CHOREOLOGICA

Musical and Choreographic Questions 1550-1625

Searching 'Je ne scay-quoy'

Noverre's Ballets Inspired by Ancient Greece

Music and Dance in Noverre's Ballets-Pantomimes 1776-1781

Applied Musical Knowledge in Classical Ballet Training

Gret Palucca

Rudolf Laban and Kurt Jooss

Dresden Conference 2017

Tribute to Giannandrea Poesio

Tribute to Ivor Guest

Volume 9 No. 1

Summer 2018

ISSN 1746-5737

eadh European Association of Dance Historians

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ISSN 1746-5737
European Association of Dance Historians
9 St Margarets Avenue,
Torquay,
TQ1 4LW
eadhcommittee@gmail.com

Published on behalf of the EADH by **Dance Books Ltd.**,
Southwold House,
Isington Road,
Binsted,
Hampshire GU34 4PH
www.dancebooks.co.uk

Printed by Lightning Source

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Musical and choreographic questions 1550-1625

CHRISTINE BAYLE

...we will bring to light all that can be desired
regarding the eloquence of the force that music exerts on our soul[1]
– Mersenne

We are here concerned with the state of the courtly dance in the period preceding that of la Belle Dance, that is, the dance as practised in the French courts of Henry IV[2] and then – after his death in 1610 – in the court of Louis XIII.[3] There are several musical problems to be addressed to find a satisfactory interpretation of the early 17th century 'new' styles. The questions that must be asked in this rich period of shifting ideas and aesthetic are imperative yet often puzzling. Both in France, and in the courts of the Germanic lands and still further to the East,[4] already under the influence of 'le Goût français' the sources of information are rich, but, like most musical and choreographic notation of the time, they are incomplete and subject to interpretation. Even the terminology is not consistent.

The most remarkable musical text from this period is of course *Terpsichore* of Michael Praetorius.(Figure 1, p. 6). Published in 1612 in Wolfenbüttel, this is an enormous compendium of some 300 dance tunes, Branles, Courantes, Voltes, Ballets, etc. – mostly from France, and harmonised in four or five voices. This music, danced using the invaluable instructions of Arbeau's *Orchésographie* (first published no later than 1589), has given us the 'ground rules' of early 17th

1 Marin Mersenne, L'Harmonie universelle, Proposition XXVI, p.177: 'or nous apporterons tout ce que l'on pourrait icy desirer dans le discours de la force que la Musique a sur l'esprit.'

2 Henri IV, Henri de Bourbon, (1553-1610), reigns as King of Navarre. (1572-1610) and King of France and of Navarre from 1589 to 1610.

3 Louis XIII (1601-1643) son of Henri IV, reigns from 1619 to 1643, King of France and of Navarre.

4 For judicial reasons concerning the division of property among the inheritors in German duchies at the end of the 16th century, those of Darmstadt, Kassel, Wolfenbüttel were intimately connected. They thus became important centres of festivities, music and dance, with libraries and theatres, built at different periods. We find traces of Italian dancing masters (including Caroso) who came to the courts and were involved in exchanges between Copenhagen, Wolfenbüttel and Kassel. Remember that the great John Dowland visited both towns.


Michaelis Pratorij, C.
TERPSICHORE,
Musarum Aoniarum
QVINTA.
Darinnen
Allerley Frantzösische
Däntze vnd Lieder/
Als 21. Branslen:
13. Andere Däntze/ mit sonderbaren Namen.
162. Couranten:
42. Volten:
17. Balletten:
1. Passameze:
23. Gaillarden: vnd
4. Reprinsen.
Mit 4. 5. vnd 6. Stimmen.
Wie dieselbige von den Frantzösischen Dantzmeistern in Franckreich gespielet/ ꝛc. vnnd vor Fürstlichen Tafflen/ auch sonsten in Convivijs zur recreation vnd ergötzung gantz wol gebraucht werden können.
CANTVS.
ANNO 1612.

Figure 1 *Terpsichore* title page

century baroque dance style before the advent of la Belle Dance.

