WYNNE, Shirley Spackman, 1928-
THE CHARMS OF COMPLAISANCE: THE DANCE IN ENGLAND IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
[Plates I-VII, pages 34, 42, 44, 55, 92, 132, 143 not microfilmed at request of author. Available for consultation at The Ohio State University Library].

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1967
Speech-Theater

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
THE CHARMS OF COMPLAISANCE: THE DANCE IN ENGLAND
IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School
of The Ohio State University

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* * * * * *

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present thesis could never have been undertaken nor finally completed had it not been for the continuing support of Dr. Margaret Mordy, Chairman of the Women's Division, Department of Physical Education. It was her trust and encouragement which made it possible to look upon the project as a lively and intriguing challenge from its inception to its resolution. Expressions of appreciation are also due to Dr. John Morrow of the Department of Speech for his generous counsel and invaluable assistance, not only with the present study, but throughout the entire course of work in theatre history. The resources of The Ohio State University Theatre Collection have also been made generously available at every phase of the study. The writer is also indebted to members of the reading committee, Helen P. Alkire, Coordinator of the Dance Area, and Dr. Seymour Kleinman of the Department of Physical Education. For the patient and careful examination of the copy, the writer is warmly grateful to her husband, John Wynne, who has given encouragement during the entire period of earning the degree.
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INTRODUCTION

The history of an art is concerned with the stylistic evolution of its forms and the causes underlying the formation of styles. Subject matter in other art histories has been placed into some kind of comprehensible structure, and a language of stylistic terms has evolved. A student in painting could, consequently, predict what the content of a course in, for example, Baroque art would be likely to comprise. Such a course would be based essentially on the art works themselves produced in a specified historical environment. These works are abundantly available for re-examination, evaluation, and comparison. By study of the work itself one may gain a greater understanding of the society from which it came and, further, be able to interpret the view of the universe held by the maker.

The subject of dance history must be approached in precisely the opposite manner. The art works have gone; they fled in the very moment in which they were performed. For this reason alone the stylistic history of dance has resisted analysis and structuring and the development of a language with which to deal with its changes and fluctuations through time. In order to comprehend the style of a dance of the past the student must pursue the study of the social milieu from which the dance emerged. He can never study the work itself and, therefore, he must refer to social history to gain any conception of its style. The
latter subject covers the broadest range of historical materials and includes every facet of society which throws light on events and their causes in a given period. Within this seemingly limitless body of materials the dance historian must select those which clarify his problem. Social and political conditions, styles of dress, class conventions are only a few of the facts from which choices must be made to illuminate the style of human movement from a period in the past.

In general, dance style is determined by the manner in which the body moves. So long as the human body remains basically the same, its manner of movement is distinguishable by the selection of movements used, the emphasis of the movements, and how these are found in combination. The term "manner" has many connotations. The French word "moeurs" can be translated equally as manners, morals, and habits. It is close in meaning to the English "mores," which is defined as custom or convention. "Manners," however, has a strictly upper class association. The "manners" of the upper classes are rites of correct decorum. If an aspirant to that class masters the secrets of its style, he is admitted to the elite circle. "Mores" remains a more general term. The rustic peasant or rough urban laborer retains the mores which are traditional within his community and which are, in terms of movement, usually characteristic of his type of work. His movement "mores" serve to set him off against his "betters," and refinement of gesture for him is not only ludicrous but physically unattainable.
The "manners" of the upper classes form the basis of the movement style of the ballet. Its beginnings can be traced back to the earliest court dances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The "mores" of the lower classes are to be seen in the traditional dances of the larger community which they represent. Movement habits of whatever kind, fixed by convention and social usage, develop unconsciously within the social group. They vary extremely with class in certain historical periods, and differences are particularly marked in Europe before the modern industrial period. "Manners" and "mores" of movement are just some of the factors affecting dance styles. Their significance is likely to be overlooked, however, in any study of this subject. Certainly in the other arts unconscious social habits do not play so great a part in the formation of style. Where, for example, in an aesthetic evaluation of a painting, does one make a judgment on the basis of whether or not it is "polite"?

Dance has been described as a "non-verbal poetic image." ¹ This image is above all human and must, therefore, reflect the human condition. Since the choreographic work can never be abstracted from the human image, the dance cannot be approached on the basis of an objective aesthetic evaluation. It takes objectifiable form and is in this way, too, unlike any other art form. The notion that there is such a thing as objective aesthetic values is out of favor today; however, the basis of art history has been laid by the use of objective analytical tools for evaluating art works in the past.

Another factor to consider in discussions on dance style is the transitory nature of the conventions of expressive gesture, which is the kind of movement used by actors, dancers, and mimes to describe or emphasize the dramatic action. The development of the film, the greatest single contribution to dance historical research, one, in fact, which makes dance history a reality, proves decidedly that stated movement is not a universal and timeless language. A fundamental emotion such as fear never intentionally finds expression in staged movement, no matter how deeply the performer experiences that emotion in the process of transmitting it to an audience. As soon as a movement is consciously selected, repeated, and refined, it becomes a convention, and is subject to all of the influences which go into making any other art work. In addition, the movement patterns represent the style of expressive gesture used in daily social intercourse. Once again habits of social movement have a determining effect. Movement habits are, furthermore, closely related to the body image fashionable at the moment. Changes in conventions of this sort are as capricious as the styles in fashionable dress. Isadora’s inspired performances would not move an audience today, and Sarah Bernhardt’s expiration on the green baize in *Camille* raises a laugh from a contemporary audience. The film brings these sharp differences in conventional expressive gesture to light, and confirms the belief that it would be impossible to be more than historically interested in performances of the past.

The highly refined techniques of the classical ballet, and the standards to which it conforms, bring this style of dance closer than
any other to form which stresses abstract aesthetic rather than transitory personal values. The performance of Pavlova, which is preserved on film and which shows her as technically inept according to modern standards, demonstrates how variable that highly traditional technique can be, even when performed by a renowned artist. A relatively abstract movement technique is as unpredictable in actual performance as any other human activity. The film helps to illustrate the unique problems of historical studies in dance.
CHAPTER I

THE DUALITY OF STYLE

Between these two doctrines of classicism and romanticism, the history of the arts, controlled to be sure by the history of the life about them, swings back and forth, if not always in world cycles, at least in small waves within virtually every period.1

The discussion which follows attempts to trace stylistic patterns in dance forms and to find some logic in the growth of dance styles. Are there parallels to be found between styles in dance and the other arts? Is there a stylistic swing between two opposite tendencies such as classicism and Baroque or classicism and romanticism, such as one finds in other art forms? It can be accepted certainly that dance forms share common elements with all of the arts because it is but another "precipitate"2 of the cultural environment. Theoretical considerations of style in dance, however, for reasons already touched upon, have been largely neglected. John Martin has given the most thorough analysis of this aspect, yet he believes, "that a practical consideration of style in dance must function" within the present,

which he defines as a time frame lying "between the memory of the oldest dancer now active and the vision of the most forward-looking." Lincoln Kirstein carefully skirts the problem. His system organizes dance artists and events from 1650 according to "innovation," "significant works," "dilutions," and "crazes," and Isadora Duncan and Mary Wigman are dismissed within his schema under the latter dim epithet.

If dance is to have historical reality, it must be approached from the point of view of style. The problem then becomes one of isolating the distinguishing characteristics which mark the style of dance in a particular historical setting. The task is not merely to concede that there is a swing between classicism and its opposite, a natural-expressive frame of vision, and thence to draw up parallels with the other arts, but to find how this swing occurs, and in what ways it is different from a comparable cycle in the other arts. "Classic" and "Romantic" is one set of terms which Martin uses to describe two opposite stylistic tendencies in dance. "Romanticism," he says "deals with content and substance where classicism is concerned with form and surface." In general terms the swing which he describes is between forms which are based on outer arrangements and technical

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3 Martin, p. 104.
5 Martin, pp. 110ff.
6 Ibid., p. 120.
virtuosity, and those which result from expressive motivation. The aesthetic ideal of the ballet, he says, falls within the code of classicism. The ballet is a "system of idealized movement, . . . its range has been increased by the gymnastic skill of individual executants," and by manipulation and alteration of the elements of spectacle. It has never been fundamentally influenced by an "infusion of natural gesture," or "realistic life impulses." The ballet, in Martin's terms, is a living example of a classical style. Terms to describe its opposite include "romanticism," "naturalism," and "realism," and this style is represented by individual expressive artists, such as Fokine, who worked within the classic conventions, and Isadora Duncan, who was defiantly innovational.

Terminology at this point becomes an issue of great importance. Martin's use of "Romantic" to define the opposite style from "Classic" is too narrow for application on a broader historical perspective. Romanticism is usually related very specifically to the trends in the ballet of the mid-nineteenth century. Other possible choices, such as "Naturalism," or "Realism," bear too much similarity to specific forms in the stylistic history of the other arts, and their connotations lead to confusion rather than clarification when applied to dance. In an effort to simplify the language and the framework for stylistic apprehension of dance, well-worn words must be eliminated. "Classical" will hold very well, for the ballet is probably the only art which has

7Ibid., pp. 209-210.
consistently maintained its tradition through generations of growth. Martin uses the term "Expressional" in reference to twentieth century innovators, but it would seem to apply equally well to a tendency away from "Classical" in any period. It is particularly apt for use with a movement art, which is persistently human and resistant to abstraction and intellectualization.

The following discussion will assemble the characteristics special to dance around the two categories of style: "Classical," and "Expressional." The development of these two schools of stylistic emphasis will be elaborated in the following chapters. Meanwhile some general statements will be made on the differences between these two principles.

Community or "Timeless" Dances

Relatively simple movement patterns are to be found in traditional social dances which endure in homogeneous culture groups. Such dances are described by Laban as "tribal or national" and are "created through a repetition of such effort configurations as are characteristic of the community." They represent a conservative and timeless style by comparison with the fluctuating period style of the artist's designed works. In the traditional dance form, national traits can be observed, and beyond the immediate and transitory expression of the individual dancer within the group, innovational or individual elements do not appear. Traditional society, furthermore, would frown on innovation

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because of the disruptive force of change on the conventions which make the community a cohesive entity. This form of dance could be called, in general, "Timeless." Its forms vary little from generation to generation, and the same local traits can be observed in a dance performed in the early twentieth century as in one in that same community performed centuries earlier. A national or distinct local style is preserved by custom, and firmly fixed both in form and technique by constant and repeated usage. The present concept of community and time has departed so radically from the notion of tradition as to make the term "Timeless" forevermore inapplicable. It must be used here in reference only to the past. Other social dances, such as, contemporary city forms are too short-lived to classify as "Timeless," though their "effort configurations . . . are characteristic of the community." Ballroom forms share many characteristics with other designed dance forms, and are subject to periodic stylistic change. In certain periods dance for the ballroom and dance as a theatrical or spectacular event are so closely interrelated as to be indistinguishable. The intermixing of the "Timeless" dance forms with those designed for a specific theatrical event results in an aesthetic ideal which is peculiarly conservative. The nature of this relationship will be explored in later passages.

"Period" Dances

The style of "Timeless" dance does not normally correspond to that of designed dance. Dances of long custom frequently absorb and
reflect influences from the designed styles, or they can provide a reinvigorating source for styles which have become overly refined and sterile. Stylistically, however, the two types must remain basically separate. Designed dances are consciously made within stylistic conventions which reproduce or actualize the artist's vision in his particular world of ideals and choices. He is both a conscious spokesman and an unconscious representative of the stylistic conceptions of his social matrix. The artist's dances can be described as "Period" dances because they alter stylistically as the relationships among ideals change throughout the history of art.

"Period" dances must be learned by a process other than the gradual absorption of tradition from early childhood. Each new style demands a new arrangement, in some cases a new set of movements. The dance artist is teacher and choreographer combined: he must shape and train the materials out of which he makes his work. When he first appeared in western tradition in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, his intention was to make a work, whereas his pupil-performers' intention was to enjoy the pleasure of participation in it. This pleasure is the chief component of all "Timeless" forms. It was not until these designed ballroom works diverged finally from designed professional theatre forms in the seventeenth century that the dancers' intention coincided more nearly with that of the designing artist's. By that time the dancer was beginning to emerge as a professional artist. As his performing skills developed, he did not lose the satisfaction of moving
in the dance, but this became less and less his intention as ballroom forms evolved toward theatre forms.

"Period" dances then took two avenues of growth: 1) the tutored and designed dances of the ballroom which were danced by the semi-professional and the amateur, and 2) the designed dances of the theatre which became in time wholly professional. The "Classical" tradition has its origin in these two sources. Only when the division between the ballroom and the theatre forms became complete did "Expressional" styles begin to appear in the theatre. They could not have evolved as fully developed dance styles until the "Classical" style had run a certain course, and reached a certain level of fulfillment. "Expressional" tendencies were present from time to time in earlier periods, and were generally related to the professional public theatre and performer rather than to the mainstream of "Classical" tradition which remained in the ballroom.

The Swing from "Expressional" to "Classical": the Process of Refinement

Movement styles which begin in free and open flow tend to swing toward closed, restricted, and fixed movement. In other words, emphasis swings habitually from the dynamic, spontaneous expression to the repetitive, geometric, stock routine; from free to bound, or from expanded to close movement; or from the "Expressional" to the "Classical" style. Refinement and formalization tends to restrict movement expression, to classify and academicize it. Martin says that "No art movement,
accordingly, ever begins by being classical; classicism is a second and refining stage."  

Expressive gesture is the kind of movement which comes to mind as most naturally falling into the "Expressional" style. It is what one associates with Sachs' "Mimetic" dance, which depicts emotional states, and various kinds of human situations. Expressive gesture goes by many names. It is called variously, "pantomime," "expression," "gesture," or simply, "mime." This kind of movement is used by actors, dancers and pantomimes alike and is, contrary to appearances, subject to the same process of refinement as the steps and figures of the abstract dance. It follows the same stylistic swing from "Expressional" to "Classical," but it has more "Expressional" potential than the abstract dance, which tends to be more regularly "Classical" in style. An innovational dance style, such as that of Isadora Duncan, comes very close to expressive gesture, and it would be hard to find a dividing line between that and the abstract dance. Her style in this case would have come very close to the art of mime, and, hence, closer to the problems of acting. It would have been furthest removed from the "Classical" style of the more abstract dance, which would have consistently emphasized technique, step and figure. The reason for the swing toward expressive gesture in "Expressional" stylistic periods lies in the very spirit of innovation. Change occurs in style because the present convention no longer satisfies either the artist or the public. Standards must be developed and

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9 Martin, pp. 120-121.
strengthened, or broken and re-examined for their truth in the present. Expressive gesture is the most communicative aspect of the art of movement. When the dance style is at its most academic and stereotyped formalization, the gesture style becomes absurdly "Unexpressional," or unexpressive of the present. It no longer represents what is, but is an echo of a life and times in the past. Innovation stems from finding new means to depict life in the present, and this expression in movement is transmitted by gesture. Innovation, then tends to be "Expressional" while "Classical" style tends to become more and more conventional and stereotyped.

Two Realms of Dance, and Principles of Style

Expressive gesture

In Decroux's eyes dance and pantomime are worlds apart.

Dance is abstract and based on music. Pantomime is concrete and based on life. Dance flows like a stream; pantomime moves with the natural plunge and lunge of the muscles. Dance is soaring and vertical, pantomime earth-bound and horizontal. The dancer works with the leap, the mime with the walk. The dancer deals in symmetric patterns, exact repetitions, regular rhythms, as music enjoins; the mime in asymmetry, variation, syncopation, the rhythmic patterns of speech and natural body movement.\(^{11}\)

While in some periods they are two distinctly separate conventions, there are other periods when they appear to be so nearly identical that it is hard to state where one ends and the other begins. The difference between dance and pantomime in Decroux's discussion parallels many of the distinctions to be made in the present analysis between the "Classical" and the

"Expressional" style. Decroux could easily be describing two kinds of
dance with opposite stylistic emphases, rather than two distinct art
forms.

Rudolf Laban describes the movements of what would be called in
this context an "Expressional" actor:

The actor who tries to do more than represent life in a
skillful manner uses the movements of his body and his
voice-producing organs with his interest focused on that
which he intends to convey to his audience and less on
the external shapes and rhythms of his actions.

The "Classical" actor is described as the virtuoso, who,

... will easily be tempted to restrict the number of his
movements to those which best suit his skill. The other
type of actor (the "Expressional") will be inclined to
reject all selection, and almost any exercise of single move­
ment forms which to him are mere acrobatics. In his endeav­
our to get his spontaneous movements to flow freely, he will
often be more erratic and impulsive than the virtuoso.

On the whole it can be said that these two contrasting
viewpoints apply movement to two differing aims: on the
one hand, to the representation of the more external fea­
tures of life, and on the other, to the mirroring of the
hidden processes of the inner being.12

Laban demonstrates very clearly in this passage that movement for
the actor, which is basically in the realm of expressive gesture, can be
given a "Classical" or an "Expressional" emphasis. His analysis of
movement here can also be applied to dance; in periods of "Expressional"
stylistic emphasis, dance forms tend to swing toward expressive gesture,
which is akin to acting and mime or pantomime.

12 Laban, p. 7.
**Formal elements**

It is in one sense quite impossible to separate formal elements, such as steps, directions and levels of movements, timing, and so on, from expressive qualities because the aesthetic essence of the particular work lies in the way in which these two realms of movement unit. For that matter, formal elements without expressive quality would not qualify as dance at all. Certain works of Alwin Nikolais, for example, aim to eliminate the dancer from the dance by disguising all recognizable personal elements in the shape of the costume and other design factors. These works are motion studies in design alone with the expressive element, ideally absent. In reality, however, any use of a person in the theatre brings in an expressive element, no matter how total the disguise. Laban is the first to investigate this unity of the formal element with expressive quality in human movement.

Nonetheless, one can look at a dance and describe certain principles of form, just as one can observe intensities and levels of quality and force in movement flow. It follows that some works are more wholly conceived on formal principles while others are inspired by expressive qualities; that is, one dance may be formed from shapes, steps, and figures, while another from the impulse of expressive drives.

The shapes and figures themselves may be "Expressional" or "Classical," just as expressive gesture can swing between either pole of style as described above. These two tendencies can be examined as pairs of formal categories, such as Wölfflin's, but because they are manifested in human movement and not objectified in painting, sculpture,
or architecture, they have, unlike Wölfflin's categories, "expressional content in themselves."¹³ "Expressional" elements of form tend to be more personal, expressive, dramatic, and subjective than their opposites. Consider, for example, the concept of asymmetry: an arrangement with five people together on one side of the stage and a solo figure on the other side sets up a series of associations which are expressive of human relationships. Asymmetry is both an element of form and also expressive of the human condition. On the other hand, its opposite concept, symmetry, for example, a grouping of six people evenly placed about the stage, can be considered almost entirely from the point of view of form. In the latter case concentration can be given to shape, step technique and figure; any association made with subjective qualities would be rare, and might even impede an appreciation of the play of the formal elements.

Asymmetry in the movement of a dancer suggests tensions which have more expressive potential than symmetry. The latter suggests geometric order and a calm dispassionate and impersonal relationship with forces of tension from within or without. Asymmetry in movement can be a suggestive concept, then, while symmetry is relatively free from expressive connotations. When a dance work intends to be an arrangement of formal elements with little or no intention to create subjective mood, then the choice of design elements will be likely to be those which fall within the concepts of "Classical" style. If a dance work makes use

of the opposite set of concepts, it will be "Expressional" even if the choreographer had no direct intention of being expressive.

Summary

For purposes of historical discussion, "Classical" and "Expressional" styles can be determined on the basis of expressive gesture and the elements of form. Expressive gesture can be "Expressional" when it relies on subjective experience to give impulse to the movement; it can be "Classical" when it relies on gestures determined by convention. To be "Expressional," expressive movement must be constantly searched out anew because subjective experience is unique with each artist and because every environment presents a fresh set of circumstances.
"Classical" style in gesture must evolve from tradition and refinement of existing conventions. The tradition may be centuries old, as in the case of the ballet, or it may be only the length of a single lifetime, as in the dance of Martha Graham. She has schematized her movement style into a conventional language. It began as an "Expressional" style and through the process of formalization and refinement it has tended toward the "Classical." It has, however, more "Expressional" potential than the ballet because the formal elements do not fall within "Classical" categories, but remain "Expressional."

Elements of form, like expressive gesture, swing between the "Classical" and "Expressional" styles. Formal elements can be applied to the movement of the dancer himself or to the movement of the group as a whole: they can refer, then, to the performer as well as to the work.
Dance is very often a composite of many arts, such as staging, scenario or theme, music, lighting, and costume, and all of these would be subject to analysis within the concepts of style. Some of these will be considered later as they apply to the particular period under consideration.

The following pairs of stylistic principles oppose the "Expressional" with the "Classical," in that sequence: the "Expressional" first, followed by the "Classical."

1. Emphasis upon the solo dancer or individual dancers; emphasis upon the unison group or corps. The movement of the "Expressional" dancer tends to be personal and unique. It is motivated by inspirational impulse rather than selected from traditional techniques, which determine the movement patterns of the corps. The "Classical" virtuoso soloist performs intricate steps before a unison symmetrical grouping.

2. Manipulation of volume and mass; manipulation of design factors based upon edge, line, and frontal surface. Volume and mass, in movement terms, gives a sense of displacement of space, with space acting as a vital force and energy, which offers resistance, and gravitational pull. Edge, line, and frontal surface present decorative shapes and tableaux, linear interlacings of arms and legs, and frontal arrangement of techniques and groupings. Space is, in the "Classical" style, an airless, weightless cube, which allows little change of pressure or force. The dancer in this atmosphere appears "effortless."

3. Asymmetrical groupings; symmetrical groupings. The motivation of movement from dramatic or emotional themes would lead to an
unbalanced, asymmetrical, and ungeometric order. Symmetrical arrangements are arbitrarily ordered into figures which would have only highly abstract or symbolic expressive content.

4. Focal emphasis upon diagonals; focal emphasis upon verticals and horizontals. Penetration into depth on the diagonal or thrusts forward along a diagonal line have greater dramatic persuasiveness than vertical and horizontal arrangements. The latter characteristics equalize and balance the image. The vertical and horizontal principle is generally apparent in repetitive groupings and multiple balanced units.

