

On Common Ground 2: Continuity and Change
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EARLY DANCE RESEARCH AND PERFORMANCE
PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE

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As guest speaker, I tried to choose a topic which would reflect my present concerns and, at the same time, address all those present. Inevitably, however, my own research in fifteenth to seventeenth-century Italian dance will dominate my remarks and outlook. Given the Conference's sub-title, "Continuity and Change", it seemed a fitting occasion to stand back and take stock of where we've come from, where we are, and where we might or ought to go. Rather than approach the subject chronologically, I intend to look at various aspects and raise questions.

1. Authenticity in early *music* has been a major question during the past ten years. What about authenticity in early *dance*?
2. We have come a long way in the last twenty years as regards reconstruction of choreographies found in original sources. But how representative of the dance of each period are the choreographies which were written down?
3. What about "The Marriage of Music and Dance", theme of the conference organized by Madeleine Inglehearn in 1991?¹ Are music and dance always related? Which comes first? When and how do music and dance, or the text, reflect each other (rhythmically, emotionally)? Does it always matter?
4. How does Dance History compare (in terms of scholarly research) with its sister disciplines: Musicology, Art History, Social and Cultural History, Dance Ethnology? Should we be interacting more?
5. How much are scholars (and performers) of Early Dance relying on inherited "truths", viewpoints, interpretations, and clichés? Does the considerable historiographical tradition of our young field need re-examining?
6. What are the advantages and disadvantages for the performer-scholar? How is the scholar helped or hindered by the actual "doing of" the choreographies?
7. Who should perform? And what? Do we need standards? and new ideas?

Each of these questions, which spill over into one other, could be the theme of an entire conference session or roundtable. I hope they will provoke thought and discussion.

AUTHENTICITY AND EARLY DANCE

On first reading *Authenticity and Early Music*, edited and introduced by Nicholas Kenyon,² I mentally substituted, throughout the various essays, the word "dance" for that of "music". (I was quite amused by some of the rigid positions taken by the purists, on the one hand, and the traditionalists on the other. Never would I fall into such traps, I told myself, until I came upon a few examples of questionable "authenticity" that I had and did, in fact, engage in.) Some of the questions and comments that struck me, raised also in Selma Jeanne Cohen's *Next Week Swan Lake*,³ are:

1. How do we interpret the content of a treatise or assess its importance at the time it was written? Was it typical of its period? or a reaction to some abuse of the time?⁴ Why was it written?
2. Are we under any moral obligation to try and fulfill the choreographer's intentions? How can these be discerned?⁵
3. What is the relation between performers' and scholars' work?
4. For a more authentic performance, have we learned to avoid automatic expressive reflexes with which we have been brought up (like, for musicians, the final *ritardando*)?
5. Is historic dress as important in re-creating the dances of the past as understanding the music, the social and cultural context, and knowing what the contemporary performance situations would have been?
6. What part in "an authentic performance" does conviction and vitality play,⁶ or a skilful programme – professionally performed and organized?⁷
7. Is our goal a museum presentation or a theatrical performance? Are we trying to recapture only precise steps, or the original spirit and audience reaction?⁸ Can we strive for both?

Discussing how to produce an "authentic" *Orfeo*, the late Nino Pirrotta (author, with Elena Povoledo, of *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*⁹; a great musicologist and man of letters), pointed out – during a convivial conference luncheon in Italy about fifteen years ago – that the first performance of Monteverdi's opera moved the audience to tears. Therefore, as important – or even more so – as using reproductions of old instruments and early baroque vocal and instrumental techniques, is musicality, and a style that speaks to and moves *today's* audience, culturally and socially different from that of the seventeenth century, and with different artistic values.¹⁰ According to musicologist Frederick Hammond, "Every production of early opera is a compromise... However, it is now taken for granted that the integrity of the score will be respected..., that the vocal ranges and characters of the singers will be appropriate, and that the orchestral forces will at least take into account period instrument sounds and performing practice. Stage-direction and dances still lag behind in historical *awareness* [my emphasis] (which is not to be confused with historical accuracy)."¹¹

The *Orfeo* staged in 1984 in Florence's Palazzo Vecchio (directed by Roger Norrington, with Kay Lawrence's choreography) dismayed early dancers. I, however, was excited by the "authenticity" of the shepherds' joy and conviction as they sang *and* danced. No one had told them that the 1610 Italian style was different from their vague choreography loosely based on Arbeau.¹² Moreover, according to contemporary treatises which discuss dance in musical theatre – *Il Corago*¹³ and Gianbattista Doni's *Trattato della musica scenica*¹⁴ – dancing while singing was the rule and was characterized by "chorality" – paths and formations, as opposed to virtuosity.¹⁵ Dancing while singing is confirmed in the final *ballo* of Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600), as well as in a letter written in 1608 by Giulio Caccini, composer of operas like *Euridice* and songs in "the new style", in which he affirms that "the type of sung, played and danced *ballo* has always been prized above all other *balli*".¹⁶

The question of how to present Monteverdi's *Orfeo* so that it is meaningful today is also relevant to productions of Shakespeare, for example, or the Restoration plays, whether with dance or without. The ball and *moresca* in Zeffirelli's *Romeo and Juliet* "work" (balletic style apart), and do so far better than if fifteenth-century *balli* had been used, or dances from Shakespeare's time, inasmuch as here the choreography matches both Shakespeare's fictitious medieval Italy and Zeffirelli's pseudo-authentic production.¹⁷ The final country dance in a mid-80s London staging of *The Way of the Worlde*, each actor dancing according to his/her role and physique, everyone chatting and relating to each other, was far more alive (dare I say, authentic?) than a contemporary Salzburg fringe-Festival production of Pepy's diary in which allaction stopped as "the dancers" entered, took their places, precisely performed their country dance, and retired to the wings.

Authentic reconstructions of dances of this century present similar problems. Recent endeavours to make "faithful reproductions" of Isadora Duncan choreographies and of modern dance from the 1930s have been both disastrous and inspiring. "This is exactly how it was done", is not enough, and risks being musty, passé, or an embarrassing caricature.¹⁸ At the European Dance Historian's conference in Stockholm in 1991, a young American dancer living and working in Sweden, performed, with a group of her students, some of Isadora's dances, which were both enchanting and powerful. A performance in 1993 for the Society of Dance History Scholar's conference on "dance and politics" included dances from the 1930s and 40s which were alive and convincing to the 1990s audience.¹⁹ Each reconstruction – or "recreation" – had been coached by the choreographer or one of the original dancers, so as to imbue the new performers (with their different, athletic, body-types and what we *assume* was their mental distance from the ballet's theme) with conviction and the *essence* of the piece. This conviction on the part of the dancers was also why the Stockholm "Isadora" reconstructions succeeded.

The question, "how can this be presented so as to interest and delight a specific audience", already existed in the seventeenth century. When Venetian, and other Italian operas were exported to – or composed in – France, French dances (more suited to local taste) were introduced or substituted.²⁰ Even within Italy, when an opera re-appeared in another city, it was never performed as an exact copy of the original. Particular preferences were taken into consideration, and "novelties" were promised.²¹ Frederick Hammond notes that, "Scholarly research can suggest what was essential and what changed from production to production."²² My point here is not that since there is no normative text, we are free to "recreate" dances as we wish, but that the *concept* of "authenticity" is a relative one.

The performance of early dance or music for an audience (like traditional village dance done on a stage) is, in itself, unauthentic.²³ Hence, performances today of dances of the past require that we imbue them with a special life, and this needs the same care that we give to their reconstruction. We need to ask *who* was dancing, and on *what occasion*? and question the assumption that all Renaissance dances had to do with courtship and were flirtatious.²⁴

So-called "literal" readings and interpretations of sources are occasionally considered to be synonymous with "authenticity". But just as a "literal translation" of an early text (which sounds "illiterate" in English) in no way conveys the style of the original, so

a French baroque dance whose tempo has been slowed down in order that every ornament be perfectly executed (as was done last summer at the Society of Dance History Scholars' conference in New York)²⁵ can no longer be called authentic.

