Choreography and Meaning in Renaissance Danced Spectacles:
A Catalyst for Discussion

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In the epilogue to his book on the Renaissance gardens of England, Roy Strong writes:

> No other visual manifestation of the Renaissance mind in England has suffered such total obliteration as the garden. We still have the buildings of Hampton Court, Hatfield or Wilton, albeit changed, but the gardens that surrounded them, which were such an integral part of their initial conception, have vanished. A complete declaration of Renaissance ideals has disappeared and with it virtually any serious discussion of the subject by modern scholars of the period in England. And yet those gardens were a profound expression of the Renaissance mind.[1]

Strong's words might equally as well apply to the choreographic achievements of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century western Europe, especially the theatrical choreographies devised for the English masques, the Italian *intermedi*, and the French court fêtes and masquerades. To paraphrase Strong's text: 'we still have descriptions of the overall plots of court ballets or *intermedi*, often the libretto or text of the spoken and sung parts of the drama, sometimes even the music and costume designs for these spectacles, yet the choreographies which surrounded them, and which were such an integral part of the initial conception of these spectacles, have almost completely vanished'. It is this lack of a choreographic text, I argue, which has caused a corresponding (but understandable) dearth of scholarly discussion on choreographic meaning in early modern danced spectacles, and on the ways in which such meaning was created by the dance masters in their compositions. Yet in spite of the scarcity of primary source material, it is still an important topic for debate among dance historians, since – to paraphrase Strong again – 'to walk [through a Renaissance choreography] is in fact to walk through the avenues of the Renaissance mind'.[2] The dance masters who created the choreographies for these spectacles were not isolated from the concerns which drove other artists. Just as composers, painters or sculptors and poets were interested in creating meaning in their artistic creations, so too were choreographers of the period. Dance masters, I argue, were interested in, and capable of, creating meaning in their artistic creations by using the smallest elements such as individual steps, right through to large scale elements such as the overall structure of a danced work. What follows is an exploration of possible ways in which dance masters encoded meanings in the choreographies they created for danced spectacles in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, an exploration which I hope will generate a wider discussion on this issue.

The starting point of this essay is the widely accepted proposition that in early modern Europe danced spectacles in their entirety had a significance and meaning for those who created them and for those who watched the performances. These meanings could include both specific political commentary on royal policy or current political events, as well as more general meanings of glorifying the achievements of a monarch, or projecting an image of a confident and secure kingdom.[3] The second proposition on which my argument rests is that *part* of the meaning in these spectacles was conveyed by the dances, in addition to the texts of songs or speeches, the costumes, set designs, machines and music.[4] Furthermore, meaning could also be found in the identity of the dancers who performed, their position in the social hierarchy, and the amount of power they wielded in the governing councils of the state. The importance of the identity of the dance performers is clearly illustrated by the letters written to the northern English gentry in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in which the recipients demanded to be informed of 'who had been selected as masquers, their order in the masque processions, [and] who took out whom in the dancing'.[5] The northern gentry were not so interested in exactly what had been performed, since for them the political meaning of these masques lay in the identity of the dancers and the roles allocated to them, as these were clues to the jockeying for position in court circles and an indication of who was currently in favour and who was not.

The 1617 *ballet de cour*, *La Délivrance de Renaud*, in which Louis XIII and his chief favourite the duc de Luynes both performed as dancers as well as initiating the idea for the ballet and choosing the story on which the ballet was based, is another example of a danced entertainment as a political allegory in which the identity of the dancers and the roles they depicted were of the utmost importance in conveying its message to the watching courtiers. By 1617 Louis XIII had attained his majority but was denied the right to rule alone, as his mother continued to act as regent, a fact deeply resented by the young king. By choosing the story of the Christian knight Renaud from Torquato Tasso's epic, *La Gerusalemme liberata*, Louis XIII was announcing his intention to rule without the help of his mother and her favourite Concino Concini. In this ballet Louis danced two roles: that of a fire demon, thereby symbolizing the purging of France of such threats to its good governance as Concini, and also the role of Godefroy de Bouillon, the commander of the army of knights who rescued Renaud from the enchantress Armide (who represented Concini). Godefroy's defeat of Armide carried a clear message to the court and country that Louis was capable of ruling France alone.[6]