5. Timing from breath and pulse rhythms; timing ordered into metrical rhythms. The breath rhythm adapts to changes in force and irregular emphasis. Its flow is similar to that of speech. Metrical rhythms are highly ordered and lend themselves to emphasis of repetitive patterns and unison movement. Pulse rhythm would follow the force of inner impulse, while metrical rhythms would follow the assembly of technical steps. Movement flow in "Expressional" styles is continuous and accents arise from changes of force; movement flow in "Classical" styles tends to flow and stop. The stop is a held position, or a still picture.

6. The professional actor or dancer-mime tradition; the court ballroom dance tradition. One difference in this pair of opposites is a matter of movement standards which arise in widely separate social groups. The professional actor was traditionally free of the limitations and consures of behaviour imposed upon the elite. He was a vagabond so
far as social and moral responsibilities were concerned, and he had a high degree and range of movement skills which allowed him to respond with greater spontaneity and freer impulse. The court ballroom standard was fixed by polite behaviour and constraint of movement. All elements of rustic exuberance underwent a process of refinement. The refined ballroom dance, in addition, had characteristics of form which were inherited from "Timeless" community dances. They are familiar ballroom dance elements: 1) repetition of step pattern from left to right, or simply, performance of a step such as a two-step, first to one side then to the other; 2) mirroring opposition in even groups, or dancers on one side of the stage exactly mirroring the movements of those opposite them; 3) even groupings, frequently couples, in duple arrangements; 4) tradition of steps, or pas. These are short passages of movement, such as a balance step common to folk dances, which is retained and refined into a similar step but called in ballet tradition, a pas de basque.

Conclusion

Dance techniques tend to become fixed and formalized because the movement of a group of dancers requires explicit definition in order that the choreographing artist may realize his expressive intentions. Once formulated, a technique resists change, partly because it takes time to train the body in new ways of moving, and partly because of a pre-set attitude, often unconscious, on the part of the dancer, to move in a manner which has heretofore been the accepted convention. Further, the
artist depends upon a group of trained instruments to put his works into effect; therefore, he must develop those skills in his dancers which will actualize his particular artistic vision. His dancers, in turn, perpetuate the techniques in which they were trained, and when he no longer directs them, the movement skills tend to lose their expressive force. In other words, they cease to be a reflection of the artist and the cultural environment. Even the most shockingly innovational dance movements undergo formulation because of the necessity of the artist to perfect his own set of standards. As the innovational artist matures, his intentions crystallize, and he must exact higher levels of movement performance in order to resolve his intention into expressive form. The refining which is necessary in order to perfect any movement technique, whether it is innovational or within the "Classical" convention, always involves the analytical process; analysis is followed by further refining, and the end result is generally systematized and academic. This line of development is inevitable if it is desired that a technical system endure; however, the perils of the ultimate step are obvious. Academicism goes hand in hand with official sanction of art, and this highly conservative union can stifle innovation. "Expressional" artists resist attempts to define their approach, and their techniques most often die with them. Anna Sokolow says,

I hate academies. I hate fixed ideas of what a thing should be, of how it should be done. I don't like imposing rules, because the person, the artist, must do what he feels is right, what he — as an individual — feels he must do.14

But, because of the necessity to perfect a technique in order to realize a work of art made up of dancers, not paint or clay, the "Classical" conventions remain the technical basis for the greatest number of highly skilled dancers. Technical tradition is the chief factor in sustaining a long history of "Classical" style in dance.

"Classical" styles began to form in the early fifteenth century when the basse danse became the refined version of country forms. Curt Sachs regards the fifteenth century as the era of increasing refinement and schematizing in pantomime and dance. During this period pantomime had "lost all traces of acting — glance, play of feature, gesture — and with them all realistic representation." It had become in his words, "purely choreographic."

Together with the increasing limitation of movement in the courtly dance, the trend is away from the mimetic, and again imitativeness and expanded movement, non-imitativeness and close movement show themselves to be of like origin and spirit. 15

From the early Renaissance to the eighteenth century the "Classical" style in dance was evolving into what was called in the later period, the ballet d'école. "Expressional" forms began to appear in the early seventeenth century, and were called in the middle of the eighteenth century, the ballet d'action. These two schools were competing in terms of stylistic influence throughout this period. The "Classical" school far outran its opposite in powers of endurance, popular acceptance and appeal. The "Expressional" school was heard

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15 Sachs, p. 329.
from largely in cries of protest and revolt against the increasing preciosity and sterility of the academically approved style. The growth of these two schools will be the subject of the following two chapters. Their development provides the setting for the dance in the early eighteenth century.
CHAPTER II
THE GROWTH OF THE BALLET D'ECOLE

"Workings are everything; inner states, rubbish."¹

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the court dances emerged as separate and distinct forms. They were the first sign of choreographed works since the decline of the classical world, and the dancing master was visible for the first time as choreographer. The appearance of the choreographer who designed dances for entertainments at court marked a radical departure from the tradition of the "Timeless," unchanging community dances. The intention of the dancing master was to provide a means of entertainment, which would conform to aesthetic ideals of proportion, dignity, and refinement, so as to reflect the good breeding of the courtly class. The choreographed dances were danced by amateurs whose desire was to give no hint of professional skill or zeal in performance. The dancing master, then, arranged dances for performers who had little technical skill, and, indeed, no wish for a highly developed technique. The prevailing temper and conventional attitudes of the amateur court dancer did not allow for a great variety or breadth of movement. His ideal was to move in a manner expressive of good taste.

and decorum, which in that frame meant small, narrow movements of the hands and feet, and little full body movement. The steps and progressions, that is, the manner in which the steps were found in combination, were not unlike the local community dances in the earliest period of courtly refinement. In fact, it is generally agreed that the court forms sprang from that source.

According to Curt Sachs, "the courtly dance . . . itself is only something that has arisen out of the great storehouse of the folk dances, whether choral dance or couple dance."\(^2\) The steps and progressions of the court dance, too, had to remain simple if a group, even a relatively small, select one, were to perform them. Court dances continued to retain strong resemblances to their "Timeless" counterparts for a long period. The chief difference in the courtly style lay in the lowering of the feet and the narrowing and closing of the articulations toward the body. Emphasis as a consequence lay upon the hand, the head, the gentle tilt and undulating away of the torso, and the small nuance of gesture.

**Characteristics of Courtly Refinement**

**The air of gentility**

In a passage from Domenichine's treatise which is translated by Mabel Delmetsch and dated by her at 1416,\(^3\) the courtly style is given its earliest recorded definition:

> It is moderation that conserves. Well did the wise Aristotle treat somewhat of bodily movements, practised with virtuous

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\(^2\) Sachs, p. 282.

\(^3\) Sachs disagrees and says the Parisian MS. from which Delmetsch takes her translation is a "late, anonymous summary of his teaching," p. 300.
ardour, without which it would never be possible to know how to convey with subtlety the exquisite shades of meaning that can be expressed by this bodily mobility, moving from place to place with measure, memory, agility and fluent grace . . . : measure of the terrain assisting and inspiring the body with sensitive alertness . . . , himself thus discoursing and putting forth arguments both good and true in favour of this art and this gentle expressiveness, with as much understanding and enthusiasm as is possible. And note, galante, that by the exercise of bodily mobility, avoiding all extravagance, this gentle art, I say, will have within itself a natural beauty and much decorum withal.4

All elements of rusticity were to be subdued, and brought into seemly and decorous control. The Renaissance manuals treated entirely of court styles and forms, and nowhere in the early works was mention made of the vigorous peasant dances which were unquestionably continuing along local traditional lines and remaining untouched by the refinements of the court forms. The stylistic difference between the court and country forms was apparent. One author notes this difference:

The large movements and the wide-stepping figures of the peasant dances present a striking contrast to the strictly regulated, almost cramp-like contortionate gestures which accompanied the dances of the court and of high society.5

A century later the behaviour of a gentleman was carefully defined by Castiglione, and his treatise on the courtly life was translated by the 1560's into French and English to serve as a standard for correct demeanor in the courts of Europe and England. The kinds of dances, indeed the very movements suitable to the behaviour of a gentleman were prescribed:

... when dancing in the presence of many and in a place full of people, I think he should maintain a certain dignity,

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though tempered with a fine and airy grace of movement; and even though he may feel himself to be most agile and a master of time and measure, let him not attempt those quick movements of feet and those double steps which we find most becoming in our Barletta, but which would perhaps little befit a gentleman. Yet, privately in a chamber as we are now, I think he could be allowed to try this, and try morris dances and branles as well.\textsuperscript{6}

In these same manuals the role of a lady was briefly considered. The most urgent requisite was for "airy lightness" according to Cornazano's treatise in the mid-fifteenth century. He declared that a fast dance, the Piva, "is not fitting for the lady otherwise than in its natural steps;" and that in the dance, Saltarello, the "lady should never include in her bar a high leap, nor the man either, except very occasionally, if he be a skilled dancer."\textsuperscript{7}

Later, Castiglione advises upon the behaviour of a lady:

I would not have her engage in such robust and strenuous manly exercises, but even those that are becoming to a woman I would have her practice in a measured way and with that gentle delicacy that we have said befits her; and so when she dances, I should not wish to see her make movements that are too energetic and violent.\textsuperscript{8}

Though stipulations for right and wrong dances and movements were very strict in court circles, the dancers remained unskilled amateurs. It can be seen in the earlier Castiglione reference that the professional, Barletta, was of quite another class and met professional standards which the courtier considered ungentlemanly. The fact that the dances were


\textsuperscript{7}Dolmetsch, pp. 13-14. "Natural steps" are steps such as "simple," "double," "reprise," etc. from which combinations were made into dances.

refined versions of traditional peasant forms meant that the dancers were not disposed toward nor prepared for performing works which were of rich expressive impact or significance.

Social conservatism and restraints

The technique of moving within the restrictions of a refined style, furthermore, could not develop rapidly because of the social context in which the court dances flourished. The court environment was in a social sense merely the rarified variation of the traditional community, that is: social forces would continue to work to preserve and strengthen that which was known, enjoyed by, and accessible to a large number of the group. The same forces would resist innovation.

However, it was to be within the courtly circle that dance as an art form would develop because only in that environment was there to be an ever growing freedom from local custom, and the independence from social pressure which comes from wealth and privilege. These circles were to become increasingly mobile, and the emulation of the sumptuous display in foreign courts encouraged the borrowing of styles in entertainment forms. Dance functioned as one of the chief elements of courtly pastime and lent itself excellently well to demonstrations of wealth and prestige. A kind of international style in court dances spread from Italy to England from the fifteenth century. Dance as an art form, with a richer dimension than entertainment, was still long in maturing because of its social environment. For over two centuries it was chiefly a social amusement, a mark of social prestige, and an outward sign of wealth and social security.
The step which had not been taken to enable dance to evolve into the dimension of art as separate from pastime was that which would remove the dancer, the artist's tool, from the social demands, the proprieties of manners, and the etiquette of court life. Only in this way could the dancer be prepared as an expressive instrument. His muscular techniques would have to broaden and enlarge; however, his art would have to remain acceptable and meaningful within the court circles which were his audience, and which would require technical growth within the limits of refinement. This was to be a slow process and one which coincided with increasing professionalism among the dancers. These social restrictions were among the factors which delayed stylistic growth and change in dance by comparison with the other arts. In order to improve any standard, a technique must be perfected and mastered. The standard set down by the masters of the early Renaissance, while it openly admitted to be one of social demeanor as well as aesthetic style, could not achieve fulfillment as art until the professional dancer, who was the embodiment of perfected technique, emerged in the late seventeenth century. By that time the artist finally had more richly equipped instruments of expression at his command with which to bring more complex and expert works into actuality.

This is not to say that there was any conflict between the early dancing master-choreographer and his dancers; that his lofty inspiration

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\(^9\text{It is also possible to advance the theory that dance forms were the first of the arts to reflect stylistic change. Spontaneous elements went unrecorded; it was not until refinement had begun that documentation in dance could appear.}\)
was repeatedly frustrated, nor that there was any expectation disappointed by its realization. Every artist sees within what it is possible for him to do, or as Wölfflin says, "Not everything is possible at all times." The artist's conventions make his choices lie within certain pre-set limits, which are formed in his own vision by social, psychological and stylistic factors. Of many of these factors he may be largely unaware, so that only in later times, when a work can be related to others from the same environment, is it relatively easy to say that certain trends are evident in an artist's work. In the process of the making of the work, however, this knowledge would lie in the realm of prophecy. The dancing master of the early fifteenth century saw dance only in the social context. Social dance and art dance were inseparably linked in his eyes, and the fact that dance was not a professional theatre form had not yet arisen to trouble him. Professional dancers in his day were among the strolling players, the acrobats and jugglers of the long-standing secular theatre tradition. Aesthetic theories on dance style did not apply to them. They applied only to the refined social elite among whom professionalism was disparaged. Nonetheless, the fact that the court dance was designed to meet the standards of this group imposed limitations which were not binding upon the other arts.

The dance artist, so long as his works are designed for a group, depends upon the movement skill of his dancers. The development of movement skills, or technique with which to fulfill a standard or ideal, and the social context in which dance as an art began and achieved its

10 Wölfflin, p. 11.
early growth, proved to be the two factors which lessened the stylistic variability of dance forms. The human body cannot achieve immediately, even given the will and disposition to do so, a high level of technical perfection within a given stylistic standard. When the standard changes, rules must be sought and set down again even though the standard arose in a deliberate move to revert to more natural movement and away from rigidity of technique. The human body is not by nature richly flexible and master of strength or flowing effortlessness. It must be trained to achieve strength, nuance, and a wide range of the powers of expressiveness. The training given an amateur is insufficient to produce a body with these powers. Therefore, as long as dancers were to remain amateurs and dance was to be primarily a form of court amusement, no great works of stylistic significance could emerge.

In the case where the court dance departed from local custom, furthermore, movements were restricted rather than liberated. This was not so much due to any conscious adherence to an art style, but was more a conformity to a social standard, which set strict limits of behaviour. The restriction of movement within these conventions imposed actual physical boundaries over which one could not step with propriety. Even the clothing was highly restricting to free movement. The manipulation of the train of a gown was as much a decisive factor in influencing dance

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11 A third factor which prevents dance from mirroring the current style is the nature of the human body, which cannot reflect Wölfflin's "expressionless categories" of style (p. 227) because it is slow to adapt, muscullarly resistant to change, and, secondly, it cannot be molded or shaped in the abstract. The instrument is a person always, whose movement in spite of stylistic influence is inherently expressive.
style as the fact that dance was performed indoors on a level floor whereas hitherto it had been danced on grassy ground. The length and weight of the gown slowed and lowered the ladies' movement. The ostentatious, functionless long pointed shoe, as another example, could propel the wearer forward, back, or to the side only if the feet were turned out from the hip, though not too far, or one shoe would overlay that of the partner. It would appear, then, that the preference for turned out leg movements did not depend on frontal viewing alone. That came later when dances were to be performed on a central stage. It is unquestionable that the turn-out was one of the early characteristics which distinguished Renaissance court dance.

The following illustrations (Plate I) show a wide divergence in style between the country and the court dance. Specifically, the difference of the court dance shows in a narrowing and closing of step and gesture, in the attentuation or lengthening of line seen in pointed toes and extended fingers, in a tilting and detached angle of the head, and in cumbersome if elegant dress. Note that in both illustrations the dance is being performed out of doors. In the Renaissance dance, this may not be illustrative of reality, but rather the artist's convention of depicting a pastoral and idyllic setting. In any case one stands out unmistakably as rustic and the other as refined though they are only approximately contemporaneous and from different parts of Europe.

With the social environment operating as a definite restriction of movement, the dance artist fulfilled his role in arranging the steps
PLEASE NOTE:

Plates I-VII, pages 34, 42, 44, 55, 92, 132, 143 not microfilmed at request of author. Available for consultation at Ohio State University Library.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS.
of the *Basse* dance in new and perhaps intricate figures, superimposing a loosely knit plot, such as a wooing theme,\(^ {12}\) over the traditional steps, and instructing his pupils how to perform with taste and elegance.

The elite environment was inherited by the later more professional ballet. It can clearly be seen in classical ballet today, which very often appears to be a flash-back to earlier times. By 1700 the ballet was a full-fledged theatre form, theatre dances were to be seen more often on the stage than on the ballroom floor, and dancers were both low-born professionals and dedicated amateurs of noble birth. With all of these changes, the dance style retained its earlier well-bred manners. The ballet continued to represent all that was refined, respectable, and elegant in dance in spite of the fact that it was soon to be seen on the stages of the public theatres along with acrobats, jugglers, harlequins, and the traditional public entertainers.

**Technical Aspects of Courtly Tradition**

When dance moved away from the "Timeless" traditional forms into "Period" forms, the body had to learn to move with restraints. The problem remained for it to learn to move richly and expressively within these limits, and, hence, through the following years a technique incorporating courtly standards of refinement was slowly formulated and perfected. The beginnings of such a technique were recognizable in the earliest dance documents from fifteenth century Italy. The trend most

\(^{12}\)Nettl, pp. 79-80.
probably began in actuality long before it was recorded. It continued to evolve along the path of greater and fuller definition and increasing formalization.

The "step" tradition

In addition to even greater formalization of movement, the technique grew along lines which stressed the almost acrobatic articulation of the legs, balanced by a poised arc of arms, and radiating from a rigidly vertical central axis. This was due to the tradition of a "step" technique, that is: a system of movement composed of a series of step combinations arranged together in varying ways to form designed patterns on the floor. The technique was perfected in a way that would present these steps with increasing brilliance of skill and an overall dynamic of effortless grace. These were then and continue to be characteristics which identify classic technique. This path of technical development will be labelled subsequently as "Classical."

Just as the technique developed along consistent stylistic lines, so did the steps. These, too, will be labelled "Classical." It should be remembered that the technique had to develop in order to perfect the "Classical" standard and that the steps and figures also grew in complexity as the technique became more capable of intricacy and breadth of expressiveness.

13 I am distinguishing here, "technique," "step," and "figure," three elements in dance whose characteristics mark the classic style. "Technique" is the dynamic and general shape of the movement of the body, before it embarks on any set step; the "step" is the small unit of movement which is repeatable, and the "figure" is the designed plan or arrangement on the floor which is composed of combinations of steps.
"Classical" steps were made up of steps from the earlier Basse dance, which had its less refined predecessors in, possibly, the Stantipes and Ductia. From the early Brussels manuscript to the time of Arbeau's printed manual in 1588, "simples," "doubles," and "branles" were still the basic steps for the dances. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century in the time of Beauchamps, Pecour, and Feuillet, the steps had become so vastly more intricate that the professional dancer by necessity emerged as a trained instrument to perform them. The fact remained that there were still steps, labelled "coupes," "pas de bourée," "jetes," etc. The nomenclature had changed, there was a far greater degree of decorative embellishment and complexity, but the steps, reminiscent of their simpler ancestors, remained the basis for the technique from which the dances were constructed. It would follow that the figures were arrangements of the steps, and, therefore, would be only as complex as the groupings on the floor. The brilliance of the performance would lie in the skill and inspiration which the individual performer brought to the technical execution of the traditional steps and in the intricacy of the figures and groupings. Brantome describes the Ballet de Pologne, performed in Paris in 1573 under the patronage of Catherine de Medici, as being:

... so fantastically conceived, and by so many turnings, contours et detours, interlacings and confusings, encounters

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14 Ernest Closson, Le Manuscript dit des Basses Danses (Brussels: Societe des Bibliophiles et Iconophiles de Belgique, 1912).
and arrests, in which not one lady ever failed to turn in her place nor in her rank, so well that every one was amazed by such confusion and such disorder never ceasing from a superior order, for those ladies had solid judgement and good memory and had been so well rehearsed.\footnote{Kirstein, pp. 148-149; Henri Prunieres, \textit{Le Ballet de Cour en France avant Benserade et Lully} (Paris: Henri Laurent, 1914), p. 56.}

The "figure" tradition

It is clear from this description that one of the fascinations of the early ballets was the "interlacings and confusions" of the figures. The figures were also rich in symbolism and allegory to such a degree that only those who were tutored in the academic learning of the time could apprehend their meaning. In a later ballet of Catherine's instigation, the \textit{Ballet Comique} of 1581, a danced figure in the shape of a triangle represented, "Justice or the theological and intellectual disciplines." Other geometrical figures worked out by dancers represented "the alphabet of the Druids."\footnote{Joan Lawson, \textit{A History of Ballet and its Makers} (London: Pitman and Sons, 1964), p. 17.}

Two characteristics which identify "Classical" style in dance are, then, the "step" tradition and the use of intricate figures, which could be symbolic depending on the strength of the academic influence of the time, or could be merely abstract patterns on the floor. Other characteristics appear which can be labelled as features of a classic style. One is a sameness in the dances themselves through a long period of time in spite of name changes; the other is a sameness in the grouping of the steps.
Tradition in dance types

New dances appeared throughout the sixteenth century, and replaced the by then unfashionable Basse dance. These new dances were recorded by Arbeau, who reflected that it was regrettable that the earlier dance was no longer being performed as before. They were, in fact, new dances using the traditional steps. Their newness lay in the arrangement of the steps, the groupings of the dancers, and in the dynamics of the performance. As an example a Pavane had the quality of a proud strut, and a Galliard was "bold and exuberant." The Galliard habitually followed the Pavane in order of performance, just as the earlier Basse dance was followed by its quicker version, the Saltarello, and before that the leap dance followed the "choral dance" or Tourdion. Here, too, tradition was maintained, but the dynamic quality of the dances of the early sixteenth century indicated a fresh spark reinvigorating the general trend toward greater refinement of "Classical" conventions. It was a brief swing toward richer "Expressional" forms within the "Classical" tradition.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the earlier traditions still existed. Nettl, in speaking of the Minuet, a favorite of that period in France, says that it was in fact:

... the successor of the "Courante," which in its turn was originally derived from the "Branle de Poitou." Just

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19 Arbeau, pp. 51 and 87.
20 Nettl, p. 99.
21 Ibid., p. 101.
22 Sachs, p. 283.
as the "Branle" was at first a given figure of the "Basse Dance", — so the "pas menu" was part of the Branle, a step already mentioned in the account of a court festival at Nancy in 1445.24

In Feuillet's Choreographie the Courant was one of a number of steps to be used as technical step material for designed ballets.