Some musicologists and dance historians believe that, due to the lack of precise step descriptions, fifteenth-century dance can not (should not?) be reconstructed.²⁶ This implies that there is clarity in the centuries which follow and that later choreographies *can* with impunity be authentically reconstructed. But, as we know, there are any number of different "readings" of Feuillet's step notations, and of the timings of both steps and dances. Even Romantic ballets, as Selma Jeanne Cohen has pointed out, have not survived in their pristine state, partly because the nineteenth-century audience was "more interested in novelty than in an 'authentic', historically oriented reproduction of the sensation of a previous decade", which resulted in different choreographers, leading dancers, and composers, adding, deleting, and changing, though very little was ever written down.²⁷ (Despite this, *Swan Lake*, for most theatre-goers today, is simply "the one and only" *Swan Lake*). Recent research into this period by musicologist Marian Smith shows how mime scenes have been eliminated from modern performances of classics like *Giselle*, with the result that the specially composed "musique parlante" no longer has any meaning.²⁸

Returning to the supposed impossibility of authenticity in fifteenth-century dance reconstruction, it is worth pointing out that, despite the lack of exact step descriptions, the timing of each step is known, and enough clues are available to attempt lifting Guglielmo Ebreo's and Domenico's dances off the page and out of the library-museum and bringing them to life. Besides, more is known about the style and ornamentation of these dances than for many other periods. The performance or reconstruction of dances can hardly be thought "authentic" when only steps and choreographies are reproduced and style is ignored.

Authenticity, then, is about more than copying the dress of the period, though it is true that corsets, ruffs, lengths of skirt, weight of clothing, all give us important information. Nonetheless, jumping to conclusions, "If they wore that, they would have had to dance like this" can be risky. Jitterbugging and doing the lindy in spike heels, as in 1949-50, will appear impossible to dance historians 200 years from now! Hence, when you ladies are in your full Italian 1590s dress, put on your "piannelle" (chopines) and start your *gagliarda* all over again!

In a recent article in *Dance Research Journal*,²⁹ James Penrod has pointed out that "some critics question the validity of reconstruction of specific historical dance works, citing concerns such as the ability of today's dancer to move with the same technical and expressive qualities and contextual meaning as in the original. Others raise the issue of whether or not a reconstruction is reinterpretation of the original rather than an attempt at authentically duplicating the original."³⁰ Though these points are "always worth consideration", Penrod believes that students need to have access to "tools of research, documentation and reconstruction".

HOW REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DANCE OF A PERIOD ARE THE EXTANT WRITTEN CHOREOGRAPHIES?

“Music doesn’t have to be heard to have meaning. It can be written [as can a dance treatise] as a presentation manuscript, which gives the work legitimacy to both the donor and the patron.” This statement was made at the International Musicology Society’s conference in London last summer (1997) at a panel on Music, Politics and Patronage in Spain and its dominions in the seventeenth century. The questions that it provoked included: What was the function of music [dance]? How was it perceived? How was it transmitted?

Because of their tangibility, specialists in early dance (myself included), tend to treat the surviving choreographies of each period as if *they are* the dance of that period (or at least a sector of the contemporary dance, like “court”, “social”, or “theatrical”). However, as dance manuscripts continue to turn up, viewpoints necessarily widen. Luzio Compasso’s *Ballo della Gagliarda*, from 1560³¹ has helped place the “Caroso-Negri-Lupi-Lutij”³² *gagliarda* a good thirty years earlier; and the fifteenth-century “*fiorito* dances” from Montefiascone have shown that, at least in that small city-state, “classics” like “Rostiboli Gioioso” were being danced completely ornamented with jumps and rapid turns.³³ The similarity between the musical construction of Arbeau’s *basse-dance* (“*Iouyssance vous donneray*”) and that of Tuscan choreographies, one from *mid*-sixteenth-century³⁴ and others from *early* in the century³⁵ (these latter characterized by a squareness in metre and stanzaic form), has suggested to Angene Feves that the sixteenth-century French *basse-dance* may well have originated in Italy.³⁶

Not only do newly discovered or recently (re)examined sources alter and expand our views regarding what was or might have been danced in a given period, but there also existed, in all eras, an infinite number of dancing-masters about whose lives and work we know little or nothing. Like many choreographers and dancers today, they didn’t “publish”. (This is presumably because they were too busy, and because choreographies for spectacles are almost never notated for the dancers “to read”, or for posterity, and hence exist – if at all – as shorthand aides-memoires for the choreographer only. Besides, writing about dance is difficult and not everybody’s cup of tea). In fifteenth-century Italy, Lorenzo Lavagnolo was preferred by at least three courts over Guglielmo Ebreo.³⁷ (Why, one wonders. Was Lorenzo’s repertoire and style different from Guglielmo’s?) In 1602, Negri published his list of *thirty-six* dancing-masters, about whose work only Caroso’s and part of Compasso’s is known.³⁸ Carnival and end-of-year programmes at Italian Jesuit Colleges, together with records of payments and other archival documents, reveal the names of still more dancing-masters, as well as those of choreographers for spectacles and operas in, for example, Bernini’s Rome.³⁹

Another source for dances and dancing-masters which has been given scant attention is that of dancing-schools. Frank D’Accone, in his new book, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*,⁴⁰ publishes documents, like school advertisements and teachers’ contracts, which mention dances which were in vogue around 1500 and earlier. Besides the *gagliarda*, these include the *martorella* and the *calata*, referred to elsewhere in literary and musical sources (see below).

For fifteenth- to early-seventeenth-century Italy (as I have pointed out elsewhere),⁴¹ the later classifications of “social” and “theatrical” dance are, for the most part, meaningless. More appropriate is an understanding of the context and the intention of each dance: *when* they were danced, and *where, why* and *by whom*. *Bassedanze, balli* and *balletti* were *not* merely “recreational” (that is, “social”) dances, as were, instead, the fifteenth-century *saltarello* and the seventeenth-century Venetian “promenades”,⁴² with no limit on the number of participants, no rehearsal and formal training necessary and, usually, no specific music or performance place. They were, instead, “composed” or “art” dances, created by a specific dancing-master, in accordance with particular aesthetic principles, to be viewed, as well as performed, on private, informal occasions and during great public festivities.

In the fifteenth century, however, there was a kind of dance which was reserved for spectacles and entertainments. This was the *moresca*, mimed and danced “tramezzi” performed between banquet courses and acts of plays, and the forerunner of the sixteenth-century *intermedio*. Unfortunately, almost no dance-steps and very little music survive for either of these genres, though brief accounts of *moresche* abound.⁴³ The descriptions, albeit succinct, together with the occasional archival document, suggest that many of the *moresche* and *intermedi* would have been interpreted in mime. An order for “four hands” of black German cloth for a costume, as well as 180 hawk bells, is, to date, the sole testimony for a performance of “mimes” which took place in Naples in 1473 for Eleonora of Aragon’s wedding.⁴⁴ (One can only wonder what sort of dance the “mimes” of the black cloth did.) Negri’s *Gratie d’amore* has descriptions of four allegorical *intermedi*, typical for the period, which were performed in 1599 between the acts of the pastoral play *Armenia* (and which ended with his “Brando Alta Regina” for four shepherds and four nymphs).⁴⁵ What is significant about the *moresche* is that it was in fifteenth-century Italy, during the flowering of the Renaissance (and not in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century France, as dance historians continue to reiterate), that the ancient Roman art of pantomime described by Lucian was first revived.⁴⁶ Moreover, the roots of *Le Balet comique de la Reine*,⁴⁷ of early versions of masques (like Ben Jonson’s “The Masque of Queens”)⁴⁸ and of mock-battle dances (such as that performed for Henri II’s entry into Lyons in 1548),⁴⁹ are firmly planted in the Quattrocento *moresche*.⁵⁰ This tradition of mime and of expressivity in dance for spectacle which began in the fifteenth century, continued in Italy right up through the nineteenth century.

