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# From the ‘Terreiro’ to the ‘Paço’: The extraordinary journey of the ‘Lundú’ over the centuries, continents and social strata

**Ricardo Barros**

Every Brazilian has probably come across a reference to the Lundú in their lifetime, and most likely as youngsters learning Brazilian History – it might be portrayed as a welcome respite to the otherwise stern lives depicted in the books, and certainly provide some diversion to tedious hours in a classroom, which seem more like a lifetime for a teenager. However, as one decides to pursue history as a career choice, it becomes clear that not much evidence of this mythical dance has been preserved. Furthermore, the little evidence that survived most often than not can be contradictory and paint quite different pictures.

In this paper we shall trace the trajectory of the Lundú as a dance and musical form, and note how it captured the nation. At first it was considered lascivious and forbidden by the church, but we shall follow its gradual incursion into the theatres, the halls and salons of nobility, and how it gradually absorbed European influences in a true testament of the acceptance to the melting pot of cultures which permeated Brazilian culture.

This paper aims to shed light, through a chronological analysis of primary sources, on how influential the Lundú was in society through the decades, continents, and social strata. It shall also observe its mutation to adapt to tastes, moralism, and liberalism, and how it was used both as an instrument of rebellion and to reflect multiculturalism.

We shall divide our investigation in three periods:

- 18<sup>th</sup>-century Brazil as a Portuguese colony
- Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro (1808-1821)
- Mid/late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Brazilian Empire

In a second part I shall relay my process of recreating a hypothetical choreographic version of the Lundú. All translations are my own.

## 1. 18<sup>th</sup>-CENTURY BRAZIL AS A PORTUGUESE COLONY

One of the earliest accounts of the Lundú dates from the 1760s. Reported in the book *As Mulheres de Mantilha* (1870), historian and novelist Joaquim Manuel de Macedo recounts an episode in which Friar Antonio do Desterro had attempted to prohibit the 'ludic, sarcastic, erotic, [...] offensive, [...] and exceedingly obscene' Lundú in Rio de Janeiro. The friar's determination was frustrated by the populace with a humorous and widely acclaimed Lundú, whose provoking verses read: 'The Lundú is no longer sung, as the bishop doesn't approve of it; however, I've already asked permission from the archbishop of Bahia! [...] Friar Antonio do Desterro wishes to bury our joy, but as a crafty lad I shall insist in these revels; [...] And I shall sing and dance, and headstrong I shall play with the ladies, always singing the Lundú to the raging Friar!'.<sup>1</sup>

Slightly later, between 1765 and 1798, Brazilian poet and composer Domingos Caldas Barbosa – a 'carioca' (born in Rio) who had migrated to Coimbra and then to Lisbon in Portugal – produced a collection of poems onto which he would set popular songs called 'modinhas' in his bohemian life as a songster. Published as *Viola de Lereno* in 1798, the book contained many Lundús, amongst which the 'Lundú in praise of an adoptive Brazilian lady', in which he traces parallels between the dedicatee and the Lundú itself, which suggests the dance has Brazilian origins too:

Today I saw the Tegus flowing proud and vain; just because at his margins he had the delightful Lundú. [...] If only those who came to dance knew the Lundú beforehand; they would have died of pleasure even before arriving. [...] Ah, the charms of the Lundú beat the Fandangos and Jigs.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth noting that Caldas Barbosa was the mulatto son of a Portuguese immigrant father and a liberated slave Angolan mother. He is an example of the miscegenation which permeated Brazilian and Portuguese society and culture throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Both accounts bear witness of how popular the Lundú was in Rio and in Lisbon – in the latter it was allegedly considered more charming than the Fandango. Therefore, Caldas Barbosa' statement suggests that the Lundú and the Fandango were two distinct dances. However, in an official letter written in Lisbon and addressed to the Governor of Pernambuco José César Meneses on

<sup>1</sup> Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, *As Mulheres de Mantilha* (Rio de Janeiro, 1870), vol. I, pp.17-18 <[https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:As\\_mulheres\\_de\\_mantilha\\_romance\\_histórico\\_\(Volume\\_1\).pdf](https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:As_mulheres_de_mantilha_romance_histórico_(Volume_1).pdf)> (last accessed September 2020, as all subsequent weblinks in this article).

<sup>2</sup> Domingos Caldas Barbosa, *Viola de Lereno* (Lisbon, 1826), vol. II, n.2, pp.29-32 <[https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Viola\\_de\\_Lereno\\_-\\_coleccão\\_das\\_suas\\_cantigas,\\_offerecidas-aos\\_seus\\_amigos\\_\(Volume\\_II\).pdf](https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Viola_de_Lereno_-_coleccão_das_suas_cantigas,_offerecidas-aos_seus_amigos_(Volume_II).pdf)>.

the 10<sup>th</sup> June 1780, his predecessor José da Cunha Grã Athayde e Mello (Count of Pavolide) states, when considering the customs of black slaves coming from different African regions and defending them from accusations against them at the Inquisition tribunal in Lisbon:

The blacks, distinguished by Nations [tribes] and with their relative instruments, dance and spin like harlequins, while others dance with many different motions which, despite not being the most indecent, are similar to the Fandangos in Castille and the Fofas in Portugal, [such are] the lunduns [sic] of the whites and mulattos of that country [Brazil].<sup>3</sup>

Here the Count of Pavolide considers, in hindsight after migrating to Portugal, how similar the Lundú is to the Fandango, suggesting racial integration of whites and mulattos (the ‘others’ mentioned earlier in the paragraph), and that their motions are ‘not the most indecent’. Curiously Pavolide’s account and that of Macedo are a mere 20 years apart, and yet give two very distinct descriptions. Were there stylistic differences between the Lundú in Rio and Bahia? Or, more likely, was the account of Macedo in 1870 be tainted by Romanticism? Or, in further consideration, was Pavolide’s liberal view fiercely contrasted to that of the prudish friar? Unfortunately, the lack of primary sources and the need to rely on secondary accounts such as Macedo’s mean that for the time being more questions are raised than answered. Regarding the Fandango, on the other hand, there are sources such as Minguet e Yrol’s *Breue tratado de los passos del danzar a la Española* (1764),<sup>4</sup> and beautiful engravings such as Pierre Chasselat’s *Le Fandango* [figure 1],<sup>5</sup> which furnish us with considerable material to reconstruct Iberian dances with a great degree of historical accuracy.

If the lasciviousness of the Lundú cannot be positively ascertained in the period 1760-1780, one can certainly create a better image of what the Lundú could have looked like by 1787. Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, a Portuguese-born Brazilian poet, gives us a vivid description of the Lundú in his *Cartas Chilenas*, a series of satirical poems circulated as pamphlets in Vila Rica (the famous gold-mining epicentre in 18th-century Brazil):

[...] Here a lascivious lover, without modesty, offers his arm to the dirty harlot; Over there an audacious lad watches and speaks to the naïve girl

3 Oneyda Alvarenga, *Música Popular Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1982), p.171, and *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (São Paulo, 1941), p.227 <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9QbOAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>>.

4 Pablo Minguet e Yrol, *Breue tratado de los passos del danzar a la Española* (Madrid, 1764) <<http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000061855>>.

5 Pierre Chasselat, ‘Le Fandango’ in Gustave Dugazon, *Danses nationales de chaque pays, dédiées aux dames arrangées et composées par Gustave Dugazon, ornées de vignettes* (Paris, c.1821) <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000161553&page=24>>.



Figure 1 – Pierre Chasselat, 'Le Fandango'.

who is chaperoned by her parents; The nimble mulatta, dressed as a man, dances the piquant Lundú and the vile batuque.<sup>6</sup>

[...] The lady, pretending to lift her skirt while gliding on tiptoe, open her arms and performs the lascivious belly-stroke on her favourite gent. In turn, while wiggling his buttocks and placing one hand on the forehead and another on his waist, or clicking his fingers to the rhythm of the guitar, he says to her 'I'll pay, I'll pay!' and jumps onto the dirty harlot.

Oh, what an auspicious dance! You used to belong to the humble huts where the black and vile mulatto ladies, while fastening the sash below the paunch, would honour you by stomping barefoot on the ground. Now you enter the most honest houses and palaces!<sup>7</sup>

Despite the first citation above clearly mentioning a cross-dressed lady performing the Lundú, the second excerpt lacks such clear indication of the dance form. However, some clues lead us to infer so. The use of guitar accompaniment certainly leads our reasoning away from the 'Batuque' dance (literally translated as 'drumbeat') which, as we shall later see, is danced by a soloist and does not use harmonic instruments. Another indication is the fact that the dance above was absorbed and accepted into 'the most honest houses and palaces'. As we shall see, it was the Lundú and not the Batuque dance that managed this class shift. Thirdly, the way in which the female dancer

<sup>6</sup> Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, *Cartas Chilenas* (Vila Rica, 1787), n. 6, lines 238-243 <[https://pt.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Cartas\\_Chilenas/VI](https://pt.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Cartas_Chilenas/VI)>.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., n. 11, lines 102-119 <[https://pt.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Cartas\\_Chilenas/XI](https://pt.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Cartas_Chilenas/XI)>.



Figure 2 – Carlos Julião, 'Moça dançando o Lundú de Bunda a Cinta' (Lady dancing the Lundú with 'buttocks to belt').

tightens the sash 'below the paunch' was depicted as a Lundú dancer by Carlos Julião (1763-1781) an Italian illustrator working for the Portuguese Crown. In his brief sojourn in Brazil in 1779, he painted a watercolour depicting Rio's landscape from the sea (Guanabara Bay) with some small illustrations of people and their typical costumes added to it [figure 2]. It is interesting to note that the Lundú dancer places her hands exactly as Gonzaga describes the man's stance earlier on.<sup>8</sup>

Gonzaga's description contains many unusual actions, but one in particular raises eyebrows: the lady's action of performing the 'lascivious belly-stroke', as known as the infamous 'umbigada' or 'embigada', where the dancers clash their belly-buttons against each other's. This is a common action in African dances, and also present in both the Lundú and Batuque. As remarked by Portuguese traveller Alfredo Sarmento in his voyages to Africa:

[...] The Batuque also consists of a circle formed by dancers; a negro or negress move to the centre and, after performing various steps, perform and embigada, which they call semba, in someone they choose, who in turn replace them in the centre. This dance is very similar to our fado, and it is the favourite diversion of the inhabitants of this part of the African plains, where European influence has modified some of their repugnant immoralities.<sup>9</sup>

It is interesting to note that Sarmento compares the Batuque to the Portuguese

8 Carlos Julião, extracts from *Configuração que mostra a Entrada do Rio de Janeiro em distancia de meya legoa ao mar* (Rio de Janeiro, c.1779), Gabinete de Estudos Arqueológicos de Engenharia Militar, Lisbon (Cota 4757-38-3-52).

9 Alfredo de Sarmento, *Os sertões d'Africa* (apontamentos de viagem) (Lisbon, 1880), pp.127-8 <<https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/ossertesdafricaa00sarm>>.

Fado (not the current music form, but the former and livelier dance). Indeed, the 'embigada' survives today in Portuguese Folk dance 'Fado da Taberna' where two inebriated men, emulating a tavern brawl, jump towards each other and clash their belly buttons in mid-air.<sup>10</sup> The use of the word 'semba' is also puzzling: would this be the etymological origin of 20th-century 'samba'?

Gonzaga's description also conveys the stigma of such a dance being associated with 'dirty harlots': the explicit movements and gestures imply that a transaction is being agreed and the male partner is the harlot's 'cull'. There is a similar contrast in the way Gonzaga and Caldas Barbosa refer to women. While Gonzaga's account is imbued with derogatory racist remarks, Caldas Barbosa (a mulatto himself) uses endearing words to describe the 'adoptive Brazilian Lady' he dedicates his poem to.