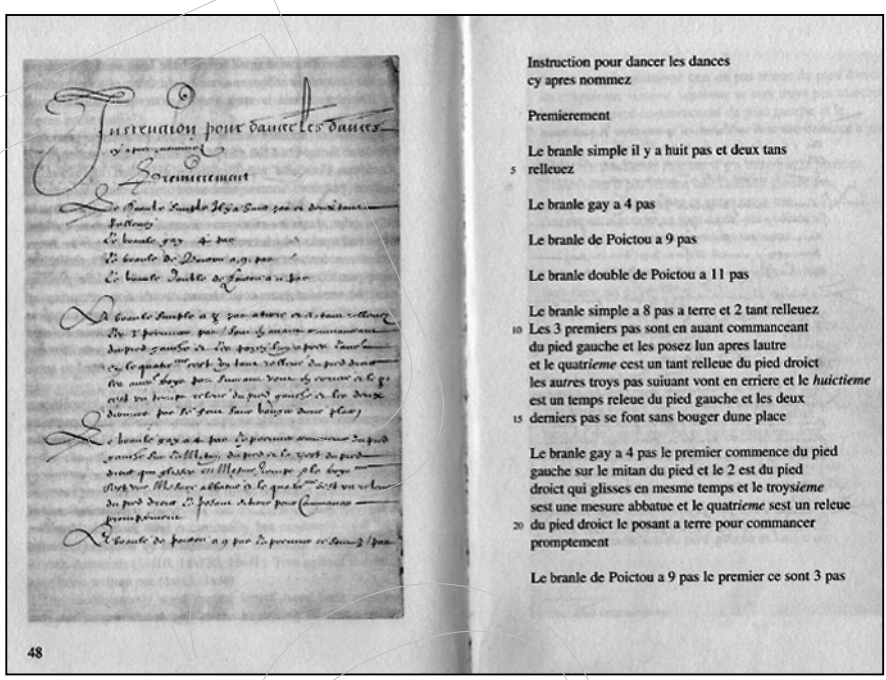
However, three other documents containing *choreographic* information have been very revealing and stimulating for the research to be experimented and propped up by the performances of *L'Eclat des Muses* over the last fifteen years. For instance, there is *Instruction pour dancer les dances*[5] (Figure 2), which Praetorius ascribes to a certain Anthoine Emeraud,[6] dancing master during the reign from 1613 to 1634 of Duke Friedrich Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. (see Figure 3). *Instruction* was probably also used in Darmstadt and in Dresden. It contains 16 dances (some with variations), among which we can discern a real 'Bal' with 6 Branles, sometimes using the same performing principles as prescribed in the *Orchésographie,*[7] notably in La Danse de la Torche.

And in the 1620s, yet another practice is revealed for the same six branles of the *suite of Bal* and a few other dances in the following two books:

5 *Instruction pour dancer les dances cy apres nommez, An Anonymous Manuscript,* (ca. 1610-12), Fa-gisis, Musik-und Tanzedition, edited and introduced by Angene Feves, Ann Lisbeth Langston, Uwe W. Schlottermüller, Eugenia Roucher, Freiburg 2000.

6 Hessische Hochschul und Landesbibliothek, see the article by Eugenia Roucher on the relationship between the courts of Hesse and of Wolfenbüttel and the dancer Antonio, Anthoine Emeraud who would certainly have been using French dances.

7 Jehan Tabourot, *Orchesographie et Traicté en forme de dialogue par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre & practiquer l'hosnneste exercice des danses,* par Thoinot Arbeau demeurant à Lengres, 1688.



Instruction pour dancer les dances
cy apres nommez

Premierement

Le branle simple il y a huit pas et deux tans relleuez

Le branle gay a 4 pas

Le branle de Poictou a 9 pas

Le branle double de Poictou a 11 pas

Le branle simple a 8 pas a terre et 2 tant relleuez
Les 3 premiers pas sont en auant commanceant
du pied gauche et les posez lun apres lautre
et le quat*rieme* cest un tant relleue du pied droict
les autres troys pas suiuant vont en erriere et le *huictieme*
est un temps releue du pied gauche et les deux
derniers pas se font sans bouger dune place

Le branle gay a 4 pas le premier commence du pied
gauche sur le mitan du pied et le 2 est du pied
droict qui glisses en mesme temps et le troy*sieme*
sest une mesure abbatue et le quat*rieme* sest un releue
du pied droict le posant a terre pour commancer
promptement

Le branle de Poictou a 9 pas le premier ce sont 3 pas

48

Figure 2 *Instruction pour dancer les dances,* a sample page

Figure 3 Portrait of Duke Friedrich Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg

François de Lauze's *Apologie de la Dance*[8] (1623). De Lauze does not presume to be a dancing master but does claim that his document precedes that of Montagut (see Figure 4).