Yet another source for dances, besides those included in the contemporary treatises, and one which is particularly helpful in filling the gap created by the dearth of Italian seventeenth-century choreographies, is the considerable body of music for dance composed by musicians attached to courts or working for prominent personages.⁵¹ Together with the popular *gagliarda* and the multi-partite *balletto*, is the ever-present, and clearly fashionable, *corrente*, though the lack of any descriptions of how to perform the dance (with the exception of Negri’s cursory and obscure attempt⁵²) hardly gives that impression. While some of these Seicento dance-music compositions were intended only for the ear, others were definitely for the feet.⁵³

Dance (and dance music) in spectacles and opera in seventeenth-century Italy is finally beginning to be explored by scholars.⁵⁴ As with the *intermedi*, there is little choreographic or specific step information, though what has so far emerged is that there

was a great deal of dance in, for example, Monteverdi, Venetian opera, and in Rome under the Barberinis. (It is significant that some of the music for this dancing in no way resembles what we are used to think of as “dance music” – neither Italian nor French.)⁵⁵ Besides the dances (lost or never written down) created by little- or un-known dancing-masters, and those taught at dancing-schools, those for *moresche*, *intermedi*, and operas, and those performed to composed music for dancing, there remains the still unexplored area of traditional (“folk”) dances. Images and chronicles confirm the popularity of round dances (absent from the treatises but also used in *bassedanze* for nymphs and queens of antiquity in allegorical *moresche*).⁵⁶ The traditional dance that went on for hours in country, town and court, was the *saltarello*, while its cousin, the *piva*, was enjoyed by peasant and burgher alike. Other names continue to turn up in fifteenth- to seventeenth-century literary and musical sources, like: the *matriciana* (a version is still danced today), the *contadina* (possibly related to Lambranzi’s “Contadineta”⁵⁷), the *martorella* (which appears in some early sixteenth-century Sieneese pastoral plays),⁵⁸ and the *calata*.⁵⁹ Even if there isn’t, and may never be, information on how these dances were performed (“folk” dances were rarely written down in any country before the 1900s), they help to provide a picture of dancing in an historical period that goes well beyond the dances described in a few treatises. Urban VIII’s physician, Giulio Mancini, dilettante, connoisseur, collector, and author of a small treatise, “On the Origin and Nobility of Dance” (circa 1620), refers to several, mostly Tuscan, “traditional” dances with which he was familiar, probably from his youth in Siena.⁶⁰

ARE MUSIC AND DANCE ALWAYS RELATED?

At a recent concert of “danced and masqued theatre” from Thailand, it struck me how often the music was, apparently, at least, completely independent from the danced and mimed emotions and action. I was reminded of some Händel and seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century French operas in which the dancing of monsters, furies, or winds, was exactly the same (and to the same music) as that of entrées or generic dance types (*minuets*, *bourées*, *sarabandes*) performed elsewhere in the same opera by princes and heroes. I began to wonder when, how and where (that is, in what cultures) music and dance reflect (or first started to reflect) each other (or the text), in terms of affect or temperament, and rhythm. (Giovanni Ambrosio – né Guglielmo Ebreo – wrote in the 1470s that the good dancer *had* to portray the *quality of particular instruments* which, in turn, played the same dance tune;⁶¹ and even earlier, in 1463, Guglielmo said that “when the four voices are so composed as to be in perfect harmony...they move all the senses...with the sweetest pleasure. So that often those listening...find themselves compelled by this sweetness and melody to perform some outward movement with their bodies, expressing what they feel within”.⁶² Yet Monteverdi’s dance music for the *Ballo delle Ingrate* is absolutely traditional Caroso-Negri style, with no connection whatsoever to the anguish expressed in the music before and after; though the same Monteverdi composed two *balli* for “Movete al mio bel suon” (1637) which are unrecognizable as traditional “dance music”.

During the “Marriage of Music and Dance” conference, moderator Christopher Page asked something like, “do music and dance always go, or need to go, together?”.⁶³ Most of the audience murmured assent or nodded their heads. For me, on the other hand, it is

always a delight to dance “against” the music, as in hemiola galliards; or when doing three *contrapassi* to two bars of *bassadanza* or, more challenging, *quadernaria* music; or when performing *saltarello* to music which alternates between 6/8 and 3/4. Unexpected are the consistently uneven phrases (5, 7, 7½, 9 and 11 bars, almost always in the second part) in Salomone Rossi’s otherwise very danceable *gagliarde*.⁶⁴

This leads to the question of the relationship between composed stylised dance-music (Dowland’s pavans, Bach’s sarabandes, Sweelink’s elaborate settings) and the actual choreographed dances.⁶⁵ Even if the dance music was specifically “per camera” and not “per ballare”, should it be automatically dismissed by the dancer today?⁶⁶ Was there not another, “abstract” way in which the composer “danced”?⁶⁷ While thus far not a major concern of dancers, this subject is of primary interest to musicologists like Rebecca Harris-Warwick and Tim Crawford.

Finally, a brief look at which comes first, music or dance⁶⁸ (or text, though not the subject of this discussion). Guglielmo Ebreo says that when composing a *ballo*, one should *first* decide on the mode (or key) and invent the tenor or melody.⁶⁹ It is also clear, from a few dances by Guglielmo, Domenico, Caroso and Negri,⁷⁰ as well as from those early sixteenth-century dances which are concordant with contemporary popular songs and *frottole*,⁷¹ that the dancing-masters did use, at least on some occasions, pre-existent music to set their choreographies. This order – music-dance – is reversed by Saint-Hubert in 1640,⁷² as well as by the late sixteenth-century *Gioco della Cieca*, in which the “movements and gestures” of the danced-game were planned first, the music being composed in a second phase.⁷³ (The text was added last.) I am not convinced, from this example, that the changing rhythms and lengths of the musical phrases were a result of specific dance steps.⁷⁴ It seems to me that then, as now, choreographers could work either from pre-composed music, or they could give the musician general (or, at times, particular⁷⁵) elements of their choreography, such as metre and tempo, dance-type (if appropriate), specific actions or affects to be reflected in the music, duration, repeats. However, in whatever way one interprets the author of the *Gioco della Cieca*, this is certainly an area that deserves further research (as is being done by Jonathan Morgan who generously shared some of his findings with me).⁷⁶

DANCE HISTORY AND ITS SISTER DISCIPLINES

In recent years there has been a growing interest in dance history on the part of art historians, musicologists, and social historians, which has meant including writings on dance as source material for Renaissance, Baroque, Romantic and Pre-Romantic studies⁷⁷ and invitations to participate in conferences and contribute to journals. These same specialists have also quoted dance historians, even when, unfortunately, the latter’s statements about early dance have been dubious. Were the origins of the “Nizzarda” and “Corrente” only French?⁷⁸ Was Monteverdi’s *Ballo delle Ingrate* a “full-length French-style ballet” reflecting “the influence of the French court ballet and Rinuccini’s periodic sojourns in France”?⁷⁹ Are the three Graces in Botticelli’s “Primavera” really dancing Lorenzo de’ Medici’s “Venus”?⁸⁰ As we shall see shortly, part of the problem here is the persistence of an early dance historiography based on unquestioned and re-cycled information.

Despite their interest in dance, it is significant that few historians' footnotes refer to the work of either musicologists or dance historians. One musicologist suggests that this is in part because we forget how arcane our writings are, tending to write for ourselves.⁸¹ What are aspects of early dance that might interest social and cultural historians or art historians? The various analyses of dances (which I, for one, tend to find repetitive)? Dance analysis (like music analysis and attribution in art) has its place and importance. (It can be of value and interest to musicologists who, like Rebecca Harris-Warrick, gain new insights into dance music.) My concern is, are dance **history scholars** and *conferences* devoting too much time to this aspect of early dance?⁸²

Why is it that musicologists have been, and still are, responsible for the discovery of most of the "new" documents and sources in Renaissance and Baroque dance? Part of the problem is certainly the lack of degree programmes available for students interested in *Early Dance*, and those universities that have programmes in dance history usually do not have the same sort of requirements as do the departments of musicology, history, art history, or even dance ethnology, where, for example, two foreign languages are often considered a prerequisite for archival research or field work. (Indeed, I know of four students, "mature" and not, who are seeking doctorates related to late sixteenth-century Italian dance in the departments of History, English, and Italian Literature.) What kind of research *are* early-dance historians engaging in? How much is based on un-checked or even questionable secondary sources? Is there enough *new* research? Is the standard of scholarship on a par with that of our sister disciplines? A little more than ten years ago, a conference on Guglielmo Ebreo took place in Pesaro. It was a very exciting occasion. My proposal last year for an interdisciplinary conference on "Domenico da Piacenza – his times and art", to be held at Harvard University's Berenson "Villa I Tatti" in Florence, has encountered difficulty in finding, "not social historians, musicologists, art and theatre historians, or iconographers, but dance historians who have engaged in new research in the last ten or fifteen years".⁸³

I have noticed, furthermore, that many dance historians are hermetic, tending to limit themselves to their own specific field, working in a vacuum. Much, instead, can be learned from colleagues in cultural history, dance ethnology and anthropology,⁸⁴ musicology, and art history about particular periods, contexts, scholarly trends and methodologies. Can one be an expert focusing *only* on the dance of one's period?