Another valuable source to provide evidence of the Lundú in the period preceding the establishment of the Portuguese court in Rio is that of Englishman Thomas Lindley. The author was in the merchant navy when his ship was seized, and the crew was imprisoned by the Portuguese navy. He seemed to have spent enough time in freedom to report the local customs, always with a hint of wit, sarcasm and superiority:

The chief amusements of the citizens are the feasts of the saints. [...] On grand occasions of this kind [...] they visit each other, and have a more plentiful dinner than common under the term banquet; during and after which they drink unusual quantities of wine; and, when elevated to an extraordinary pitch, the guitar or violin is introduced, and singing commences: but the song soon gives way to the enticing *negro dance*. I use this term as best assimilating with the amusement in question, which is a mixture of the dances of Africa, and the fandangoes [sic] of Spain and Portugal. It consists of an individual of each sex dancing to an insipid thrumming of the instrument, always to one measure, with scarcely any action of the legs, but with every licentious motion of the body, joining in contact during the dance in a manner strangely immodest.

[...] The orgies of the dancing girls in India never equalled the flagrancy of this diversion. It is not that minuets and country dances are not known, and practised by the higher circles; but this is the national dance, and all classes are happy when, throwing aside punctilio and reserve, and, I may add, decency, they can indulge in the interest and raptures it excites. The effect of this scene on a stranger can hardly be conceived; and though, as an amusement, it may be intentionally harmless, it certainly breaks down the barriers of decency, and of course paves the way to depravity and vice.

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10 For a clip of the 'Fado da Taberna', visit <<https://vimeo.com/460117971>> [password: Fado].

These amusements, [...] added to the enervating idleness in which the Brasilians [sic] are plunged, constitute their whole happiness.<sup>11</sup>

‘One is not amused’ – it seems that Lindley was not persuaded to ‘throw aside punctilio and reserve’, but rather reserved the right to exercise his imperialistic supremacy and pass judgement on taste, although a mere visitor in a foreign culture. Nevertheless, his fascinating account confirms the similarities between the Lundú and the Fandango, and denote the rise of a hybrid version of the dance where elements from both Iberian and African styles merged. Most importantly, that ‘all classes’ enjoy it, but to what extent would the upper classes ‘throw aside punctilio and reserve’? It seems that what he witnessed was an indoors event, perhaps after one of the post-religious feast celebrations at a bourgeois household. Would the scarcity of ‘action of the legs’ have been an effect of inebriation, perhaps?



Figure 3 - (clockwise from top left) Carlota Joaquina, D. João VI and Queen Maria.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. PORTUGUESE COURT IN RIO DE JANEIRO (1808-1821)

In 1807, as Napoleonic troops invaded Lisbon, the Portuguese court led by Prince D. João VI fled to their colonial Brazil, finally settling in Rio de Janeiro after

11 Thomas Lindley, *Narrative of a voyage to Brasil; terminating in the seizure of a British vessel and the imprisonment of the author and the ship's crew, by the Portuguese* (London, 1805), pp.275-277 <[https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Narrative\\_of\\_a\\_voyage\\_to\\_Brasil.html?id=rg4IAAAAQAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Narrative_of_a_voyage_to_Brasil.html?id=rg4IAAAAQAAJ&redir_esc=y)>.

12 Domingos Sequeira, *D. Carlota Joaquina* (1806); Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Retrato de Dom João VI* (1817); Giuseppe Troni (attr.), *Retrato de Maria I de Portugal* (n.d.).

a short stay in Salvador. While the courtiers mingled with the locals, a tale of an unlikely coexistence (as surreal as the way the royal family led their lives) would unfold. No stranger to oddities, the royal family [figure 3] was a dysfunctional one: with 'mad' queen D. Maria, a gluttonous prince D. João (who allegedly carried roast chicken legs stuffed in his jacket's lining) and a power-hungry nymphomaniac princess Carlota Joaquina, the court attempted to maintain the protocol with ceremonies such as the old-fashioned 'beija-mão', a regular 'open house' where anybody could line-up to kiss D. João's hand. However, that façade veiled the continual plotting of coups the princess attempted against her husband, not to mention her many notorious affairs with servants and slaves.

To maintain some order and composure, court life seemed to continue as normal. A large portion of the Royal Library had been shipped to Rio in 1811 (the other portion had been left behind at the quay in Lisbon back in 1807, as the ships departed in a hurry to flee Napoleon).<sup>13</sup> Would the copy of Ferriol y Boxeraus's *Reglas utiles para os aficionados a danzar* (n.p., 1745) – containing 'Amable' (a version of Aimable Vainqueur with embellished melodic line) a copy of which can be found at the National Library in Rio – have been included in that shipment? As the demand for celebrations and balls increased, dancing master Joseph Louis Antoine Lacombe arrived in Rio in 1811. Lacombe was merely accompanying his wife Mariana Scaramelli, an opera singer who, in turn, seemed to have been part of composer Marcos Portugal's entourage (Portugal was the only one with a royal invitation). It turns out that luck was on Lacombe's side, as he soon secured a post as choreographer, first dancer and dancing master to the court.<sup>14</sup> They were promptly followed by his three brothers, all of whom were dancing masters who advertised private lessons of dances that were 'appropriate for society'.<sup>15</sup> The brothers also performed onstage, as per numerous newspaper listings, but it seems that they also gave in to the irresistible charms of the Lundú as, on the 14 September 1822, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* newspaper lists a performance at Theatro de São João featuring, in the first entr'acte, Luiz Lacombe Junior and Estella Cezefreda dancing a Cachuxa [sic]. At the end of the play there was a dance entitled Recrutamento na Aldeia (Recruitment in the Village), 'in which a Lundum will be danced'.<sup>16</sup> Then, after

13 Laurentino Gomes, 1808 (São Paulo, 2007), p.80.

14 Maristela Zamoner, *História da Dança de Salão no Brasil do século XIX e os irmãos Lacombe* (Buenos Aires, 2013) <<https://www.efdeportes.com/efd186/historia-da-danca-de-salao-irmaos-lacombe.htm>>.

15 *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 13 July 1811 <<http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=749664&pesq=danca&pasta=ano%20181&pagfis=1673>>.

16 *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 14 September 1822 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170\\_01&pesq=Lacombe&pasta=ano%20182&pagfis=2191](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170_01&pesq=Lacombe&pasta=ano%20182&pagfis=2191)>.

having performed a Bolero à quatro in February 1824,<sup>17</sup> Lacombe is listed as performing, on the 2nd March, the ‘Lundú da Monroi’ (also known as ‘Amarroá’ or ‘Marruá’) at the same theatre, with Mlle. Cezefreda.<sup>18</sup> The following year, the same Theatro de São João presented the ‘Landu da Marroy’, this time danced by Estella and her sister.<sup>19</sup> This same ‘Lundú d’Amarroá’ would return in 1850 to feature at the centre of a controversy, as we shall later see. Surprisingly, given the reputation of the ‘Lundú d’Amarroá’, there are no apparent reviews on Lacombe’s performance. What version of the Lundú would have been presented then? Another curious advert for dance lessons reads that Lourenço Alberti, a ‘dancing master established in Lisbon for many years’ would start teaching in November that year, and that he was also a ‘Professor of fireworks’, having worked in every court in Europe.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from the gentrification sparked by the establishment of the court in Rio – as well as the exponential increase in the population that nearly trebled from c.43,000 in 1799 to c.112,000 in 1821 according to censuses – a series of international collaborations were proposed firstly by D. João VI and later by his son D. Pedro I. These initiatives saw scientific expeditions led by German, Austrian and French entourages to investigate and catalogue the fauna, flora, architecture, people and culture in Brazil, as a belated and miniature ‘Enlightenment’ movement. A pivotal figure in the movement was Baron Langsdorff, a German-Russian explorer and naturalist who was appointed, in 1813, as consul general of Russia in Rio. Having initiated the cataloguing of flora and fauna locally, he promoted the many foreign scientific expeditions between 1813 and 1820.

One of the most prominent of such visitors was Jean-Baptiste Debret, French painter and former pupil of the great Jacques-Louis David. In his long sojourn between 1816 and 1831, Debret not only painted famous portraits of the Royal Family, but also of quotidian life in Rio (in modern culture, a sample of the latter was broadcast worldwide as the opening sequence of soap-opera *Isaura, the slave girl*, 1976).<sup>21</sup> Upon his return to France he published his monumental series

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17 Ibid., 11 February 1824 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170\\_01&pesq=Lacombe&pasta=ano%20182&pagfis=3811](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170_01&pesq=Lacombe&pasta=ano%20182&pagfis=3811)>.

18 Ibid., 2 March 1824 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170\\_01&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=3881](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170_01&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=3881)>.

19 Ibid., 18 October 1825 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170\\_01&pesq=landu&pasta=ano%20182&pagfis=5784](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=094170_01&pesq=landu&pasta=ano%20182&pagfis=5784)>.

20 *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 26 October 1814 <<http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=749664&pesq=danca&pasta=ano%20181&pagfis=3263>>.

21 For a clip of opening and closing sequences, visit <<https://vimeo.com/455225317>> [password: *Isaura*].

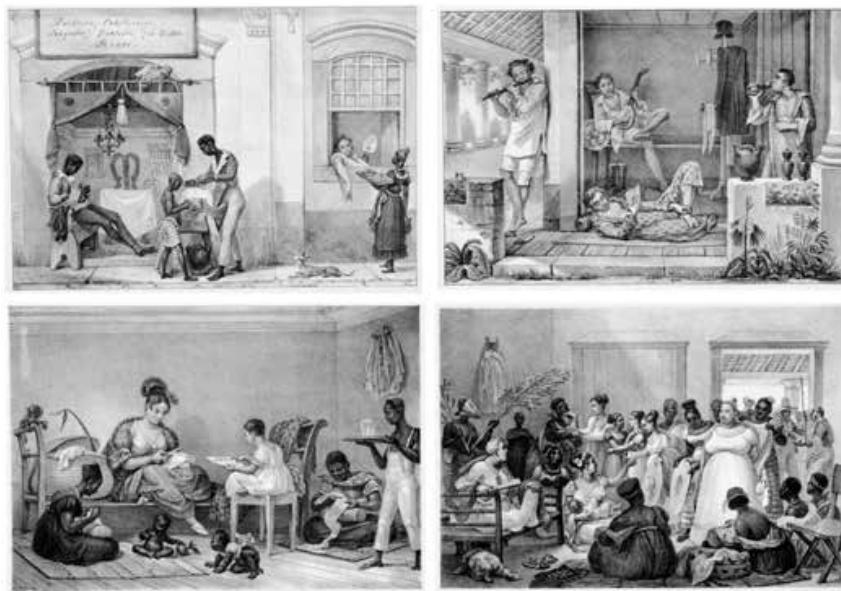


Figure 4 - (clockwise from top left) Debret, 'Barbershop'; 'Relaxation after dinner'; 'Visit to the countryside'; 'Brazilian lady at home'.

of three volumes describing his findings, illustrated with unique engravings.<sup>22</sup> On his travel to Bahia he remarked that its typical music 'is the Lundú, where the excessive voluptuousness of the melody dictates the steps of an Allemande danced by a man and a woman'.<sup>23</sup> But he also documents the ingress of the Lundú into households, stating that 'others [...] prefer to organise small ballrooms where one can revel dancing a sort of indecent pantomime Lundum, which provokes high-spirited applause throughout the night'.<sup>24</sup> Debret's realistic engravings depicting quotidian life transport us to that moment and, at times, show the 'enervating idleness' (most certainly caused by the extreme heat) that so tormented Lindley [figure 4].

In 1817 the Austrian expedition also arrived, bringing with them Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, who embarked amongst the retinue of Maria Leopoldina from Austria (the wife by proxy of D. Pedro I, and Empress Consort of Brazil, arriving to meet her husband). The duo Spix & Martius produced three volumes that were printed in 1823, 1828 and 1831.<sup>25</sup>

22 Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique au Brésil, ou séjour d'un artiste Français au Brésil, depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831, inclusivement* (Paris, 1834-1839), 3 volumes <<https://www.s4ulanguages.com/debret2.html>>.