Montagut's *Louange de la Dance*[9] (1620) is essentially a plagiarism of de Lauze (see Figure 5). Montagut was a dancing master in the service of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (see Figure 6). We know that Lauze loaned his manuscript to Montagut, hoping to benefit from the Duke's patronage, which he never received.

These treatises were connected with the *Terpsichore*[10] and its typical French[11] style, but especially the *branles* are also to be found in the Philidor MS (BnF), where most of the tunes are with dessus and bass, and in the lute anthology *Le Trésor d'Orphée* of Anthoine Francisque[12] (1600), and in other collections by composers such as Susato and Bocan.

Here we can see the musical sources for *branles* by Patrick Blanc[13] (see Figure 7, p. 10).

La Suite de dances 'à l'ouverture du Bal' and other dances

Both Praetorius[14] and Mersenne[15] help to reconstruct the choreography.

8 François de Lauze, *Apologie de la Danse et la parfaire methode de l'enseigner tant aux Cavaliers qu'aux Dames*, 1623, Minkoff Reprint, Genève, 1977

9 Barthélémy Montagut, *Louange de la Danse, avec les observations necessaires pour en acquérir la perfection*. 1620. See Numéro 3, Renaissance texts from manuscript, Volume 224 de Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies,

Barbara Ravelhofer, *Barthelemy de Montagut, François de Lauze*, Université du Michigan, 2 avril 2010.

10 Michael Praetorius, Recueil *Terpsichore, 1612.emy*

11 ibid : Préface, XII 'Deshalben als ich das erste Buch meiner Franzosischen Gefänge … ' and Register, Dieser frenzosischen Danze, p.XVI.

12 As Barbara Sparti reminds us in the article *A Hit Tune Becomes a Hit Dance: The Travels of a Pavane through Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, France and Germany*, by Barbara Sparti, Christine Bayle, Carles Mas.

13 See also Christine Bayle, La Pratique d'une esthétique nouvelle: la danse sous Henri IV, Un style de danse en découverte selon le Manuscrit, *Instruction pour dancer les dances* (ca 1612) CnD ARPD 2016.

14 *Terpsichore* was published after Caroubel's death. Caroubel collaborated with Praetorius at the court of the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel. By the way, we know that Praetorius was obliged to leave the town of his patron, Friedrich Ulrich, Duc de Braunschweig, Lünebourg et Wolfenbüttel, who is an important patron of music and dance, and died in 1613. So, – in honour of this town! – we remind you that he came to… Dresden.

15 Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle, Proposition XXIV, 'Expliquer toutes les sortes de Branles dont on use maintenant dans la France, tant aux Balets, & aux autres Bals, qu'aux autres recreations.'

