du clavecin*, Paris, 1702) likened music to rhetoric.

- 5 Méneestrier, C. F. Remarques pour la conduite des ballets. In: *L'autel de Lyon* (Lyon, 1658), rp. in Christout, M.-F. *Le ballet de cour de Louis XIV*, Éditions A. et J. Picard & Cie. Paris, 1967, p.225; *Des ballets anciens et modernes selon les règles du theatre* (Paris, 1682), rp. Éditions Minkoff, Geneva, 1972, 257–258.
- 6 Rock, J. *Terpsichore at Louis-le-Grand: baroque dance on the Jesuit stage in Paris*, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, Saint Louis, 1996, p.46, 58 and 98.
- 7 Cahusac, L. de, *La danse ancienne et moderne ou traité historique de la danse* (La Haye, 1754), rp. Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1971, iii, p.149 and 161–166; Noverre, J. G. *Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets* (Stuttgart, 1760), rp. Broud Brothers, New York, 1967, 19–20 and 32–33.
- 8 Weaver, J. *An essay towards an history of dancing* (London, 1712), 123–124; *The history of mimes and pantomimes* (London, 1728), 11; rps. in: Ralph, R. *The life and works of John Weaver*, Dance Books, London, 1985, 595–597, 688.
- 9 Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, iii, 1414b–1419b; *De Poetica*, 1452b. Cicero, *De Inventione*, sec. 14–52. Quintilian, *Institutionis oratoriae*, iii, chap.9, sec.1–5. Barry, R. *La rhétorique française* (Paris, 1659). Lamy, B. *L'art de parler* (Paris, 1670). Crevier, J. B. L. *Rhétorique française* (Paris, 1765).
- 10 For variants of rhetorical division in the theories, see my dissertation, *Between the ancient and the modern: a study of dances à deux in duple-metre within changing aesthetics in France 1700–1733*, Roehampton University, 2005, i, 70–73.
- 11 *Touched by the graces*, 334.
- 12 Translation by Yeld, D. in the liner notes for *Armide*, Harmonia mundi 901456-57, 1992, p.37.
- 13 *Touched by the graces*, 342; Rosow, L. How eighteenth-century Parisians heard Lully's operas: the case of *Armide's* fourth act, 214–215.
- 14 Lines 771–775. Translation by Yeld, *Armide*, 107.
- 15 This reading does not contradict the widely agreed interpretation that Renaud symbolises Catholic France while *Armide* represents Protestantism (see Rosow, L. Introduction. In: *Armide, Jean-Baptiste Lully Œuvres Complètes*, xxi). Louis / Renaud ultimately identifies with Christian virtues, which in the end succeed against odds.
- 16 The *passacaille*, 302–303.
- 17 Schwartz suggests modulations to B flat major in Tutti II and to C minor in Trio ii, implying their echo with the modulations in Trio iii and Tutti IV. However, the air of

- major mode in Tutti II disappears before the cadence, while Trio II clearly remains in G minor, only emphasizing C minor with the secondary dominant borrowed from it.
- 18 The *passacaille*, 303.
 - 19 Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Tragédie en musique, Armide* (Paris, 1686); Rosow, L. (editor) *Armide, Lully Œuvres Complètes*, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, iii-14, 2003, 273–281.
 - 20 Notated and published by Gaudrau, M. *Nouveau recueil de dance de bal et celle de ballet* (Paris, c.1713), ii, 79–86.
 - 21 Notated and published by F. Le Roussau, *A New Collection of Dances* (London, c.1725), 7–16.
 - 22 Notated by Edmond Pemberton and published by John Walsh, *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing* (London, 1711), no through pagination.
 - 23 *Armide* was revived in Paris in 1688, 1692, 1697, 1703, 1713–14, 1724–25 during Pécour's life time. See *Touched by the graces*, 326.
 - 24 Parfaict, C. and F. *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris* (Paris, 1756), i, 303.
 - 25 *The incomparable Hester Santlow: a dancer-actress on the Georgian stage*, Ashgate, Aldershot, Hampshire, 2007, p.7.
 - 26 The *passacaille*, 307.
 - 27 See B. B. Mather's analysis of 'La passacaille de Persée' in her *Dance rhythms of the French Baroque: a handbook for performance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 119–125) and R. Astier's article, *Chaconne pour une femme: Chaconne de Phaéton* a performance study. *Dance Research*, xv, 1997, 150–169. However, rhetorical analyses based on com-
- positional parameters have been attempted by myself and Ricardo Barros: Okamoto, K, *Between the ancient and the modern*, 2 vols, 2005, and The structure of the tragédie en musique *Persée* (1682): a case study of the Passacaille in defence of rhetoric, in Betzwieser, T. Mungen, A. Münzmay, A. and Schroedter, S. (eds), *Tanz im Musiktheater – Tanz als Musiktheater*, Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 2009, 149–161; Barros, R. *Dance as discourse, the rhetorical expression of the passions in French baroque dance*, Lambert Academic Publishing, 2010.
 - 28 The significance of the steps carrying the name of a dance type in the choreographies of the given type has been discussed by Lancelot, F. *La belle dance*, Van Dieren Éditeur, Paris, 1996, xxxv-lviii; and Okamoto, *Between the ancient and the modern*, i, 138–162.
 - 29 Kellom Tomlinson, *The art of dancing* (London, 1735), rp. Société de Musicologie de Languedoc, Béziers, 1989, 83–84.
 - 30 *Between the ancient and the modern*, i, 140–162.
 - 31 The *passacaille*, 312–315.
 - 32 The *pas relevé*, also called a *temps*, is a rise from a sink position without shifting the weight. See Furetière, A. Pas. *Dictionnaire universel* (La Haye, 1690), n.p.
 - 33 Sonnino, L. A. *A handbook to sixteenth-century rhetoric*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968, 161; Bartel, D. *Musica poetica: musical-rhetorical figures in German Baroque music*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1997, 184–190. In musical rhetoric, the ground-bass is also regarded as the *anaphora* (*Musica poetica*, 184).
 - 34 *A handbook*, 72; *Musica poetica*, 245–251.
 - 35 *A handbook*, 174; *Musica poetica*, 263–265.