The extent to which dance contributed to a specific meaning or to a commentary on current events, however, is more debateable than the first proposition, as differing views on this point have been put forward. For example, Peter Walls in his extremely detailed and scholarly monograph on music in the English masques nevertheless concludes that

> apart from making a very general demonstration of the grace, intelligence and social harmony of the court, no main-masque dance was ever expected in itself to convey any more specific meaning; for this one had to go to the speeches or the songs which introduced them.[7]

Musicologists, I suggest, would be outraged if it was asserted that the musical contribution to an opera, for example, was only in providing a general ambience of happiness, or sorrow, or anger, and that individual melodic patterns, the precise instrumentation of certain passages, the modal structure used, or a series of harmonic changes were always devoid of any specific meaning or significance.

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A letter by John Donne concerning Ben Jonson's masque *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*, and the circumstances surrounding its performances on the 6th and 8th January 1615, provides evidence for a different interpretation. By 1613 the Earl of Somerset, Robert Carr's, close friendship and intimacy with James I allowed him immense influence and power, a fact, while universally recognized, was not universally approved. In the summer of 1614, however, when James I met George Villiers, the political landscape began to change. Villiers' increasing favour with the king made him a magnet for those courtiers – and also the queen – who were opposed to Somerset and his faction. Somerset himself was alarmed at Villiers' promotion, and did all he could to hinder his rising influence. In November 1614 Somerset prevented Villiers from obtaining a position in the Bedchamber by arranging for Robert Ker, one of his Scottish cousins, to be given this position in Villiers' place.[8] The Somerset/Villiers rivalry was highlighted in *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*. It was the first masque in which Villiers performed, but which also included Ker among the dancers. From surviving letters of John Chamberlain and Donne it is clear that they expected this masque, and specifically the dancing of Villiers and Ker, would reveal to them and other courtiers the relative prestige of the two men, and thus the state of Somerset's favour with the king. For example, John Chamberlain in a letter to Dudley Carleton on 1 December 1614 wrote:

> and yet for al this penurious world we speak of a maske this christmas towards which the K. geues 1500[l], the principall motiue whereof is thought to be the gracing of younge villers and to bring him on the stage.[9]

In Donne's letter to his close friend and frequent correspondent, Sir Henry Goodere, on 13 December 1614, the writer specifically mentions Villiers and Ker as two of the dancers in the coming masque, thereby confirming that this masque was a vehicle for the playing out of the rivalry between these two men and the factions behind them.

> They are preparing for a Masque of Gentlemen: in which M. Villiers is, and M. Karre, whom I told you before my L. Chamberlain had brought into the bedchamber.[10]

A week later when writing to Goodere, Donne closes his letter by again referring to the forthcoming masque.

> I have something else to say of Mr Villiers, but because I hope to see you here shortly, and because new additions to the truths or rumours which concern him are likely to be made by occasion of this masque, I forbear to send you the edition of this mart [details of this stage of the trading] since I know it will be augmented by the next, of which, if you prevent [forestall] it not by coming, you shall have by letter an account from Your very affectionate friend and servant, J. Donne.[11]

If one accepts the second proposition that the dance itself contributed to creating and conveying specific meanings, then one should consider the possibility that a third proposition is likewise valid; that is, that the dance masters used every element at their disposal – from the smallest to the largest – to create and convey meaning in their choreographies. The choreographies they created were more than just an agreeable display of grace, athletic ability and bodily control, and visually pleasing patterns that referenced the social and cosmic order. It is important to remember that the dearth of surviving choreographies from sixteenth and early seventeenth-century spectacles does not *necessarily* indicate that such choreographies when first performed were devoid of specific meanings. These choreographies are difficult to describe in words not just for modern scholars, but were equally so for early modern writers and commentators who struggled with the problem of how to accurately represent the complexities and the detail of moving choreographies in a written, literary form.[12]