23 Ibid., vol.III, p.88.

24 Ibid., vol.III, p.174.

25 Martius & Spix, *Reise in Brasilien auf Befehl Sr. Majestät Maximilian Joseph I. König von Baiern in den Jahren 1817-1820 gemacht und beschrieben*, 3 Volumes and one Atlas; Verlag M. Lindauer, (Munich, 1823-1831), 1388pp.; reprint F. A. Brockhaus Komm. Ges. Abt. Antiquarium (Stuttgart, 1967) <<https://books.google.com.cu/books?id=5PFIAAAAIAAJ>>.

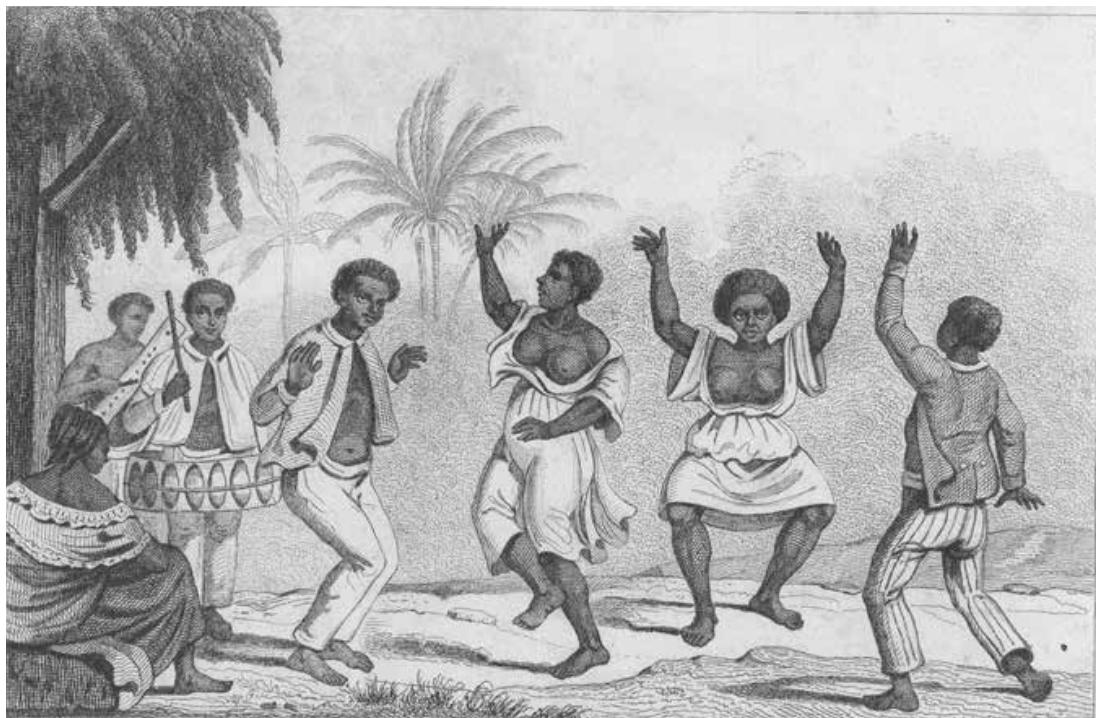


Figure 5 - Martius & Spix, 'Batuque Dance in São Paulo'.

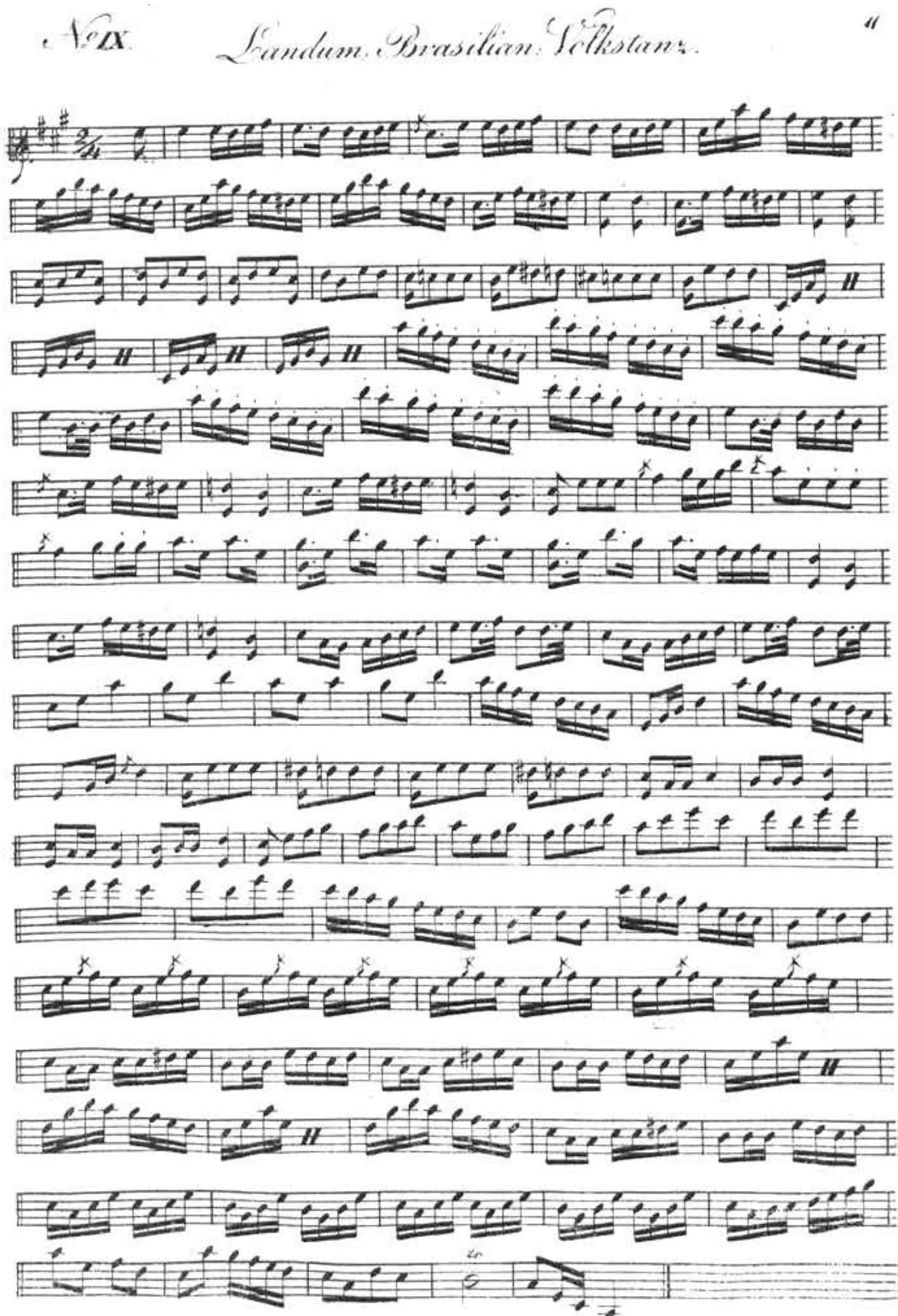
In their extensive tours of Brazil, Martius wrote after a visit to Belém (Northern Brazil) in 1819: 'The mulattoes are always predisposed to playing games, music and dance, and move insatiably between their pleasures with the same agility as their Southern counterparts, be it in the monotone and whispering sounds of the guitar, in the lascivious Lundú, or in the rampant Batuque' [figure 5].<sup>26</sup> We note the differences between the South and the North, highlighted by a higher degree of class amalgamation in Rio, where 'all classes' enjoyed the Lundú, against a more rigid class distinction in Belém, where only 'mulattoes' danced it.

One could argue that the inclination to music and dance might have been the saving grace of some slaves and might have minimised their suffering, in face of the cruelty with which they were treated. Newspaper advertisements listing slaves for sale were a common occurrence (as well as those reporting fleeing slaves); it is noted that those who had musical abilities attracted a higher price and with it some chances of a better treatment: a life in servitude playing an instrument would arguably be preferable to that working in the fields or mines. For example, an 1820 advert in the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* read: 'Whoever wishes to purchase a slave to be a coachman, who can play the piano and marimba, who knows something of music [theory], and who is an apprentice tailor, go to the shop at Travessa da Candelária [...].'<sup>27</sup>

Martius & Spix also notated the oldest surviving score of the Lundú, an

26 Ibid., vol.III, p.29.

27 *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 12 July 1820 <<http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=749664&Pesq=bolieiro&pagfis=5977>>.

Figure 6 - Martius & Spix, 'Landum, Brasilianische Volkstanz'.<sup>28</sup>

28 Martius & Spix, Op. Cit., appendix, p.11 <<https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00050994/images/>>.

unaccompanied melody for treble instrument [figure 6]. Its very simple harmonic progression – shifting between tonic and dominant at each bar – is typical of the Lundú, and it agrees with previous reports of how ‘monotonous’ the music was, according to some foreign writers.

There are three other scores of Lundús which are quite similar to the one notated by Martius & Spix, in the sense that none of them bear the archetypal syncopated rhythm which would make the dance so easily recognisable and would become one of its main characteristics [figure 7].

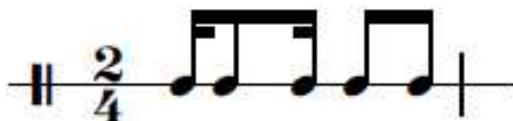


Figure 7 – Typical Lundú rhythm

Two of these scores relate to the *Lundú d'Amarroá* or ‘da Monroi’, both being piano pieces found at the National Library of Portugal, one by Francisco da Boa Morte (1805) and another by an anonymous composer (transition 18th to 19th century).<sup>29</sup> Based on the same theme, these pieces present variations on the treble part, accompanied by a simple bass line mostly consisting of Alberti bass, with very simple harmonic progression intercalating between dominant and tonic. Interestingly, this melody is very similar to the *Lundú d'Amarroá* or *Lundú Marajoara* preserved by oral transmission in the folklore of Marajó island, adjacent to Belém in the State of Pará (Northern Brazil), visited by Martius & Spix.<sup>30</sup> The main difference is that the latter is in minor key, whereas the ones archived in Lisbon are in major keys. Another feature is the recurring descending chromaticism – suggesting languid melancholy – which can be found on Boa Morte’s piece, the folk *Lundú d'Amarruá* and in yet another very simple Lundú found at the National Library in Lisbon, entitled *Lundum do Dia do Entrudo* (Lundú for the Carnival).<sup>31</sup> The chromaticism – sometimes in melodic lines or at times just implied by altered passing notes or appoggiaturas – is a constant feature in Modinhas such as *Moda Brasileira* (which has many thematic and literary similarities to the Brazilian National Anthem, which it predates)

29 Francisco da Boa Morte, *Variações do Lundun da Monroi* (n.p., 1805) <<http://purl.pt/24081>>, and anon., *Lundum do Marruá* (n.p., n.d.), excerpt reproduced on Edilson Vicente de Lima, ‘A modinha e o lundu: dois clássicos nos trópicos’, PhD thesis (São Paulo, 2010), p.203 <<https://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/27/27157/tde-29102010-130411/publico/3426320.pdf>>.

30 For a clip of the folk tune Lundú *Marajoara*, visit <<https://vimeo.com/457234106>> [password: Marajoara].

31 Anon., *Lundum do Dia do Entrudo* (n.p., n.d.) <<http://purl.pt/36985>>.

and *O Beijo do Frade*,<sup>32</sup> and seem to be used to emphasise a 'languid' Brazilian character. Which of these versions of the Lundú da 'Monroi'/'de Marroá', if any, could have been used in those theatrical performances in Rio between 1822 and 1825, as noted earlier?