Figure 4 *Apologie de la Dance*

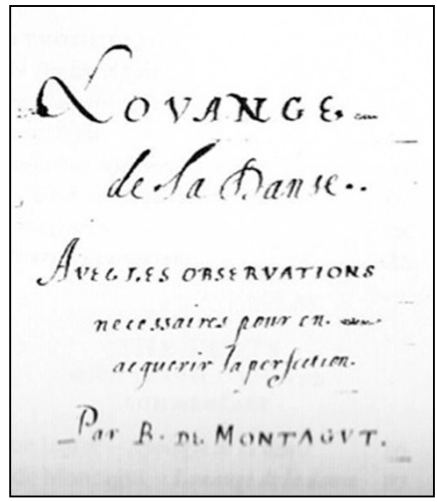


Figure 5 *Louange de la Dance*

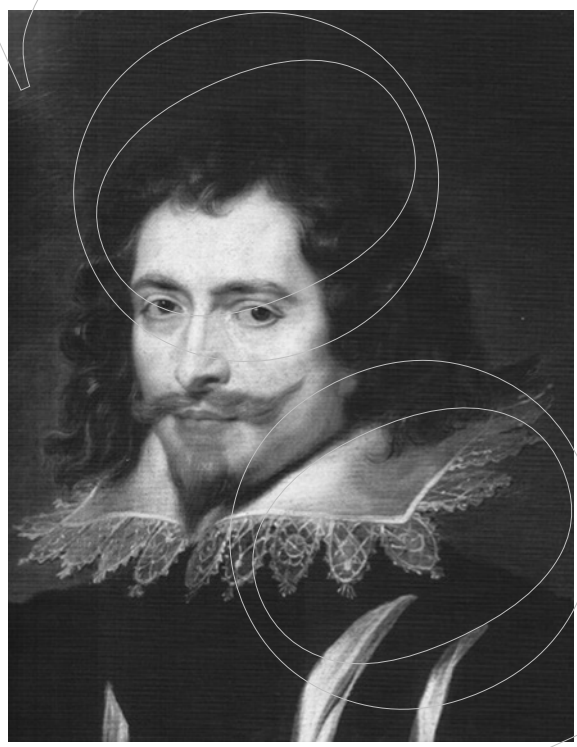


Figure 6 George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham

AUTHORS and TUNES

Dance	ARBEAU Attaingnant, Arbeau, Susato, Gervaise, Phalese, etc.	INSTRUCTION Francisque, Praetorius	APOLOGIE Praetorius, Branles of Branchu, Branles of Bocan, Chancy, Vallet *

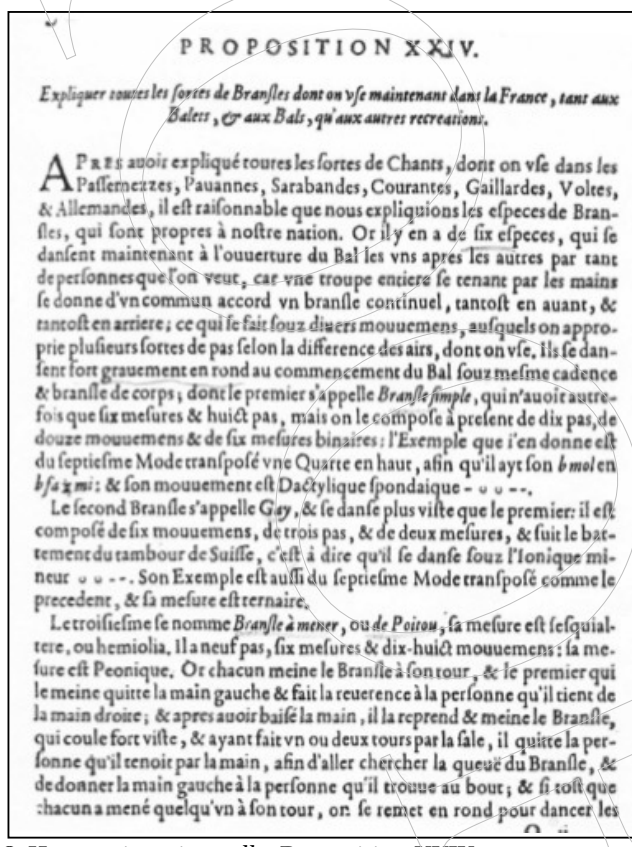
* Patrick Blanc whom I thank, found suites of 6 branles from authors as :

- in Germanic Countries : **Balthasar Christoph Wust, Johann Pezel, Alessandro de Poglietti, Johann Sigismund, Kusser, J. K. Fisher**

- in Netherlands: **Nicolas Vallet, Bocan**

- in Great Britain : **Locke, Banister, Paisible**

Figure 7 musical sources for *branles*



PROPOSITION XXIV.

Expliquer toutes les ſortes de Branſles dont on vſe maintenant dans la France, tant aux Balets, & aux Bals, qu'aux autres recreations.

APRES auoir expliqué toutes les ſortes de Chants, dont on vſe dans les Paſſemezzes, Pauannes, Sarabandes, Courantes, Gaillardes, Voltes, & Allemandes, il eſt raiſonnable que nous expliquions les eſpeces de Branſles, qui ſont propres à noſtre nation. Or il y en a de ſix eſpeces, qui ſe danſent maintenant à l'ouuerture du Bal les vns apres les autres par tant de perſonnes que l'on veut, car vne troupe entiere ſe tenant par les mains ſe donne d'vn commun accord vn branſle continuel, tantoſt en auant, & tantoſt en arriere; ce qui ſe fait ſouz diuers mouuemens, auſquels on approprie pluſieurs ſortes de pas ſelon la difference des airs, dont on vſe. Ils ſe danſent fort grauement en rond au commencement du Bal ſouz meſme cadence & branſle de corps; dont le premier s'appelle *Branſle ſimple*, qui n'auoit autrefois que ſix meſures & huict pas, mais on le compoſe à preſent de dix pas, de douze mouuemens & de ſix meſures binaires: l'Exemple que i'en donne eſt du ſeptieſme Mode tranſpoſé vne Quarte en haut, afin qu'il ayt ſon *b mol* en *b fa x mi*: & ſon mouuement eſt Dactylique ſpondaique - ◡ ◡ --.