One way, therefore, in which dance masters throughout Europe encoded meaning at the macro level of their choreographies was in the shapes and the geometric figures formed by the dancers, as well as in the spelling out of names. One illustration of this practice comes from the 1610 French court spectacle *Ballet de Monseigneur de Vendosme*, where the figures formed by the twelve knights in the final dance were printed in the description of the ballet along with the name of each of the twelve moral virtues being portrayed.[13] In Naples in 1620, the final dance of the twenty-four *cavalieri* is recorded in the published account of the performance as twenty-four different figures, although in this case with no accompanying text.[14] The twenty-seven folios in the notebook of an anonymous French dance master who worked in Brussels circa 1614–19, and on which he recorded over four hundred and fifty geometric shapes and figures for five to sixteen dancers as well as letters of the alphabet, is another piece of documentary evidence for the importance of such figures to the dance masters of the time.[15] The unique characteristic of this manuscript, apart from the sheer number of figures recorded, is the systematic manner in which they were set down; that is, the fact that figures were often recorded in two ways, one being the reverse of the other, and also that the same geometric shape or figure was recorded for differing numbers of dancers. The systematic nature of this collection is also reinforced by the presence of composite figures; that is, figures made up of two or more distinct shapes, such as a triangle and a heart, or a circle inside a square. These folios represent a pictorial canon of the geometric shapes and figures which were used by choreographers of the period when creating dances for theatrical spectacles, and through which they could encode meaning at the macro level of their choreographies.

While the presence of geometric figures – a square, circle or triangle for example – may not convey a great deal to a twenty-first-century audience, the situation was the reverse in medieval and Renaissance Europe, as at this time geometric figures, either planes or solids, were one way of representing the cosmos. The figure of a square, for instance, represented the earth, while a circle represented the divine world, while the triangle (or pyramid) represented the path from one world to the other: movement from the physical, sensual life to an intellectual understanding of the divine realm. To the uninformed or ignorant, dance could be seen as a sequence of steps or movements through space and time: a glorious but ephemeral moving spectacle with no lasting impact, underlying rationality, or consequences for the behaviour of women or men. But to the educated, informed viewers, dance was much more than this. The viewers looked for order in its

movements, and recognizing such order was both proof of their intellectual activity and standing and a stimulus to a virtuous life.[16]

The aim of the dance master when choreographing dances for a danced spectacle was to communicate messages to their educated audience members through the presentation of symbols and images, be they geometric figures, alchemical images or mystical symbols. From the mid sixteenth century onwards the intellectual climate in both continental Europe and England fostered an interest in symbols, and in fact the 'manipulation and interpretation of symbols became a popular intellectual sport in the sixteenth century.'[17] Symbols were seen as having a great power both to draw heavenly power down to earth, and to help raise human understanding closer to a knowledge of the divine. Marsilio Ficino, in his treatise, *De vita,* (1489) is explicit on the power of 'figures' (*figurae*) to influence human activity. And these 'figures' include music, people's gestures, facial expressions, movements and dance.

> You are not unaware that harmonious music through its numbers and proportions has a wonderful power to calm, move, and influence our spirit, mind and body. Well, proportions constituted out of numbers are almost figures of a sort, made, as it were, out of points and lines, but in motion. And similarly harmonious rays and motions penetrating everything, they daily influence our spirit secretly just as overpowering music generally does openly. … Therefore, you should not doubt, they say, that the material for making an image, if it is in other respects entirely consonant with the heavens, once it has received by art a figure similar to the heavens, both conceives in itself the celestial gift and gives it again to someone who is in the vicinity or wearing it.[18]

Later on Ficino states that 'musical songs and sounds' include 'gestures of the body, dancing and ritual movements'.[19] Therefore, as far as Ficino was concerned, the magical symbols that contain a hidden power included 'figures' of the dance. Ficino's writings were very popular in France in the sixteenth century, not only *De vita,* but also his *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love,* which influenced many poets including Ronsard and Baïf,[20] both of whom were involved in the danced spectacles at the French court.[21] Thus geometrically patterned choreographies were one way in which cosmic influences could be magically (that is, in a hidden or occult manner) transported to earth and, once there, could induce the same cosmic harmony to operate on earth.

Geometric figures, the spelling of names and alchemical shapes were the macro elements used by the dance masters to convey meaning, while step sequences and individual steps were the small-scale elements at their disposal. Step sequences could convey messages to those watching through how the steps were combined, and exactly what steps were choreographed in the first place, since dance masters had a choice about exactly which individual steps to employ from the total vocabulary of steps at any particular point in a choreography. A clue to the attitude of dance masters to the significance of individual steps in their choreographies can be gained from Fabritio Caroso's *balletto Laura Suave*, a dance found in his treatise *Nobiltà di dame* from 1600. In this dance Caroso includes a section which is a 'dialogue of the feet' between the man and the woman. Caroso calls this 'dialogue' a *pedalogo*, explaining the term as follows.