It is apparent that it was in the province of arrangement that the dance artist was called upon to use his inventive vision. His inventions were never new or original in the sense in which we regard those terms today. Tradition was maintained with an enduring consistency.

Though hundreds of dancing masters invented hundreds of different minuets, the basic scheme always remained the same. The two steps with bent knees are followed by two steps with straight leg and each group of four steps is performed to two 3/4 beats.25

Some new dances looked back to a folk source as inspiration;26 some were designed suites or ballets such as that found in Fabritio Caroso's II Ballarino of 1581.27 But all of them had in common the fact that they were danced by the tutored nobility and wealthy merchants as pleasure dances, and were also the basis for theatrical spectacles such as the Ballet Comique. In the latter case social dances, for example, the Tourdion and Branle,28 with their traditional rhythmic accompaniment and quality, were designed into new arrangements, progressions, and groupings

24 Nettl, p. 164. Nettl uses the term, "figure" as I use the term "step."
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., p. 125.
27 Ibid., p. 121.
28 Ibid., p. 93.
for the unique theatrical event, or as Enid Welsford says "a specially prepared dance."²⁹

The arrangements and quality of the dances changed to meet the requirements of fashion and popularity in the court social scene and to suit the specific occasion. Could the arrangements be said to have had spatial elements in common which would have identified them as "Classical" in style?

Tradition in spatial design

The tendency in composition of the steps into figures was unquestionably toward symmetry and balance. Prints in early festival books, such as that of the Ballet de Pologne, show that the placement of the groups was symmetrical.³⁰ In a schema in Caroso's Nobilità di Dame, 1600, a dance figure was worked out "according to the true mathematics," and in the absolute balance of volutes it resembled a symmetrical stylized rose.³¹ (Plate II, Fig. 1) Schemata such as letters of the alphabet worked out by placement of figures on the floor were equally popular.³² In a print by Jacques Callot of the ballet La Liberazione di Terreno, produced in Florence in 1617, Renaissance staging, with a single eye-point perspective, which was basically a balance of the surroundings around a central point, was combined with a symmetrical spatial design.

³⁰Reprinted in Pruniere, Pl. 2.
³¹Reprinted in Juanade Laban, "Introduction to Dance Notation," Dance Index, V, No. 4, 5 (April-May, 1946), 91. Also, Kirstein, p. 191.
³²Nettl, p. 138, Pl. 4.
arrangement of dancers on the dancing floor below. (Plate II, Fig. 2)

In the grand ballet of a production by M. de Vendôme in Paris in 1610, the floor plans for the dancing figures were precisely symmetrical. Later in the century, when Feuillet's book appeared, floor plans were drawn along which the steps were notated, and here again symmetry is the first characteristic which strikes the eye. (Plate III)

In Feuillet's Balet it is easy to see that the steps were performed exactly the same by each dancer, in other words, their steps were in unison. Other elements can be observed in Feuillet's collection of notations. Steps were grouped in mirrored opposites, that is, one dancer performed a step which extended the left foot, while the partner performed the same movement with the right foot. Furthermore, the groupings were even; the four dancers were always equally balanced and never arranged in, for example, a group of three against a solo figure. These features, which can be seen in Feuillet's notations would almost certainly apply to most previously unrecorded ballets. Generally, there were arrangements of two, four, eight, or twelve dancers with possibly a solo figure in the center. One finds no evidence of uneven groupings. Most dances presented a step first to the right and then repeated the same step to the left. This is common to social dances as it lends a sense of balance and provides a modest variation on the basic material. The illustration from Feuillet is an example of the first formulation of "Classical" stylistic principles.

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33 Reprinted in Prunière, Pl. 4, and many other works.
which had been developing over the two and a half centuries before. Since earlier material shows other elements in common within the "Classical" style, is it too much to suppose that what one can read of the steps in the Feuillet Balet was in practice much earlier?

Principles of "Classical" spatial design were, in summary, symmetry, unison of step pattern, right and left repetition of step, mirroring opposition in step pattern, and even groupings. These principles are strongly reminiscent of those of classical Greek art, which the artists and philosophers of the Renaissance "rediscovered" and reapplied to suit their unique social environment. The reapplication of Greek modes tended to be "classicistic" and lacked the complexity and urgency which gave rise to the best of classical Greek forms. Yet there was in common a worldliness and delight in natural reality. "Life becomes more beautiful, more joyful, but it loses in depth, in grandeur, and in force," says Worringer of the "Classical Man," for whom "art became this beautiful, stately product of refinement." Worringer concludes:

At this Classical stage of human development, creative art consists in the ideal demonstration of conscious and chastened vitality; it becomes an objectified sense of one's own enjoyment . . . man celebrates . . . the realization of a felicitous state of spiritual equilibrium.

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37 Woringer, p. 21.
38 Ibid., p. 31.
39 Ibid., p. 35.
Nonchalance: The Renaissance Complaisance

In the Renaissance, Hauser claims, the ruling class strove to maintain this equilibrium, and looked, "to art, above all, as the symbol of the calm and stability which it aspires to attain in life."

For, if the High Renaissance develops artistic composition in the form of the symmetry and correspondence of the separate parts, and forces reality into the pattern of a triangle or circle, then that does not imply merely the solution of a formal problem, but also the expression of a stable outlook on life and of the desire to perpetuate the state of affairs which corresponds to this outlook.40

The overall character of the "Classical" style in Renaissance dance was that of controlled order, where pleasure was to be derived from a rational objective worldliness; where the weaving of intricate patterns by deft handling of the steps was the primary demand upon the artist. The dances were to conform to regulated demeanor, taste, and proportion. It was not only bad taste, but was stylistically inconsistent for a dancer to lose himself in the ecstatic enjoyment of the movement of a court ballet. That experience was not sought by the "Classical" dance artist or performer. For him it was stylistically inconceivable. Referring to the art and society of the High Renaissance, Hauser declares,

The whole artistic formalism of the Cinquecento merely corresponds to the formalized system of moral conceptions and decorum which the upper class of the period imposes on itself.41

Moderation and disciplined order were to conceal intensity of feeling and signs of effort. Castiglione describes the action of concealment by the

40 Hauser, II, 92.
41 Ibid., II, 91.
The word "nonchalance,"\textsuperscript{42} which had much the same meaning as effortless ease or grace. The name for the court dance in Middle High German was "gofenanz," according to Sachs, and it is derived from the Old French convenence or "seemliness."\textsuperscript{43} Art should not, under this ideal of moderation, seem to be art but should be, "composed in the simplest manner and according to the dictates of nature and truth rather than of effort and art."\textsuperscript{44} Castiglione continues,

So you see how art, or any intent effort, if it is disclosed, deprives everything of grace. Who among you fails to laugh when our messer Pierpaolo [he is otherwise unidentified] dances after his own fashion, with those capers of his, his legs stiff on tiptoe, never moving his head, as if he were a stick of wood, and all this so studied that he really seems to be counting his steps? What eye is so blind as not to see in this the ungainliness of affectation; and not to see the grace of that cool disinvolutta (ease) \textsuperscript{[sic]} (for when it is a matter of bodily movement many call it that) \textsuperscript{[sic]} in many of the men and women here present, who seem in words, in laughter, in posture not to care.\textsuperscript{45}

The words gofenanz, convenance, and disinvolutta have great affinity for each other, and surely have strong similarity in meaning.

The standard for refined decorum in behavior was deeply integrated with the esthetic standard, so that modes of behavior, performance styles, and objectifiable art styles were all precipitated from a single "will to form."\textsuperscript{46} Hauser refers again to this "classicistic character" of the Renaissance.

\textsuperscript{42} Castiglione, p. 43.  
\textsuperscript{43} Sachs, p. 281.  
\textsuperscript{44} Castiglione, pp. 43-44.  
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 44.  
\textsuperscript{46} Worrringer, p. 7. This term appears first in the chapter "Art and Aesthetics."
Just as the aristocracy and the aristocratically minded circles of society subject life to the rule of a formal code, in order to preserve it from the anarchy of the emotions, so they also submit the expression of the emotions in art to the censorship of definite, abstract, and impersonal forms. For this society, self-control, the suppression of the passions, the subduing of spontaneity, of inspiration and ecstasy, are the highest commandment.

Well might a Raphael conform to these modes and achieve an immaculate and tasteful object with a high degree of articulated skill. But a dancer with an "aristocratic aversion from every kind of specialization and professional activity" who was first of all a courtier and not at all in his own mind, a dancer, could never achieve a high degree of technical skill which could be richly expressive within the rules of restraint. He could engage in gentlemanly and pleasurable activities befitting his station yet the courtly code of etiquette prevented him from becoming an artist. The dancing master alone was the artist, who shaped his compositions with restrained, nonchalant, and graceful amateur materials, "who seem . . . in posture not to care." This same standard of cultivated ease has endured to the present day and can be seen in today's ballet technique.

**Increasing Professionalism and Technical Skill**

**Changing theatre structure**

The technique of the "Classical" dancer was inevitably going to develop in spite of the social insistence against professionalism. Even to perform the intricate figures on the floor the technique had to be

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47 Hauser, II, 91.
48 Ibid., II, 95.
defined, formulated, and taught. With these processes came a greater emphasis upon skill. Other changes required greater skill in performance. One was the changing structure of the theatre. The ballroom had served as the performing area for social dances and arranged figure dances up to the end of the sixteenth century. A dispersed decor very similar to medieval liturgical staging was the common practice for staging of the performances of the early ballets at court. Around the 1580's in France, following close upon precedents set in Italy, a central stage occupied the chief focal point in the hall. Within the arch of the stage, Renaissance aerial perspective, along the lines set by Vitruvius, was employed in the construction of stage scenery. After this period the raised stage was increasingly to occupy the central focal point, and the proscenium frame around the central opening to dominate the *scenae frons*. The distance between the players and the audience was greatly increased by these alterations in staging space. England alone retained the convention of the proscenium doors, a hold over from Elizabethan staging, which kept players and spectators in closer proximity. In the early raised stages, which began to disappear in the early seventeenth century in Europe, a ramp or staircase connected the stage to a large, clear floor below. The grand ballets of the finales and general social dancing which terminated the spectacles took place in this area below the stage, and it could be supposed that other uses were made of this connection between stage and lower floor throughout the spectacle. This practice in staging was discarded as the professional dancer began to be distinct from the members of the audience.
and as ballets became less of a social occasion for general participation and more of a professional theatrical event.

Academicism

There was also around the third quarter of the sixteenth century a growing tendency toward academicism. The Camerata in Florence, the Accademia Olympia in Vicenza 1556, and Baif's Académie de Musique et de Poesie, founded in Paris in 1571, were formed in the attempt to bring musicians and poets and, in fact, dancing masters together to educate artists and the public in new modes. These academicians were among the humanists whose principles were based upon the philosophy and art of ancient Greece. One of their aims was "to revive the theatre of the Greeks." Previously, verse had been composed according to Greek and Latin metrical laws. Baif wished to forge a melodic line onto the rhythm of the verse and unite the steps of the dance with the music and verse. He was intrigued by Italian figure dance (he had spent his youth in Venice) and had visions ofreviving the ancient Greek tragic chorus. What he had hoped to achieve was a union of poetry, music, and dance. What he did in fact accomplish was only a sterile, academic form based upon a strict science which stifled any spontaneity which might enliven a performance.

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49. Kirstein, p. 178. There is also an excellent discussion of this group in Welsford, pp. 104ff.
51. Prunières, p. 60.
52. Lawson, p. 13.
53. Prunières, p. 65.
The dance steps, if they were to conform to new metrical laws, would have to alter their traditional rhythms. Caroso, in his Nobilita di Dame, described his Ballo del Fiore, which is the same dance shown in the figure of the schematized rose. (Plate II, Fig. 1) He described steps measured in the antique rhythms of dactyls and spondees, but Prunières declares that,

... ce sont des termes pédantesques qui ne répondent à aucune réalité. Si l'on jette les yeux sur la musique, on est surpris de la trouver fort banale et rythmée de la manière la plus plate du monde. Les danses décrites au moyen de cette phraseologie compliquée sont de simples contredances de salon qui n'ont avec les evolutions choriques par Baif que de lointains rapports.

[... these are pedantic terms which do not correspond to any reality. If one glances at the music, one is surprised to find it very banal and measured in the most lifeless manner in the world. The dances described by means of that complicated phraseology are simple contredances of the salon which have only the remotest rapport with the choreographic evolutions dreamed by Baif.]

It is obvious that social traditions still prevented the dance and dancers from accomplishing any professional esthetic ideal; however, the significance of this early academic influence, in spite of the fact that no great work emerged from it, lay in placing greater emphasis on designed performed works and greater theatricality in presentation.

It is certain that Beaujoyeulx, the chief composer of the Ballet Comique who was one of many Italian artists who came to France in the 1550's, had worked with the artists of Baif's academy. They had collaborated on earlier ballets for Catherine de Medici. Beaujoyeulx's dances were entitled, for example, Tourdion and Branle which were the

54 Ibid., p. 67.
55 Supra, p. 40.
same names as those given the social dances of the time. They appear in Arbeau's manual of 1588. It would seem likely that here, too, the steps and rhythms were largely unchanged from earlier forms of social dance. The dancers who performed in the work were of the courtly class who still could not be expected to possess a wide range of movement skill with which to learn and perform entirely new steps and movements.

Technical virtuosity

Steps did gradually grow in intricacy due to the involvement with changing and more complex musical styles, and the growing theatricality of the court ballets. Greater intricacy was accomplished largely through embellishment by fast flourishes of the feet which demanded in turn a far more rigidly controlled torso. The upright vertical line of the torso was seemingly not in keeping with the ideal of nonchalant ease which characterized the style of the earlier period, but the technique grew in the only dimension which was possible, namely by means of greater elaboration and stress upon footwork and arm positioning. The steps in Feuillet's work of 1700 had many of the same names as earlier steps, but they were highly decorative, ornate, and more difficult to perform than their predecessors. His notation of entrechats and fleurets demonstrates the ascendency of the technical flourish. These steps were no longer simple to perform for a large section of the dancing courtly menage, but they remained, nonetheless, in the "Classical" "step" tradition.
The Growing Gulf Between Amateur and Professional Dancer

Feuillet's system was in effect toward the end of the seventeenth century when Louis XIV's Academy was founded in Paris. Here for the first time, officially, professional dancing was supported by the monarchy. It had a training school in its own right, and it finally gained the approval which had long been accorded the other arts. The dancing master was no longer a court appointee, who was hired to frame entertainment to amuse the royal household. He became a stylistic leader in an art form which had achieved a measure of freedom both from drama and music and also from the restrictions of the upper class social environment and its amateur performers. By the middle of the seventeenth century the amateur performance was proving to be a great handicap and annoyance to the dancing masters. Amateurs still, according to the Abbé Michel de Pure, participated in the court ballets from "vanity and personal interest." They were poorly trained and ungainly when seen performing next to the professional dancers, who found they had to underplay their roles, "in order not to confuse the impression of the Entrées." Michel states that de Pure,

... wished to make clear that the ballet-dance put forth higher and totally different claims from the social dance. This was why he exacted of the dancer a highly skilled and thoroughly trained body which, by means of gesture and action, 'could express something without speaking.'


58 Ibid., pp. 53-54.
Thus, the separation between the social and the art form of dance finally became an issue of significance. The accomplishment of the separation was to take many more years; meanwhile the "Classical" style had found fulfillment in the technical execution of the traditional steps and figures. As the technique grew from amateur to professional it acquired the perfection of an immaculate, well-bred, effortless instrument with a high degree of physical skill. The original standard was formed within a society which held anti-professional ideals and who danced the dances for their own pleasure. The technique which grew out of this to become the professional standard was a highly ordered, intensely strict, and frequently rigid movement style. The professional "Classical" dancer danced with a taut central axial line, from which the legs and arms worked in flamboyant, almost acrobatic filigrees. (Plate IV) The total emphasis was on the skillful execution of the steps and upon their arrangement in complex groupings. These figures were intended to display intriguing, felicitous, abstract shapes, and were not inspired by the nature of the expressive content.

Conclusion

The tendency towards the formulation of a "step" technique and outer presentational shapes or "figures" is characteristic of the "Classical" stylistic tradition, and represents the academic influence in dance. From the earliest days the "Classical" dance was concerned with the manipulation of shapes in space, and the development of an exhibitionist technique within the conventions of foot flourishes, and arm positioning. No
attention was given to communicating the inner springs of emotion. This was entirely in keeping with the earliest ideal of control and concealment of emotional intensity. By the eighteenth century the "Classical" style had been labeled the ballet d'école. An opposite tendency toward the "Expressional" style had also begun to appear. It had a separate line of development which grew from interest in the expressive content of movement. The growth of this tendency, later to be called the ballet d'action, will be traced in the next chapter.
CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF THE BALLET D'ACTION

Official Sanction

The Academy of Louis XIV was not the ultimate goal to which dance had aspired for so many years. Professionalism was indeed a requisite if dance were to have any significance as an art form, but professional growth within the academic system took the form of analysis, codification, and definition of steps and techniques. An established école gave sanction to rules and practices. A powerful board of approval of this kind would naturally oppose innovation and any artist's conception which fell outside the book of rules. "Expressional" forms were not on those lists. This was, of course, no radical change from times past; however, the French Academy had a widespread effect in establishing the correct "Classical" style. France became the focal center for art production in the seventeenth century. The French école of dance had an overriding authority over all dance production in Europe and England and set the standards which were to hold for over a century. It was in reaction to the growing academicism in France that the first murmurings were heard

\footnote{Hauser, II, 187.}
in favor of a greater breadth of expression. Gesture had become meaningless and artificial according to the dancing masters and aestheticians of the middle of the century. They felt that ballet movement had lost all truth to nature.

**Etiquette in the court of Louis XIV**

Court life in the time of Louis XIV had become rigidly fixed.

In the powerful monarchical system the courtier scrambled to succeed:

> How did he live, and what did he do? The answer is simple: he watched the King as a dog does its master whenever permitted to do so, and when the King was invisible, he talked about him to his fellow courtiers.²

Etiquette was prescribed down to the most exquisite detail. Whether to knock or to scratch on a door, "with the little finger of the left hand, growing the finger nail long for that purpose"³ was an issue of great moment at Versailles, where some of the most lavish entertainments of the century were presented. Dance came to its first moment of independence professionally in this society. While it gained in recognition and a measure of freedom, it suffered under the stifling regimen of a renewed and more severe classicism typical of the absolute monarchy.

**The Dancing Master**

The "Classical" style was characterized by its setting in the ballroom of elite society wherein the amateur, with careful tutoring by his dancing master, performed intricate steps and figures of elegant

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³Ibid., p. 39.
complexity which frequently had highly academic and abstruse symbolism. Professionalism, long in awakening in any total theatrical sense, was always present in the person of the dancing master. Though he shaped his works from amateur material, he himself seemed to be absolved from the strictures of decorum set upon his gentle performers. Recall Barletta whose dancing of quick movements and double steps was sanctioned by Castiglione. Along with this freedom went the implication that he did not merit the respect due the courtier. He had a tradition all to himself which was related to the professional theatre world. It was from him that the cry of protest was heard when classicism in dance had reached the academic level of development and was threatening to perpetuate sterile conventions. It is his history which marks the growth of a style which only later in the mid-seventeenth century can be called "Expressional."

In the previous discussion the dancing master was referred to largely in his capacity as an elaborator and codifier of the "Classical" style from the early Renaissance to the end of the seventeenth century. He functioned in the court circle and necessarily made his works within the requisites, limits, and possibilities of that world. He was indeed a leader in movement styles, both in terms of social etiquette and dance. His other features are difficult to trace. Little is known of this figure historically. He was a professional artist appointed to a noble household, about whose festivities far more is known than the specific role he played in them. He can be traced through the meager source of

\textsuperscript{4}Supra, p. 28.
theoretical dance manuals in which he notated steps, figures, and points for excellence in performance. It is probable that he was an underling at court, for very little notice is given to his work in early records. It is also likely that he did not rank among the painters, sculptors, and architects of his day, but was, rather, taken for granted as one who performed necessary duties in the household.

There were, obviously, in the seventeenth century other professionals besides the dancing master who performed in court spectacles. These were the performers next to whom, de Pure complained, the amateurs appeared so inept. What, then, is the history of the professional dancing master and performer in this early period when records are so scarce? What might his stylistic persuasion be? It will become apparent in the following discussion that his province was to excel at gesture and the comic intermezzi; that he was an itinerant scholar of dance styles who travelled from court to court "internationalizing" courtly styles; that certain dance forms were associated with him, and that his history is linked with that of the strolling players of the popular and public theatre tradition.

Several theories as to the origin of the dancing master

The most commonly accepted view as to the origin of the dancing master is that he descended from one or combination of figures comprising the band of itinerant minstrels, scholars, jongleurs, and troubadours who wandered about Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire. Franks suggests that before the emergence of the specialized dancing master, buffoons and

\[ ^5 \text{Supra, p. 53.} \]
jesters taught dancing, and it was from that group of "lusty" entertainers that the dignified and learned master of the Renaissance descended. Joan Lawson deals in more depth with the matter. She links the early dancing master to other artists and scholars who studied classical writers in the earliest Renaissance. She establishes a clear connection between the troubadour and the dancing master in a work by Amanieu de Sescas, called Advice to a Young Lady, in which he advises his pupil on "deportment and dance amongst their other activities." Miss Lawson thinks it more significant that the troubadours set down rules of composition for "their poems and musical accompaniments," and clearly distinguished between songs to be sung and songs to be danced.

The troubadour's sung poem was in the convention of court society in the middle ages, where the poet had a "new and exalted position." According to Hauser, there appeared at this time to be two classes of poet singers. There were the impoverished knights who would "eke out their living as wandering singers," and the low-born troubadours and minnesingers, who could attach themselves to a great noble house and could look forward to a promotion to knighthood. The displaced knights could be the most learned exemplification of chivalrous society. There was a distinct barrier between the professional minstrel and the knightly troubadour.