Le ſecond Branſle s'appelle *Gay*, & ſe danſe plus viſte que le premier: il eſt compoſé de ſix mouuemens, de trois pas, & de deux meſures, & ſuit le battement du tambour de Suiſſe, c'eſt à dire qu'il ſe danſe ſouz l'Ionique mineur ◡ ◡ --. Son Exemple eſt auſſi du ſeptieſme Mode tranſpoſé comme le precedent, & ſa meſure eſt ternaire.

Le troiſieſme ſe nomme *Branſle à mener*, ou *de Poitou*, ſa meſure eſt ſeſquialtere, ou hemiolia. Il a neuf pas, ſix meſures & dix-huict mouuemens: la meſure eſt Peonique. Or chacun meine le Branſle à ſon tour, & le premier qui le meine quitte la main gauche & fait la reuerence à la perſonne qu'il tient de la main droite; & apres auoir baiſé la main, il la reprend & meine le Branſle, qui coule fort viſte, & ayant fait vn ou deux tours par la ſale, il quitte la perſonne qu'il tenoit par la main, afin d'aller chercher la queuë du Branſle, & de donner la main gauche à la perſonne qu'il trouue au bout; & ſi toſt que chacun a mené quelqu'vn à ſon tour, on ſe remet en rond pour dancer les

Figure 8 Harmonie universelle, Proposition XXIV

Michael Praetorius writes the French dances down at the specific request of Antoine Eymeraud, then at the court in Darmstadt, with some instructions for each dance. Among other indications, Mersenne explains 'all the sorts of bransles used now in France, as much as in Balets, and in the Bals, as in other recreations.' (Harmonie universelle, Proposition XXIV, Figure 8)

So we have several versions of the music and for the dances of the same names, but the relationship between them is still complex and subtle.[16] We are called upon to be aesthetes, detectives, artists and technicians – all at the same time!

Among all the questions about the nature, the writing, the author, the why and the where, one thing seems clear: it is probable that the dances in *Instruction* form a suite, for which Praetorius would have taken time to write, arrange and complete the tunes, and orchestrate them in four or five parts.

It is good to remember that Arbeau gave detailed descriptions of branle double, branle simple, branle gay, branle de Poitou, 'branles couppez',[17] plus two other regional dances, among them, 'branles de Bourgogne' and 'de Champaigne'. He also composed branles *couppés* with irregular steps and rhythms; do they make a suite? *Instruction* and *Apologie,* unlike the Arbeau's suite, present the same suite of brawls in another version, presented as a suite, as Praetorius makes clear: to be danced 'in succession'.[18]

We now can prove it and demonstrate this suite of 6 branles 'à l'ouverture du Bal' (see Figure 9, p. 12).

Here you see a comparison of the dances at 'the beginning of the bal',[19] consisting of a suite of 6 brawls[20] (branles simple, branle gai, branle de Poitou, branle double de Poitou, branle de Montirandé et son double – called Fifth Branle by de Lauze, and Gavotte). These are found among the16 dances of *Instruction.*

This is a comparative table of the number of steps in each dance – as described by their author, who also specifies the meter. *Instruction* speaks in terms of steps, *Apologie* speaks in terms of steps and movements, Mersenne speaks in terms of measures, steps and movements.We have to reconstruct the whole thing in both cases.

Obviously, the work on other dances helps the comprehension of the steps

16 See – Scène Européenne/Regards croisés Instruction pour dancer: http://umr6576.cesr.univtours.fr/publications/instruction/fichiers/pdf/07-BAYLE.pdf

17 *Orchésographie*: branles de Pinagay, Cassandre, Charlotte, Guerre, Aridan.

18 Terpsichore: On the Gavottes: 'These dances fall under the name of bransle simple since they are danced one after another in succession.' Gavotte: 'this is a region wherein proud peasants dwell and from whence this dance is originated' translated from German.

19 Terpsichore, Préface 'à l'ouverture du bal'.

20 *Instruction*, p.53 'fin des 6 branles qui se dansent de suite'.