In their research, dance historians (myself included) must also be careful, when reading contemporary accounts of festivities, not to lift the dance out of its historical, cultural, socio-economic and political contexts, thereby distorting its importance. This has been done, for example, with "the ballet" Hercules and the Centaurs, performed during a banquet for Eleonora of Aragon on her way to her spouse Ercole (Hercules) d'Este.⁸⁵ In point of fact, the *ballo* is reported by Eleonora (former pupil of Guglielmo Ebreo), and by chroniclers, in only a few lines, whereas the meticulous descriptions of the magnificent and costly banquet with its many courses and splendid decorations comprises several pages.

EARLY DANCE HISTORIOGRAPHY IN RESEARCH AND PERFORMANCE

I began catching myself repeating certain "basic truths" relative to early dance while working on ornamented versions of three Quattrocento dance hits. These *balli*, the work

of a notary from the independent city-state of Montefiascone (not far from Rome), demolished with one blow the accepted dogmas – laid down and perpetuated by dance historians and musicologists – that the fifteenth-century dances came from Lombardy, were reserved for the court or the nobility, and were rather simple from a technical point of view.⁸⁶ Questioning both myself (how do I know?) and familiar clichés (why?), resulted in articles in *Dance Research*⁸⁷ and *Dance Chronicle*⁸⁸ in which I attempted to deal with such concepts – at least as regards Italy – as “court dance” (many cities in Italy were republics and had no court); “baroque dance” (intended as French-style seveneenth- and eighteenth-century dance, inferring that there was no dance in Bernini’s Italy); “Renaissance dance” (often used to denote the Caroso-Negri style, circa 1600: the Renaissance period in England and northern Europe, but long since past in Italy);⁸⁹ the popularity and importance of dance in the Quattrocento and the high esteem in which dancing-masters were held (for the most part *not* confirmed by salaries, or by accounts of festivities – especially when the dance is seen in the context of the entire description);⁹⁰ as well as other indiscriminately perpetuated maxims, like: the *Balet Comique de la Reine* was “the first ballet”, and Monteverdi’s operas were born from the French court-ballets, neither of which takes into account the Italian antecedents of *moresche*, *mascherate* and *intermedi*. More recently I have also begun questioning the very dance iconography which, in the past, I used to illustrate fifteenth-century steps and dances, inasmuch as some of the images are fakes or nineteenth-century re-makes (like the so-called “Adimari *cassone*”), or are based on artistic conventions.⁹¹

I believe we must re-examine our own historiography, though even an historically incorrect transmitted myth has its historic significance. Inherited views, such as the weighty historiographical tradition concerning Philip II – so difficult to throw off – must, instead, be questioned. Princes, like Philip, created their own images which continue to be more pervasive than any articles in musicological journals! Therefore, if at a specific time and place, music (and dance) were considered essential attributes for a King, can we affirm today that a particular monarch truly loved dancing, or are we left wondering if this interest was, instead, part of the image and the (historically significant) myth.⁹²

Is there something *positive* we can do besides simply deconstructing the old historiography? I believe there is. We can look for new evidence and connections, as is being done in musicology where the latest publications (like *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome* and *Rethinking Music*) are about “New discoveries which force a radical re-evaluation”,⁹³ or “examine music history and cultural histories of music”,⁹⁴ and “provide an up-to-date account of the social contexts in which people create, perform, perceive...and react to music”.⁹⁵ A new area of inquiry might be the relationship between, and comparison of, French and Italian dance (and dancers), from the fifteenth-century *moresche*, the sixteenth-century *intermedi*, the seventeenth-century *Commedia dell’arte*, the early eighteenth-century Italian grotesque dancers (described by John Weaver as “inimitable modern mimes” next to whom “the French could never come”),⁹⁶ right up through pre-classic ballet. What, for instance, caused artists, actors, choreographers, singers to leave Rome in the 1670s and turn to Paris? Why did the French like Italian seventeenth-century opera, but not their dances? What part did mime play in Italian (French) dance? Does the concept of “art” and “popular” *music* apply to Italian *dance*? What and where did the bourgeoisie dance in the Renaissance?⁹⁷

Yet another question, raised by Selma Jeanne Cohen, is when and why was more emphasis put on virtuosity in the dance, than on expression?⁹⁸ And, finally (for the moment, at least), is there documented evidence that Italian dances and style were in vogue in Elizabeth's England?

The same sort of historiography present in much early-dance research continues to permeate early-dance performance. For decades after the ground-breaking work of Mabel Dolmetsch and Karl-Heinz Taubert, dance groups simply repeated the findings of these pioneers. More recently, reconstructors have gone back to original sources and questioned the assumptions of earlier interpretations so that, for example, the reading of pendulum swings on the part of musicologists has influenced the performance tempi of many French baroque dances.⁹⁹ Some groups, however, continue to practice an "early" early-dance style, becoming attached to one way of doing things, and fighting change with such claims as "It doesn't *feel* right" (on, one wonders, a twentieth-century, or sixteenth-century body?). Howard Mayer Brown has pointed out that, "The luxury of alternative possibilities and endless debate is clearly not one that can be enjoyed by a performer, who needs to know what he must do at a particular performance, and who also seems to need the psychological protection of actually believing in what he is doing...To a good scholar [however], no question can ever be closed. All our most cherished notions should always remain open for discussion, debate, and correction."¹⁰⁰ Hence, though decisions have to be made by performers, the doors must be left open by researchers, by reconstructors, and by teachers of early dance.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES FOR THE PERFORMER-SCHOLAR

Most early-dance scholars began as performers and "fell into" research. Those scholars who have not performed or "danced out" reconstructions are limited when writing about choreographies. On the other hand, performers who start writing about dance are often unable to deal with anything other than choreographies. The problem, as I see it (and I again refer back to conferences like the recent meeting in New York of the Society of Dance **History Scholars**), is that, while of interest and value to reconstructors, to *teachers* of dance history, and to some musicologists, early dance research presentations tend, for the most part, to be about analysis, interpretation, and reconstruction, and *not* dance *history*.¹⁰¹ An outstanding exception is Sandra Hammond, whose expertise is pre-Romantic ballet. She believes very strongly that her scholarly – historical – writing is a direct outgrowth of her dancing.

Michael Baxandall, art historian and author of *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (which correlates Guglielmo Ebreo's aesthetic principles with contemporary artistic tenets),¹⁰² complimented me on my Guglielmo book. Going against the old dichotomy which separates "art and science" (*i.e.*, the university and scholarship) from "practice" (the conservatory and concert hall),¹⁰³ he told me, "You can write about it because you've done it".

While it is clearly an advantage to be able to reconstruct and execute the dances of an historic period, or of a particular dancing-master, I believe that we need to develop more historians who go beyond choreographic and performance analysis, and who use and search out primary source materials.

WHO SHOULD PERFORM? DO WE NEED STANDARDS?

It is certainly not sufficient to simply read through early choreographies, handle old dance-notation manuscripts, or peruse facsimile editions of treatises. These dances *must* be performed or they stay on the fading pages to be enjoyed by the very few. As we well know, the dances of a specific era and country help to make that moment in history come alive and take on another dimension. I am concerned, however, about the standard of public performances of early dance. Are we giving both uninitiated and specialized audiences the best and most authentic picture of period dances as possible?