### 3. MID/LATE 19<sup>th</sup>-CENTURY BRAZILIAN EMPIRE

With the departure of the Royal Family back to Portugal in April 1821, D. João's son Pedro remained in Brazil as Prince Regent. In September of that year, following a liberal revolution, he proclaimed independence from Portugal, and became Emperor D. Pedro I. In the following year, German landscape and ethnographic painter Johann Moritz Rugendas arrived in Brazil and embarked on an expedition with Langsdorff that would last until 1829. Rugendas published the result of his expedition in 1835, with editions in Portuguese (*Viagem Pitoresca ao Brasil*), German (*Malerische Reise in Brasilien*) and French (*Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*). In the chapter 'Manners and customs of the negroes', Rugendas discusses how the slaves seem to find energy to party every night, as if these revels were as regenerating as a night's sleep. He adds:

The usual dance of the Negroes is the *Batuca*. As soon as a few negroes assemble, one can hear the rhythmic cadence of clapping hands; this is their call to dance. The *Batuca* is directed by a figurant, and consists of certain movements of the body which perhaps are overly expressive; it is mainly the hips that shake; while the dancer clicks his tongue and fingers, accompanied by a monotonous singing, the others circle him and repeat the refrain.

Another well-known Negro dance is the *Lundu*, also danced by the Portuguese; it is performed by one or two couples accompanied by a mandolin. Maybe the *Fandango* or the *Bolero* of the Spaniards are just a perfected imitation of this dance.

[...] The Negroes also have another war game, much more violent, the *Jogar Capoëra*: two champions charge against each other and try to hit the chest of the adversary.<sup>33</sup>

Here the description of the *Batuque* identifies one soloist encircled by onlookers

32 P. A. Marchal, 'Moda Brasileira' in *Jornal de Modinhas* (Lisbon 1793), Ed. P. A. Marchal Milcent, pp.36-37 <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=IjlXsOo64pAC&printsec>>; and Henrique Alves de Mesquita, *Os beijos de frade* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.) <<http://ks.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/1/1a/IMSLP605166-PMLP973610-mas178341.pdf>>.

33 Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Voyage Pittoresque dans le Brésil* (Paris, 1835), p.25 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55677273.texteImage>>.

who clap the rhythm and repeat the refrain of the song, cheering the soloist on. Would dancers have incorporated elements of African 'Orixá' dances in the Batuque?<sup>34</sup> Would the hip swinging and the 'overly expressive' movements have evolved into the samba, as previously mentioned by Sarmento? The mentioning of the Capoeira is also welcome, although unfortunately it seems that Rugendas witnessed a group which did not have a berimbau instrument with them, as depicted on the engraving 'Jogar Capoëra' [figure 8].

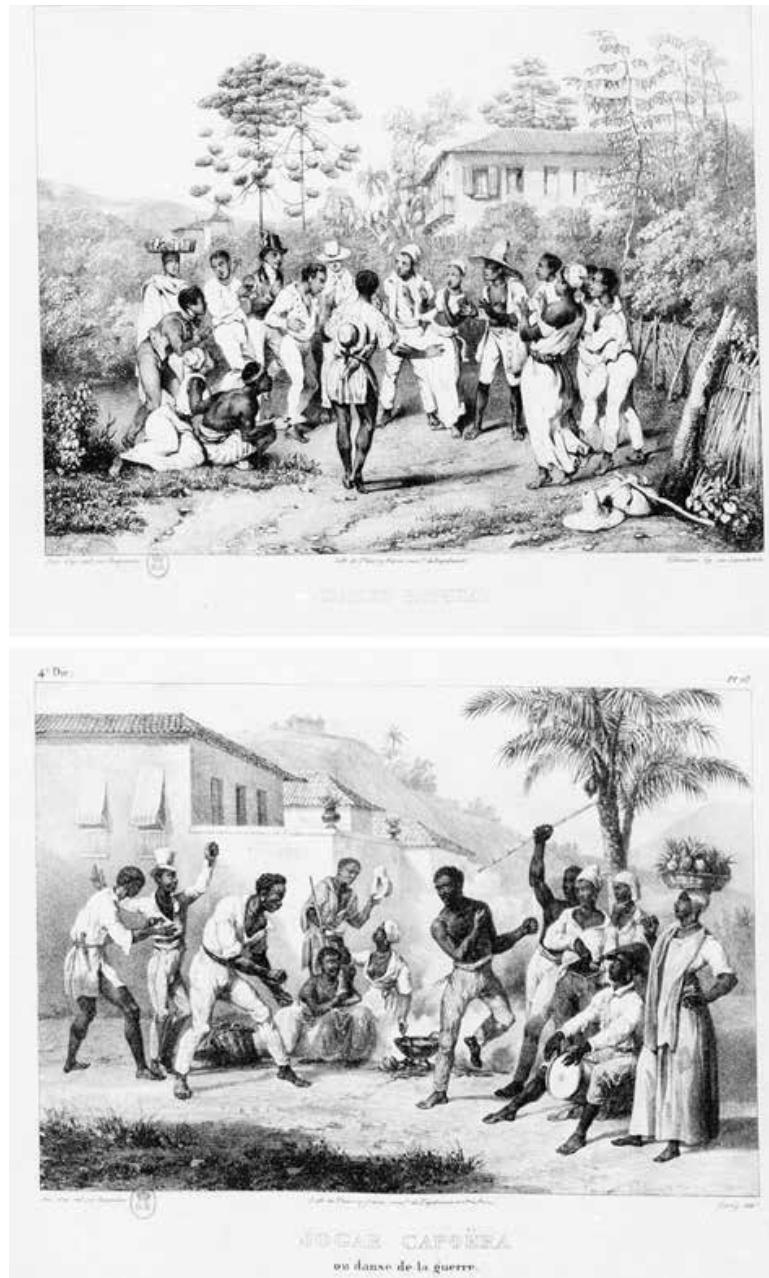


Figure 8 – Rugendas, 'Danse Batuca' and 'Jogar Capoëra'

34 'Danças de Orixá' have been performed in Afro-Brazilian religions such as Candomblé and Umbanda. Each Orixá (deity) has its following, the cult including dances which might or might not be performed under a state of trance. Any given Orixá dance might have its own specific movements.

In his description of the Lundú, Rugendas reverses the hypothesis posed by Pavolide and Lindley, and suggests that perhaps it was the Fandango that derived from the Lundú, and not the other way round. Fortunately for us, he produced two engravings to illustrate the dance being performed by slaves and by the Portuguese [figure 9].



Figure 9 - Rugendas, 'Danse Landu'

While the ladies in both Lundú images have very similar body posture – with the body weight transferred to one supporting leg, hands on the hips and the torso leaning to one side, accentuating what it looks like a sideways hip thrust – the men differ quite considerably: the Portuguese man has his arms high up in the standard Iberian arm hold with the upper arm somewhat parallel to the floor, and playing castanets; meanwhile the black man's arms are slightly lower, in an intermediate position between that observed in the Portuguese man, and that of the black man appearing in profile, dancing the Batuque (figure 8 which, in turn, is similar to the arm stance in the engraving by Martius & Spix on figure 5). The depiction of legs in both images suggest ebb and flow, with dancers approaching and retreating from each other. Quite noticeable too is that all Lundú dancers are raised on toes, as opposed to Batuque dancers. It is worth noting that Rugendas does not imply that the Lundú is lascivious, or 'overly expressive' as in the Batuque. Indeed, despite the exaggerated lateral leaning of the torso, the Portuguese couple on figure 9 could just as well be dancing a more ruled and formal Iberian dance [figure 10].



Figure 10 - Debret, detail of dancers in both Lundú engravings.

Together, Martius, Spix, Debret and Rugendas produced the most extensive compilation of ethnographic iconography in Brazil, a compendium that is of utmost importance to historians and has resonances to date, as we can experience.

Meanwhile, in Lisbon, the Lundú seem to have evolved differently from its Brazilian counterpart. In a rich account by an incognito British author, known only by the initials A.P.D.G., we are offered a review of their sojourn in Portugal, published in 1826 as *Sketches of Portuguese Life, Manners, Costume, and Characters*. In a tone even more judgemental and derogatory than the one adopted by their fellow countryman Lindley, in a certain passage the author – while describing a meal they were having – feels compelled to interrupt their narrative to describe the 'sight of the lascivious and even frantic Lundun, danced by a negro and negress, whose very gestures and looks would to more delicate people serve only to create the utmost sensation of disgust' [figure 11]. The author continues to vociferate in a remarkably pejorative tone for three pages:

As this dance was originally a negro one [...] I take the opportunity of saying a few words about it.

The Landun was formerly danced in the best societies of Lisbon by persons of both sexes; but now it is seldom performed in the higher circles, except by two females, one of whom represents a male partner. It consists of graceful cadences, the steps being generally the same throughout, and the chief beauty of the whole depending less upon the movement of the feet, than on the graceful elegance and expressive attitudes of the arms and body.<sup>35</sup>



Figure 11 – A.P.D.G., 'Begging for the festival of N.S. d'Atalaya'<sup>36</sup>

The author goes on to describe in length how the two dancers proceed to tease each other with a handkerchief held by the 'male' dancer, advancing with 'wooing mien'; but then, rejected by the lady, he expresses his disappointment. This charade goes on for a while until the lady feels pity and in turn begs for his attention. At the end of the dance she receives the handkerchief as a token of his 'grief'. The author continues:

This pantomimic representation [...] when well danced [...] never fails to elicit the most thundering applauses. What I have just endeavoured to describe is the landun of the better orders; but when danced by the canaille it is far from being either graceful or decent.

The common people in Portugal are so fond of the Landun, that even at an advanced age they experience a strong sensation of delight on hearing the measure played on the guitar. I shall never forget having once seen a mummy-like old woman of eighty years of age rise from the floor which she was scrubbing, [...] and begin to accompany the [musical] air with

35 A.P.D.G., *Sketches of Portuguese Life, Manners, Costume, and Characters* (London, 1826), p.288 <<https://books.google.pt/books?id=9m0NAAAAYAAJ>>.

36 *Ibid.*, p.284.

contortions, to which age had left no other character than unmixed disgust.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from abhorrence inflicted on us by the author's reprehensible racism and prejudiced views in the above account, what strikes us is that two very distinct forms of the Lundú coexisted in Lisbon at that time: the 'lascivious' one, unbearable to prude onlookers such as A.P.D.G., and the highly stylised pantomimic representation danced in the salon, which resembles more the 'Chica', as described by Carlo Blasis.<sup>38</sup> We see that the original 'carnal' format was performed outdoors, by black and white people of lower classes (or 'common people', according to the author), whereas the 'graceful' and 'elegant' variant was performed as a parlour dance, seemingly as an entertainment to guests. Surprisingly though, the author concludes their remarks on the Lundú with an account of their introduction to the stage:

In the national theatre of Rua dos Condes the Lundun is frequently introduced in after-pieces; and on these occasions the house is always best filled, so great and powerful is the attraction. It is usually danced by a lacquey and a soubrette, who, although they confine themselves to very few gestures, and their whole performance does not perhaps last more than two or three minutes, have, nevertheless, so much the art of conveying significance in the merest looks and movements, that the performance is applauded with vociferous "vivas" and "bravos".<sup>39</sup>

Unfortunately – like the Lundun performed by Lacombe in Rio around the same time, in 1824 – we do not know what version of the Lundú was performed here, but its presence in the theatre is proof of its unswerving popularity amongst the Portuguese. The audiences in Lisbon seemed to have a better fortune than those in Salvador, Brazil. The administrator of Teatro São João, in that city, had his requests to include Lundú in the entr'actes met with a banning order twice by two different Police Chief Officers in 1836 and 1837, despite his reassurances that the dance would not contain 'contortions which, for its indecency, cause offense to morals'. His appeal was met with the inevitable refusal, due to the Lundú being 'immoral, offensive to the modesty and family values'.<sup>40</sup>

Even though the public favoured the Lundú with explicit enthusiasm, other forms of social dancing coexisted at that time, and the upper classes continued

37 Ibid., p.289-290.

38 Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore - The art of dancing, comprising its theory and practice, and a history of its rise and progress, from the earliest times* (London, 1830), p.29 <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/musdi.251.0/?sp=89>>.