TABLEAU 6 DANCES « A l'ouverture du Bal »

Dance	ORCHESOGRAPHIE Attaingnant, Susato, Gervaise, Phalese, etc.	INSTRUCTION ** Francisque, Praetorius	APOLOGIE ** Praetorius, Branchu, Bocan, Ballard, Chancy, Vallet *
BRANLE SIMPLE (OR BRANLE COMMUN, MERSENNE)	Attaignant, B. of Villages Praetorius 3 binary measures	**C 2t** (Praetorius)	**2**
BRANLE GAY (tactus equalis)	**C 2t or 3/2** 2 ternary measures	**C 2t or 3/2** 2 ternary measures	**C 2t or 3/2**
BRANLE DE POICTOU	**3** 6 ternary measures	**3** 6 measures	**3** 6 measures
DOUBLE DE POICTOU		**3/2** 8 measures	**3/2** 8 measures
BRANLE DE MONTIRANDAY **DOUBLE DE MONTIRANDAY**	**C** (Hault Barrois) 2 x 4 measures	**C** 2 x 4 measures	**C** 2 x 4 measures
GAVOTTE	**C** mesure binary with small jumps	**C**	**C**

* Patrick Blanc whom I thank, found suites of 6 branles from authors : in Pays germaniques : Balthasar Christoph Wust, Johann Pezel, Alessandro de Poglietti, Johann Sigismund, Kusser, J. K. Fisher, in Pays-Bas : N. Vallet, Bocan, in England : Locke, Banister, Paisible
** Not any music indication, thanks to Praetorius, Mersenne and other musics

Figure 9 Six branles 'à l'ouverture du Bal'

and the way of thinking, describing, counting actions, and organising.

When we look at the complete list of all dances,[21] (see Figure 10) we see that there are many more dances in *Instruction* than in *Apologie de la danse* and *Louange de la danse.* This fact reveals some important facts: the first appearance of La Bourrée,[22] La Danse du Chandelier, like that in Arbeau or Caroso's Ballo del Fiore, but described with 6 precise figures. Then there is *La Boesme*, where Courante and Volte combine to make a sort of rondeau with figures for 4 couples in a line. There are also branles from well-known dancing masters such as La Chapelle, La Grenaie and la Loraine, and among others, the famous *Pavanne* (the *Pavane d'Espagne* with its 7 passages), a *passepied* and two *branles de Bretaigne*. All these dances help to reconstitute certain steps and lead us to new styles.

Apologie has a limited repertory, containing only the suite of 6 *branles*, la *Courante réglée*, one *gaillarde* step, some *reverences* (bowing and curtsying before the dances etc,) and la *capriole*, a very important step that occurs even in the *courante*.

The main difference here is that, unlike *Instruction*, *Apologie* and also *Louange,*

21 See Christine Bayle, *La danse française entre Renaissance et baroque. Le manuscrit* Instruction pour dancer (*vers 1610*) Actes de journée d'études (CESR Tours, 15 décembre 2012) Textes réunis par Hazebroucq et Jean-Noël Laurenti, Publication : Janvier 2015 – Scène européenne, collection 'Regards croisés sur la Scène européenne'.

22 See Christine Bayle, Le manuscrit Instruction pour dancer (vers 1610),CESR, Actes de journée d'études (Tours, 12 décembre 2012) *Présentation et méthodologie sur le manuscrit Instruction pour dancer les dances :* exemples du Branle simple et de passages de la Bourrée Ateliers pratiques: le branle simple. Naïk Raviart, Bibliographie. La danse française entre Renaissance et baroque.

LIST DANCES	Instruction	Apologie F. de Lauze	Louange B. Montagut
1. branle simple	X	X	X
2. branle gay	X	X	X
3.branle de poictou	X	X	X
4. double de Poictou	X	X (Method for Ladies**)	X
5. branle de Montiranday double de Montiranday	X	X (Method for Ladies)	
6. gavotte	X	steps only	
gaillarde * (Apol. only)		X one step (6 actions)	X one step (6 actions)
7. La bourrée			
8. La danse du chandellier	X		
9. La Boesme	X courante/volte	**On the Courante Reglée**	**On the Courante Reglée**
10. La Gillotte	X		
11. Les quatre bransles de la chapelle	X		
12. La Pavanne (d'Espagne)	X		
13. Les quatre bransles de Loraine	X		
14. Les quatre branles de la Grenee	X		
15. Le passepied de bretaigne	X		
16. Les branles de Bretaigne	X		