Professional musicians who would not tolerate having a beginning pianist play in public (for – or not – a paying audience) do not hesitate to organize, and perform in, early dance concerts, though they are far from being advanced amateurs. A low level performance gives an audience – knowledgeable or not in music or dance of the time – an *unfair* picture. I am not suggesting that all amateur performances are poor and that all professional ones have no faults. Audiences have criticized well-known companies for under-rehearsed performances, for not using live music, as well as for the dancers' lack of warmth or expressivity. According to Shirley Wynne, choreographer and specialist in baroque dance, only early dance scholars and performers can be – and *must* be – critics of early dance performances, not only because neither music nor dance critics are qualified, but because it signifies a commitment and responsibility towards their (our) field. If something doesn't "work" in a performance, Wynne cautions, or you don't "like it", you must ask yourself, why.¹⁰⁴ (Analysing why something *doesn't* work, and asking oneself, "how would *I* do it", can be sobering, particularly when one has no ready answer; and it may well result in new ideas.)

Returning to the problem of who should perform, some questions to consider might be: Why do amateurs want to perform? Are there particular venues which are more suitable for amateur performances?¹⁰⁵ What repertoire is used? Why? People of all ages should of course have the opportunity to dance for their own enjoyment. But I do wonder at performances of the same dances, mostly Arbeau, executed in the same old way, according to someone else's instructions. I also wonder about dance parties with forty or one hundred people dancing Italian dances meant for *one* couple and mixing these art dances with for-as-many-as-will or country dances, with little or no difference in style; and mixing dances from Italy, from France and from England, and from both the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Continuing the questions: Is suitable music used in performance? Is it well played? With appropriate instruments (especially regarding fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian dance music)? Are the tempi correct? What is given the most important place in the preparation of a performance: a careful reconstruction? the music? the costumes? (Are the costumes so rich and handsome that they take attention away from the dances and the music?) What impact – positive or negative – have these amateur performances on the field of early dance? Are people inspired or turned off by these performances? Why? Whom are we attracting to early dance? (What age range?) Do musicologists and historians get a correct idea of what the dances are about? Do modern dancers? and those colleagues specialized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who often belittle our work?

Does early dance performance need revitalizing? Should we be considering new possibilities, such as attempting (as some of you have done with masques¹⁰⁶) to recon-

struct *moresche* and *intermedi* (in mime?), and tackling *balli* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musical entertainments and operas. Should we experiment more, and be more daring in the field of performance (while, at the same time, not losing contact in our explorative work with scholarly findings from treatises – dance and others, chronicles, iconography, and so on)? And what about working with modern dancers and choreographers, using early-dance steps, figures, and music as the basis of improvisations?¹⁰⁷ A collaboration would undoubtedly be profitable for all.

By way of conclusion, I would like to point out how in Italy new techniques for fresco restoration continue to be invented and put into practice. However, once a fresco has been restored in a particular way (as those by Piero della Francesca in Arezzo were forty years ago), nothing can be done to change it with new, more “correct” techniques. How fortunate we are in our field of Early Dance, where we can **continue** to **change** our reconstructions according to new viewpoints and new evidence.¹⁰⁸

NOTES

1. 9–11 August. Proceedings published by The National Early Music Association (Cambridge), 1991.
2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; rpt. 1991.
3. *Next Week Swan Lake: Reflections On Dance and Dances*. Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.
4. See N. Kenyon’s “Introduction”, *Authenticity in Early Music*, 13-14.
5. *Ibid.* Both Kenyon and P. Brett (Ch.4) discuss the composer’s intentions and the kind of evidence which may be relevant.
6. Cohen, S.J. *Next Week, Swan Lake*, 162.
7. Kenyon (*Authenticity*, p.3), writing of David Munrow.
8. See Cohen, S.J. *Swan Lake*, 142, 144; 151-2
9. Transl. Eales, K. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
10. S.J. Cohen discusses expression and its perception by culturally different audiences in *Swan Lake*, 98-9. See also Ch. 2, “Actions and Passions”.
11. Hammond, unpublished paper, Rome, 1997, “Notes on the Production of Baroque Opera: Il Sant’Alessio”, p. 7.
12. Thoinot Arbeau (pseud. for Jehan Tabourot), *Orchésographie*, Langres, 1588, 1589; with expanded title, 1596. Facs. rpts.: (1588) with German transl. Hildesheim: Olms, 1989; (1588) Langres, 1988; (1596) Geneva: Minkoff, 1972; copy with intro. by L. Fonta, Paris, 1888, rpt. Bologna: Forni, 1969, has steps and music misaligned. English transl. M.S. Evans, new ed. J Sutton, New York: Dover, 1967.
13. *Il Corago o vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche* (“The Corago or Some Advice about How to Stage Dramatic Works”) was written some time between 1628 and 1637. It was published for the first time in 1983 in Florence by Olschki, edited by P. Fabbri and A. Pompilio. It

is anonymous, though it has been suggested that the author may well be Pierfrancesco Rinuccini, son of the poet Ottavio. See also Savage, R. and Sansone, M. “*Il Corago* and the Staging of Early Opera: four chapters from an anonymous treatise circa 1630”, in *Early Music*, 1989, **17** (4). The *Corago* has a few chapters that deal with dance, though the promised chapter on mime is missing.

14. Written between 1633-35 and included in Doni’s *Lyra Barberini*, first printed in Florence in 1763 (rt. facs. Bologna: Forni, 1974). For more information on this treatise and *Il Corago*, see Sparti, B. “Baroque or Not Baroque – Is that the Question?” or Dance in 17th-century Italy”. In: Chiarle, A. (editor) *L’Arte della danza ai tempi di Claudio Monteverdi*, Proceedings of the Conference, Turin, 6-7 September 1993. Turin: Istituto per i Beni Musicali in Piemonte, 1996, 81-4.
15. For “passeggi” and the portrayal of symbolic figures, see Sardoni, A. “La sirena e l’angelo: la danza barocca a Roma tra meraviglia ed edificazione morale” (for Jesuit College productions), in *La Danza Italiana*, 1984, **4**, 22-3; Savage and Sansoni, “*Il Corago*”, 503; and Sparti, B. “Baroque or Not Baroque”, 83 and n. 59 for relevant bibliography. Mime also played a part in the dance for musical theatre.
16. Quoted in Carter, T. “A Florentine Wedding of 1608”. *Acta Musicologica*, 1983, **55**, 89-108. The lyric-dramatic poet Gianbattista Guarino, in his *ballo*, the *Gioco della Cieca* (part of his play *Il pastor fido*), goes against this tradition of dancers singing and, as a support for his decision, cites Lucian (*On the Dance*) as saying that in ancient times singing while dancing became too tiring and too difficult to do well. See Fenlon, I. *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, **i**, 149-52, and **ii**, docs.76-78. The *Pastor fido* and its *Gioco della cieca* was performed seven times between 1584 and 1598, and first printed in 1590. A definitive edition was published in 1602. Guarino claims that he has done the “seemingly impossible” by setting words to already composed *balli* music.
17. This is not meant disparagingly. Zeffirelli’s costumes, for example, give the *impression* of authenticity.
18. Lecture-demonstration by Hortense Kooluris, one of the “Isadorables”, presented in Athens in September 1991 during the 5th International Conference, *Dance and Ancient Greece*.
19. One former dancer, however, complained to me that a particular choreography “wasn’t like that”.
20. See, for example, the dances in Cavalli’s operas, like *Egisto* (I. Alm, private correspondence). During his difficult stay in Paris 1660-62, the original three acts of his *Xerse* were redistributed into five and supplied with *entrées de ballet* by Lully. (Alm, and Walker, T. “Cavalli, Francesco”. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Sadie, S. (editor) London: Macmillan, 1980, **IV**, 25. Caproli composed his *Nozze di Peleo e di Theti* for the French court, and while the text and music are Italian, the ballets at the end of each act were so French that young Louis XIV performed in them (Caluori, E. *New Grove*, **III**,