39 A.P.D.G., *Op. Cit.*, p.290-291.

40 Renato Almeida, *História da Música Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p.77.

to seek the guidance of dancing masters in order to do well and grace the balls. By 1829 Rio had four dancing masters listed on the *Almanak Imperial do Commércio*, more precisely Labottiére, Lacombe, Marqueton and Martin.<sup>41</sup> One of such memorable balls was organised by order of D. Pedro I to celebrate the birthday of Princess Amelia (D. Pedro's second wife since 1829, following his first wife Leopoldina's tragic death in 1826) in January 1830. The Franco-German princess might have not felt out of place, as the programme included a Waltz, French, English and Spanish contredanses.<sup>42</sup> According to Rosa Maria Zamith, European dances were also present in domestic settings, such as two gatherings at the residence of French consul M. Le Comte de Gestas in 1825, or the ball at Long Beach in May 1835, all attended by British Navy officer Graham Eden Hamond, who registered them in his diaries. Hamond also lists curious balls on ships, such as the one put on by himself in 1835 on the *HMS Dublin*, the ball on the Italian ship *Euridice* on the following year, or even the grandiose ball on the *Hercule* in 1838, in which the ship 'resembled more a theatre, rather than a war ship'. Quadrilles and contredanses were de rigueur on these occasions, according to Hamond.<sup>43</sup> The popularity of balls was such that in 1835 Lorenço Lacombe published a *Recueil de soixante-sept contre-danses françaises*, to remedy the fact that some of his dances had been published by someone else, with mistakes, and without his authorisation.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately not a single copy of this precious collection has been found so far.

Although Hamond and Lindley provide some useful information, it seems that not all British visitors to Brazil were inclined to describe social life as far as dancing is concerned: Maria Graham, a writer and illustrator with a keen interest in botanic drawing, did not even once mentioned in detail the dances at court, amidst bourgeoisie or on the streets – despite being appointed tutor to the imperial princess, being a close friend to Consort Leopoldina, and having a rich cultural background, having lived in India and in Chile.<sup>45</sup> By the 1830s Rio was a vibrant city, as attested by another European visitor to Rio in the early 19th century: Ferdinand Denis attests that Rio was 'very animated, noisy, varied and

41 *Almanak Imperial do Commercio e das corporações civis e militares do Império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1829), p.209 <<http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=706191&pesq=Lacombe&pasta=ano%20182&pagfis=467>>.

42 Rosa Maria Zamith, *A Quadrilha – da partitura aos espaços festivos* (Rio de Janeiro, 2011), p.81.

43 *Ibid.*, pp.82-85.

44 *Jornal do Commércio*, 8 August 1835 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568\\_02&pesq=Lacombe%2067&pasta=ano%20183&pagfis=6807](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568_02&pesq=Lacombe%2067&pasta=ano%20183&pagfis=6807)>.

45 Maria Graham, *Journal of a voyage to Brazil* (London, 1824).

free [with] music, dance and fireworks giving every night a party atmosphere',<sup>46</sup> adding that 'the Lundú, this sort of original fandango, imitated from the dance of the blacks, is in reality a national dance',<sup>47</sup> and continues to say that it 'is even performed in the theatre, whose charm consists of a particular movement of the lower body, which a European would never be able to imitate'.<sup>48</sup> When referring to the Paulistas (those born in São Paulo) in particular, he comments:

The populace have their particular dances, and the Landou [sic], which reminds us of the Chica of our colonies, has been adopted here not only by the negroes, who overall have a frenzied taste for dancing, but it has also been adopted by coloured people as a divertissement. It belongs more to the Indians rather than to the blacks, properly speaking. It is not the same as the Batuca.<sup>49</sup>

Denis's account curiously shows that the Lundú was even absorbed by the indigenous community in São Paulo, a statement that has not been found anywhere else.

In addition to the Lacombe brothers, and the three other French dancing masters listed on the Almanak, there was a new arrival from Spain (via Montevideo): Philippe Caton and his wife. They had performed a season in Montevideo and were brought to Rio in 1840 in order to direct the Ballet company at Teatro São Pedro.<sup>50</sup> He was billed as dancing the 'Seguidillas Manchegas' with his wife in December of the same year.<sup>51</sup> One of Caton's adverts reads:

Dance lessons: Having arrived at this court, Philippe Caton and his wife have the honour to inform the respectable public that they intend to offer dance lessons both at their house as in private houses; they shall also teach in one or two schools; they inform they teach all customary [ballroom] dances and the most beautiful boleros, menuets, menuets del Montero of different sorts

46 Ferdinand Denis, *L'univers., Histoire et description du Brésil* (Paris, 1839), p.122 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k307909/f128.item.r=danses>>.

47 Ibid., p.239 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k307909/f245.item.r=landou>>.

48 Ibid., p.147 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k307909/f153.item.r=landou>>.

49 Ibid., p.192 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k307909/f198.item.r=landou>>.

50 *Jornal do Comércio* (Rio de Janeiro), 26 September 1840 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=364568\\_03&pasta=ano%20184&pesq=Caton&pagfis=1002](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=364568_03&pasta=ano%20184&pesq=Caton&pagfis=1002)>.

51 Ibid., 15 December 1840 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568\\_03&pesq=Caton&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=1310](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568_03&pesq=Caton&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=1310)>.

as of common usage in Montevideo and Buenos Aires.<sup>52</sup>

Rio de Janeiro had become a metropolis, attracting migrants who brought with them the novelties from the 'old continent', their customs and cultural heritage – quite a feat, considering that the precarious and dangerous journey from Europe took at least 10 weeks. Theatres often employed European companies for whole seasons, even though most often at false pretences of paying a higher salary than originally offered in Europe, to tumultuous results. Theatro São Pedro de Alcantara was one of those embroiled in the scandal. An Italian company had been hired to perform Verdi's *I Due Foscari*, and the ballet *Le Lac des Fées* by Italian Antonio Guerra. However, during initial rehearsals, it transpired that salaries were, in fact, considerably lower than expected. Months went by before the intrigue was resolved, and the company finally premièred on the 29 September 1849.<sup>53</sup> The prima ballerina was young Marietta Baderna, who had fled a War of Independence in Northern Italy. Apart from her ballet training, and a rising career that took her to the La Scala [figure 12] and Covent Garden, Baderna also learned Iberian dances in her training under Carlo Blasis – who was the director at La Scala between 1838 and 1853, and author of the acclaimed *The Code of Terpsichore*.<sup>54</sup> Her performances at Covent Garden attracted glowing reviews: *The Musical World* on the 6th March 1847 mentions: 'The Cachoucha [sic] gave Mdlle. Baderna an opportunity of displaying her capabilities as an accomplished dancer more entirely than she has previously been enabled to effect. The precision, agility, elegance, and vivacity which she evinced in her execution of this national dance were astonishing for her early years, and obtained rapturous plaudits and an enthusiastic demand for repetition from the audience'.<sup>55</sup> If that wasn't enough praise, three months later on the 17th July they wrote:

[...] The ballet was entirely successful. Among the effective incidental dances, a pas de quatre by the Demoiselles Baderna, Bertin, Delechaux, and Duval, was most favourably received, the charming little Marietta being encored in a Spanish seul with castanets. This dance slightly partakes of the cachucha style, but is more bold and artistic and brings out the powers of the young lady to greater advantage. By turns voluptuous, graceful,

52 Ibid., 10 October 1840 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=364568\\_03&pasta=ano%20184&pesq=Caton&pagfis=1060](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=364568_03&pasta=ano%20184&pesq=Caton&pagfis=1060)>.

53 Ibid., 29 September 1849 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568\\_03&pesq=Baderna&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=14503](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568_03&pesq=Baderna&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=14503)>.

54 Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore - The art of dancing, comprising its theory and practice, and a history of its rise and progress, from the earliest times* (London, 1830) <<https://www.loc.gov/item/44016304/>>.

55 *The Musical World* (London 1847), vol. 22, p.159 <[https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/The\\_Musical\\_World.html?id=FJMPAAAAYAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/The_Musical_World.html?id=FJMPAAAAYAAJ&redir_esc=y)>.

arrogant, and tender, she displayed an energy and agility for which we were not prepared, and which quite took the house by storm. A continued succession of applause crowned each feat and terminated in an enthusiastic encore.<sup>56</sup>

A free spirit imbued with a rebellious attitude, Baderna soon became involved with the lower classes in Rio, and particularly with the slaves, with whom she learned the Lundú.<sup>57</sup> After a successful season in Rio, She was hired by Theatro Santa Isabel, in Recife (Northeast Brazil), where she repeated the pas de deux from *Le Lac des Fées* with Mlle. Moreau, attracting anonymous love letters and poems published on the local paper *Diário de Pernambuco*.<sup>58</sup>



Figure 12 – Giuliani, ‘Marietta Baderna, Prima Danzatrice all’ Teatro alla Scala’, lithograph (Milano, 1846)

On the 28 January 1851, reacting to Baderna’s appearance in *Le Lac des Fées*, an anonymous ‘dilectante’ published an article praising the dancers, but questioning why Brazilian dances such as the Lundú and fados were deemed immoral. He reasoned that by offering the male patrons ‘their curvy and graceful silhouette, graceful from head to toe and simulating nudity’ the performance

56 Ibid., p.462

57 Silverio Corvisier, *Maria Baderna – A bailarina de dois mundos* (Rio de Janeiro, 2001), trans. Eliana Aguiar, pp.93-94.

58 *Diário de Pernambuco*, 10 February 1851 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029033\\_03&pasta=ano%20185&pesq=Baderna&pagfis=1321](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029033_03&pasta=ano%20185&pesq=Baderna&pagfis=1321)>.

given by two ballerinas also could be seen as immoral. He continues: 'Could one not compare whatever step, mannerism or morbid hip thrust in the lascivious lundun to those passages where delicate Baderna, as light as a sylphide, opens her legs wide as if to tear them apart?'<sup>59</sup> The though-provoking commentary sparked Baderna's fire in a positive way, and a few weeks later she performed, in a trio with Mlle Moreau and Mr Raymundo, the infamous *Lundú d'Amarroá*.<sup>60</sup> It was not the first time the Lundú had been performed on stage in Brazil: as we noticed, records show that the 'Lundú da Monroi' was performed in Rio between 1822 and 1825. There is a record of another performance of the 'Monroi' in 1848, at the Theatro de São Francisco in Rio,<sup>61</sup> but Baderna's performance broke with the conventions particularly because of her high esteemed background. This was a step too far for the locals who, following the Southern trend, had engaged in a mission to 'Europeanise' Recife. Since that moment, the word 'Baderna' – which so far had been used to denote all things fine, graceful and delicate – is to date used pejoratively in Brazil to denote disorder, confusion, and mess.

Musical sources in Portugal and Brazil show the popularity of the Lundú increasing through the 19th century. The popular *Jornal de Modinhas* – published by P.A. Marchal Milcent in Lisbon from 1793 – only records one single Lundú out of 22 songs, but that piece does not even contain the characteristic strong syncopated rhythm that would later make the Lundú so easily recognisable.<sup>62</sup> As the years progressed, more scores of accompanied songs appeared, and solo piano pieces became very common from the middle of the 19th-century. A search in the digital catalogue at Biblioteca Nacional in Rio returned 57 scores and manuscripts (which is a portion of the material which has not yet been digitalised, or the material found in other libraries) containing 'Lundú' in their titles.<sup>63</sup> Some of these include curious pieces such as *Às clarinhas e às moreninas* (with its debauched lyrics: 'I dribble watching the fair and

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59 Ibid., 28 January 1851 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029033\\_03&pasta=ano%20185&pesq=Baderna&pagfis=1278](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029033_03&pasta=ano%20185&pesq=Baderna&pagfis=1278)>.