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7 Lawson, p. 9.
8 Ibid.
9 Hauser, I, 217.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., I, 223.
even though the latter could be made as well as born. Both classes of poet-singer dealt with the same theme; it was the treatment and rendering of the theme which distinguished them. The elite style was full of obscurity, veiled meaning and remote symbolism while the common player kept his tunes ordinary and his ideas understandable to the general public. The troubadour represented the "intellectual aristocracy" of the day.\textsuperscript{12} This early division in style recalls the refining and preciosity which took place in dance forms around the end of the fourteenth century, when it could first be noted that a style was emerging which departed from the traditional "Timeless" forms.

It is possible that the professional dancing master of the early Renaissance court had, among the knightly troubadour class, an ancestor who was perhaps charged to teach manners as well as traditional dance steps and fashionable dance styles. The poet and singer were the same person up to the twelfth century,\textsuperscript{13} and it could be conjectured that the singer-poet was at the same time a dancer. Tradition supports this point. Baskervill defines the English jig as a ballad both to be sung and danced.\textsuperscript{14} This is reminiscent of sixth century Greece when the poet composed the accompaniment as well as the movements of the chorus.\textsuperscript{15} Specialization gradually separated the arts in ancient Greece as it did in the late middle ages, but

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., II, 225.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Charles Read Baskervill, The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama (new ed.; New York: Dover, 1965).
the connection between the musician and the dancer hung on. Castiglione's Barletta entertained the court with his music and dancing, and a century later, Lully was known for his excellence both as a violinist and a dancer. Many examples could be cited to defend this continuing tradition.

The troubadour addressed his love lyrics to his lady, at a time when she had attained a new prestige and stature in life. Hauser declares that the troubadour even saw "the world through the eyes of a woman." The moral and aesthetic education of young noblemen was placed in her hands. It is worthwhile to examine the relationship of the troubadour, the learned tutor of music and possibly also of dance and etiquette to his lady, who was in turn responsible for the education of male youth of noble birth. It might account for the feminine, almost manneristic, attenuation of gesture, the delicate pointing of hands and feet, the shortening of step and narrowing of movement which characterized the dance style of the late middle ages and early Renaissance, particularly in the northern countries.

This theory of the origin of the Renaissance dancing master could apply to Europe north of the Alps but is less appropriate in Italy, where the secular mime tradition, like other antique art forms, never wholly disappeared. This tradition included many dance acts among its stock routines. Furthermore, there was not the strict differentiation between

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16 Castiglione, p. 86.
country and court-city life in Italy as there was in the northern countries. In the southern country there was a greater openness between the classes toward the close of the fifteenth century and, though the rustics were ridiculed,

nowhere do we find a trace of that brutal and contemptuous class-hatred against the "vilains" which inspired the aristocratic poets of Provence, and, often, too the French Chroniclers.\textsuperscript{18}

This greater freedom would account for a higher level of theatrical performance because of a greater tolerance for professionalism which placed Italy first among the leaders of Renaissance dance styles.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century the courts began to retain poets and singers (therefore, probably dancers) in permanent positions in the household. These official court artists were thereupon separated from the band of wandering minstrels, whose business it was "to address themselves, as they did before their social rise at the beginning of the chivalric period, to a lower class of public."\textsuperscript{19} Here then is the beginning of the rift between court professional dance styles and those of the public entertainer. The distinction between them seemed to be less fixed in the south which provided so much of the leadership in entertainment forms until the mid-seventeenth century.

John Martin sets forth a theory which he admits is "pure speculation."\textsuperscript{20} A great many of the early dancing masters were Jews. One of the first of whom there is record is Rabbi Hacen ben Salomo, who in 1313 was

\textsuperscript{19} Hauser, I, 228.
\textsuperscript{20} Martin, pp. 152-153.
commissioned "to teach a round dance to be performed around the altar to the Christian parishioners of the Church of St. Bartholomeo\textsuperscript{21} in Spain. Another was the celebrated Guglielmo Ebreo who wrote one of the most significant early manuals on dancing and who was attached to the ducal house of Urbino in Italy. Ambrosio from Pesaro is said by Nettl also to be a Jew, as was a pupil of Guglielmo's, Giuseppe. Other Jewish dancing masters, cited by Nettl, appear as late as the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{22}

Martin suggests that the Jewish masters may be linked to the medieval ghettos of France and Germany where an institution, the Tanzhaus, was the center for ceremonial dancing on special occasions. The ritualistic use of this house lessened with time, and it was gradually accepted as the center for community recreation with the possibility, according to Martin, that a supervisor was in charge of activities. That supervisor, if indeed he did exist, could be the ancestor of the Renaissance dancing master.

**Early history of dancing masters in France**

In France, as early as 1334, a guild of musicians headed by the "roi des violons"\textsuperscript{23} was granted privilege by the king (Philip VI) to give licenses to teachers of dancing. The members of the society were expected to be familiar with choreography and the means of notating a dance. This privilege was renewed in 1406 by Charles VI who, incidentally,

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[21] Nettl, p. 71.
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\end{footnotesize}
was one of the wodehosea or hairy figures badly burned in the Bal des Ardentz described in Froissart's Chronicle. The guild, the "Confréries de St. Julien" was a companion brotherhood to the Confrérie de la Passion, which was said to have had its privilege renewed in 1402, and whose charge it was to produce mystery plays at the Hôtel de la Trinité. Later in 1549 religious plays were prohibited, but the society was granted permission to license all theatrical activity. It held a monopoly over all public performances in Paris from its base at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, a theatre which it built in 1548 and which continued to stand until 1783.

The sixteenth century saw the migration of Italian dancing masters to France. Many came to the French courts with the Marechal de Brissac in 1554-1555 after one of the wars of conquest between France and northern Italy. Beaujoyeulx, who also joined the court of Rudolf II in Vienna, and Fabritio Caroso appeared in the northern courts around the middle of the century. It was in this same period that troupes of Italian actors appeared at the courts in France. They provided entertainment for Henry II and Catherine de Medici in Lyon in 1548; later in 1577 the I Gelosi troup was permitted to perform in Paris at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Thereafter the troup appeared frequently in France, so that its influence was powerfully felt in the early part of the seventeenth century.

24 Quoted in Kirstein, pp. 115-116. This passage is frequently quoted in secondary sources.
28 Nettl, p. 94.
There must have been a definite connection between the court dancing master from Italy and the Italian troupes of actors as long as they remained in their homeland. Once they arrived in France, however, the gulf between court entertainment and public theatre seems to have separated them. In the seventeenth century, ballet was distinctly a court genre, a "pretified" form of amusement,\textsuperscript{30} in which, however, gentlemen took enthusiastic part. Court ballets were performed in the Petit-Bourbon near the Louvre, the Arsenal, at the chateau of Saint Germain en Laye, or any other great house where entertainment was to be provided for the royal party.\textsuperscript{31} The Commedia troupes danced the sarabande at the Hotel de Bourgogne,\textsuperscript{32} and the same dance was performed by the royalty at court festivities. One was a public performance; the other a royal entertainment. The differences lay in style, that which was described as "Classical" in the last section; yet, more and more during the first part of the century, professional dancers were taking the leading roles in the court ballets. They must have come from the ranks of the public theatre; they were certainly not of noble birth, and since the Italians were style setters in all entertainment forms, it seems likely that the professional dancers of the time came from their midst. It is also a possibility that they were trained in the musicians' guild which had taken on Italianate styles.

The ballet à entrée was popular after 1621. It was a form which allowed for greater display of skill and spectacle and in which all attempts

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 232.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., pp. 231-232.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 29.
to organize the separate entrees into a dramatic plot had been forsaken. The dancers Marais and Morel were among the trained professionals who appeared in the ballet, and it was "their strict training — originating from Italy — that enabled them to display feats of skill of which the courtiers were utterly incapable." Horace Morel was granted a privilege to produce a ballet in a public theatre in 1632, but he met with no success, that was due, according to Reyna, to the general unpopularity of court ballet, which "was determined to remain ballet for courtiers." In 1634 for the extravagant festivities set for a triple wedding of royalty which was attended by the Queen, Anne of Austria, the Montdory troupe of comedians, "began the show with three entrees, [sic] that they preferred to call nothing but buffooneries, although they well deserved the name of ballets." During the first part of the seventeenth century, then, a greater freedom appeared to exist between the professional and amateur performer and performance.

On stage, all social distinctions disappeared, and people of all classes mingled. The only remaining difference ... lay in the luxuriousness of the costumes.

The title "danseur des ballets du roi" was an envied distinction, which important people of varying talent fought hard to achieve. Like the kind, a wealthy marquis would perform next to an unimportant lawyer or a dancer far brisker than he.

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33 Reyna, pp. 49-50.
35 Reyna, p. 50.
36 Wiley, p. 241, quoting from Theophraste Renaudot, a guest at the wedding.
37 Christout, p. 18.
- Belleville, Bocan, and Louis Constantin were other dancing masters of the day. All were violinists who generally composed the music as well as the dancing for the *entres*.\textsuperscript{38} Constantin was the "roi des violons" in 1624 until his death in 1657, when he was succeeded by Guillaume Dumanoir, "who had to defend his power in 1661 against the members of the new Academie de Danse."\textsuperscript{39} Bocan gave dance instruction to the leading queens of Europe, among them Henriette de France, queen of England.\textsuperscript{40}

There must have been some inner hierarchical order to the duties and prestige of the dancing master during this time. The family of Beauchamps were court violinists and dancing masters throughout the entire period. The first, Pierre, died in 1627 and was a violinist; the second, Louis (1597-1666) was violinist and "dancer du Roi;" Pierre II (1636-1719) was given credit for inventing "la danse noble."\textsuperscript{41} It was the last of these who was one of the first members of the early Academy instigated by Colbert in 1661, who rivalled Louis Constantin as leader of the *Confrérie*. By this time there might have been a distinct break between the guild, representing the public theatre, and the Academy, representing the court interest, which separation coincided with the renewed classicism of the absolute monarchy.

It is significant to note that the dancing master, whether he was a member of a guild, one of the public theatre players, or a court appointee, was always considered a professional dancer. Lawson believes that it was

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{39}Ibid., fn. 22, p. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{40}Ibid., fn. 23, p. 37.
\item \textsuperscript{41}Lawson, p. 19.
\end{itemize}
in the first part of the seventeenth century that the professional dancer first appeared in the performances of the "ballets du cour." At the end of the century there was no further tolerance for amateur performers in the ballets at the Opera.

**Early history of dancing masters in England**

The dancing master and early documents on dance in England show a direct influence from continental styles. The court dancing master himself was more often Italian or French than a local product. Richard II, in 1380, paid ten marks to a Venetian dancing master, John Katherine, whose name may have been Anglicized after he had been in England for a time. Early English documents on dance illustrate the continuity of court styles from the continent to England. Basse dances are mentioned in late fifteenth century works which, according to Miss Wood, "occur in other collections, while many are unique." The works of Coplande and Elyot were chief among sixteenth century English documents and consist largely of lists of dances popular among the upper classes at the time.

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42 Ibid., p. 21.
43 Paul Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais* (new ed.; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964), p. 81. Reyher states that all English styles were Italianate up to 1700, whereupon they became Frenchified. The abundance of French dancing masters in England during the early seventeenth century would seem to contest this view.
There are no works which give sufficient detail of style, nor texts of ballets which suggest any particular English stylistic characteristics until those of De Lauze and Playford appear in the seventeenth century. It would be safe to assume that there were differences which went unnoted and which will have to be distinguished by the discovery of some source as yet unknown. The English did have a tradition of hiring court dancing masters from abroad, particularly from France, which lasted through the eighteenth century.

A family of dancers, the Cardels, was already established at the court of Elizabeth in 1582. A dancing master, "Bochan" (Anglicized from Beauchamps) gave instruction to the Queen (Anne of Denmark, consort of James I) and her ladies for a masque in 1610-1611, and in a later ballet received a substantial honorarium, though exactly what service he performed is unknown.

Thomas Giles was Prince Henry's dancing master and musician to the court. It is known that the Prince had a copy of Castiglione's The Courtier. Ben Jonson praised him highly in several of his ballet texts, and through this source it is known that Giles designed all the dances to Hymenaei and the Ballet de Beauté as well as the figure dance in the Ballet des Reines which presented in succession all the letters

47 F. de Lauze, Apologie de la Danse (1631), trans. J. Wildeblood (London: F. Muller, 1952); John Playford, English Dancing Master, 1651 (facsimile reprint; London: Schott & Co., 1957). This book had eighteen editions, the last one appearing after 1729.
48 Reyher, p. 78.
49 Ibid.
50 Wood, p. 120.
of the name of the young Duke of York, later to become Charles I. Sebastain La Pierre succeeded to Giles' position as dancing tutor to the future king.  

Jeremy Hearne (Anglicized from Jerome Heron) excelled in dances of the comic intermezzi, played the bass viol, and was musician to the king. He was possibly the composer of the dance of the satyrs in the masque, Oberon. He, Beauchamps, and Giles all worked in some capacity in the Ballet des Lords. The English masque, like the French ballets of the same period had both arranged dances, or entrées, and concluding general social dances, called "revels" in England. As in France, the arranged dances had the same steps and rhythms as the social dances.

A record of a Christmas masque of 1610 showed that Jonson received £40, Inigo Jones, £40, and the dancing master, who was not named, received £50. The degree of responsibility, despite anonymity, is duly recorded. A "Monsieur Confess," is on record as receiving £50 for a ballet given in 1611, and it is possible that in addition he was charged with making the costumes for one entrée.

Information about the performers in the court ballets in England is even more scant. Giles and Heron played principal roles of a mimetic type in two of Jonson's ballets but were otherwise among the "figurants" or corps.

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51 Reyher, p. 78.
52 Ibid., p. 79.
54 Reyher, p. 79.
55 Ibid., p. 84.
The Interregnum put an end to court spectacles. They recommenced, on a scale never to equal the earlier masques, at the restoration of Charles II in 1660. Charles had spent his earlier years in France and probably saw Louis XIV in Le Ballet Royal de la Nuit in 1653 and was certainly present at the Petit Bourbon for Thetys et Palée a year later.  

It is difficult to know to what extent public theatre players appeared in early English court entertainments. So far as it is known there was no society comparable to the Confréries of musicians and dancers. Plays in the public theatres of both France and England were habitually concluded with dancing by the players, and these dances were of considerable variety. They were generally of the jig type in England performed by professional comedians but what Baskervill refers to as country forms, such as, morris and the hobbyhorse, occurred frequently also. Court dances appeared, too, on the public stages, notably the Galliard, which was a lively dance, and more appropriate to a rousing finale than more stately measures suitable to the refined entertainments of the nobility. Baskervill refers to a passage from Old Meg of Herefordshire, of 1609, in which "a Galliard on a common stage, at the

58 Baskervill, p. 142.
59 Ibid., p. 79.
end of an old dead Comedie" is alluded to. While court dances appeared on public stages and country forms were frequently danced by the nobility in the ballroom, the performers themselves remained distinctly separate. Performances of players from the public theatre were given at court. Charles II was particularly fond of Fiorillo, a Commedia player, who at the invitation of the king traveled "always in the Royal yacht, never performing in the public theatres but in the highly favored surroundings of the Court." But performers in the court entertainments, particularly the masques in the early part of the century, were largely the nobility and upper classes; there would, of course, be no question of their performing on a public stage. Furthermore, court masques were not to the public taste. Yet the dancing master was from the ranks of the professional player. His traditional connection with the guidance of the courtier in manners and deportment placed him in a class above the public actor, and in periods when the court ballet in both France and England were at their height, he was more in place in the environment of the court than in the public theatre. This was to be expected because his art was devised entirely for the upper classes, and was far too expensive aside from being unpopular for production in a public theatre. How much he depended upon skilled dancers from the public theatre to carry the difficult roles in the masques is impossible to determine.

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60 Ibid., p. 143.
61 Fletcher, p. 12.
Dance Forms Associated with the Dancing Master

Professional dancers were traditionally associated with the morris, moresque, or morisco dance forms. The origin and history of this dance has been the subject of much speculation. Generally, it is thought to have been a ritual dance of great antiquity in which a mimetic re-enactment of a sacred combat was performed. The combat lay between death and revival, winter and spring, good and evil, light and darkness, and any set of opposites basic to the survival of mankind. From its origin it was a dance expressive of conflict and was considered essentially a dramatic form. Enid Welsford supplies a succinct description of its fundamental components:

A dance with so long a history has naturally varied very much at different times and places. The most constant features are: a mock combat, the wearing of bells round knees and ankles, the disguising, which was usually accompanied by masking or blacking the face, the clashing of sticks and waving of handkerchiefs in time to the music, also it seems always to have been a step-dance, danced on the heels or ball of the foot.

The morris continued to be danced as a folk dance, but it became involved with court entertainments in the fifteenth century, and, thereafter, its history is interlocked with court performances. Even in that context it was never regarded as a social dance as opposed to the figure dances which were danced by couples, groups of men and women, or even women alone. The morris was traditionally danced by men and was

62 Welsford gives the most conclusive summary, pp. 25-29; numerous other references deal with the problem, among them Curt Sachs, pp. 336ff.; Lincoln Kirstein, pp. 95ff.; and Nettl, pp. 82ff.
63 Martin, p. 177.
pantomimic in nature. In England the antimasque or grotesque dance, "which preceded the entry of the courtly masquers," can be traced back to the morris.\textsuperscript{65} In France the character and grotesque entrées, which alternated with the figure entrées, were also related to this form. The Italian intermezzo commonly made use of the morisco and the brando,

... and by the sixteenth century the morisco — whether as an interlude or as an independent entertainment — had itself developed into a kind of ballet d'action.\textsuperscript{66}

The courtly morris had a different purpose, then, from the figure entrées and it used, as a consequence, a form which suited its special character. It was an interlude for comic mimic play; its themes were popular, local and topical, and very regularly bawdy and obscene. Its form was an adaptable procession.\textsuperscript{67} The themes for the figure entrées were noble, heavily symbolic, and the forms were highly contrived geometric figures. The difference between the character and figure entrées was markedly similar to that between the choral movement of the literary drama in ancient Greece and the popular mime theatre. As in the ancient mime plays of which there are few written records, the movement was made up of popular mimetic gesture, which could be a mixture of improvisation and stock routines or lazzi. Under the influence of courtly styles the morris became in certain periods highly conventionalized. Sachs says, for example, that,

In the fifteenth century the pantomime still plays an important role, but it has already departed from tradition, lost

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., p. 29.  
\textsuperscript{66}Ibid., p. 85.  
\textsuperscript{67}Martin, p. 177.
its fresh independence, and been conventionalized by dance
teachers into rigid figures. 68

This period represents a second and refining stage; yet, even
in highly formalized periods the morris was considered the type of dance
suitable to the professional and unfit for general social dancing.
There is a distinct suggestion in Castiglione's passage that this
form was ungentlemanly and, therefore, fit only for the professional
player or the lower class public. While it retained a timeless, almost
ritual character in folk custom, it took on the stylistic characteristics
of the court dance when it entered that milieu. It had a counterpart in
the public theatre, too, which was the jig, often itself a morris which
was a popular theatre version of the pantomimic dance. Generally, all
of the morris forms were vigorous, fast dances requiring much exertion
and skill, and rich in expressive gesture.

It is from this source that the later "Expressional" styles
descended. The difference in style between a figure and a character
entree in court entertainments proved to be the same dualistic opposite
which underlies dance styles. The figure entree could be called the
"Classical" approach to movement whereas the character entree could
be described as the "Expressional." The dance style of a specific
historical period contains elements of both with more or less emphasis
on one aspect, such as the style of dance in the early sixteenth century
in Europe when there was a lively, more expressive freedom or "Expressional"
trend amid a general "Classical" development.

68 Sachs, p. 279.
Fin de Siecle in France: Lully's Opera

The end of the seventeenth century in France was a period of renewed activity in the dance, inspired largely by Jean-Baptiste Lully and his association with Molière and the Academy of Dance. The old Academy founded in 1661 by Colbert had been absorbed, or possibly merely overshadowed, by the Academie Royale de Musique et de Danse, which was originally instituted by Colbert in 1669 under the direction of the poet Perrin, whose quality Kirstein describes as "wretched" and Robert Cabert. Louis XIV handed the 1669 Academy over to Lully in 1672 after the latter had gained the favor of the King by what is generally thought to be unscrupulous political maneuvering. This later Academy was endowed with the responsibility of producing opera, "in the French language after the manner of Italy." The director of choreography in this endeavor, which was later to be known as l'Opera, was Charles Louis Beauchamps, nephew of Pierre Beauchamps II who had headed the earlier Academy of Dance and had been the King's dancing master for so many years.

Lully (Giovanni Baptista Lulli) was born in Florence of humble background and came to France at the request of Louise d'Orleans, la

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69 Reyna states that the 1771 Academy was officially alive until 1780, but it performed no effective function after 1672, p. 55.
70 Kirstein, p. 179.
71 Lawson, p. 21
72 The Beauchamps family of dancers is described, Supra, p. 69.
Just which one of this lineage served as director of dance in 1672 is a point which no other reference I have found has either clarified or agreed upon.
grande mademoiselle, cousin of Louis XIV in the 1640's. He was attached to the household as garçon de chambre at the age of fourteen and was given instruction in the violin. He soon distinguished himself in his ability on that instrument, as well as in dancing and pantomime. Shortly after leaving the royal household, according to Kirstein, Lully presented a ballet which is suggestive in one section of an earlier work of Descartes, described at the conclusion of this chapter. Called the Ballet de la Nuit, it lasted thirteen hours, and Lully himself danced five of the roles. This is the ballet which Charles II of England may have attended in 1653. The usual mythological and symbolic entries occurred; however, one was a "nocturnal fight between soldiers and robbers." Lully was highly skilled at pantomime, called jeu muet, and the players in the mimed entries were "strictly forbidden to do a single dance step."

Olivet, a master of pantomime, which clearly was considered a skill apart from dancing, created the mimed sections and trained the players. Reyna declares that Lully directed the "burlesque entrées" himself and included acts from the Commedia dell'Arte in his ballets whenever possible.