- 760). Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo*, likewise composed in Paris, also included French dances.
21. Gianturco, C. "Per richiamare e divertire gli spettatori dalla seria applicazione che l'azione richiede": Prologhi, Intermedi e Balli per il Teatro di Tordinona". *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 1996, 4 (1), 20-21.
 22. Hammond, "Notes", *op cit*, 4.
 23. In his chapter, "Tradition, Anxiety, and the Musical Scene" in *Authenticity in Early Music (op cit)*, 71, R.P. Morgan notes that "early music was not intended to be performed in concert. Indeed, if we take the notion of context at all seriously, we are left with the painful realization that *any* concert performance of this music constitutes a basic perversion of its original intentions".
 24. In 15th-century Italy, young ladies frequently danced together. In private, this was usually for their own delectation. In public, the dance often served the purpose of allowing the performers (whether ladies only or men and women together) to be seen in all their magnificence – *i.e.*, power. See Sparti, B. *Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, 57, 59, 61. The balls which took place at Louis XIV's court confirmed the social hierarchies among the participants.
 25. Thomas Baird and Hugh Murphy during their lecture-demonstration, "The Practical Application of 18th-Century French Music Treatises to the Reconstruction of Virtuoso Solo Dances". No instrumentalist would think of slowing down a movement of a Beethoven sonata *in performance* so as to be able to play with perfection all the fast notes!
 26. I have heard this from Richard Ralph and Sibylle Dahms.
 27. *Next Week, Swan Lake (op cit)*, -6.
 28. Unpublished paper presented at the International Musicology Society conference, London, 1997.
 29. 1997, 29 (1), 3-4.
 30. Penrod cites here Marcia Siegel's "Loss and Recall" in *Dance Research Journal*, 1996, 28 (2), 4-9; and also A.W. Smith, on such terms as "reconstruction", "recreation", "resetting", and "revival", in his paper "*Flickers: A Fifty-Year Old Flicker of the Weidman Tradition*", in *Dance ReConstructed: Conference Proceedings on Modern Dance Art Past, Present, Future – October 16-17, 1992*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Society of Dance History Scholars, 1993, especially 248-51.
 31. Facs. rpt. Freiburg: "fa-gisis" Musik- und Tanzedition, 1995. Introduction, B. Sparti.
 32. Caroso, Fabritio, *Il Ballarino*, Venice: Ziletti, 1581; facs. rpt. New York: Broude Brothers, 1967; *Nobiltà di dame*, Venice: il Muschio, 1600; facs. rpt. Bologna: Forni, 1970 (English transl., J. Sutton with music transcribed and edited by F.M. Walker, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); *Raccolta di varij balli* (a reissue, with a new title page, of *Nobiltà di dame*), Rome: Facciotti, 1630. Negri, Cesare, *Le gratie d'amore*, Milan: Ponti & Piccaglia, 1602; facs. rpt. New York: Broude Brothers, 1969 and Bologna: Forni, 1969; reissued as *Nuove inventioni di balli*, Milan: Bordone, 1604. Lupi, Livio, *Mutanze di gagliarda*,

- tordiglione, passo e mezzo, canari...* Palermo: Carrara, 1600; *Libro di gagliarda, tordiglione...* Palermo: Maringo, 1607. Lutij, Prospero, *Opera bellissima nella quale si contengono molte partite, et passeggi di gagliarda*. Perugia: Orlando, 1589.
33. See Sparti, B. "Rôti Bouilli: Take Two; El Gioioso Fiorito". In *Studi Musicali*, 1995, **14** (2).
 34. "Ruota di Fortuna". The dance is one of four choreographies with music now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence (MS Magl. XIX, 31, cc.1-6) and published by Corti, G. "Cinque balli toscani del Cinquecento" (but with only musical incipits). In *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 1977, **12** (1), 73-82.
 35. I am thinking, for example, of "La Traditora" (choreography in the "Il Papa" MS now in the New York Public Library Dance Collection [*ZBD-26]) and the apparently concordant music by the same name in the Basle University Library, as well as the *balletto* "Se non dormi donna ascolta", Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (MS Antinori 13), 1510 [11], and Petrucci's music version in Libro 3 of his *Frottole* (1504). I discussed the dances from these two manuscripts and their possible concordant music (same titles) in the paper, "Would You Like To Dance This Frottola: Choreographic concordance in two early 16th-century (Tuscan?) sources" at the International Musicology Society conference in London, 1997. I am preparing an edition and translation of the manuscripts and intend to include the "musical concordances" in an Appendix. In all *three* Tuscan dances mentioned here, as well as in "Iouyssance", four bars of three beats each correspond to one "measure" of four beats, or a *doppio*. This is the case whether the dances have a time signature of 3, C or C-stroke.
 36. Private conversation with the author.
 37. See Sparti, *Guglielmo* (*op cit*), p. 32, n. 22.
 38. A choreography by Compasso exists in a treatise (c.1600-1614) now in a private collection.
 39. See, among others, Sardoni, "La sirena e l'angelo", *op cit*, especially 25-6. F. Hammond, in his *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 238, 243) includes such pertinent information as Taddeo Barberini's dancing-master Stefano de' Giudici, teaching "the *musici* of [the composer] Mazzocchi for several months", and that for the opera *Il Palazzo Incantato* (1642, L. Rossi's music and Giulio Rospigliosi's libretto), "the dances were choreographed by Martio Carubini".
 40. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997. D'Accone reports the names of many dancing-masters, often with information about their income and profession (648-55).
 41. "Breaking Down Barriers in the Study of Renaissance and Baroque Dance". In *Dance Chronicle*, 1996, **19** (3), 267-8.
 42. See Alm, I. "Operatic Ballroom Scenes and the Arrival of French Social Dance in Venice". In *Studi Musicali*, 1996, **25** (1-2), 345-71, especially 347.
 43. See among others: Sparti, B. "Antiquity as Inspiration in the Renaissance of Dance: The Classical Connection and 15th-Century Italian Dance", in *Dance*

- Chronicle*, 1993, **16** (3), 378-81; Sparti, B. "The Function and Status of Dance in the 15th-Century Italian Courts", in *Dance Research*, 1996, **14** (1), 44-5; Pirrotta, N. "Classical Theatre, *intermedi* and *frottola*...", in *Music and Theatre (op cit)*, 37-75; and Pontremoli, A. and La Rocca, P. *Il Ballare Lombardo*, Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1987, 204-34. The *moresca* seems also to have been a specific dance-type. See, for example, D'Accone, *Civic Muse*, 653.
44. 27 June: "Si danno a Baldassarre Ferraiuolo, merciaio, un ducato e 4 t. pel prezzo di una canna e quattro palmi di tela nera di Alemagna servita a Giovanni Martino, della quale fu fatto un vestito nel giorno dei Mimi che si fecero nel Castelnuovo in occasione della festa dell'illustrissima D. Eleonora", and 26 August, "si danno 4 d. a Gregorio Marciota che aveva forniti 180 sonagli da sparvieri e da falconi, dei quali 9 fini e grossi, a Giovanni Martino, da servire per i Mimi fatti innanzi all'illustrissima Donna Eleonora". Reported by Falletti, C. "Le Feste per Eleonora d' Aragona da Napoli a Ferrara (1473)" in *Spettacoli conviviali dall' antichità classica alle corti italiane del 400*. Rome: Nuovo Coletti Editore, 1982, 272, n. 4. Falletti gives her source as Barone (editor) "Cedole di Tesoreria" in *Archivio storico delle provincie napoletane*, **9**.
 45. For the *intermedi*, see pages 285-89. (The last page is erroneously numbered 293.) For the ending of the play and the choreography and music, see 290-6.
 46. Lucian *On the Dance* (2nd century A.D.), The Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 5. London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.
 47. See Carol MacClintock's Introduction to the English translation of *Le Balet Comique de la Royne 1581*, MacClintock, C. and L. (editors) American Institute of Musicology: Musicological Studies and Documents, 1975, **25**, 12-14; and Sparti, "Breaking Down Barriers" (*op cit*), 266.
 48. See Sparti, "Antiquity as Inspiration" (*op cit*), 379, and Daye, A. "Dance and Music in the Stuart Masque" in Inglehearn, M. (editor) *The marriage of music and dance*, Proceedings of the National Early Music Association Conference, London, 9-11 August 1991. Cambridge: The National Early Music Association, 1991.
 49. Sparti, "Antiquity as Inspiration", 380 and n. 37, and McGowan, M. "A Renaissance War Dance: The Pyrrhic", in *Dance Research*, 1984, **3** (1), 33.
 50. See Prunières, H. *L'Opéra Italien en France avant Lully*, Paris: Champion, 1913 (Introduction and chs. 1-3) and his *Le ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully*, Paris: Henri Laurens, 1914, 79, as well as Solerti, A. *Gli albori del melodramma*, Palermo: Sandron, 1904-5; facs. rpt. Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlag, 1969, I, 26-8. Both Prunières and Solerti maintain that the *Balet comique* and the French *ballet de cour* were influenced by the Italian *maschere*, *moresche*, and *intermedi*. See also Sparti, "Breaking Down Barriers", 266, and her, "La Danza Barocca' è soltanto francese?", *Studi Musicali*, 1996, **25** (1-2), 284-9.
 51. For some examples, see the two Tables ("Chronology of 17th-century Dance Sources" and "Table of Dances, Dance Types, and Grounds Most Frequently Noted in 17th-century Sources") in Sparti, "Baroque or Not Baroque" (*op cit*), 88-91. The Tables are also reproduced, with minimal changes, in Sparti, "La 'Danza Barocca'", 298-302.