60 Ibid., 13 February 1851 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029033\\_03&pasta=ano%20185&pesq=Baderna&pagfis=1334](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=029033_03&pasta=ano%20185&pesq=Baderna&pagfis=1334)>.

61 *Jornal do Comércio*, 26 May 1848 <[http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568\\_03&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=12469](http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=364568_03&pasta=ano%20184&pagfis=12469)>.

62 Ed. P. A. Marchal Milcent, 'Moda do Londu, del Sig.r Jozé de Mesquita', in *Jornal de Modinhas* (Lisbon 1793), pp.52-53 <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=IjlXsOo64pAC&printsec>>.

63 Search engine used the term 'Lundu' on <<http://bndigital.bn.gov.br/acervodigital/>>.

dark ladies') by Joaquim A.S. Callado Jr,<sup>64</sup> and Polka-Lundu for solo piano *As Almas do Outro Mundo* by P.A.T.I. Faria, which superimposes and alternates both the strong incisive Polka rhythm and the syncopated one of the Lundú.<sup>65</sup> Even Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia, renowned composer of sacred music, succumbed to the charms of the Lundú.<sup>66</sup>

Two of the most popular Lundú songs of that period were *Lá no Largo da Sé Velha – Lundú Brasileiro* (c.1830)<sup>67</sup> by Cândido Ignácio da Silva – a socio-political criticism on the extreme consumerism of redundant European produce in Rio – and *Os Beijos do Frade* (late 1870s/80s?)<sup>68</sup> by Henrique Alves de Mesquita, with its controversial lyrics describing 'the friar's kisses'. Whereas in *Lundú Brasileiro* the syncopated rhythm only appears on the vocal line, supported by a simple Alberti bass accompaniment, in *Os Beijos do Frade* the seductive rhythm is democratically shared by the vocal and piano parts. The piano introduction in the latter also presents delicious descending chromaticisms on the treble part, which is curiously accompanied by the Habanera rhythm on the left hand [figure 13], before reverting to the Lundú rhythm when the song proper starts.

Solo piano pieces would develop that rhythmic alchemy even further, with the recurring superimposition of the Lundú and Habanera rhythms in pieces such as *A Paulista – Quadrilha Brazileira* by Mamede J. G. da Silva [figure 14], creating an entrancing combination that produces a splendidly rich rhythmic counterpoint.<sup>69</sup>

64 Joaquim A.S. Callado Jr, *As clarinhas e as moreninhas* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.) <[http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo\\_digital/div\\_musica/mas481996/mas481996.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_musica/mas481996/mas481996.pdf)>.

65 P.A.T.I. Faria, *As almas de outro mundo, Polka-Lundu* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.) <[http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo\\_digital/div\\_musica/mas233093/mas233093.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_musica/mas233093/mas233093.pdf)>.

66 Nunes Garcia, *Fora o Regresso* (n.p., n.d.) <[http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo\\_digital/div\\_musica/mas481979/mas481979.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_musica/mas481979/mas481979.pdf)>.

67 Cândido Ignácio da Silva, *Lundú Brasileiro*, (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.) <[http://ks.petruccimusiclibrary.org/files/imglnks/usimg/5/52/IMSLP360499-PMLP582185-silva\\_la\\_no\\_largo\\_da\\_se.pdf](http://ks.petruccimusiclibrary.org/files/imglnks/usimg/5/52/IMSLP360499-PMLP582185-silva_la_no_largo_da_se.pdf)>.

68 Henrique Alves de Mesquita, *Os beijos de frade* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.) <<http://ks.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/1/1a/IMSLP605166-PMLP973610-mas178341.pdf>>.

69 For a clip of the 3<sup>rd</sup> (*La Poule*) and 4<sup>th</sup> (*Pastourelle*) movements of *A Paulista*, visit <<https://vimeo.com/455227470>> [password: Paulista].

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Propriedade da Constituição  
Nº 11.  
Rio de Janeiro.

TEMPO DE FADO

PIANO

Schera

Dos beijos o gosto a ma - vel Benmão possa des-ere - ver Por que sendeles de fra - des

Figure 13 - Mesquita, *Os Beijos de frade*, excerptFigure 14 – Silva, *A Paulista*, 3rd movement (excerpt). Example of the Lundú rhythm on bars 1 and 3 of the treble part, juxtaposed to the Habanera rhythm on the bass part.<sup>70</sup>

This genre of quadrille compositions for solo piano produced unique gems, some including movements in Lundú form, and others bearing the dance instructions of European formal quadrille settings. Some of these are *Ella que o diga* (c.1879) and *A Mimoza – Polka-Lundú* (n.d.) both by Antonio José Monteiro, *Quem quê, quê – Polka-Lundú* and *A Crioula* (n.d.), both by Libânio Colás, the

70 Mamede J.G. da Silva, *A Paulista*, *Quadrilha Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, c.1860), 3<sup>rd</sup> figure ['La Poule'].

latter example being a ‘Quadrille Lundú-Tango’.<sup>71</sup> Other exquisite compositions include *Capenga, Careca & Cia* by A. Versianny, *Os velhos gaiteiros* by J.S. Queiroz, and *A Brasileira* by Desiderio Dorison – the latter uniting, in its five movements, the Modinha, Fado, Muquirão, Lundum and Chula forms. Later works include *Satã* (c.1888) for piano by Chiquinha Gonzaga and *Lundú da Marquesa de Santos* (1938) for voice and piano, by Heitor Villa-Lobos. It is curious to note that, although the Lundú is not necessarily present in every movement of the ‘Quadrilha-Lundú’ genre, there is a tendency to allocate it to the 4th movement *Pastourelle*. Did composers (and dancers) see the *Pastourelle* – with its theatrical flavour – as the perfect setting to emulate the flirting games inherent to the Lundú?

Rather than being restrictive, the Lundú rhythm is surprisingly fluid and invites the musician to take some slight freedom with the dotted rhythms, making them softer (or ‘Latin American’) rather than rigidly and perfunctorily performing every semiquaver in its exact place – it is a matter of ‘giving in’ to the rhythm rather than ‘fighting it’. Indeed, it compels one to have a freer approach, similar to the *musical inégalité* found in Latin popular and folk music nowadays. As we shall note later, such fluid freedom is transferred to the dance too. Conversely, it is interesting to observe how the Lundú rhythm would morph into the ‘Bossa Nova’ rhythm (which swaps around the rhythm on the 1st and 2nd beats and adopts a laid-back tempo), and how the Habanera rhythm – with its 3-3-2 subdivision – has become a staple element in today’s popular music, particularly ‘world music’ with a Latin ethnic flavour. The superimposition of the Lundú to the Habanera, Polka and Tango, particularly in the setting of a quadrille, is testimony of the inventive and fearless streak of 19th-century Brazilians who thrived in a melting-pot of cultures and tendencies, and a reflection of their rich ethnic blending.

From a choreological perspective, it is imperative to remind ourselves that such Quadrilles were functional compositions, meant to accompany dancing. Given how strong and ‘contagious’ the Lundú and Habanera rhythms are, it would be practically impossible to perform the well-known sequences of Quadrille steps – widely published and widespread in treatises such as those by Clarchies, Wilson and Brunet – without ‘loosening’ them.<sup>72</sup> Elsewhere, in the

71 A comprehensive study of the Quadrilles in Brazil (including some Lundú Quadrilles) can be found in Rosa Maria Zamith, *A Quadrilha – da partitura aos espaços festivos* (Rio de Janeiro, 2011).

72 Louis Julien Clarchies, *Recueil des Contre-dances et Walzes* (Paris, c.1800) <<https://www.loc.gov/item/musdi.043>>; Thomas Wilson, *An Analysis of Country Dancing* (London, 1808) <<https://www.loc.gov/item/42049716/>>; anon., *Le Maître à Danse* (London 1818) <<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=8CJhAAAAcAAJ>>; Wilson, *The Quadrille and Cotillion Panorama* (London, 1822) <<https://www.loc.gov/item/42049714/>>; Brunet, *Théorie pratique du danseur de société* (Paris, 1839) <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k132492j.r>>.

French colonised Caribbean, a similar process of absorption and adaptation of European dances into the local culture also took place, with the exception that the Caribbean Quadrilles are danced to date – they, too, largely retain the figures of the Quadrille (such as 'Pantalon', 'L'Eté', 'La Poule', 'Pastourelle', 'Trénis' and 'Finalle') but the steps bear no resemblance to those described by Wilson et al. ('pas d'Allemande', 'pas de basque', 'chassé', 'jetté-assemblé', 'balancé', etc).<sup>73</sup> How would dancers have reacted and possibly adapted the steps to match newly composed Lundú Quadrilles? Would such steps bear any resemblance to the formal European vocabulary of steps, or would a totally new set of movements be employed in this instance?

Later literary sources refer to the Lundú either as a flamboyant dance, or with a great deal of nostalgia and romanticism of a bygone era. A great promoter of Brazilian image abroad, Frederico José de Santa-Anna Nery wrote a book on Brazilian folklore and customs specially for the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889, in which he was involved. He mentions the Lundú as being danced throughout Brazil and having 'black origins'. He gives an exotic description which, in no doubt would grasp the attention of readers:

All dancers are either sitting or standing. A couple stand up and start the festivities. They barely move when they start: they click their fingers with castanet-like sounds, raise or arch their arms, they sway softly. Little by little the gentleman becomes livelier: he circles the lady as if he wishes to embrace her. She remains cold, sovereignly disdaining his advances. Suddenly they are face to face, eyes fixated as if hypnotised by desire. She shakes, jumps, her movements become increasingly livelier, and she trembles with passionate vertigo, while the guitars sighs and the captivated audience clap their hands. Then she stops, panting, exhausted. Her gentleman continues his revolutions for a while, but then moves on to entice another lady who jumps up, and so the Lundú starts once again, febrile and sensual.<sup>74</sup>

The quasi-orgasmic dance as recounted by Nery would raise a few eyebrows even today. It might depict the latest 'incarnation' of the Lundú in Belém (Northern Brazil), his home-town, where the 'Lundú d'Amarroá' is still danced, albeit having suffered many modifications along the years; however one

73 A later example of a piano quadrille following the European aesthetic is *A Princesa Imperial* (Rio de Janeiro, n.d.) by Joaquim Antonio Piacentini (fl. 1858-1872). Unusually, it contains the dance instructions but – rather than the traditional 'Pantalon', 'Pastourelle', etc – it employs rather curious figures: 'A 29 de Julho', 'A Perpétua', 'A Roza', 'A Saudade' and 'A Grinalda' <[http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo\\_digital/div\\_musica/mas496285/mas496285.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_musica/mas496285/mas496285.pdf)>.

74 Frederico José de Santa-Anna Nery, *Folk-Lore brésilien: Poésie, Contes et legends* (Paris, 1889), p.76 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k884503b/f94.image.r=Lundu>>.

cannot help but suspect there is some exaggeration, as none of the descriptions contemporary to Nery's are that overtly sexual.