Lully produced what appear to be his most intriguing theatre works in association with Moliere. The latter was equally skilled in

73 Kirstein gives the date as 1642, p. 178; Reyna gives his arrival in Paris on 1644, p. 51; and Nettl gives the year as 1646, p. 162.
74 Supra, p. 73.
75 Kirstein, p. 179.
76 Fletcher, p. 8. Jeu muet is a term used by Abbe du Bos (1670-1742), whose first theoretical work on aesthetics appeared in 1719 and included observations on dance and mime. He had seen Lully's work in an earlier period. His work is treated in Michel, p. 55.
77 Reyna, p. 54.
Commedia techniques and styles and even shared the Petit-Bourbon with Tiberio Fiorelli, the favorite of Charles II in 1658.78 Both *Le Mariage Force* (1664) and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670) were productions in which the two collaborated.79 *Les Facheux* was written by Molière in 1661 and produced at the palace of Vaux-le-Vicomte, which was the residence of Fouquet, Mazarin's treasurer. The danced entrées were to be inserted between the acts and Molière related the dancing to the subject of the play instead of merely using them for diversion, the customary function of such intermezzi. Its theme was a social satire which parodied the behavior of the courtiers. The spoken or changed portions, or *recits*, were omitted in the first performance of the play and Molière himself took the role of a different social bore in each act. When it was later produced in collaboration with Lully, the *recits* returned in the form of Lully's songs. Lully himself danced and the *premier danseur* was Beauchamps. The new performance was "almost swamped by danced interludes."80 In 1671 they collaborated on an opera-ballet, *Psyche*, which Betterton may have seen and reproduced at the Duke’s theatre in Dorset Garden.81 *Psyche* had a funeral procession which very successfully mimed, "a physical state or spiritual mood."82

79 Reyna, p. 57.
80 Kirstein, p. 183. No date is given for this later effort. It is not known which of the Beauchamps this refers to.
81 Infra, p. 85.
82 Fletcher, p. 8. McDowell gives the date of *Psyche*'s production at the Palais Royal as 1673, p. 26.
Aside from the improvisational comic interludes which seemed to be Lully's gift as well as Molière's and which led to the perfecting of what was called the *comédie-ballet*, the opera-ballets were stiffly academic and rigidly designed according to the rules of officially approved symbolism and allegory. The academic ballet and opera were like "courts of law" in the arts. With the instigation of Lully's Academy in 1672, the final evolution toward the fixing of a virtuoso technique was begun. Lully was then associated with Berain, appointed designer to the King in 1674, and Gasparo Vigarini, the Italian machinist who had designed the Salle des Machines in the Tuileries. The institutional hierarchy of the Paris Opera, the official arbiter of performance styles acceptable to the Parisian salons and particularly to the monarch, settled into an entrenched position which it was to hold for generations to follow. It stood for control, order, discipline, elegance in manner, impersonality, and unreality of theme.

To be sure, the French court attains the international recognition of its manners, fashion, and art at the expense of the national character of French culture. The French, like the ancient Romans, look upon themselves as citizens of the world, and nothing is more typical of their cosmopolitan outlook than the fact that in all the tragedies of Racine, ... not a single Frenchman appears.

*Fin de Siècle in England: Dance During the Restoration*

Because of civil strife in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, the evolution toward professionalism in the court ballet never took place as it did in France. With the Restoration the theatre revived.

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83 Hauser, I, 191.
84 Ibid., I, 190.
The dancing master as professional choreographer and dancer was equally at home in court productions and the public theatre. His duties as style setter in manners and social dancing among the upper classes were discharged in private schools. The French Academy continued to dominate styles in ballroom and theatrical dancing, though the latter form in the public theatre contained much indigenous material, such as jigs and hornpipes. Manners and upper class etiquette were imitative of the elegance emanating from the French salons.

During the Interregnum some clandestine theatrical performances were given, but none appeared in any profusion until the early 1660's. The Chelsea school for young ladies had been active before this date and had produced masques in which the students played the parts. Luke Channel was a French dancing master who was active before Charles II came to the throne. He organized a private entertainment for the Portuguese Ambassador in 1653. In 1660 Pepys went "to a dancing meeting in Broad Street at the house that was formerly the glass-house," where he saw a good dancing directed by "Luke Channel master of the school."
Patent theatres began operating upon Charles II's Restoration. In 1660 the Duke's Men under Sir William Davenant started production at Salisbury Court, a theatre which escaped destruction by puritanical zealots. In 1661 they moved into Lisle's Tennis Court, where in 1664 Mrs. Connell danced in The Rivals. The King's Men, organized by Thomas Killigrew, opened at the Red Bull in 1660. They moved in May 1663 to the first Theatre Royal which was to become in 1690 the Drury Lane. In the early Theatre Royal John Lacy was actor, dancer and choreographer, and the teacher of Nell Gwynn of whom Pepys speaks repeatedly and who became as renowned for her jigs, "branles and corantos," as for her desirability as a mistress. Lacy and Nellie danced together in comic interludes and spectacles as well as in the general dancing of the players which concluded an evening's comedy.

Jo Hanes (or Hayns) was admired by Pepys in 1668. He was then appearing at the Theatre Royal but had been earlier attached to the Nursery, a theatre possibly under Captain Bedford in Hatton Garden. In the production, The Spanish Gipsies, on March 7th there appeared a variety of dances, "and those most excellently done, especially one part by one Hanes." Hanes later became attached to the entourage of Louis XIV at St. Germain-en-Laye in 1670 and may have danced in Molière's Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme in that same year. He later returned to London to direct

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89 The chronology of these early playhouses appears in Nagler, pp. 203 ff., but a more complete treatment is given in McDowell, pp. 45-46.
90 Fletcher, p. 7.
the dances of Shadwell's operatic version of *The Tempest* at Dorset Garden. He returned to the continent and danced in Rome and Florence in 1685. In 1667 Moll Davies (or Davis) appeared in Caryll's *The English Princess* (a version of *Richard III*) at the Duke's House, Lisle's Tennis Court. It was, according to Pepys,

... a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are; only little Miss Davis did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next days play; so that it come in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; ...  

She appeared in the same year at that playhouse in Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-All* with the dancer and dancing master, Josias Priest. In 1671 the same production opened the new playhouse for the Duke's Men, Dorset Garden, a theatre designed by Christopher Wren. It may have been that Moll Davies and Priest appeared again in their former roles. Josias Priest and Luke Channel appeared together in the operatic version of *Macbeth* at Dorset Garden in 1673.  

The first royal ballet after the Restoration was given at the Great Hall Theatre in Whitehall palace in 1665 and no record but the name (*The Queen's Ballet*) remains. In 1672 the Duke of Monmouth, bastard son of Charles II and a dedicated dancer, was sent to France in charge of English forces to aid Louis XIV in his campaign against

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93 Fletcher, p. 11.  
94 Pepys, Entry for March 7, 1667, p. 195.  
95 Fletcher, p. 11, and Cohen, p. 23. Miss Cohen refers to the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields.  
96 Nagler, p. 203; McDowell, p. 46.  
97 Fletcher, p. 10. Fletcher refers to the Duke's Theatre.  
98 Ibid., p. 7.
Holland. He danced *Les Fêtes de L'Amour*, Lully's first production upon
appointment as director of the Opera. Monmouth performed with several
profession dancers in that opera, among whom was the dancer, St. André.

St. André came to England, possibly with the Duke and certainly
at his instigation to direct Betterton's *Psyche*, which was presented
at Dorset Garden in 1674. Other French dancers appeared in this work
which was probably inspired by the earlier work of Lully and Molière.
The same group appeared in a court production of Crowne's masque, *Caliasto*,
which was presented for Mary and Anne, daughters of the Duke of York in
1675. The royal princesses, the Duke of Monmouth, Moll Davies,
St. André, and Josias Priest, who designed the dances and received £100
for his effort, danced side by side in the performance in the Great Hall
at Whitehall. St. André's work was so favored that he was to have a
pension from the King and an appointment as Master of Compositions for
Ballets; however, no record remains of the consummation of this intention.

99 Ibid.
100 Ibid., p. 8.
101 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
103 Fletcher, p. 9. It is of interest to note that though royalty
and players from the public theatre performed together on the stage of a
court production, there was no social mixing in private life. Charles II
was seen by John Evelyn in "luxurious dallying and profaneness" at an
evening of gaming in January of 1685 where "the King was in the midst
Dutton, 1907), Vol. II, Entry for Jan. 25, 1685, p. 207. These were
noble ladies, one of whom was the former Lady Castlemaine. Nell Gwynn and
Moll Davies were not admitted to this fashionable circle though they were
fashionably housed by the King. The former had a house backing on St. James
Park, while Moll Davies had a house on St. James Square. Ralph Dutton,
Among the performers in Calisto listed as English dancers appeared a Mr. Isaac, who received only £10 for his part in it. Elsewhere he is referred to as "Monsieur," and it is not known whether he was French or merely given polite Gallicized recognition. He was dancing master to Princess Anne, who became Queen Anne in 1702, and he designed a special dance for each of her birthdays thereafter until she died in 1714. Works by Mr. Isaac were included in collections of notated dances coming out after Feuillet's Choreographie was translated into English in 1706. Mr. Siris, who gave the most exact translation of Feuillet's work, included a dance, The Rigaudon, by Mr. Isaac. Weaver's Treatise included couple dances by Isaac, The Friendship, The Morris, and The Saltarelle. Other dances designed by the same master for the Queen's birthday, The Union, 1707, The Britannia, 1706, A Rigadoone Royal, in 1711, are presented in the same work which included several other dances, notably a Chaconne, The Favorite, which was probably also by Isaac and which was designed to be danced by her Majesty. The last mentioned was written in Feuillet's characters by Mr. de la Garde, dancing master. Mr. Isaac is mentioned in Weaver's dedication to An Essay Towards an History of Dancing, as one of the "happy teachers of that Natural and Unaffected Manner, which has been brought to so high a Perfection." 

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104 Ibid., p. 9.
105 Ibid., p. 13.
107 John Weaver, A Small Treatise of Time and Cadence in Dancing (London: Black Fryar, 1706).
In 1680 Josias Priest left his school at Leicester Fields and set up anew at Chelsea. Here he began a collaboration with Purcell which produced an early version of Dido and Aeneas eleven years before it was presented to a wider public. The school girls danced in the opera, and it is probable that professionals danced the more difficult parts. It was, according to Miss Cohen, designed strictly for amateurs who would have been thought highly indecorous in any display of technical virtuosity. Purcell and Priest collaborated again in 1692 in two operas at Dorset Garden, King Arthur and The Faery Queen.

In 1698 Betterton signed Anthony L'Abée from the Paris Opera to the theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields for a period of three years. L'Abée succeeded Isaac as court dancing master in 1714 on the Queen's death. L'Abée was one of whom Colley Cibber spoke when he declared that in order to subsist the London theatres had to "have recourse to foreign Novelties." Both L'Abée (spelled L'Abbé by Weaver) and Isaac were noted in the list of subscribers to Weaver's translation of the Feuillet work, which was dedicated to Isaac, and under whose patronage Weaver wished to "seek shelter," as it would "secure me from censure of malice and ignorance." L'Abée headed the list of dancing masters subscribing to Weaver's Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing. His name

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109 Cohen, p. 25.
110 Ibid., p. 27.
111 Fletcher, p. 10.
113 Nagler, pp. 236-237.
114 John Weaver, Orchesography (London: Black Fryar, 1706), Dedication.
115 John Weaver, Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing (London: J. Brotherton, etc., 1721), xi.
appears again on the announcement of Dryden's All for Love given by the Haymarket company in December 1705 and which advertises "dancing 'especially the Grand Dance' performed by M. L'Abbé" and other dancers.\footnote{Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-1750 (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1925), p. 46.}

During the end of the seventeenth century, the English dancing master continued to imitate the French masters in manners and dance styles. Court spectacles were no longer produced on any grand scale, and the dancing master composed only ballroom dances for royalty. His other functions were to teach manners and dancing to school girls and to design dances for the stages of the public theatres. These diverse duties inhibited any theoretical discussion on aesthetics or purposes of dance as an art form. In France, however, the theories had begun to appear early in the century.

\textit{Voices of Protest Against the Courtly "Classical" Tradition}

One of the theorists on dance who began to voice objections to some of the traditions of the court ballet was Nicolas de Saint-Hubert, who began dancing in court spectacles around 1625. He called himself an organizer of ballets, was a modest painter and sketcher, and published a "little discourse" on dance in 1641.\footnote{Nicolas de Saint-Hubert, How to Compose a Successful Ballet (Paris: 1641), reprinted in Dance Index, No. 20, 1964.} He urged a composer of ballets to find a good subject:

\begin{quote}
I find many perfect musicians for the airs, excellent dancers for the entrées, good designers for the costume, extremely
skillful craftsmen for the machines, but very few people are able to deal with a good subject and follow its necessary progression.\textsuperscript{118}

He insisted that \textit{ent\'res} were to be relevant to the subject and that they be inventive and not a repetition of the past:

And may Ovid's \textit{Metamorphoses} no longer be danced as in former times. This reminds me of a gentleman I know who once asked my opinion concerning an idea he had of presenting Homer's \textit{Iliad} in ballet form. I told him frankly that it would be a play rather than a ballet, that the ceilings of the halls were too low for the masts of the Greek vessels, that the horses of Hector's chariot, if frightened, might injure people, and that the burning of Troy would scare the ladies.\textsuperscript{119}

This was clearly a plea for less academic pomposity of subject.

Later he spoke of ballet: "being a silent play, costumes and actions must enable the spectators to recognize what is represented," and urged adequate rehearsal for a good performance.\textsuperscript{120} Songs and the spoken word were still interspersed among the danced \textit{ent\'res}, and Saint-Hubert sanctioned them so long as they were in keeping with the subject.\textsuperscript{121}

A remarkable ballet appeared at the Swedish Court of Queen Christina, who wished to celebrate the Peace of Westphalia with appropriate festivities. She invited René Descartes, the great French philosopher, to design \textit{The Birth of Peace}, a ballet which was produced at the Stockholm castle in 1649, a year before his death. The ballet included the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[118] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 28.
\item[119] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 29.
\item[120] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 31.
\item[121] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 34.
\end{footnotes}
"obligatory allegories," but in addition there were "demonic figures with expressively detailed characters of danger in place of the otherwise usual comical antimasques."

"la Tereur panique" danced her entrance; war maimed soldiers alternated with soldiers in wild flight; greedy plunderers stormed past; or war oppressed, shattered peasants were presented, totally depressed at the sight of their homes and buildings going up in flames. Truly, here in the midst of this joyous, festival ballet, were complete confusion and oppression, the whole destructive force of war moving across the stage. In place of the comical came threatening danger to the front — and this as the warning signal for tomorrow. As the oath of yesterday's frightful misery, in order to proclaim: Never again!122

The images called to mind by this description are not those of classic symmetry and academic symbolism but dramatic groupings propelled by a topical plot and expressive of the horror and agonies of a real war. Indeed, many of those in the audience had participated in the struggle of thirty years. The "confusion" in this ballet was totally different from the "confusings" of the early "Classical" ballet; the first was a grouping of disorder expressive of a dramatic conflict, the second was a patterning of complex but ordered designs on the floor. Descartes' ballet was in the spirit of the "Expressional" style. It could also be said to be in the style of Baroque Naturalism. Mr. Kindermann calls it a "manneristic-baroque ballet-configuration" because of the "clash of intellectual clarity and naivete, of turbulence and irrationality" which he sees in the text.123

123 Ibid., p. 574.
It is significant that this ballet was not produced in the French academic center and perhaps equally significant that a French philosopher wrote the text for production outside the ballet capital of the world.

The dances were directed by Beaulieu, who was probably schooled in France. He and his assistant, Adlatus Desonnes,

... often worked the whole week long with all the court personnel — as long as was needed, until everything was brought to the highest synthesis of rhythm, grace, and the spirited force of dance expression. The most difficult parts and figures [Partien], of course, were taken by the professional dancers themselves.124

There were no recitations during the Descartes ballet; the printed text served as program notes for the audience. In France the ballet could still not be conceived as dancing alone without sung recits. Michel de Pure, writing in his Idée des Spectacles, printed in Paris in 1658, firmly believed that the recits "aided the comprehension of the proceedings which were represented or framed by dances."125

The Descartes work was prophetic of the works of Noverre and Vigano in the next century when the ballet d'action gained in significant force and influence. (Plate V) It is an "Expressional" work in a world largely dominated by the enveloping growth of French academic classicism. The Descartes ballet hinted at what was to come much later, and its theme clearly suggested that the movement of the dancers and mimes must have been motivated by feeling, dramatic plot or characterization rather than surface considerations of form. The plot called for asymmetrical groupings

124 Ibid., p. 575.
125 Michel, pp. 52-53.
propelled by terror, distress, and destruction. The "Expressional" style could only come to full fruition when dance was relieved from the restrictions of the ballroom, the restraints of upper class decorum, and the guiding hand of the courtier or the monarch.

Isaac Vossius, a philologist from the Netherlands, wrote a work which was expressive of the growing dissatisfaction with the increasing rigidity of the academic style set by the baroque court in France. This work had an indirect influence on dance, which was not felt to any degree until the mid-eighteenth century when Noverre's *ballet d'action* was contending against the *ballet d'école* of Paris. Vossius criticized the "formalism" of the dance of the time and the skill of the dancers who were "insufficiently equipped to give meaning to their movements."

The nations of Europe, he said, prepare dances with utmost lavishness. But if one subtracts the pomp and finery of the dancers, scarcely a single charm is left. One may keep on looking forever and still find only mere movement, which may not lack harmony, but is always without meaning. And with specific reference to the "Veteres pantomimi" he posed the question: "Where, today, would one find a dancer or mime who simply by bodily gestures could express things with the clarity of an orator, and in such a manner as to seem to possess as many tongues as limbs?"

Conclusion

In the middle of the seventeenth century, two opposing trends of style were to be seen in the ballet: one tended toward greater subjective expressiveness, the other toward a richer use of design. The first fell within the "Classical" tradition. "Expressional" trends appeared at this

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127 Michel, p. 54.
time because of the growing middle class, Protestantism, and the impending dissolution of the monarchical system in Europe. "Classical" trends became increasingly lush and flamboyant because of the support of the monarchy. It is noteworthy that the "Classical" style had its firmest foothold in France under Louis XIV, and its chief advocate was the Jesuit, Father Menestrier. 128

The two trends in the ballet were analogous to the opposite stylistic tendencies of two Baroque painters, Rembrandt (1606-1669), and Rubens (1577-1640). Painting for Rembrandt in his later period of development was "a form of direct personal communication." 129 In other words, he represented the "Expressional" style. Rubens, in contrast, painted in the courtly "Classical" Baroque style. It is significant that Rubens was one of the wealthiest painters in Europe and had a brilliant social position while Rembrandt ended his life in isolation and poverty. ("Expressional" artists are frequently unpopular in their own day.) Rubens painted for the French court; his cartoons for the tapestries of the Apotheosis of Marie de Medici, mother of Louis XIII, which now hang in the Louvre, support this point. Rembrandt was little known outside his homeland in his day. The "Expressional" Baroque style had a voice chiefly outside the influence of the absolute monarchy of Catholic France.

The court of Louis XIV had lost the freedom which was characteristic of that of his predecessor. The Academy under Louis XIV gave the artist

129Hauser, II, 223.
new benefits and prestige but demanded that he sacrifice much of his earlier freedom. He was called upon to glorify the King and to stifle utterly any individual subjective expression. The ideals of the courtly life were again "Moderation and self-control" rigidly enforced:

The spiritually sound man of gentle birth does not wear his heart on his sleeve; he adapts himself to the standards of his class, does not wish to move and persuade others, but to represent his class and to impress. He is impersonal, reserved, cool, and strong; he regards all exhibitionism as plebian, all passions as diseased, incalculable, and turbid.\textsuperscript{130}

"Expressional" tendencies in France at the end of the century were ruled out by the Academy. French classicistic baroque was a brilliant, grandiose show of the unreal and impersonal world of the courtly elite, which had absolute power to force art into a "uniform character . . . of formal perfection like the movement of a corps."\textsuperscript{131}

Another art public was growing in France as elsewhere toward the end of the seventeenth century. There, too, the middle class was gaining in power and esteem, though never to such a degree as in England and Italy.\textsuperscript{132} It was not until the eighteenth century that courtly domination of art styles was to be replaced by the more realistic demands of the wider middle class public, but its beginnings were to be seen in the late seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century England rose to a power which overshadowed France in political, social, and economic matters. Charles II and James II never had the absolute authority of Louis XIV.

\textsuperscript{130}Ibid., II, 189.
\textsuperscript{131}Ibid., II, 193.
\textsuperscript{132}Ibid., II, 206.
though upper-class aristocratic London dominated tastes both in art and in social manners and customs. The courtly domination of styles in dance was also less influential than in France, and there was far more liberality and interplay between the middle class public and the court in theatrical affairs. It was this atmosphere which prevailed toward the end of the seventeenth century and which enabled the first spokesman of the ballet d'action to appear in England in the early eighteenth century.
CHAPTER IV

DANCE IN ENGLAND IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, TO 1740

The early eighteenth century in England was a period of social turbulence. The older forms and conventions which clung to the traditions of a declining courtly life were degenerating, while new tastes and interests were burgeoning among a growing middle class. The merchant groups, prospering on ever-increasing trade, were not only supplying a bigger consumer public for the arts but, as a natural consequence of the social upheaval, were causing changes to be made in art styles and fashions. Tradespeople made up more and more of the theatre audience. They began to write plays themselves, and the themes they preferred tended to the popular and sentimental as against the universal, timeless, and impersonal themes favored by the aristocratic elite. Conventional society, finding itself besieged and threatened by startling social changes, clung to the older forms and adhered "almost frenziedly to the ancient customs." The aspiring merchant, though his status was improving, could not achieve the detached and easy disdain of the socially firm aristocrat. The middle class clung tenaciously to propriety and fashionable styles out of social insecurity and unfamiliarity with its new role. There was, nonetheless,

1 Nicoll, pp. 218-219.
2 Ibid., p. 39.
because of money, an easy exchange between the patrician and the capitalist.\(^3\) The hereditary nobility maintained its position by the absorption of middle class money; hence, the traditional strata of society were being broken by the necessities of maintenance and survival. The persuasive power of the purse was giving the middle class a new voice and status.