52. *Gratie d'amore*, 265. Negri's music is rhythmically a-typical. For the obscure origins of this dance (French or Italian?), see Sparti, "La Danza Barocca", 289 and n. 37, 292 and n. 57.
53. This distinction is made by Johann H. Schein, in his *Banchetto Musicale* (first published in 1617). His suite of dance tune settings, "Padovana, Gagliarda, Corrente, Allemande and Tripla", were "Tänze für die Ohren" rather than "Tänze für di Füße" (from Moeck edition, 1969, edited by F. Conrad).
54. Besides F. Hammond and A. Sardoni (*op cit*), see Murata, M. *Operas for the Papal Court 1631-1668*, Ann Arbor MI: UMI Research Press, 1981; Hansell, K.K. "Il ballo teatrale all'epoca dell'opera alla veneziana (1640-1720" in *Storia dell'Opera Italiana*, Bianconi, L. and Pestelli G. (editors), vol. 5, Turin: EdT, 1988, 178-90; Alm, I. "Theatrical Dance in 17th-Century Venetian Opera", Ph.D. thesis, UCLA, 1993, forthcoming with University of Chicago Press.
55. See, for example, the dance music in Murata, M. *Operas for the Papal Court*, and Monteverdi's "Movete al mio bel suon". This music may indicate that the dances were pantomimic or that the music accompanied choral paths and motions which led into and concluded with symbolic formations and emblems. See n. 15 above.
56. See Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 54, n. 21 and 59, and Sparti, "Antiquity", 379 and n. 33. B. Ravelhofer has brought to my attention an engraving of nymphs dancing (and singing) in an open circle, an illustration for Act V, Scene 6, of G.B. Andreini's opera *L'Adamo*, published in Milan in 1617.
57. Lambranzi, G. *Neue und Curieuse Theatralische Tantz-Schule*. Nürnberg, 1716; rpt. (including all the original plates by J.G. Puschner), C.W. Beaumont (editor), transl. D. de Moroda, New York: Dance Horizons, 1966; rpt. 1972, p. 8.
58. For the Siena plays and the *martorella*, see Sparti, B. "Dancing couples behind the scenes: Recently discovered Italian illustrations, 1470-1550", forthcoming (1998) in *Imago Musicae*, and the many references in Valenti, C. *Comici Artigiani. Mestiere e forme dello spettacolo a Siena nella prima metà del Cinquecento*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1992.
59. "Traditional ("Popular") Dances in Renaissance and Baroque Italy" is the provisional title of a paper I shall be giving at the 20th Symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music's Study Group on Ethnochoreology ("Traditional Dance and its Historical Sources"), August 19-26 1998 Istanbul. Some of these dances are mentioned in G.B. Basile's collection of tales, *Lo Conto de li Cunti*, written in Naples around 1620-30, part of his 1st of *balli* performed "to pleasantly wile away the morning hours".
60. Besides the *gagliarda* and the dances mentioned above, Mancini includes, among others, the *Chiaranzana toscana*. The treatise is theoretical and is found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4315, cc. 157-186. In 1995 I reported on the treatise at the annual conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music. I am preparing an edition and translation of the work.
61. Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 234 and 235, "Exercise for Recognizing a Good Dancer".
62. *Ibid*, Rule [IV], 106, 107 .

63. In Balkan and Greek traditional dances, it is a common occurrence for the choreographic and musical phrases to be different lengths and, hence, to coincide only at relatively infrequent intervals.
64. The *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* “galliards”, though very ornamented, are almost all in 4- or 8-bar phrases. The two “tempi di Gagliarda” in A. Piccinnini’s *Balletto in diverse partite...* (all parts of which were actually danced in Bologna c.1620), while of 13 and 5 bars respectively, are very danceable and do not present any problem to the modern choreographer or dancer, especially if he/she knows how many *tempi* to expect!. Rossi’s *gagliarde* are published in vols. 9-11 of his *Complete Works* (13 vols.), Harrán, D. (editor) *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 100: Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag for the American Institute of Musicology, 1995.
65. “To what extent can the individually-worked-out choreographies published in Caroso and Negri [such as the “Pavaniglia”] be applied generally to dance-types recorded without choreography in elaborate musical settings, whose connections with Italian dance-traditions (in the case of Sweelink, for example) may be very loose indeed”. Tim Crawford (Music Department, Kings College, London) in private correspondence with me.
66. In the 1670s, the musician Giuseppe Colombi, working at the court of Modena, composed “danze italiane e francesi *per ballare e per camera*”.
67. Private correspondence, Tim Crawford. “We take for granted that they knew their dances...Is not the whole alchemy of rhythm and harmony, tension and relaxation, structure and elaboration, intimately bound up with breathing, balance and control in ways that are nothing if not close to dance?”
68. This was the topic of a few days of electronic exchange on RENDANCE this winter.
69. Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Rule [II], 104, 105.
70. See, among others, Giovanni Ambrosio’s “Voltati in ça Rosina”, Giorgio’s “La Vita de Colino”, Domenico’s, “Fi[gli]a Guielmina”, Caroso’s various “Spagnoletta”, Negri’s “Alta Mendozza”, “So Ben Mi Chi Ha Buon Tempo”, and “La Caccia d’amore”.
71. See n. 35 above and such dances as “Moza di biscaie”, “Se no[n] dormi donna alscioltta” [*sic*] and “Mastri di t[r]o[m]boni” (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana MS), and “La Traditora”, “Che Faralla”, etc. (in the “Il Papa” MS).
72. M. de St.-Hubert, *Manière de composer et faire réussir les ballets*. Paris, 1641, facs. rpt. Christout, M.-F. (editor), Geneva: Minkoff, 1993. Saint-Hubert claims, in the words of F. Hammond (*Music & Spectacle*, 195), that “As in Italian practice, the airs should be composed after the entrées have been planned”. (Hammond’s note cites pages 5-20 of St.-Hubert’s *Manière*.)
73. See n. 16 above. Hammond (*Music & Spectacle*, 194) assumes that this is always the case with dance in opera: “For *balli*, the choreography was planned first, the music was composed to fit it, and the words were added to the finished musical setting”.
74. I. Fenlon writes that “...the irregular verse scheme in the *Gioco della cieca*...[is] a consequence of the choreography”, “Guarini, de’ Sommi and the Pre-History of