Another edition aimed at French readers and published just six years before Nery's, *Une Parisienne au Brésil* is the travel journal of Mme Toussaint-Samson who also witnessed the Lundú in the countryside. In comparison to Nery's description, this one seems rather respectful:

All customs start to evade in Rio de Janeiro, but they are religiously preserved in the countryside. In my short sojourn there I saw some Brazilian ladies dance, by general demand, the lundü [sic], national dance that the young ladies hardly know nowadays, consisting of a sort of rhythmic promenade, with movements of the hips and the eyes which do not lack originality, and which everyone accompanies by clicking their fingers as if playing castanets, marking the rhythm. The man, in this dance, simply circles the ladies and follows her, while she indulges in all sorts of the most provocative 'cat-like' movements.<sup>75</sup>

In 1882 Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, who recounted the tale of Friar Antonio do Desterro in the 1760s, adds the following thoughts on the Lundú in his romance *Um passeio pela cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (A stroll around Rio): 'The Brazilian modinhas and Lundús barely exist nowadays, and do so solely in the memories of the elders; they [Lundús and modinhas] have been banned from the elegant assembly rooms together with all good old customs; just like birds that, frightened away from the seaside groves by the noise of human conquerors, flee to the shady inland forests'.<sup>76</sup>

Another author, Araripe Junior, in his historic critic essay *Gregório de Matos*, not only reinforces the similarities between the Lundú and Iberian dances, but also confirms that the syncopated rhythm was also adopted in the dance steps:

The Lundú is the most affectionate of the dances and songs; it exceeds the Spanish Seguidilla to which it is related, and the voluptuous Eastern belly-dancing. It is neither idealistic as the first, nor so brutally carnal as the latter: it is, however, more piquant than both, without resorting to explicit lubricities of ancient phallotomies [sic: phallic rituals?]. In the Lundú there is lightness to the steps, an elegant carriage of the body and sweetness in the voice that are not found in any other similar form of expression amidst miscegenated groups; its originality lies on the rhythm resulting from the conflict between the heavily syncopated quadruple time of the Africans and

75 Adèle Toussaint, *Une Parisienne au Brésil* (Paris, 1883), p.81 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5747774p/f111.image.r=Lundu>>.

76 Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, *Um passeio pela cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1882), repr. Congresso Nacional (Brasilia, 2005), p.90 <<https://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/handle/id/1100>>.

the Portuguese serranilha.<sup>77</sup> In the Iberian peninsula such a mixture of rhythms originated the 'Caninha Verde' and the 'Chula', whose rudeness we witness every day. However, the vibrating, zealous, and seldom languid mulatta, placing the excitement of these two rhythms on her hips – as expression of sexuality subordinated to a passionate, warm and graceful singing – began to syncopate them at will, producing quasi-indescribable sinuosities of refined eroticism.<sup>78</sup>

The colourful description by Araripe Junior tells us that a the Lundú is erotic but not rude like the 'Chula' and does not resort to explicit libidinous gestures (at least towards the end of the 19th century). Most importantly, that it is imbued in 'refined eroticism', and suggests that the syncopated swinging of the hips is done in a manner to equal the 'passionate, warm and graceful singing', rather than hard-edged, furious and metronomic hip strokes, which transports us to Denis's account of 1839.

## CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that historical citations of the Lundú do not refer to a single dance form, but rather to a constantly evolving dance form that reflects its surroundings. It does so without relinquishing, in its core element, the African roots that are manifest in the informal carriage of the body, the 'easing' of the syncopated rhythm, and principally by the unashamed expression of a passionate, fiery nature. As we could see, the Lundú was likened or compared to a series of other dances, these being: Fandango, Fofa, Seguidilla, Bolero, Allemande, Jig, Chica, Cachucha and Chula; yet, most authors seem to agree that its charm surpasses those of all dances.

Musically, the Lundú evolved from being a simple melody ruled by a basic harmonic progression, to displaying a more 'passionately languid' melody with chromatic lines or accents, and the occasional appearance of the easily identifiable syncopated Lundú rhythm. The musical form reached its climax around 1850 with the profuse use of these elements, and the complex juxtaposition of the Lundú rhythm to those of the Habanera, Polka and Tango.

It is evident that both Afro-Brazilian and European dances coexisted in Brazil during its colonial, monarchic and empire periods. In such a mixed cultural environment, it would not be unusual – but rather very probable – that a hybrid form of the Lundú emerged: either being gradually shaped by Portuguese colonisers adopting European arm stance and dancing it as a 'Fandango' or an 'Allemande'; or manifest in the lively Lundú Quadrilles where formal steps might

77 Serranilha is a poetical form of popular origin, with rustic pastoral theme and short metric structure.

78 Tristão de Alencar Araripe Junior, *Gregório de Matos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1894), p.474-5 <<http://docvirt.com/docreader.net/DocReader.aspx?bib=BibObPub&pagfis=8288>>.

have been seasoned with a ‘ginga’ (sway), produced by the ‘surrendering’ to the syncopated rhythm of the music.

Most importantly, the Lundú exposes class divides, but it was also employed as a tool to break these barriers. Whatever form it took, its popularity in Brazil and Portugal was unquestionable, but it was a dance that instigated contrasting reactions: either Passion and eroticism, or rage and prudishness. It intrigued and charmed some foreign travellers, but also caused repulsion in others. It provided respite to slaves after a day of forced labour, a ‘guilty-pleasure’ diversion to the upper classes, or even a tool in rebellious outbursts to artists such as Baderna and the numerous composers of Lundús with their salacious lyrics.

In the words of Caldas Barbosa I am positive that, should it have survived in our popular culture today, we too would ‘die of pleasure’ at the sight and sound of the ‘delightful Lundú’.

### HISTORICAL CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION OF A HYPOTHETICAL HYBRID LUNDÚ

As soon as I embarked on this journey to try to understand a bit more of the Lundú, I could not help but allow my Brazilian roots and Iberian blood to take control over my body: I found myself surrounded by the music, imagery and, above all, the physical feeling of rhythmic syncopation and languid melodic lines drawing me in – the same syncopation that compels most Brazilian children to sway their hips at an early age when listening to a Samba, and the same melodic intricacies and yearning chromaticisms that flow from the lips of same children singing songs such as ‘Se essa rua fosse minha’.<sup>79</sup>

Imbued with curiosity, drive, and furnished with the historical data, I created a choreography for the folk Lundú *Marajoara* which was later adapted to *Lá no Largo da Sé Velha*. It is on the latest version of the choreography I shall comment.

My approach to reconstructing a ‘hybrid’ version of Lundú was based on the hypothesis of mixing Afro-Brazilian and European choreographic elements, a version perhaps close to what Lindley might have witnessed. How would Lacombe and Baderna, with their training on Iberian dances such as the Cachucha – or any Portuguese coloniser for that effect, who could dance a Fandango, Bolero or Chula – take to the Lundú? How would an Afro-descendant react to a European dancing partner who might have been attempting to ‘loosen up’ and ‘give in to the rhythm’? Would compromises be made? Would a cross-fertilization of styles take place and a common-ground hybrid version start to emerge? As we saw in the historical accounts, such a hypothesis is not far-fetched as we noted how the Lundú made its way from the streets to the ballrooms and theatres.

My choreography is structured in three sections: introduction, formal

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79 For a clip of ‘Se essa rua fosse minha’ sung by Ana Carolina, visit <<https://vimeo.com/457060279>> [password: Carolina].

courtship, and a final, more 'carnal' couple dance. Generically, the carriage of the body aims to be in *elevé*, as historical accounts and engravings suggest. However, I propose much shallower pliés (or hardly any at all), but rather just the lowering of the heel to the floor instead. The choreography was notated in Beauchamps-Feuillet system.<sup>80</sup>

## Section 1

In the introduction, a Portuguese man enters, bows and searches for his lady; when she enters, both proceed to the centre. The travelling steps are a hybrid between a travelling 'pas de bourée' and a 'pas d'Allemande', but rather than a demi-jetté at the beginning (i.e. Allemande step, as described by Guillaume in 1769)<sup>81</sup> one should 'ease' the motion, turning it into a 'coupé en avant, et le seconde emboëtté derrière', conclude with a 'demi-coupé'. The appropriate character is given with the loosening of the hips and motion being led by them in a diagonally forwards axis. The simple bows are immediately followed by 'llamadas', marking the gentleman's impatience: here I adopt the 'chorus' step and one step variation of the Portuguese folk 'Fandango da Lezíria'.<sup>82</sup>

Once they approach centre stage, facing each other, a series of patterns ensue with steps based on the Spanish vocabulary, in a 'formal' courtship without any 'lascivious' motion, but performing a game of seduction instead.<sup>83</sup>

## Section 2

The middle section is divided in five patterns:

- 2a. gent circling lady,
- 2b. diamond shape,
- 2c. lady circling the man,
- 2d. diamond shape,

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80 A clip of Ricardo Barros' choreography for the *Lundú Brasileiro*, performed by himself and Kath Waters, is available on the members' gallery at [www.eadh.com](http://www.eadh.com).

81 Simon Guillaume, *Almanach dansant ou Positions et attitudes de l'allemande* (Paris, 1769), p.11 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8626149j/f31.image>>.

82 The 'Fandango da Lezíria' depicts a duel between two men, each refrain giving one of them a chance to display increasingly virtuoso footwork, while the other slips to a repetitive 'chorus' step, and the dance progresses with the men taking turns to the end. For a clip of the Ribatejan 'Fandango de Leziria' performed by Rancho Regional dos Foros de Salvaterra, please visit <<https://vimeo.com/457461453>> [password: Ribatejo].

83 Special thanks to Jane Gingell, for elucidating terminology of steps in Early Spanish and Escuela Bolera dances.

- 2e. both progress around the circle.

In the first pattern ‘2a’, the man performs ‘Jerezanas’ whilst circling the lady: originally in triple time, the step is adapted to duple metre with an added step at the end, making the dancer start the following step-unit on the opposite foot. He keeps the outside arm in high stance at all time, while the inside arm forms a shield in front of the body. Meanwhile, the lady spins in the centre performing a morphed ‘Quatropedo con campanella’: rather than progressing in sideways locomotion, this step is performed ‘en place’. An initial cut with the left foot makes the right foot perform a ‘campanella’ – but crucially, with a ‘loosened’ hip, one can achieve a stance similar to the female dancer in Rugendas’ engraving. She keeps both hands on hips. The remaining two steps after the ‘campanella’ are ‘en place’, used for the lady to turn while gently swinging her hips. This pattern is concluded with ‘avanzos’ in ‘passo y punta’ followed by ‘punta y tacón’. It is an advancing and retreating step, performed by both dancers facing each other, with rotating arm movements. One may dare, at will, to perform the ‘umbigada’ (belly-button strike) when approaching the partner [figure 15].

The second ‘2b’ (and fourth ‘2d’) pattern, the ‘diamond’ is none less than ‘sease y contrasease’ (paso de valse): dancers perform the pattern in opposite corners of the diamond, alternating to turn face-to-face or back-to-back in each step. Arms alternate accordingly: in high stance while facing each other, and rotating to rest behind the back whilst performing the contrasease back-to-back [figure 16, top].

In the third ‘2c’ pattern the lady circles the man with ‘Jerezanas’ while he performs bolder ‘rompidos’: skipping while circling one leg and rotating  $\frac{1}{4}$  turn ‘en place’, complemented by a coupé. Overall, this step has the same axial dynamic as a ‘pas d’allemande’, but the initial springing step closes ‘emboëtté’, rather than ‘devant’ [figure 16, bottom].

In the final ‘2e’ pattern of this middle section, both dancers perform ‘Jerezanas’, keeping diagonally opposite each other while circling clockwise.

It is imperative to note that the timing of all steps above is subject to the syncopations of the music. For instance, rather than performing each step in a ‘pas de bourée’ or ‘pas d’allemande’ in each of the first three quavers of the music, the timing should be more relaxed (‘inegale’) and closer to dotted quaver/semiquaver/crotchet.

The two sections above are set to the music being performed once. The third section – the ‘informal’ dance, is set to a whole second strain of the music. Some physical contact and elements of Afro-Brazilian dances are incorporated here, where the carriage of the body changes dramatically, switching from elevated to ‘grounded’ stance, drawing from the Batuque imagery.

### Section 3

The first long figure sees dancers 'promenading' away and towards each other, in a figure of '8', while performing simple and enjoyable travelling steps as in the beginning of the dance. When they turn to face each other, a short pantomimic section develops where the lady performs the hip-swinging 'Quatropéados' as before, while the man places one hand on his forehead and another on the hip, taking small, grounded steps (with legs semi-flexed, as suggested in Batuque engravings) towards the lady while wiggling his buttocks and saying 'Eu pago, eu pago!' (in an allusion to Gonzaga's description of 'harlot & cull').