The connection between the court and the theatre was broken. The elegant and affected play of the comedy of manners directed to a small elite was a thing of the past. Moral disapprobation of this form, in fact, was an issue throughout the century.\(^4\) It was a time, moreover, when reform in general was widespread. The existence of reform societies for the improvement of manners, education, and morals showed that those were all issues of concern.

The transition to bourgeois society was beginning in the first half of the century. It was by no means complete, yet the middle class in England had no cause to be radical revolutionaries like their confrères in France toward the end of the century. The increasing prosperity of England during this period dulled the need for revolt, and the bourgeois "Expressional" style and Romanticism appeared there earlier and gained in influence throughout the century. In France the "Classical" style, termed Rococo at the end of the century, as well as archaic aristocratic institutions had to be upset with violence. The repeated defeats which that

\(^3\)Hauser, III, 42.

country had suffered in the hands of the monarchy led to economic disaster. By the time the aristocracy and the styles it patronized had been overthrown in France, England had had for the past fifty years a society which, though turbulent and uncertain, was as strongly middle class as it was aristocratic.

The courts of William and Mary and Queen Anne were not disposed to extravagant court spectacles. Both William and Anne were invalids and preferred retirement in the country to the palace at St. James. Anne lived more regularly at St. James but rarely made public appearances. She suffered from the gout to such a degree that any movement for her was painful. Under these circumstances it is a wonder that she ever attempted any of Isaac's dances, and it is probable that, if they were actually danced by her and not merely dedicatory, they were in the slowest of the slow traditional "Classical" tempi.

Court fêtes, which were to be distinguished during this period from Opera productions, were being continued to be produced by the Duchesse du Maine at her residence at Sceaux. Louis XIV had withdrawn from society in pious and dour retirement with Mme de Maintenon. It was in the private salon and the Opera that the academic "Classical" style was maintained and where artists from the French Academy performed in the early years of the century. M. Balon and Mlle Provost were said to have danced a "scene without words" in movements which were highly expressive in 1708.

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7Ibid., p. 23; see Fletcher, p. 17. Michel gives the date 1715 for this performance of Les Horaces, pp. 61-62.
but Balon was described by the English critic, John Weaver, as having,

... nothing more than a graceful Motion, with strong and nimble Raising, and the casting his body into several (perhaps) agreeable Postures: But for expressing any thing in Nature but modulated Motion, it was never in his Head: The Imitation of the Manners and Passions of Mankind he never knew any thing of, nor ever therefore pretended to show us.8

The English school, represented in this case by Weaver, already found the formalities of the French Academy insignificant and even detrimental to the growth of a worthy art of dancing.

Stylistically, the arts produced during this period represented a similar process of transition: of degeneration of the old classical tradition and emergence of middle class sentiment and emotionalism. The heroic universal themes typical of an aristocratic milieu were replaced by domestic subjects of romantic tenderness.9 It was a contrast between correct formal convention and a style, "very natural and moving."10 The "Classical" style was the socially approved and official form in theory, but in actual practice there was considerable latitude and an abiding preference for domestic drama and bizarre spectacle over a conventional and dull classicism. France continued to be the model for the "Classical" style, but dance in England combined "French correctness with British fire."11 These two stylistic energies merged into forms peculiarly English.

8 John Weaver, An Essay Towards an History of Dancing (London: Jacob Tonson, 1712), p. 136. Miss Lawson reprints portions of this passage, but it is unlike the original copy in my possession.

9 Nicoll, pp. 114ff.

10 Ibid., p. 122.

11 Ibid., p. 87. From a Prologue by Steele to Philips' The Distrest Mother, Drury Lane, 1711/12.
The theatre at the time mirrored all of the conditions and appetites of this transitional period. It served as a meeting place where party politics were played and where the noise and fracas in the audience very regularly exceeded the speech and action of the players on stage. Political arguments between Whigs and Tories in the theatre itself made the artistic merits of the production a matter of indifference; personal enmity and spite against the manager of the theatre or a player could alone ruin a play.

The theatre offered a great variety of fare after 1700. In addition to the customary legitimate drama many new diversions appeared and gained steadily in popularity. After 1710, according to Nicoll, there was a degeneration of good theatre and an increasing interest in burlesque and opera. Around 1720 pantomime became the rage and novelties were regularly introduced to help support the declining state of the theatre. This was not a new practice, for as it has been previously noted, it was the custom at the end of the seventeenth century to "revive that sickly appetite" for the ordinary play by novelties of dancing, pantomime, tumblers, and any spectacular and popular device which would bring in the crowd. Balon and Subligny were two of these dance novelties who appeared late in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century.

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13 Gray, p. 25.
14 Nicoll, p. 127.
15 Nagler, p. 237.
They were products of the French Opera and, though professionals, reflected the refined taste of courtly French academic art. According to Van Lennep, dancing in the theatre after 1660 fell into four types: 1) ballet, of which Balon and Subligny would be a part, 2) dance integral to the play, 3) dance between the acts, and 4) rope dancing.\textsuperscript{17} A variety to the rope dancing act appeared around the end of the century when a slanted rope upon which the acrobat danced intricate figures was introduced.\textsuperscript{18} In the next century these categories remained basically the same and were increased by the addition of various operatic forms and pantomime. The Italian opera and the ballad-opera, given a spark by Gay's The Beggar's Opera, of 1729, became popular and pantomime acts with Commedia characters and plots were regularly added as entr'acte diversions or after-pieces. All of these forms included dancing. The Commedia players appeared to be particularly adept at mastering any style of dancing which leads one to conclude that their long-standing tradition of professionalism came to their support in a period of stylistic change. Their physical skills allowed them to adapt more readily to the fashionable tastes of the moment.

Pantomime is a term by no means simple to define in this period. Its meaning ranged from a single expressive gesture to the longer after-pieces. The former distinguished "the several Passions, Manners, or Actions; as of Love, Anger, and the like,"\textsuperscript{19} which was, or should have been, according to Weaver, a part of the dancer's craft. The latter

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. cviii.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19}Weaver, \ldots \textit{History of Dancing}, p. 161.
consisted entirely of danced or mimed movement and told the story of a mythological fable without the use of words. Commedia routines were included in the term, pantomime, and the farcical nature of these acts made them habitually more popular than the more serious pieces.20

Pantomime, as a term denoting all divertissements which interrupted the flow of the play itself, was an object of critical scorn through the whole first half of the century,21 and the many newspapers, periodicals, and journals which appeared during this time rarely made the distinction between pantomimes intended as art and those intended for amusement.

The exception to this general view was expressed in Steele's The Spectator, wherein John Weaver deplored the "low ebb to which Dancing is now fallen."

Weaver continued,

The Art is esteem'd only as an amusing Trifle; it lies altogether uncultivated, and is unhappily fallen under the Imputation of Illiterate and Mechanick: And as Terence in one of his Prologues, complains of the Rope-dancers drawing all the Spectators from his Play, so may we well say, that Capering and Tumbling is now referred to, and supplies the Place of just and regular Dancing in our Theatres. It is therefore, in my opinion, high time that some one should come in to its assistance, and relieve it from the many gross and growing Errors that have crept into it, and over-cast its real Beauties; and to set Dancing in its true light, would shew the Usefulness and Elegancy of it, with the Pleasure and Instruction produc'd from it; and also lay down some fundamental Rules, that might so tend to the Improvement of its Professors,

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21 Gray, p. 66.
and Information of the Spectators, that the first might be
the better enabled to perform, and the latter render'd
more capable of judging, what is (if there be any thing)
[sic] valuable in this Art.  

Weaver's voice was hardly heard in the general hue and cry after
French dancing and scores of variety acts all of which included dancing,
or something very much like dancing. These intrusions into the play were
always the butt of satire and spoof as the following portion of a discussion
by an anonymous author between two gentlemen and a critic demonstrates:

[the Critic] 'Tis ridiculous enough of all Conscience that
the Poets Wit shou'd lye in the Dancers Heel: it gives me
a sort of non-sensical reason why Pegasus is said to be the
Poets Horse; I perceive 'twas for his activity and capring
... 
[Sullen, a gentleman] It has always been the Jest of all the
Men of Sense about Town; ... that the Stage that had kept
it's purity a hundred Years (at least from this Debauchery)
shou'd now be prostituted to Vagabonds, to Caperers, Mimicks,
Fidlers, Tumblers, and Gipsies.  

French dancing was particularly under attack, though its popularity saved
many a languishing play from extinction. Betterton and Waver both sharply
criticized the senselessness of the pieces by the French dancers. Weaver
praised the art of Joseph [sic] Priest as not having fallen into,

... those gross Errors of the French Masters who have been
in England, and whose greatest Endowments were in having a
confus'd Chaos of Steps, which they indifferently apply'd,
without any Design, to all Characters; they car'd not by what
ridiculous, awkward, out of the way Action, they gain'd
Applause; and judge'd of their mean Performances, by the mis­taken Taste of the Audience. I remember one of these

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22 The Spectator, No. 334, Monday, March 24, 1712. Introduction,
Notes, and Index by Henry Morely (London: Geo. Routledge & Sons, 1887),
p. 487. 
23 Avery, p. 418; Nagler, p. 237, quoted from A Comparison Between
24 Ibid., p. 426. Betterton's criticism taken from Charles Gildon,
celebrated French Master, compos'd an Entry for four Furies, and the next week the very same Dance was perform'd to represent the four Winds, with this only alteration, that the Master himself by Dancing in the middle made a fifth; the same Mistake I have also seen in the four Seasons: I must confess they dress'd well, but consulted Finery before what was natural; insomuch that I have seen Sailors, Clowns, Chimney-sweepers, Witches, and such like, perform'd in Shoes lac'd and Ribbanded, Red-silk Stockings, and sometimes Cravat-strings.  

In spite of the general criticisms of the press and dedicated artists, popular taste prevailed and nights at the theatre were glutted with scurrilous varieties:

the Spectators now squand'ring away their Applause on Pseudo-players, Merry-Andrews and Tumblers; whilst Ignorance and Impudence are the only Endowments of the Dancer, and Lungs and Forehead the Support of the Player; so that an Audience now is rarely touch'd with, or expresses the least Taste of Just Imitator, or a natural Player.  

A typical night at the theatre in London in the first part of the century has been described by Mr. Avery. Before the play began there were two events. First there was an orchestral concert called the First, Second, and Third Music; next a player came forward and spoke a prologue. After the first act of the play itself came one or several acts of singing, dancing or music, and after each successive act were more variety numbers which usually included dancing. These entr'acte entertainments were rarely

25 Weaver, History of Dancing, p. 167.
related to the theme of the play. At the end of the play followed an epilogue spoken again by a player. An after-piece frequently concluded the evening.

On the surface the variety of dances offered on such occasions appears rich and diverse; however, there was a "high degree of similarity among the hundreds of routines." Avery groups them into traditional and classical "Figure Dances," "National Dances," and "Narrative Dances." "Narrative Dances" include, for example, "Ancient mythology," "Couple Dances (romantic, farcical, comic)," "Commedia dell'arte themes," etc. These fall generally within the definition of pantomime because their object was to convey the meaning of a story, however simple, by means of movement. All of these forms were highly repetitious, and the "lazy or unimaginative choreographer simply worked out variations methodically." The "Figure Dances" were those of long standing which have been encountered before in this discussion. Examples are to be seen in Isaac's dances for Queen Anne. Popular dances during this period were the Minuet and Passacaille, the Chaconne, and Loure. These were ballroom dances as well as theatre dances. Avery's second category of "National Dances" consisted of exhibition versions of country dances which became, because of their presentation on the stage, no longer typical of their milieu, but were, nonetheless, traditional social forms in origin. "Narrative Dances" provided the greatest scope for the dance artist as choreographer, but dances of this type also made use of traditional routines. Any

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28 Ibid., p. cxxxv.
29 Ibid., pp. cxxxiii-cxxxv.
30 Ibid., p. cxxxv.
31 Supra, p. 86.
originality in the composition of dances during this period would have come from a new approach to expressive gesture.

Documents and records on dancing and pantomime in this period are very scarce. Playbills and advertisements represent the chief source for any chronology of events; however, these do not reveal the inventor of a given work. There was constant borrowing of material from one theatre to another, which today would be considered outright plagiarism. A "Grand Dance" would appear at the Haymarket on December 12, 1705, with M. L'Abbe, M. de Barques, M. Davencourt, M. Legard, etc., and by the next Monday several "petit Dances" would be put together so that they made "a Grand One" at Drury Lane. The issue arose again over Weaver's The Loves of Mars and Venus (Drury Lane, 1717), which was presented the next winter in an "adapted" form at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Unfortunately, Rich's burlesque treatment of material was more popular than Weaver's, and most of the credit for the success of pantomimes of this sort has fallen to Rich.

Weaver left numerous records in his publications which give evidence as to characteristics of dance style in this period. His views will be considered in the next chapter, but in general he sought a richer form of expression and opposed the insignificance of the French "Classical" style of the time and frivolous dance routines. Here in emphatic form and ample detail was an argument for reform in the dance at a time when the theatre in general was in a state of degeneration. Weaver's work was

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32 Nicoll, pp. 46-47.
33 Avery, pp. 434-435.
characteristic of the degeneration-birth transition which marked this period in English social and artistic development. The "Classical" school in dance was well represented. At its best it could be seen in Paris at the French Opera, of which all English classicistic art and modes were derivative, and in the performances of artists associated with that institution who appeared elsewhere. Camargo was the most brilliant and elegant exponent of that school. Her light dexterity and technical virtuosity were well recorded, and her image ideally transformed into numerous paintings, notably those of Lancret. Many lesser dancers were of her stylistic talent and persuasion, and it was of these that the Englishmen Betterton and Weaver complain. Camargo's opposite, Marie Sallé, was of the "Expressional" school. When Weaver's Mars and Venus was shown at Drury Lane, Sallé was appearing at Rich's Lincoln's Inn Fields in an act with her brother. She was then only nine years old. Her background was significantly different from Camargo's. Sallé was from a traditional public theatre family. Her uncle was a harlequin who had played at the Théâtres de la Foire in Paris. She was unmistakably associated with a Commedia tradition, and it is believed that she derived her ability as an expressive artist from this source. She travelled back and forth between Paris and London and was trained at the French Academy during one of these visits. She was also a choreographer, which is significant, and her first ballet, Pygmalion, was presented in London at Covent Garden in 1734. It was reported to be a highly unconventional and expressive

34 The fullest discussion on the lives and styles of these two artists is to be found in C. W. Beaumont's Three French Dancers of the Eighteenth Century (London: C. W. Beaumont, 1934). Other works which treat of the subject are Fletcher, pp. 18ff.; Michel, pp. 63-65; and Lawson, pp. 31 ff., and numerous other general works.
work. Weaver had begun to prepare the ground for Pygmalion's reception long before it appeared. Both artists were clearly responding to the same social and stylistic influences. Weaver expressed this earlier but due to the overpowering predominance of the French academic style during this period, he was rarely given the credit which was his due. He has remained obscure to the present day.

In the early eighteenth century the publication of Feuillet's Choreographie announced a new era in the dance world. The "Classical" code of the French academic school was printed in precise characters for anyone versed in the subject to read. Positions, steps, combinations of steps and figures were readable from Feuillet's dance script. There were symbols for arm positions and a table for reading the dance in relation to Measure and Cadence.\(^{35}\) This publication was of momentous importance to Europe and England. English translations appeared in 1706, one by John Weaver, another by P. Siris,\(^{36}\) and at once French dances were transferred by letter to dancing masters in the country and the colonies. Addison remarked upon the novelty of reading a dance in The Tatler in

\(^{35}\) Ritcheson, p. 99. (See Fletcher, p. 15 and Lawson, p. 30) It is generally believed that Weaver was the first to publish a work on Time and Cadence (London: 1706); however, Weaver himself acknowledged his debt to Feuillet, and Feuillet's work of 1699-1700 clearly included a portion on Measure and Cadence. The comparison of the works of Feuillet, Siris, and Weaver shows that Feuillet was the originator of the musical script. In his Recueil of 1704, Feuillet added a section on cadence which he says is extended beyond that in his Choreographie, which would also prove with certainty that he had dealt with the subject in the earlier work.

\(^{36}\) John Weaver, Orchesography (London: Black Friars, 1706), and P. Siris, The Art of Dancing (London: Newport Street, 1706).
1709, "... now articulate motions, as well as sound, were expressed
by proper characters; and ... there is nothing so common as to communi-
cate a dance by a letter." 37

The script was used for recording ballroom dances and ballet
entrées and in a series of collections of dances which Feuillet published
in 1704, ballet entrées danced by the leading dancers of the Paris Opera
were recorded. For example, a solo, Entrée Espagnolle, was recorded on
five pages in his dance script, for Mlle Subligny in the Ballet de l'Europe
galante, and another, Entrée à deux, for M. Balon and Mlle Subligny in the
Opéra d'Aretuse, required equal space. 38 A Sarabande and an Entrée pour
deux hommes were also in this collection in which the name of M. Cherrier
appeared (written "Chevrier" in connection with the Sarabande in the same
collection) of whom Miss Cohen supplies much information. 39 It would appear
that this dancer was trained in France and appeared in the above dances at
the Opera. Later, as Miss Cohen states, he appeared in London, first on
December 10, 1703, with l'Abbe and du Ruel. In 1704 he danced before
Queen Anne, and in 1706 he appeared with Hester Santlow at the Drury Lane.
Feuillet, in his 1704 Recueil, supplies the French records which have here-
tofore been missing and which account for Cherrier's origin and earlier
performance experience.

37 The Tatler, No. 88, October 31, 1709.
38 Feuillet, Recueil, Entrée Espagnolle, pp. 36-40; Entrée à deux,
pp. 122-126. Miss Cohen states that the notation system was used "almost
exclusively to record social dances," p. 33, but Feuillet's Recueil's are
a rich archive of dances at the Paris Opera.
See Cohen, p. 50, fn. 5.
Feuillet's notation gave to dancing masters a new sense of importance and an intellectual responsibility. The possibility of making a record of works not only for preservation but for communicating step patterns and figures to others in the field created a new energy to produce works of worth and significance. Stylistically, however, the notation was incapable of expression. It was a record of traditional steps and their combinations in new figures which bore all the marks of "Classical" tradition. It did not include any signs for recording interpretation, expression, or the movement in which "spiritual proceedings were reflected." Since the system could not record the subjective spirit of the dance, it left no trace of the stylistic dialectic of the time. There is no means of identifying the depth of the "Expressional" force of Weaver or Sallé. In the case of Weaver, one must believe that he achieved a measure of what he advocated and proposed. As for Sallé, who was far more typical of dancers in that she did not write either her ballets or her theories, one must accept the advice of the critics, one of whom reported on the London performance of *Pygmalion* to the *Mercure de France*, in 1734:

You can understand what all the passages of this action become when executed and danced with the fine and delicate grace of M'dee. [sic] Sallé. She ventures to appear without basket, without a dress, in her natural hair, and with no ornament on her head. She wore nothing in addition to her bodice and under petticoat but a simple robe of muslin, arranged in drapery after the model of a Greek statue. You cannot doubt, sir of the success this ingenious ballet, so well executed, obtained.41

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40 Michel, p. 61 (in reference to *dans a l'histoire*).

Here is a record of innovation. It is painfully sparse, but it is clear that conventions were changing. If Sallé did not appear with a "basket," a "dress," and "in her natural hair, and with no ornament on her head," then heretofore these had been the accepted convention of ballet. Other elements in Pygmalion were new. The theme was of a statue slowly brought to life by love, and Sallé performed this awakening state with a touching and inspired expressiveness.

The dance events and the dancers who appeared throughout this period have been given an extensive and thorough treatment by Emmett Avery in *The London Stage*. The present work will deal with the publications of the period which particularly pertain to the subject of the concluding chapter. The written works of two dancing masters of the period, John Essex and John Weaver, give many clues to the nature of the dance of the time. The dancing master prepared his works for the public theatre and danced there as well. Each theatre employed a "considerable number of dancers." These performers were public entertainers who were generally believed to be on a lower moral plane than others in the society. The dancing master, however, in addition to his theatrical duties was responsible for the instruction of privileged young ladies in the skills of decorum and social dancing. It has been noted earlier that this was his traditional role, but, heretofore, his place had been largely within the court environment. The public theatre in England, unlike the Opera in Paris,

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43 Ibid., Part 3, p. clv.
44 See Gray, pp. 37 and 55.
had little refinement and only fleeting moments of rarified aristocratic
classicism, such as in the production of Addison's *Cato*.\(^{45}\) The dancing
master's profession in this climate took on a new, even conflicting,
dimension. The social atmosphere had changed and the old relationships
between the aristocratic amateur performer and the professional master was
no longer the same. In the early eighteenth century the dancing master had
two very separate roles: he taught in the schools and prepared amateur
balls and entertainments; he also performed in the theatre and choreographed
for professional dancers. In the schools his pupils were well-bred, upper
class girls of (hopefully) austere moralistic virtue; in the theatre his
colleagues were the public players, who were generally notorious for their
freedom from moral restraints and decorous behaviour.

This dual role may not have constituted a dilemma at the time
although it appears so in retrospect. The dancing master was part-professional,
part instructor, and the two responsibilities were discharged in widely
disparate social situations. This continued to be his contradictory role
until the end of the eighteenth century. The dancing master was respected
more than his fellow players in the theatre, yet he was always regarded
with a degree of distance among the upper classes whom he taught.
John Weaver and John Essex express their views on these matters in the
next chapter.

\(^{45}\) Nicoll, pp. 87-89, and numerous references throughout his text.
CHAPTER V

THE CHARMS OF COMPLAISANCE

Dancing is an elegant, and regular Movement, harmonically composed of beautiful attitudes and contrasted graceful Postures of the Body, and Parts thereof.\(^1\)

The "Classical" style applied to social codes of behaviour as well as to the arts. "French correctness" could be seen in the drawing room as well as the theatre. Upper class society, now enriched by a growing middle class, spent much of its time learning about the niceties of polite discourse and demeanor. Mr. Nicoll asserts that,

\[\ldots\] the air of eighteenth century London was more "fashionable" than it had been before; and only too many of the richer middle class aped the manners and vices of the People of Quality.\(^2\)

In the process of trying to "better" themselves and making up for centuries of social inferiority, the middle class pursued the rules of etiquette "to ridiculous lengths."\(^3\) In the general moralistic turn against Restoration practices, which was but another effect of the

\(^{1}\text{Weaver, Lectures Upon Dancing, p. 137.}\)
\(^{2}\text{Nicoll, p. 8.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Franks, p. 102.}\)
socio-economic change from aristocratic to middle class society, the
attitude toward the human body shifted from refinement and gentility to
one of prudery and modesty. Savoir-vivre and the grande manière were
gradually giving way to tender sensibility.