- the Italian Danced Spectacle” in Belkin, A. (editor), *Leone de’ Sommi and the Performing Arts*, Tel Aviv: Asaph Book Series, 1997, 60. See also Cohen, J. “Words to Dance and Music – Music to Dance and Words: The Case of the *Gioco della Cieca*” in Boroda, M.G. (editor) *Musikometrika* 5, Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1993, 175-95. It seems to me that both Fenlon and Cohen show how the music changed *because of the complexities of text*, despite Guarini’s affirmation that this came last!
75. As did Petipa for his ballets.
 76. J. Morgan, who is particularly interested in the relationship of music and dance in the late 16th-early 17th-century Italy, is finishing his dissertation at Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham, in the Department of Music.
 77. For the last two periods, in particular, see the (annual) opera conference-symposium held in Venice at the Cini Foundation which in 1994 was dedicated to dance. Proceedings: *Creature di Prometeo. Il ballo teatrale. Dal divertimento al drama. Studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, Morelli, G. (editor), Florence: Olschki, 1996. Besides the day dedicated to the dancer-choreographer A. Milloss (Budapest, 1906 – Rome, 1988) with eight or nine papers, almost all of the fifteen other presentations dealt with either eighteenth- or nineteenth-century theatrical dance, also from musicological, literary and historical points of view.
 78. I have discussed S. Leopold drawing conclusions from affirmations by J. Gingel and M. McGowan in Sparti, “La Danza Barocca” (286, 288-9). Hammond (*Music & Spectacle*, 197) bases his affirmations regarding “the seminal *Balet comique de la royne*” and French influence on dance in opera in 17th-century Rome on McGowan.
 79. Arnold, D. “Claudio Monteverdi”, in *The New Grove*, XII, 516. See McGowan and my rebuttal in Sparti, “La Danza Barocca”, 286.
 80. See Sparti’s “Summary” of her slide-lecture, “What Can Pictures Tell Us (and not tell us) About Dance? Reading Italian Renaissance Dance Iconography” in *Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars, New York, 19-22 June 1997*. Riverside, CA: Society of Dance History Scholars, 1997, 21-2. In this case, the specialist is an art historian, Emily Jayne, “A Choreography by Lorenzo in Botticelli’s Primavera”, *Proceedings of the International Conference, “Lorenzo de’ Medici New Perspectives”*, Toscani, B. (editor), New York, 1993, 163–77, whose affirmation that Botticelli’s three graces are dancing Lorenzo’s *bassadanza* “Venus”, not only went undisputed, but actually convinced more than one musicologist at the Lorenzo de’ Medici conference in New York.
 81. Both this and the previous statements are from the discussion that took place during the panel on Music, Politics and Patronage in 17th-century Spain and its dominions at the International Musicology Society’s conference in London, August, 1997.
 82. See, for example, the Society for Dance History Scholar’s conference in New York, June 1997. Ten early dance presentations (15th–18th century) dealt with analysis, reconstruction or comparative studies. Only three or four were historical, of which two presented new (historical, musicological) material.

83. I already stated this in, *Dance Research Journal*, “Dialogue: Dance History – Current Methodologies”, 1996 **28** (1), 3. The conference is “on hold” until after the special events for the year 2000 and the arrival of a new director.
84. Many specialists in dance ethnology are now referring to themselves as anthropologists. I shall be learning more about this during the roundtable that I am organizing on “Moresca-Mattaccino: Past and Present”, part of the conference “Continents in Movement – The Meeting of Cultures in Dance History” (Lisbon, October 1998). The panel will include dance and art historians from Italy and Portugal, an (ethno)musicologist from Columbia, a dance ethnologist doing work in Croatia and in the Americas, as well as two (dance) anthropologists studying dances of the Indians of the American Southwest. See also Magrini, T. (editor) *Antropologia della Musica e Culture Mediterranee*, Venice: Il Mulino, 1993, papers of the conference, Venice, Fondazione Levi, 10–12 September 1992. (See especially the presentations of musicologists F.A. Gallo and I. Fenlon, “Antropologia della musica e ricerca storica”, 67–71.)
85. For a detailed description, see Sparti, “Function and Status” (*op cit*), 42–44 and 58–61.
86. For the “balli fioriti” – background, transcriptions, translations – , as well as for the dance historians and musicologists responsible for coining and perpetuating the “ballo lombardo” theory, see Sparti, “*Rôti Bouilli*” (n. 33 above). Other contemporary sources (such as those found in Nuremberg and Venice) confirm urban and bourgeois dancing in various parts of Italy. For the importance, in 15th-century dance, of ornamentation, skill, jumps, and turns, see Giovanni Ambrosio himself (Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 232, 233, “Capitolo de dançar corto” and “Capitolo de dançare con mantellina”).
87. “Function and Status” (*op cit*).
88. “Breaking Down Barriers” (*op cit*).
89. Indeed, many affirmations by specialists, be they historians, art historians or dance historians, are pertinent to one country, like France or England, but not necessarily applicable to others, such as Italy.
90. Most of the information available to date (see Sparti, “Function and Status”) gives a picture of poor or modest financial and social conditions for late 15th- and early 16th-century dancing-masters. Katherine McGinnis’s very recent research in the archives of Milan shows, on the other hand, that Negri was most successful economically. McGinnis, K.T., “At Home in the ‘Casa del Trombone’: A Social-Historical View of 16th-Century Milanese Dancing Masters”, in *Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars, New York, 19–22 June 1997*. Riverside, CA: Society of Dance History Scholars, 1997, 203–16.
91. See Sparti’s “Dancing Couples” (*op cit*), and the “Summary” and Bibliography of her slide lecture, “What Can Pictures Tell Us” (*cit*).
92. Panel on Music, Politics and Patronage in 17th-century Spain and its dominions, International Musicology Society conference, London, 1997.
93. Sherr, R. *Papal Music and Musicians in Medieval and Renaissance Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

94. Cook, N. and Everist, M. (editors) *Rethinking Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
95. Hargreaves, D. and North, A. (editors) *The Social Psychology of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. The quotations for these three books are from the Oxford University Press summer 1997 catalogue.
96. From his “An Essay Towards an History of Dancing”, 1712 (168), in Ralph, R. (editor) *The Life and Works of John Weaver*. London: Dance Books, 1985, p. 665. Also see Hansell, K.K. “Il ballo” (*op cit*), 189–90 and n. 29.
97. According to John Griffiths (panel on Music, Politics and Patronage in Spain and its dominions, International Musicology Society conference, London, 1997), in the late 16th- and in the 17th century, the Spanish bourgeoisie shared a common music repertoire with the nobility. This was in part due to printing (music books) and to shared music teachers and instrumentalists, to the patronage of musicians by the urban middle class, and to domestic music-making by both court and bourgeoisie. There was also an exchange with popular culture. Griffiths refers to “art music and popular music”.
98. Are grace and agility enough? *Next Week, Swan Lake*, 24–5, 39.
99. See, as one example only, Harris-Warrick, R. “Interpretation of pendulum markings for 18th-century French dances” in Inglehearn, M. (editor) *The marriage of music and dance*, Proceedings (*op cit*).
100. “Pedantry or Liberation? A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement”. In *Authenticity in Early Music*, 54–55.
101. See n. 82 above.
102. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972, rpt. 1984.
103. The “art and science” of dance and its “practice” are terms used by Guglielmo Ebreo in his 1463 *Pratica seu arte tripudii* (“On the Practice or Art of Dancing”).
104. These points were raised during a master-course taught by Ms. Wynne at the Orff Institute in Salzburg in the summer of 1984(85?).
105. A case is made for the importance of amateur dancers by R. Harris-Warrick who claims that a supporting group of amateur performers supplies an audience for professional performances (private conversation with author last summer).
106. I refer to Anne Daye and Diana Cruickshank and the Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society summer school projects.
107. This is a longstanding project which I hope, one day, to realize. José Limón’s *Moor’s Pavane* is an outstanding example of a modern choreography that is inspired by early dance themes.
108. During a course I was teaching in Spain last fall, I began Negri’s “Brando Alta Regina” for four shepherds and four nymphs and found that my previous reconstruction of the music and various parts of the choreography *no longer made sense*. While my dilemma demanded a great deal of patience on the part of my students, I was, on the other hand, pleased to see that I was still open-minded, ready to re-examine my previous work, and *continuing to change*.