> And to the end that everyone knows from whence this name of Pedalogo is derived, I say that just as two people converse together one says that they talk in a dialogue. Likewise, [when] a gentleman performs a section of the choreography, or a sequence of steps, with his feet, and the lady responds to him in the same manner, this similarity that they make with their feet I have given the name 'Pedalogo'.[22]

In the final *canario* section of *Laura Suave* the man does the step sequence one *seguito doppio del canario con il trito minuto*, and one *seguito battuto*. The woman then repeats these two steps. The whole sequence is then repeated for a total of four times for each dancer. After a shared interlude of a *spezzato puntato* and a *mezza riverenza*, first starting with the left foot then with the right, another *pedalogo* follows, that is, two *trabucchetti* and one *saffice*, once again repeated four times alternately, first by the man and then by the woman. The dance ends with a sequence of steps performed together to bring the couple close together to conclude with the customary *riverenza*. Here the individual steps deliberately chosen by Caroso to create this dialogue – the *seguito battuto* and the *seguito doppio del canario* – contribute to the significance of the passage. These steps involve beating or stamping the foot on the floor, and so the concept of a dialogue is reinforced by the aural nature of these steps. Furthermore, the small number of steps in each repeated sequence also is significant. The repetition of step sequences first by one partner (or one couple) and then by the other is an extremely common feature of late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century *balletti*. The number of steps in each repeated sequence, however, is usually much larger than in this *canario* section of *Laura Suave*. In *Laura Suave* Caroso has deliberately choreographed repeated sequences containing only two steps, as these very short step sequences create a rapid alternation backwards and forwards between the man and woman that are an evocation of the sharp verbal repartee enjoyed at courtly gatherings.

With *Laura Suave* we have an example of a dance master deliberately choosing individual steps and creating repetitions of step sequences outside the expected norm in order to create a specific meaning in the choreography. If meaning was created in this manner in choreographed social dances, then it seems reasonable to at least consider the possibility that the same technique would also be used in theatrical dances choreographed by the same dance masters. In the Neapolitan spectacle from 1620 the choreography is documented as a series of figures. Yet the nineteenth figure has the word *intreciata* across the top of the figure. One possible interpretation of the presence of this word in the published documentation of this choreography is that it refers to the movement of the twenty-four dancers around this figure in an interweaving manner while continuing to form and reform the same figure.[23] Certainly, interweaving figures are a common feature of many Italian *balletti* and also occur in Emilio de' Cavalieri's theatrical choreography from the final *intermedio* of the 1589 Florentine wedding celebrations.[24] Therefore, it seems to me reasonable to hypothesize that the presence of the word *intreciata* is a small piece of evidence

to support the proposition that similar choreographic procedures operated in both the dances recorded as a written description and in choreographed theatrical dances of the early seventeenth century which have only come down to us as a series of figures or even just as a short description of the geometric shapes and patterns used.

As Rebecca Harris-Warrick has pointed out in her essay on dance and representation in Lully's operas, by the end of the seventeenth century the movements of a dancer were expected to express the character of the role he or she was portraying. Harris-Warrick highlights the statement of Abbé Du Bos from his book, *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting and Music*, first published in 1719, where he says:

> years ago, the Fauns, Shepherds, Peasants, Cyclops, and Tritons danced pretty near in the same manner; but now the dance is divided into several characters. The artists, if I am not mistaken, reckon sixteen, and each of these characters has its proper steps, attitudes, and figures upon the stage.[25]

In other words, choreographers when creating the dances for operas of the time used different steps, different figures and gestures to represent the different characters. They did not appear to be limited to only macro-level elements in order to communicate with an audience, but used all the elements at their disposal to do so, right down to the individual step level.