The ensuing phrase draws from folk Portuguese dance nowadays known as 'Vira'. The man spins performing 'pas de basque' but slightly loosening the hips while doing so, and swinging them with a more generous leg gesture (akin to a campanella) when closing the foot from front to back in order to start a new step. I propose the 'pas de basque' to be performed with a high arm stance. Meanwhile the lady circles him with the 'Quatropéado' sequence, but travelling forwards (rather than sideways or spinning). They perform at least two of these steps face-to-face, emulating the famous engraving by Rugendas.

The following phrase sees dancers wandering freely while performing 'Orixá' steps.<sup>84</sup> The first movement consists of a small, grounded step to the side (without transferring the weight) and back to centre, lowering the centre of gravity and slightly leaning the torso forwards at each side step. While centred, the arms have same stance as depicted in Batuque engravings, but at each side-step the arms lower outwards in a swishing motion, while pulling shoulders slightly back. This is immediately followed by another Orixá step in which the whole body suddenly springs into an upwards motion (feet still grounded), with a slithering motion of the torso which continues to the arms above the head.<sup>85</sup> The two combined 'Orixá' steps are performed four times.

Afro-Brazilian influences continue with dancers circling each other in 'pas d'Allemande', this time performed not in an elevated position but with legs flexed and much more grounding of the feet when springing on the initial step. Loosening the hip here ensures that a swinging 'ginga' naturally occurs.

The dance is concluded in a final phrase with the Orixá steps performed four

<sup>84</sup> Orixá dances derive from ritual, in honour of deities which the dancer 'incorporates', sometimes in trance. The common movements are adapted to each deity (orixá) to conform with its character by shifting accents, rhythms or range of movement: a warrior, a goddess from the sea, a snake representing the cycle of life, etc. Here, these movements are purely demonstrative of an attempt of dancers to communicate and establish a common ground, sharing their cultures. Special thanks to Luiz Anastácio e Fabiana Villas-Boas for elucidating movement in Brazilian 'Danças de Orixás'.

<sup>85</sup> This movement, for instance, could gain different identities, and either represent the snake reaching out to the heavens, or the movement of water related to the popular Iemanjá, goddess of the seas.

times. However, on the fourth step, instead of the undulating movement at the end, the male 'jumps onto' his partner, holding her by the waist, and both pause for one bar. This is followed by two 'Quattropeados' performed by both dancers (which, in modern days, could be seen akin to the 'lambada' dance) and is punctuated with a step sideways to distance from each other and a 'buelta ao descuido' cadencing step.

The choreographic attempts to portray a crescendo of emotions in the courtship game. The initial formal steps are thrown aside together with 'punctilio and reserve', and hybrid steps – inspired by Afro-Brazilian and Folk dances – take place. The addition of movements derived from the 'Orixá dances' is not intended to be disrespectful, callous or mocking, but to denote how curious the colonisers might have been to understand – and in some cases, like Baderna's – to grasp it.

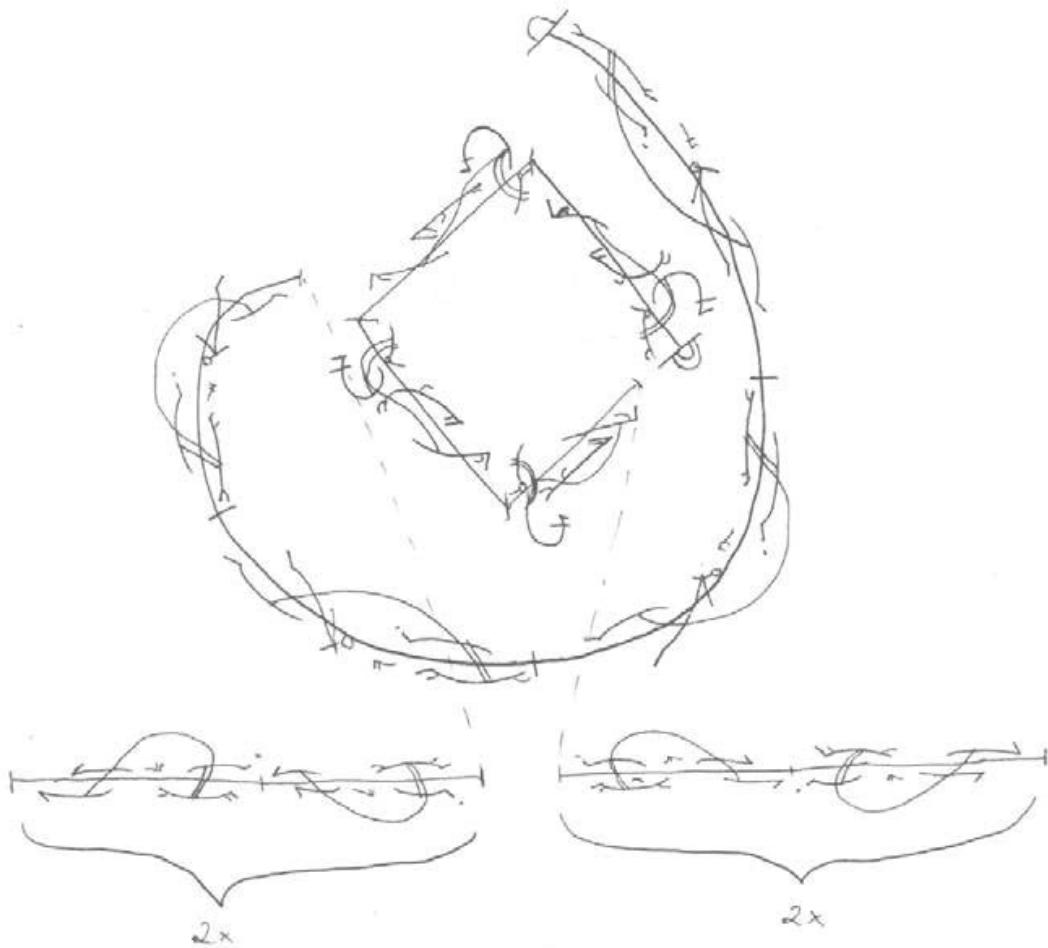


Figure 15 - Barros, Lundú Brasileiro (2019) pattern 2a, showing gent circling the lady and ensuing advances ('umbigadas').

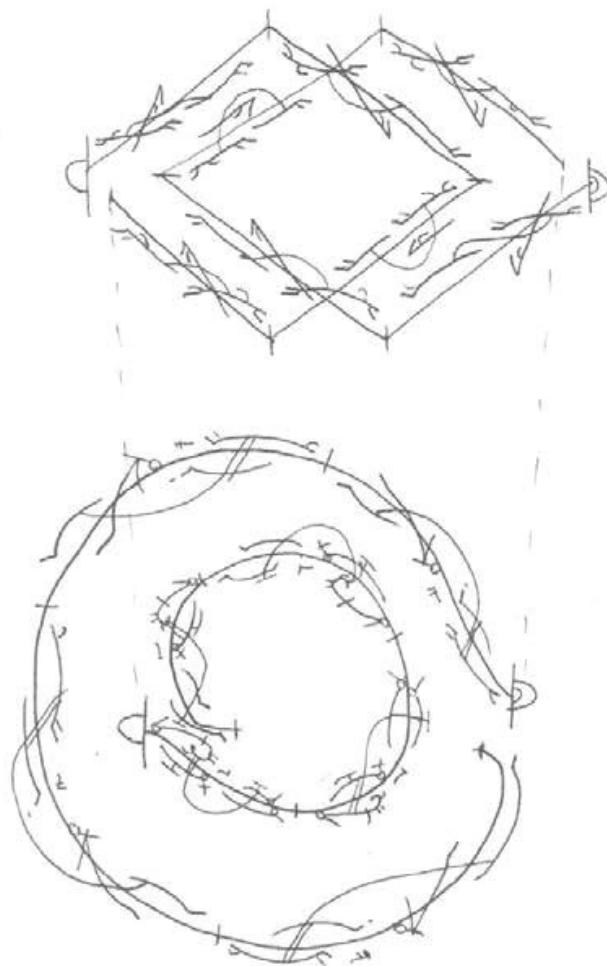


Figure 16 - Barros, Lundú Brasileiro (2019) patterns 2b (top) showing the diamond-shaped 'sease y contrasease', and 2c (bottom) showing lady circling the man.

### ADAPTING EUROPEAN VOCABULARY OF STEPS IN THE LUNDÚ QUADRILLES

Following the same reasoning to reconstruct the Lundú as a couple dance, I also propose a conjectural recreation of Quadrilles where steps are somewhat adapted to match the syncopated music, but without abandoning the character of the steps.

I base my recreation in the two movements of *A Paulista*, by Mamede da Silva, in which the Lundú rhythm is outspokenly dominant: the 3rd ('La Poule') and 4th ('Pastourelle') movements.

As usual, the first time the A section is played in each of the movements is merely used as an introduction and usual bows.

Maintaining the figures intact [figure 17],<sup>86</sup> I propose the use of the 'relaxed' pas d'Allemande (as before) for the 'En Avant', 'Demi-Promenade' and 'Demi-Chaine Anglaise'. In 'La Poule', whenever there is an 'En Avant', instead of concluding each segment with a 'Jetté-Assemblé' it might be charming, every now and then, to perform the undulating Orixá step such as previously mentioned. Equally, when returning to one's spot ('En Arrière'), I suggest employing a chassé with the opening arm stance of the Orixá dance. For the circling 'Traversé', 'Retraversé' and 'Demi-Rond' I suggest the use of the Jerezanas, with Iberian arm stance if desired (instead of touching hands *en passant*). This might not be so easy in the Pastourelle's Demi-Rond, but it achieves a striking effect if done so. For the captivating and enjoyable 'Balancés' in 'La Poule', where all dancers are aligned, I suggest the relaxed 'Pas de Basque' with extra loose hip action and more generous leg swinging, as previously mentioned. Finally, for the gentleman's solo in 'Pastourelle', I would not go as far as suggesting 'buttock wiggling' and shouting 'I'll pay, I'll pay!', but some 'Fandango' leg work wouldn't go amiss here.

**NOMENCLATURE DE LA POULE (MAIN DROITE), TROISIÈME FIGURE DE LA COSTREDANSE.**

NUMÉROS de CAVALIER.	de LA DAME.	
1	I	— Traversé.
2	II	— Retraversé.
3	III	— Balancé.
4	IV	— Demi-Promenade.
5	V	— En Avant-deux.
6	VI	— Dos-à-dos.
7	VII	— En Avant-quatre.
8	VIII	— Demi-Chaine anglaise.

**NOMENCLATURE DE LA PASTOURELLE, QUATRIÈME FIGURE DE LA COSTREDANSE.**

NUMÉROS de CAVALIER.	de LA DAME.	
1	I	— Cavalier en avant avec sa Dame.
2	II	— Deuxième fois en avant.
3	III	— En avant-trois.
4	IV	— Deuxième fois en avant-trois.
5	*	— Cavalier seul.
6	*	— Deuxième fois Cavalier seul.
7	VII	— Demi-Rond.
8	VIII	— Demi-Chaine anglaise.

Figure 17 - Brunet's explanation on 'La Poule' (p.81) and 'Pastourelle' (p.87) figures.

The most important suggestion is, however, to let the joy of the music make us reflect it through our movements, and make us unite in dance. In

86 The order of steps and explanation of figures for *La Poule* and *Pastourelle*, amongst all other figures can be found on Brunet, Op.Cit., pp.81-91 <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k132492j.r>>.

the words of Moureau de Saint-Méry: ' [...] one who experiences a transport of joy, expresses it by similar movements in dancing; and if such joy is common to several individuals, it is natural to unite nearly involuntarily by the hands, by the arms, in a way that chains them together, their movements mingle and merge together'.<sup>87</sup>

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87 M.L.E. Moureau de Saint-Méry, *De la danse* (Parma, 1801), pp.1-2 <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/musdi.221.0/?sp=9>>.

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