Hogarth trenchantly satirized the aspirations of the middle class
to rise above their station, and,

... the dangers and pitfalls of the modish life ... The moral is obvious. Keep to your station; avoid the
temptations of riches, for the rich are corrupt, dressed in French clothes, riddled with French diseases and
swindled by French servants — hairdressers, dancing masters and the like.4

The old ideals for well-bred behaviour were concealment of passion
and ease of demeanor. These were essentially "Classical" principles and
standards which had survived generations of upper class usage. They
continued into the eighteenth century with the difference that they were
now given expression by the middle class rather than the aristocrat. The
aristocratic standard was refurbished for the private middle class drawing
room and the assembly hall. The dancing master was in charge of instruc-
tion in these codes of behaviour. He brought the same rules of refinement
to his work in the public theatre, where they were to be seen in the
"Address" of the performers on stage. Generally, however, refinement in
address was not the stock in trade of the ordinary entertainer. Weaver's
kind of dancing was refined; that of the entertainer was crude. Weaver, then,
was an English eighteenth century version of the "Classical" tradition.
His "Expressional" tendencies fell within that tradition, or, in other

4J. H. Plumb, "Only the Dogs are Jolly," Book Review Section, New
words, were an extension of that tradition into new forms which would eventually be resolved in a more fully "Expressional" style.

Dancing for Weaver was more than an expressive theatre action, it was a social statement of virtue and honour. His role in society required his knowledge of the rules and strategies of etiquette and also of the techniques and qualities of the art of dancing. However, he recognized the distinction between "common" and stage dancing: a distinction which up to his time had not existed. Heretofore, ballroom dancing, Weaver's "common" dancing, was substantially the same genre as ballet, and stage dancing was the world of the public player. Weaver saw the difference between "common" and stage dancing, but he applied the same standards of behaviour to both. The differences largely consisted in emphasis; movement on the stage was to be distinguishable from a distance:

Serious Dancing, differs from the Common-Dancing usually taught in Schools, as History Painting differs from Limning. For as the Common-Dancing has a peculiar Softness, which would hardly be perceivable on the Stage; so Stage-Dancing would have a rough and ridiculous Air in a Room, when on the Stage it would appear soft, tender and delightful. And altho' the Steps of both are generally the same, yet they differ in the Performance.

Weaver gave instruction in "soft," "common" dancing and maintained a connection with his school in Shrewsbury throughout his lifetime.

John Rich, on the other hand, was exclusively a theatre person. He was a successful manager, adroit at business, and was constantly engaged in the common competitive practices among the theatres of his day. Rich had

5 Weaver, History of Dancing, pp. 162 and 169ff.
6 Ibid., p. 162.
little concern with the values of "Address" and polite decorum which were so important to Weaver. Rich had the sole occupation of making his theatre a success, which meant he had to meet the public taste. The paying public in the end did support the theatre, and when they failed to be attracted by a particular bill, the theatre's lights were out for the night. The diversions which Rich offered were popular but of execrable taste from the standpoint of Weaver's ideal. They managed, however, to keep the theatre on its feet. As a dancer says in Fielding's *Pasquin*, 1736, "Hang his Play, and all Plays; the Dancers are the only People that support the House; if it were not for us they might act their Shakespeare to empty Benches."^8

There was Weaver's kind of dancing, then, and Rich's kind of dancing. Weaver represented the tradition of "Classical" refinement; Rich of secular theatre. Rich was a notoriously successful Harlequin. Weaver was also a performer of pantomime, even some of the commedia sort and was dedicated to the refined art of dancing. He was well-read in the classics in terms of the educational standards of his day and he argued ardently and defensively for the true merits of the art of dance. He brought all of the

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^7 There was some financial assistance from the royal household, Avery, Part, p. lv., and the opera relied on subsidy by subscription to supplement receipts because of high production costs, Avery, p. lx. In 1719 the Royal Academy of Music was formed to support the opera, but it disbanded in 1728. There were later organizations headed by Heidegger and G. F. Handel, but none of these attained the stature of the French Opera; see Avery, p. lxi.

^8 Nicoll, p. 67.
testimonies of classical writers to the support of his stand. His ideals, however, did not produce works which could compete in popularity with those of Rich. Weaver produced three "serious" pantomimes, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (1716), *Orpheus and Eurydice* (1717), and *Cupid and Bacchus* (1719), which were "in Imitation of the ancient Pantomimes." His other works were "after the manner of the Modern Italians," which meant farcical commedia treatment of the themes. There were only three: *The Tavern Bilker* (1702), *Perseus and Andromeda* (1716), and *Harlequin turn'd Judge* (1717). His last publication appeared in 1728, when he was fifty-five. Thereafter, one work of which there survives a libretto, *The Judgement of Paris*, was performed in 1733 at Drury Lane. It was his last pantomime-ballet to be performed in London according to the present records. He must after that performance have returned to Shrewsbury to continue teaching in the boarding school which was operated by his family. There he taught dancing,

... & had an Annual Ball, at wch. his scholars, besides the Minuet, Rigadon, and L'Ouvre, performed figure and pantomime dances such as in the beginning of the century he — had invented as Ballet Master in London.  

This memory of Dr. Burney's was dated in accordance with — his return to Shrewsbury during the years from 1742 to 1744. At one of

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2. This list of entertainments appears at the end of Weaver's, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (London: Roberts and Dod, 1729).


12. Lonsdale, p. 59. From the memoirs of Charles Burney, who was born in Shrewsbury.
Weaver's annual balls Dr. Burney danced a part in "a Wooden Shoe dance" which had been taught to him by Mr. Weaver.\textsuperscript{13}

Weaver's theories on "serious" dancing corresponded closely to his standards for "common" dancing. There was no parallel to be drawn between the commedia acts and the dances for the amateur ball. The works produced in the "Italian" manner were public theatre stock to be performed by professionals on a strictly lower social plane. These he called "grotesque" dances, which were "wholly calculated for the stage."\textsuperscript{14} His "serious" pieces were works of great refinement according to his theories, yet they were probably performed by the same class of public player. These professionals were no doubt just as adept at imitating the gesture of the most genteel society as they were at mastering the acrobatic slapstick of the commedia. The refined art of dancing appealed, characteristically, to a relatively small elite. Amateurs did not perform in the theatre, however; it was the task of the professionals to learn and represent the style of a society of which they were not a part. Social dance movement was exaggerated for use onstage to a degree that at close range would appear "rough and ridiculous." It was for the professional to perfect the skills of emphasis, so that from the audience this same movement would appear "tender and delightful."\textsuperscript{15} The amateur, who also performed versions of these pantomime-ballets in the Assembly hall was to remain soft and moderate and to maintain an air of "Classical" nonchalance and impersonality. He was not to master the skills of movement emphasis required of the stage dancer.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14}Weaver, \textit{History of Dancing}, p. 164; see, \textit{History of the Mimes}, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{15}Supra, p. 116.
Weaver's theories on the art of dance in the theatre represent the fusion of the principles of "Classical" grace, proportion, and harmony with a new interest in "representing all manner of Passions." These were not lower class passions. They were gentlemanly and refined but because Weaver was a native Englishman, trained in dancing by his English father, it could be conjectured that he was able to bring a "vernacular energy" to his works. Dancing, he believed, consisted in "Motion, Figure and Measure." Motion was "the Soul of Dancing," and there is, 

... so great a Sympathy between Motion and the Mind of Man, that we cannot but attend to, and reflect upon an agreeable Motion, when strongly presented to the Eye. Thus when in the Theatre we see a lazy or unskillful Actor on the Stage, we grow supine and negligent, and every one falls into Discourse with his next Neighbour; but when an Actor that has Life, Motion and Energy comes on, every one is then attentive, and the Pit observes him with a profound and respectful Silence.18

The energies of motion were observed to be regular, "and contain'd in some Figure." These figures resembled the "Operations of Nature, in which Order is perpetually observ'd, and Confusion avoided. ... Necessity and Reason therefore join'd together."19 The reasonable contrivance of motion into form was in accord with the Georgian's "unshakeable belief in the rational."20

To complete the harmonious perfection of the whole, "Motion ... was to be regulated by Measure." "There is," believed Mr. Weaver, "a

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16 Weaver, History of Dancing, p. 166.
17 Trevelyan, p. 13.
18 Weaver, History of Dancing, pp. 86-87.
19 Ibid., pp. 87-88.
Sort of Harmony in Numbers, or Measures, which gives the greatest
delection, and Force to Musick." 21

These principles originated in ancient practices, and Weaver
gave an extensive discourse on references from classical writers. That
dancing had had a more venerable and respectable day, gave Weaver ammuni-
tion for the defense of his own art. He suggested that the,

Ancients probably observ'd, in the Motions of Mankind . . .
the natural Effect of particular Causes; whence they might
compose the different Actions of their Primitive Dances, as
when Men are struck with Joy, they leap; especially the ruder
Sort, only inform'd by simple Nature, and being strangers to
the Modes and Customs of Urbanity, . . . . Thus, when Grief
assaulted them, they cast down their Heads; Anger and Admira-
tion lifted up their Hands; In like manner several Motions
of the Body arose from other different Passions of the Mind,
especially the most violent: And these Motions we find are
still more us'd in hotter Climates, where in common Discourse
the whole Body shall be in Agitation; and is so, even in so
moderate a Climate as France. 22

Here he cited no classical reference but framed his conjecture on
what he knew was fundamental to the nature of expressive gesture. Movement
for the expressive dancer was not to be concentrated in the feet but in
the torso and arms, and "neither is it so difficult to obtain an
Excellency in the former, as in the latter." 23

Here, then, was a movement theory which demanded an emotional
motivation as well as that movement designed for symmetry and harmony of
the "figure." He advised the spectator to be conscious of two forces:
he was to be diverted by the "Symmetry of the Movements," while at the
same time recognizing "the several Passions, Manners or Actions; as of

21 Weaver, History of Dancing, p. 89.
22 Ibid., pp. 90-91.
23 Ibid., p. 161.
Love, Anger, and the like." He was, furthermore, to be "instructed by the Positions, Steps and Attitudes, so as to be able to judge of the Design of the Performer." The duty of instructing an audience was typical of the "Classical" style. It was not destined to be an unqualified success in competition with popular theatre fare. Weaver's statement that expressive movement was to be concentrated in the "Address of the Body, and just and regular Movements of the Arms," gave his theory a special weight. It was not until Noverre produced his Letters, that the means and dynamic of gesture was considered an issue of importance.

Noverre stated that gesture was significant movement in the arms and face, but it was Weaver before him who, alarmed by the acrobatics and virtuosity of the French academic dancers, insisted that movements must have expressive meaning, and that this technique centered in the "address" of the trunk and head, and the arms. In his Lectures Upon Dancing, he declared that,

... the Face may not improperly be term'd the Image of the Soul; Anger and Scorn are seated on the Brow; The Eyes express the Sentiments of the Heart; and every Passion of the Mind is discover'd in the Countenance.

Weaver's theories proposed a new "Expressional" style but in practice he reverted to conventional rules and what must have been an unmoving formalism. In his serious pantomimes he gave his performers set gestures which were meant to convey some "passion" of mankind. The dancer was, in accord with Lucian, to "express, and imitate all things, nay even

24 Ibid., pp. 160-161.
his very own Thoughts, by the Motions and Gesticulations of his Body." He must, in addition, have an extensive knowledge of, "in a Word, the whole Attic Fable, all that is to be found in classical writings, and be ready to produce them into Action on Occasion." With an erudition so extensive in the performers, pantomime promised to be rich, subtle, and inspired; however, Weaver had to deal with the limitations of the dancers of his day. In his libretto for The Loves of Mars and Venus, he stated,

I have not been able to get all my dancers equal to design; not but that I must acknowledge my obligations to all the performers for their obliging willingness . . . to enter . . . a design so entirely novel and foreign to their present Manner of Dancing.

He believed that in classical times the mimes followed certain rules of drama in their mute performances,

... by confining each representation to a certain action, with a just observation of the manners and passions, which that action naturally produced.

... for nature assigned each motion of the mind its proper gesticulation and countenance, as well as tone; whereby it is significantly and decently expressed; and indeed decency of expression doth so depend on this art, that the grammarians observe, decency is properly spoken of gesture.

Therefore, Weaver gave descriptions of each gesture used and what each was intended to convey. Today, they seem arbitrary and excessively formal, but in their day they were so innovational that they were difficult to teach to

29 Ibid., pp. 131-133.
30 Weaver, The Loves of Mars and Venus (London: 1717), Preface, p. x.
31 Ibid., p. xi.
32 Ibid., p. xiii.
a trained group. He intended to recreate authentically the manners and passions of characters in an ancient fable, but what he did, of course, was to devise something entirely new. In retrospect it seems that he must have reverted to out of date styles when he confessed that he had "in this entertainment too much inclined to the modern dancing." 33

In the second scene Venus and Vulcan danced a duet danced together in which Vulcan expressed admiration, jealousy, anger, and spite; Venus showed neglect, coquetry, contempt, and disdain. Admiration was conveyed by raising the right hand, palm up, fingers closed; in one motion the wrist turned round, and fingers spread; the body reclined and the eyes were fixed upon the object; when it changed to astonishment, both hands were thrown up, the eyes lifted, and the body was cast back. Each quality was given specific direction in movement. In Scene III, the explanation was given that "to exalt or lift up the stretched-out hand, expresses some notable exploit in hand," 34 and later in Scene V, "to rub palms of hands together after the manner as those who take pains to heat their hands; is an expression of being pleased at some thought of deceit." 35 Thus, every emotion represented was given a movement definition.

Feuillet's system dealt entirely with steps and figures; there were no symbols for subjective qualities of the kind that Weaver sought. In France the dance was still integrated with the opera and words or recita-

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33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., p. 24.
tive supplied the plot line. Weaver's was one of the first ballets to deal with dramatic action in movement without the use of words.

In order to be a good dance-mime, the performer,

... must not be too tall, nor too low, but of a moderate size; not too fat and bulky, nor too lean like a Skeleton. [these qualifications] distinguish the Just Performance from the absurd. Our Pantomime ought to be of an active, pliant, and yet a compacted Body; able to turn with Quickness, and to step if Occasion require with Strength. ... [he] must be every Thing exactly, and do all Things with Order, Decency, and Measure like himself, without any Imperfection.

He had also to show "Strength and Softness reconcil'd" so that he could express both "robustness" and "Delicacy." His excellence lay in "Imitation of the Manners and Passions, and not from [his] Agility, their fine Steps or Risings, which only now seem to distinguish a Dancer." Nothing else like this was present on the stage of that time. The French dancers were mere,

Pretenders to Dancing; Nay, even some of our best Actors are so little acquainted with this Mimicry, or Imitation, that they appear insipid and dull, to any Spectator, who has any Notion of the Characters which they represent.

The most subtle quality or attribute to acquire in dancing was what Weaver called "Address," which was a kind of presence, manner, or bearing associated with Weaver's category of "serious" dancing. "Address" was the air of decorum which was to be seen in the best of French dancing, of which he believed Pecour and Desbargues to be the most able demonstrators, and which managed the movement so "that none of the Gestures and Dispositions of the Body may be disagreeable to the

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36Lawson, p. 32.
37Weaver, History of Dancing, pp. 144-145; History of the Mimes, p. 25.
38Ibid., pp. 143-144.
39Ibid., p. 147.
40Ibid., p. 120.
Spectators. It was not easy to achieve, and the best way to go about it was to stand before a looking-glass "and endeavour to distinguish the Proper from the Improper." Weaver said more about the quality of proper presence. In his later work, Lectures Upon Dancing, he declared that the movement patterns of the body were an immediate sign of the quality of the person:

... for, from the Regular or Irregular Position, and Motion of the Body, we distinguish the handsome Presence, and Deportment of the fine Gentleman, from the awkward Behaviour of the unpolish'd Peasant; we discover the graceful Mien of a young Lady, from the ungainly Carriage of her Maid; and this Regulation even stamps Impressions on the Mind, which we receive from the outward Figure of the Body; for as the Soul is inform'd from the external Objects of Sensation, how careful ought we to be, to give the most agreeable Impressions, which cannot be affected without this Regularity; and how commendable, how advantageous is it, for a Gentleman, or Lady, to be Adroit at every Step, and, that every Motion, and Action of the Body, be consonant to Symmetry and Grace. 'Tis an elegant Way of touching the Passions which we call Address; and, which renders the Person at first so agreeable.

Regularity meant order and control. This concept, in addition to symmetry and grace, defined once more the "Classical" ideals of refined behaviour; and in the above discussion French "address" in dancing was the staged version of the social presence expected of ladies and gentlemen.

Weaver grouped the dancing of his day, "Modern Dancing," into several categories. In his History of Dancing, he distinguished the "Serious," the "Grotesque," and the "Scenical," as the three types of "Stage Dancing." "Serious" dancing approached "Common-Dancing" in

41 Ibid., p. 163.
42 Ibid., p. 164.
43 Weaver, Lectures Upon Dancing, pp. viii-ix.
nature, except that steps particularly suited to the stage version were "Capera, and Cross-Capera of all kinds; Pirouettes, Batteries, and indeed almost all Steps from the Ground." In other words, steps in "Serious" stage dancing were more intricate and for the purpose of elevation and exhibitions of virtuosity. Of the two kinds of movement in "Serious" dancing, the "Brisk" and the "Grave," the latter was the most difficult because it required "Softness, easie Bendings and Risings, and Address." The "Brisk" movements required "Vigour, Lightness, Agility, Quicksprings, with a Steadiness and Command of the Body."  

Weaver's category of "Grotesque" dancing occupied the greatest part of what he called "Opera-Dancing, and is much more difficult than the Serious, requiring the utmost Skill of the Performer." There were many inferior exponents of this type, but to be a true master of this style one had to be "bred up to the Profession, and thoroughly skill'd in his Business." He had to be well-read as well, know painting and poetry, and have skill in music. When a dancer of this type performed,

\textit{In Historical Dances (which consist most in Figure, and represent by Action what was before sung or expressed in Words) [sic] the Master must take peculiar Care to contrive his Steps, and adapt his Actions and Humour, to the Characters or Sentiments he would represent or express, so as to resemble the Person he would imitate.}\footnote{Ibid., p. 163.}

In these two types the old duality recurred. The "Classical" figure dance, closely akin to refined social dance forms, had evolved into a type of "Serious" refined stage dancing. Its emphasis was upon

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
  \item 44 Weaver, \textit{History of Dancing}, pp. 161-162.
  \item 45 Ibid., p. 163.
  \item 46 Ibid., pp. 164-165.
\end{itemize}}
step, step-embellishment, and figure. The professional character dance, always related to a show of some sort, had evolved into the "Grotesque" type of stage dancing. The dancer of the latter type, whom Weaver disdained, were the "artless Ignorants" who resorted to "ridiculous Buffoonry [sic]."\(^{47}\) Weaver wished the "Grotesque" dancer would purify and elevate his standards, in other words, that he would become refined. The process may have been inspired by a desire for greater richness of expression, but in his day, the practical solution probably lay in the direction of constraint of movement for the sake of propriety, refinement, and decency. What had begun in theory to represent human passions became the formal conventional signs of passion when put into practice.

Josias Priest of Chelsea, mentioned in preceding chapters, was said by Weaver to be a master of "Grotesque" dancing of the best type. Priest would have taken care to have the "Habits, Properties, and Tunes . . . justly adapted to his Characters," to have been "patient in Instructing," and sure "that his Performers be perfect." A master of this kind would achieve perfection in becoming what he performed, and in being capable of,

representing all manner of Passions, which Passions have all their peculiar Gestures; and that those Gestures be just, distinguishing and agreeable in all Parts, Body, Head, and Legs; in a Word, to be (if I may so say) all of a Piece.\(^{48}\)

"Scenical Dancing" presented "whole Stories by Action," which was unlike "Grotesque" dancing. The latter represented only "Persons, Passions,

\(^{47}\)Ibid.

\(^{48}\)Ibid., p. 166.
and Manners." This was the lost art of classical pantomime, a kind of dancing which Weaver, in 1712, wished,

... were now encourag'd in England, since I am certain the English in a little time would at least arrive to so much Perfection in this Science, as, if not to come up the Performances of the Ancients, they would without doubt excel all that has been perform'd in this kind by the Moderns.\(^4\)

It appears that "scenical" dancing would have had much in common with what Weaver called "historical" dancing; it is certainly difficult in this later period to discern a difference between them.

Weaver's last two categories were "common Dancing" and "Country Dances." The first was the "Dancing so much esteem'd among us, and so necessary a Qualification for Gentlemen and Ladies, whether taught privately or publickly."\(^5\) The great improvements of this type of dancing were due, in Weaver's opinion, to Mr. Caverly and Mr. Isaac, "to whom is owing the beautiful Perfection we see it in at this Day; that inexpressible Air, that agreeable Turn, and elegant Movement seen in the dancing of their Scholars."\(^6\)

"Country Dances" were an English product danced in all the courts of Europe. It had become the favorite diversion of "the most august Assemblies."

This Dancing is a moderate and healthful Exercise, a pleasant and innocent Diversion, if modestly us'd, and perform'd at convenient Times, and by suitable Company.\(^7\)

Of the folk or peasant dances of his day, Weaver had nothing to say. His interests and history encompassed only the fine art of dancing as seen on the stage and in the ballroom.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 169.
\(^5\)Ibid. "Qualification" can be defined here as "accomplishment."
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 170. This volume is dedicated to Mr. Caverly.
\(^7\)Ibid., p. 171.
In his publication of 1728, Weaver appears to have simplified his definitions. After sixteen years of reflection, his dances and pantomimes fell into only two categories, and "serious" dancing seemed by then to include both the "scenical" and "historical" types. Because they differ considerably from the earlier statements, they are given here in some detail.