While we cannot automatically assume that what was a common, well-documented practice at one time was also common fifty to eighty years earlier, it should make us seriously consider the possibility that the later practice was not a totally new and radical departure from previous creative practices. There were movements and gestures which carried meaning in the danced spectacles of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as Anne Daye has demonstrated in her work on the Stuart antimasques.[26] The use of steps and gestures, for example, which were outside the common step vocabulary and expected posture, or even from a foreign dance practice, could change an audience's interpretation of a dance. Similarly, the use of movements closely associated with one gender by the other gender was another way of conveying a specific message through a choreography.[27] Because of the links between stylized combat and dancing in this period, dance masters were able to use movements and gestures from fencing and other forms of combat in their choreographies, movements which already had a meaning in a wider social context than dance.[28]

Dance masters of Renaissance Europe shared a common objective with their contemporaries: composers, painters, sculptors and poets. All shared the goal of creating meaning in their artistic creations. Choreographers of the danced spectacles, I argue, combined an interest in shapes and figures as a way of structuring their choreographies and encoding meaning, as well as an interest in choreographic choices made at the individual step level, and the use of individual steps to convey meaning if the choreographer so desired. The challenge for modern scholars faced with such a scarcity of choreographic texts is to devise research methods which could provide answers to the question as to how did early modern choreographers create meaning in their compositions. One method which I have used in this essay starts from the hypothesis that similar choreographic procedures operated in the dances recorded in the form of a written description and in choreographed theatrical dances which were not recorded as a written description. Another path for dance historians to follow would be for them to be alert to the minute clues to the possible meanings of individual choreographies found in contemporary letters, commentaries or descriptions of danced spectacles, and to use these small clues to slowly piece together a possible interpretation of past choreographic events. Looking at the movements and gestures common in society in general, and in specific activities, and investigating whether or not they were used in the dance practice, and if so in what ways they were used, is a further avenue of investigation. What is certain is that the more the question of choreographic meaning and how it was created is debated in the scholarly community the more likely it is that probable answers will be found.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1   Strong, R. *The Renaissance Garden in England,* Thames and Hudson, London, 1979, p. 223.

2   Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, p. 223. For an extensive discussion of the links between moving and static choreography in Renaissance Europe, and an examination of the similarity in design principles between kinetic and horticultural arts, see Nevile, J. Dance and the Garden: Moving and Static Choreography in Renaissance Europe, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 1999, 52 (3), 805–36.

3   For two recent books which focus on the political context of the Stuart masques, see Bevington, D. and Holbrook, P. (editors), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998 and Butler, M. *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008. For Catherine de Medici's use of dance as a deliberate political tool in her domestic and international foreign policy, see McGowan, M.M. *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2008, especially 128–32.

4   For a discussion of the costumes in danced spectacles see, Arnold, J. Costume for Masques and Other Entertainments *c*1500–1650, *Historical Dance*, 1993, 3 (2), 3–20.

5   Palmer, B.D. Court and Country: The Masque as Socio-political Subtext, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 1995, 7, 348.

6   See Kettering, S. *Power and Reputation at the Court of Louis XIII. The Career of Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes (1578–1621).* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2008, pp. 39–47 and McGowan, M.M. *Le art de ballet de cour en France 1581–1643*, CNRS, Paris, 1963, pp. 101–15.

7   Walls, P. *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604–1640,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 121.

8   Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, p. 221.
9   Jonson, B. *Works*, editors Herford, C.H., Simpson, P. & E. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1950, vol. x, p. 553.
10   Jonson, *Works*, vol. x, p. 553.
11   Oliver, P.M. (editor) *John Donne: Selected Letters*, Routledge, New York, 2002, p. 80. Donne's use of the word 'mart' as referring to the ongoing news about the jockeying for position between Villiers and Ker, while not documented in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, must come from the situation in early modern England where gossip was turned into commerce. 'The commercial potential of hand-written news had in effect been demonstrated by its organized circulation among the upper classes in England over several decades. … [There were] commissioned newsletters from the 1560s, both the personal kind where an 'intelligencer' or journalist writes by arrangement to a particular nobleman, and the more general digest of news which could be sent out in multiple copies.' (Parr, A. (editor), Introduction, to *The Staple of News: Ben Jonson*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, pp. 27–28).
12   For further discussion on this point see Barbara Ravelhofer's "Virgin wax" and "hairy men-monsters": Unstable movement codes in the Stuart masque, in Bevington and Holbrook (editors), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, pp. 244–54.
13   For a discussion of the 1610 ballet and its figures, see McGowan, *Le art de ballet de cour en France 1581–1643*, pp. 69–84.
14   Jackson, R. (editor), *A Neapolitan* Festa a ballo "Delizie di Posilipo Boscarecce, e Maritime" *and Selected Instrumental Ensemble Pieces from Naples Conservatory MS 4.6.3*, A-R Editions, Madison, 1978. The choreographer for this spectacle was Giacomo Spiardo.
15   For a discussion of this manuscript (Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, Cod. Holm S 253), and of the possible meanings of the figures, see Nevile, J. Dance Patterns of the Early Seventeenth Century: The Stockholm Manuscript and *Le Ballet de Monseigneur de Vendosme*, *Dance Research*, 2000, 18 (2), 186–203.
16   Some of the detailed accounts of how meaning was found in the geometric shapes and ordered movements of Renaissance dance include chapter 4 (pages 81–106) in Meagher, J.C. *Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, 1966; Thesiger, S. The *Orchestra* of Sir John Davies and the Image of the Dance, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1973, 36, 277–304; Carter, F. Celestial Dance: A Search for Perfection, *Dance Research*, 1987, 5 (2), 3–17; Carter, F. Number Symbolism and Renaissance Choreography, *Dance Research*, 1992, 10 (1), 21–39; Johnson, A.W. *Ben Jonson: Poetry and Architecture*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994; Greene, T.M. Labyrinth Dances in the French and English Renaissance, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 2001, 54 (4.2), 1403–66; and McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance*, pp. 110–18.

17   Clulee, N. *John Dee's Natural Philosophy Between Science and Religion*, Routledge, London, 1988, p. 77.
18   Ficino, M. *Three Books on Life,* critical edition and translation with introduction and notes by Kaske, C.V. and Clark, J.R. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Binghamton, New York, 1989, pp. 331–33.
19   Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, p. 363.
20   Jayne, S. Introduction, to Marsilio Ficino's *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love,* translation, introduction and notes by Jayne, S. 2nd revised edition, Spring Publications, Dallas, 1985, p. 21.
21   For the 1581 *Balet comique* both Ronsard and Baïf contributed 'ideas, verses, time and money'. (McGowan, M.M. Introduction to the facsimile edition of *Le ballet comique de la royne 1581*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Binghamton, New York, 1982, p. 13).
22   Caroso, F. *Nobiltà di Dame*, Venice, 1600. Facsimile edition (Forni, Bologna, 1980), p. 115. 'Et acciò ch' ogn' uno sappia donde deriui questo nome di Pedalogo; dico, che si come due persone che discorrono insieme, si dice che parlano in Dialogo: cosi, facendo il Cavaliere nel Ballo un Tempo di Moti, ouero una Mutanza con gli piedi, & rispondendogli il medesimo la Dama, per questa corrispondenza che fanno con gli piedi, gli hò dato questo nome di Pedalogo.' The translation is by the author.
23   Jackson editor, *A Neapolitan* Festa a ballo, p. viii.
24   For a reconstruction of the floor plan of this choreography, and a correlation of the steps and the music, see Nevile, J. Cavalieri's Theatrical *Ballo* "O che nuovo miracolo": A Reconstruction, *Dance Chronicle*, 1998, 21 (3), 353–88.
25   Harris-Warrick, R. Dance and Representation in the Operas of Lully, in Biget-Mainfroy, M. and Schmusch, R. (editors) *L'Esprit Français und die Musik Europas*, Olms, Hildesheim, 2007, pp. 208–18, from p. 213.
26   Daye, A. and Barlow, J. The Shock of the New: Ben Jonson's antimasque of witches 1609, in Parsons, D.J. (editor) *On Common Ground 4: Reconstruction and Re-creation in Dance before 1850, Proceedings of the 4th DHDS Conference, March 2003,* Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society, 2003, pp. 83–94, and Daye, A. Character in action in the seventeenth-century antimasque, in Parsons, D.J. (editor) *On Common Ground 5: Dance in Drama, Drama in Dance, Proceedings of the 5th DHDS Conference, March 2005,* Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society, 2005, pp. 15–23.
27   See Ravelhofer, "Virgin Wax", pp. 248–9.
28   For links between dance and combat in this period, see Anglo, S. The Barriers: From Combat to Dance (Almost), *Dance Research*, 2007, 25 (2), 91–106, and Anglo, S. *L'escrime, la danse et l'art de la guerre. Le livre et al représentation du mouvement*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2011. For examples of danced combat, see McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance*, pp. 105–109.