By **Serious Dancing**, I would be understood to mean not only that *gentle Dancing* in which the French have excelled, whether Brisk or Grave; and where an Air, Firmness, and a graceful and regulated Motion of all Parts are required; but also where such **Dancing** shall represent any Character that is either Natural, or belonging to ancient Fable, or otherwise, where a nice Address and Management of the **Passions** and **Gestures** take up the Thought of the Performer, and in which he is to show his Skill.

By **Grotesque Dancing**, I mean only such Characters as are quite out of Nature; as Harlequin, Scaramouch, Pierrot, &c. tho' in the natural Sense of the Word, **Grotesque** among Masters of our Profession, takes in all comic **Dancing** whatever: But here I have confin'd this Name only to such Characters where, in lieu of regulated Gesture, you meet with distorted and ridiculous **Actions**, and Grin and Grimace take up entirely that Countenance where the Passions and Affections of the Mind should be expressed.53

The definitions of both had altered, but neither seemed quite to include the notion of a programmatic dance, such as the term "scenical" implied. He used only these two terms in reference to the list of works at the end of that volume which included his own pantomime, *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. This was indeed one of his most serious attempts at reviving the pantomime as he concluded it must have been perfected in classical times. He may have felt the term "scenical" either did not apply in this later work or was outmoded. In any case, the term "serious"

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was given broader definition in 1728 and could easily be extended to include the earlier concept of "scenical" dancing.

Weaver's greatest innovation in theatre dance was to invent new movement patterns which were expressive of what he called the manners and passions of man. It is true that these must have become formalized signs and that what was originally inspired by nature, as it was seen in that day, became very shortly a stiff convention. He vehemently believed that a master of dramatic dancing had to have a sound learning in rhetoric, or expressive speech, and that elegance and expressiveness in speech had direct parallels with the same qualities in dancing. Prints of the period, which unfortunately do not begin to appear in abundance until later in the century, give a clear indication of the nature of expressive gesture in that day. It was excessively ornate and exaggerated, or so it seems to us today. In fact, it was a good source for graphic caricature. (Plate VI) It is necessary to see it from Weaver's vantage point, and to attempt to recapture the energy and spirit of his new ideas which sounded a small but incisive cry in the chaotic world of the theatre in his time. Some of the excitement can be felt in his own words:

What Rhetorick is to the Orator in Speaking, is to the Dancer in Action; and an Elegance of Action consists, in adapting the Gesture to the Passions and Affections; and the Dancer, as well as the Orator, allures the Eye, and invades the Mind of the Spectator; for there is a Force, and Energy in Action, which strangely affects; and when Words will scarce move, Action will excite, and put all the Powers of the Soul in a ferment.54 (Italics in last four lines mine)
The Dance in Education

Weaver was a teacher as well as a performer and choreographer. Little is known of his pupils in London, and only the briefest accounts remain, such as Dr. Burney's of his life in Shrewsbury. His writings, however, were filled with an air of instructional zeal, and he gave numerous references, practices, and standards for teaching dance during the period.

Dancing had been included in the education of young gentlemen for a very long time. Some references to this tradition are given in an earlier chapter. Thomas Elyot in The Governour, from which Weaver quoted extensively in his Essay Towards an History of Dancing, treated of dance in education in England in the sixteenth century. Castiglione was concerned with it in Italy during the same period. The gentleman was to be educated to correct social behaviour just as he was to be instructed in the proper kinds of dances. The dancing master instructed his pupils in both and, in fact, both social and dance movement had much in common. For example, the bow, or Reverence, was a dance step which preceded every ball dance, and it was essentially a social movement exchange, timed, and stylized to suit the specific dance.

Other works on dance and education appeared in the seventeenth century. One of these was the work of the learned philosopher,

56For example F. De Lauze, Apologie de la Danse, 1623, translated by J. Wildeblood (London: Muller, 1952), and Antoine de Courtine, The Rules of Civility, 1671, cited by Wildeblood, pp. 23ff. Miss Wildeblood dates this volume at 1685, but her bibliography places it at 1671, p. 24; also John Playford, English Dancing Master, Introduction and Notes M. Dean-Smith (London: Schott, 1957). This came out first in 1651. It was published in eighteen editions, the last in the late 1720's.
John Locke. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, published in 1693, Locke allowed that exercise was hygienic and stimulating to the mind. He particularly approved of dancing for its usefulness as an exercise, but he scorned the kind of dancing which hinted at exhibitionism or affection:

... nothing appears to me to give Children so much becoming Confidence and Behaviour, and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their age, as Dancing; I think they should be taught to Dance, as soon as they are capable of Learning it. For though this consist only in outward gracefulness of Motion, yet, I know not how, it gives Children manly Thoughts, and Carriage more than anything. ... As for the jigging part, and the figures of dances, I count that little or nothing, farther than as it tends to perfect graceful carriage.\(^57\)

It is curious that a man who appeared so unmoved by theatre and ballroom dancing was said to have been the close companion to Marie Subligny, the French academic ballerina, on her visit to England at the turn of the century. She was unable, moreover, to write even her own name, according to Mr. Fletcher.\(^58\)

The kind of schooling offered young gentlemen in 1704 was described in a letter from Robert Pitt, the father of William:

My two brothers are at Mr. Meure's Academy, near Soho Square, esteemed the best in England. They learn Latin, French and accounts, fencing, dancing and drawing. I think of settling them in Holland for their better education next summer. ...\(^59\)

The subjects listed in Pitt's letter were typical of the instruction given upper and middle class youth and, though it appears limited by present day


\(^{58}\) Fletcher, p. 13.

\(^{59}\) Trevelyan, p. 18.
standards, it was extensive when compared with the education available for women. Girls of well-to-do families were educated at home, and may have acquired in addition to the accomplishments of domestic life, a second language, French or Italian. A letter to The Spectator in 1711 requested advice on how to deal with the gaucheries of a country kinswoman newly moved to London. It indicated another subject taught to women, and gives a clear picture of the importance attached to refined movement, expression, and dancing in the upbringing of the well-bred city girl in the early eighteenth century:

She is very pretty, but you can't imagine how unformed a Creature it is. She comes to my Hands just as Nature left her, half finished, and without any acquired Improvements. When I look on her I often think of the Belle Sauvage mentioned in one of your Papers. Dear Mr. Spectator, help me to make her comprehend the visible Graces of Speech, and the dumb Eloquence of Motion; for she is at present a perfect Stranger to both. She knows no Way to express her self but by her Tongue, and that always to signify her Meaning. Her Eyes serve her yet only to see with, and she is utterly a Foreigner to the Language of Looks and Glances. In this I fancy you could help her better than any Body. I have bestowed two Months in teaching her to Sigh when she is not concerned, and to Smile when she is not pleased; and am ashamed to own she makes little or no Improvement. Then she is no more able now to walk, than she was to go at a Year old. By Walking you will easily know I mean that regular but easy Motion, which gives our Persons so irresistible a Grace as if we moved to Musick, and is a kind of disengaged Figure, or, if I may so speak, Recitative Dancing.60

This passage describes the "rhetoric of action" in social behaviour. It is not many steps from Weaver's ideal of expressive action in the theatre. Steele's reply gave a decided view of the lack of education for women, and he urged that "the Mind and Body improve

60 The Spectator, Wednesday, May 16, 1711, pp. 107-109.
together . . . (that) Gesture follow Thought, and not let Thought be employed upon Gesture." His answer to the above inquiry began:

The general Mistake among us in Educating our Children, is, that in our Daughters we take care of their Persons and neglect their Minds; in our Sons we are so intent upon adorning their Minds, that we wholly neglect their Bodies. It is from this that you shall see a young Lady celebrated and admired in all the Assemblies about Town, when her elder Brother is afraid to come into a Room . . . . When a Girl is safely brought from her Nurse, before she is capable of forming one simple Notion of any thing in Life, she is delivered to the Hands of her Dancing-Master; and with a Collar round her Neck, the pretty wild Thing is taught a fantastical Gravity of Behaviour, and forced to a particular Way of holding her Head, heaving her Breast, and moving with her whole Body; and all this under Pain of never having an Husband, if she steps, looks or moves awry. 61

Complaisance: the eighteenth century nonchalance

Social behaviour, particularly in ladies, provides a clue for finding meaning in many of Weaver's terms. Elegance and "Energy in Action" which excite "and put all the Powers of the Soul in a ferment," were the same sighs and heaving of the breast which procured a husband in the drawing room. If techniques in stage and ballroom dancing showed clear signs of differences, the good manners of the two forms remained the same. In order to move the emotions of a correct audience, the passions of the dancers on stage had to be contrived to suit the standard of right and proper demeanor.

Demeanor was observed in what was described earlier as a fitting "address." This term was applied especially to men. A more comprehensive term used during this period and before and which was applied more and more

61 Ibid.
only to women, was the term "complaisance." Weaver's style of dance, from the school to the stage, was still identified with the air of non-chalance, prescribed in Castiglione's book of etiquette. It was the refined French *douce manière*. In Weaver's own words, this manner was an "artful carelessness, as if it were a natural motion, without a too curious and painful practising." One must not show any enthusiasm or zeal, for,

To Dance too exquisitely, is, I must own, too laborious a Vanity; and to be totally ignorant of it, and of that Carriage, Behaviour, Fashion and Address, gain'd by learning it; shew (on the other hand) a Man either Stoical, or but meanly bred, or not us'd to conversation.  

"Natural motion" neither meant an openness or ease of expression in the modern sense, nor the naturalness of rustic nature in its own day. It was a convention of long standing based upon the "Classical" ideal for aristocratic (by that time gentlemanly) manners which admitted of no loss of control or utterance of frank and open emotion. Weaver did not see his theory as representing any conflict; yet he spoke out for the concealment of intensity and excessive skill in the classroom, while he urged a greater energy and passion to the expressive action on stage. Mere exaggeration of the rhetoric of gesture would not change the conventions of what was thought to be right, proper, and just. It can only be concluded that gesture was quite as conventional on stage as in the drawing room. Weaver's theory anticipated changes which were to come; in practice theatre dance must have appeared largely the same as before,

62 Franks, p. 110.
with the difference that more attention was being given to meaning and
significance whereas heretofore subjective content was sacrificed for
display of merely superficial skills and embellishments.

Most of the dancing schools must have been for women. Josias
Priest's was one of that kind. Weaver praised Mr. Caverly, who directed
a school which was "a Nursery of Virtue and Good-Breeding." Caverly's
influence and sound teaching produced "Mothers whose power is unmix'd
with Severity, and Wives whose obedience has the Charms of Complaisance." Caverly was a dancing master whose name appears in no other connection
but Weaver's published works. He was not, so far as it is known, a
stage dancer. Dancing masters also gave instruction in private houses,
such as Mr. Pembleton who came to teach Mrs. Pepys a coranto, from whom
Pepys himself later learned the dance, "La Duchesse." Weaver showed signs of middle class puritan morality, however,
when he felt that the utility of a practice excused any other faults it
might have. "The Usefulness of a thing may serve to determine its real
Worth," he said, and,

... our present Dancing has as just a Claim to Encourage-
ment, as that of the Ancients: Since it is equally a moderate Exercise, which preserves Health, ... and also regu-
lates the Carriage; invigorates the active Motion of the Limbs;
fashions the Body with a just and graceful Position, and
enlivens and unbends the Mind.

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64 Ibid., Dedication, p. A.2.
65 His name appears on the subscription lists to Weaver's Orches-
ography (1706), and Lectures on Dancing (1721).
66 Pepys, Entry for May 4, 1663, p. 362; May 16, 1663, p. 369.
67 Weaver, History of Dancing, p. 17.
Weaver quoted Mr. Locke to support his claim, and argued further that confidence was acquired through learning to dance:

And by dancing in Company, or singly before many Spectators, Children wear off that Diffidence, Fear, and Aukwardness, *sic*... which is very visible in Children, that are not us'd to Company, and want those Advantages; as is plain from these we find in the Country, and retir'd Places; where at the Appearance of a Gentleman, or Lady well-dress'd, with a good Equipage, the Bashful Rusticks all aghast run away either asham'd or afraid.68

He felt that dancing was not practiced properly in his day, and should not be engaged in "after supper" or late into the night; however, if it was done in moderation, it was not only pleasing, but "necessary for all, provided it be used modestly, as to Time and Place, and without any vicious Intentions."70 He was speaking from an informed position. His Lectures Upon Dancing included a careful survey of body structure and muscle actions and he pointed out the values of exercise for the correction of defects and weakness. He particularly recommended that children learn dancing,

... in order to correct and cure all ill Habits, that may become irremediable in length of Time; for 'tis certain, that the mere firm Parts, in Infancy are flexible, and capable of being moulded into any Form.71

It was the dancing master's obligation to "instruct our selves in some little Knowledge of Anatomy, whereby, at least, by knowing the

68 Ibid., p. 22-23.
69 Ibid., p. 37.
70 Ibid., p. 43.
71 Weaver, Lectures on Dancing, p. 91.
Cause of such Defects, we may be able to judge whether they be curable or not.  "72

John Essex was another master of dancing who followed Weaver in the latter's cause for bettering the art and rendering it more respectable, useful, and worthy. Little is known about Essex. In records of 1702-1703 he registered a claim against John Rich for cutting him off from 32 days of salary. Essex accused Rich of having no cause for breaking their agreement. He had erred only in "not performing a Dance when I was so lame I had not the Power to do it." 73 His name appears on the subscription lists of Weaver's work, and he translated a new French work based on the earlier notation script of Feuillet. 74 It was an illustrated and simplified treatment of Feuillet's system.

He produced in addition an engaging little volume on manners and activities suitable for young ladies. 75 In it he advised upon the virtues of industry, and the harmfulness of sloth. He recommended diversions of a seemly kind, among which were, walking, dancing, music, "and other innocent Amusements." 76 Dancing was excellent so long as it was not "too long continued, or practiced with Excess" 77 and was, . . . always perform'd with Modesty and Moderation . . . but it is a great Fault in many ladies, who first encour-

72 Ibid., p. 94.
76 Ibid., p. 77.
77 Ibid., p. 78.
age or promote Dancing, and then are unwilling to give
over till they tire the Company; which looks too much
like Vanity or Affectation.\textsuperscript{78}

He recommended that all well-bred young ladies who wished to be con-
sidered virtuous should look to the improvement of their behaviour.

The way they stood and carried themselves, signified good manners;

... for as from the happy Disposition of the Hands,
Feet, and other Parts of the Body, there arises a genteel
Deportment; so when we see a Lady standing in a true Posi-
tion, or adjusting of herself properly in Walking, Dancing,
or Sitting, in a graceful Manner, we never fail to admire
that exterior \textsuperscript{sic} Excellence of Form, and regular Disposi-
tion, suited to the Rules of Decency, Modesty and good
Manners.

Under this Head of Behaviour, that of Complaisance in
general naturally falls. ... Complaisance is highly
commendable in all, but sparkles like a Diamond in the Fair
Sex. ... Nay Ladies, give me leave to observe, That gener-
ally speaking, you are the Religious observers of the several
Degrees of Civility.\textsuperscript{79}

She was to pay careful heed to her master, and diligently mind his
instructions so that she had "nothing disagreeable in her Step, or
uncomely in her Approaches." It was of supreme importance to enter and
quit a room gracefully, "without too much Air or Aukwardness." \textsuperscript{sic}
This required good sense, symmetry, and education, and it followed that
any lady who could walk well, could also dance well.\textsuperscript{80}

In Weaver's and Essex's day two separate refined dance styles
appeared. These had developed gradually through the seventeenth century
until it was a new but, nonetheless, accomplished fact by the time Weaver

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., p. 83.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., pp. 48-49.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., pp. 80-81.
defined "serious" dancing as separate from "common" dancing. As the separation widened, ballroom dance kept some relationship to amateur shows and entertainments but lost its connection with ballet. Ballroom dance became concerned with relatively simple technical figures and steps. From time to time it was reinvigorated with country dance forms, but it never regained its association with dramatic play. The theatre forms, on the other hand, grew independently in terms of their own dialectic. Two different emphases emerged in the seventeenth century and continue to this day; these can be described as an interest in virtuosity of technique and surface design, and the other as inspiration from subjective mood or dramatic content. Both inclinations became totally professional and theatrical. Because of the declining theatricality of ballroom dance, men took less and less a part in it. Movement in the ballroom as well as the drawing room was regularly accused of being affected and precious, expressive of feminine delicacy and not masculine vigour or character. French fops were the dance types caricatured throughout the latter part of the century in England. Here was the beginning of the notion that dancing was fancy, pretty, delicate, and unmanly. Manners in this period reflected upper class social conventions which were preserved for the sake of protecting and uniting a declining class. It became more and more the subject for the young lady's finishing school and was ridiculed in later years when England was at war with France and America. (Plate VII)
The ballet continued these conventions on stage. To this day, its manners reveal the exquisite taste of the aristocrat, or pretenders to that station, and its style is to "camouflage" the effort and passions and to perform with a look of ease (or complaisance) which Eglevsky and Tallchief affirm in remarks on the ballet in 1959.  

81 "Classical Ballet," a film arranged by Martha Myers, with Andre Eglevsky and Maria Tallchief. A Time to Dance Series, 1959.
CONCLUSION

A stylistic treatment of the history of dance sets up a means of looking at the subject. In a sense concepts of historical style are tools of measurement by which a given work in the past can be analyzed and compared with earlier works. Predictions could also be made about trends in later or even future periods. In no sense does this approach declare personal subjective judgments upon dance works; however, significant trends would appear with more clarity, and it would be possible to see more vividly what a dance might have been like.

The "Expressional" label applied to a work does not mean that it alone has powers of emotional impact. A "Classical" work, too, can be deeply moving but in another way: the appeal comes through opposite characteristics of style. If the viewer is interested chiefly in the subtleties of formal design in space and time and by the brilliance of the performers, the "Classical" style would have a stirring impact upon him. If, however, he is stirred by human relationships, conflicts, and personal attitudes toward life, his metier is the "Expressional" style. Precision, excellence in skill, and fortunate arrangements are typical of the "Classical" tradition. It can degenerate into forms, like those in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in France, which were merely ornate acrobatics, splendidly costumed, and dully repetitive.
Discovery, experimentation, and penetrating communication of life describe the best of the "Expressional" style. It can degenerate into awkward soul-searching like that of Isadora Duncan, during her final tour of the United States, when a relatively unskilled performance and pale inspiration made her work appear pathetic, even embarrassing.

The "Classical" style is more timeless and universal in appeal because of its capacity for abstraction. Designs and shapes can be viewed quite apart from the urgencies of life itself and, like geometric signs for the primitive man, these abstractions can symbolize security and provide an escape from life and the forces of nature.

The "Expressional" style is more timely and personal. It must change entirely with the times and the views of the artist. If traditional elements were to be employed, the work would no longer reflect the unique nature of its time. The "Expressional" style could only have appeared when certain stages of development had been passed through and corresponding social changes had taken place. The path of development was not one of progress or from works which were ill-conceived and crude to those which were progressively more brilliant and skillful. The change should be viewed as one of differences, which were caused by another combination of forces. "Expressional" style came into significance with the rise of the middle class. "Classical" style has been relatively permanent since the Renaissance and has been particularly strong when support for the arts has come from the state. Dance in the "Classical" tradition is almost entirely removed from local or topical issues and rarely deals with subjects of anxiety or discontent with the status quo.
John Weaver was discontent with the dance of his own day. He saw another path one which for him was more worthy and expressive of a higher quality than that which he saw produced around him. He felt that the greatest heights of dance as an art form had been reached in classical times. Like so many artists in every medium and period of history, he looked back to the ancient past for sources of inspiration. As a result, he created a new mode of expression which was more timely than any other dance form in his day. He remained a teacher of decorum, however, and he could not visualize movement which was not correct and refined. That was the limitation in his field in his time. He worked within this frame of the possible and, in so doing, he extended that frame into a new dimension. His innovations must be viewed within the context of his own day. Only then can his work be evaluated and seen as it might have been seen then. His writing seems remote and quaint today, but, by placing it in its proper context in history, it becomes touching, even remarkable. He was beyond his own time in terms of social acceptance and approval because he was an innovator. His work is significant from a historical standpoint because it was a prediction of styles to come.

A stylistic methodology provides an approach to the subject of dance history which stresses significant trends in the flow of influences. The approach is far richer and more meaningful than, for example, a chronological description of events because relationships can be seen with trends in the other arts and in social history. Unless the total ecology is grasped in some measure, the single work of art can have little relevance. The student of the historical development of dance style, for
example, is enabled to consider dance works which he can never actually see performed and place them in relationship to other events. Only in this way can the works themselves have any reality.

The present study deals with a comparatively limited time frame. This could conceivably be extended to deal with works before the Renaissance and works appearing later than those of Weaver's. For example, in classical times the choral movement in Euripides' Bacchae might be considered on the basis of "Expressional" stylistic characteristics in contrast to schemata in other classical dramas which were geometric shapes suggestive of forms in nature. Another example in a later period of history would be the theories of Noverre, who gave a full expression to the ballet d'action in his writings in 1760. His works were in stylistic contrast to the French ballet d'école. Comparison between dance styles in the 1930's would reveal a strong "Expressional" tendency in American dance, whereas continental and English styles continued to follow "Classical" traditional lines. Contemporary works could be analyzed in terms of style; however, new media would require an extension of stylistic characteristics beyond the present framework. The film has dimensions which cannot be described by, for example, the older spatial concepts in staging or movements of groups on the stage.

The related subject of acting had stylistic tendencies comparable to those in dance, and a history of acting could be treated in a similar manner. For instance, Thomas Betterton, the Restoration and early eighteenth century actor, had views similar to Weaver's; whereas James Quin,
a somewhat later actor in England represented the "Classical" school.
At the end of the century and into the Romantic period a comparable
contrast could be seen between John Philip Kemble, a "Classical"
Mannerist in style, and Edmund Kean, a Romanticist.

The consideration of a work of art in terms of why and how it
came into being is of as great an interest in historical discussions
as the particularities of the work itself. The causes underlying style
must be of far greater concern to the dance historian because he can
only conjecture as to the nature of the dance and dancing he is studying.
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Illustrative Material