Note * : after *De la gaillarde*, in Apologie et Louange, except the Courante, not described in Instruction, there is only *De la Capriolle* and none other dance.
** Methode pour les Dames

Figure 10 Complete list of the dances

the dancer is expected to use the 'en-dehors' position, which obliges the dancer to step sideways 'feet out' and cross his feet. This changes everything, because in the *Instructio*n he simply goes forward and backward. If he moves sideways, the feet are parallel. Another difference is that *de Lauze* wants the dancer sometimes to bend *(plier)* before the action or the step, but not always. This is the first appearance of the plié and the articulation needed for both rising and jumping. He asks specifically for higher steps or jumps as well as those closer to the ground. *Instruction* is also the first to indicate the sliding steps that will often be used in *Apologie.* These are on the ground and on half points: 'mouvement du pied'. The placed foot /*le pied assis* is in opposition to 'in the mouvement' /'*sur le mouvement'*.[23]

The music

The main problem is that the three of these treatises contain no information about the music except in vague terms such as in *Instruction* 'a few', 'small steps', 'bellement'[24] or middle, 'grave'[25] and 'gravely', 'slow.' In *Apologie*, de Lauze wants the dancer[26] 'not to forget the value of beats, and other steps, & movements which embellish and enrich…' He speaks of: 'mesure requise/ necessary measure' without saying just what he means. Only experimentation with the configuration of the steps and their correspondence to the tunes can lead us to convincing decisions for the interpretation.

Let us now compare melodies and time-signatures (see Figure 11, p. 15).

I think we should begin by trying to find a general rule that can be applied to the different melodies for each of the branles (simple, branle gai, etc…) – and even to the other dances – especially because there are no metrical indications in the musical texts.

But there are many different musical notations at which we can look closely.

Here we see the work of our colleague Patrick Blanc[27] (General Dances

23 *Apologie*, Courante : p. 35

24 Pierre Canal, *Dictionnaire italien-français*, 1603: 'bellement', pian, piano, pianamente, chetamente. doucement, lentement., Le Thresor des trois langues, espagnole, françoise, italienne, 'bien gentiment, joliment, getilmente, leggiadramente, vagamente', Le thresor des trois langues, espagnole, françoise, et italienne: auquel est contenuë l'explication de toutes les trois, respectivement l'une par l'autre… ([Reprod.]) / par Caesar Oudin, Nicot, La Crusca, et autres. J. Crespind, Genève.

25 Can be slowly or gravely as noted Ann Lizbeth Lagston (Instruction, in the Appendice I, A Miscellany)

26 *Apologie*, p. 35: 'pourvu qu'ils (danseurs) n'ignorent la valeur des temps & autres pas, & mouvements dont on les enrichit…'

27 Patrick Blanc has written an article on what he thinks is a true 'suite of dances'. *Aux origines de la suite à la française: la suite de bal. Suites à la française…* Scène Européenne, Regards croisés, Instruction pour dancer.

TABLEAU DANSES and composers INSTRUCTION / APOLOGIE			
Dance	**ARBEAU Attaingnant, Arbeau, Susato, Gervaise, Phalese, etc.**	**INSTRUCTION Francisque, Praetorius**	**APOLOGIE Praetorius, Branles of Branchu, Branles of Bocan, Chancy,Vallet ***
branle simple (or branle commun, Mersenne)	(Attaignant, B. of Villages Praetorius)) 3 binary measures	**C 2** (Praetorius)	**2**
branle gay (tactus equalis)	**C 2 or 3/2** 2 ternary measures	**C 2 or 3/2** 3 measures	**C 2 or 3/2**
branle de Poictou	in 6 ternary measures	**3** in 6 ternary measures	**3** in 6 ternary measures
double de Poictou		**3/2** in 8 measures	3/2 in 8 measures
branle de Montiranday **double de Montiranday**	**C** (Hault Barrois) 2 x 4 measures	**C** 2 x 4 measures	**C** 2 x 4 measures
gavotte	**C** mesure binary avec petits sauts	**C**	**C**
La bourrée		**C**	
La danse du chandellier	**C** multiples of 4 measures	**C**	
La Boesme	**C** courante binary measure light (légère)	**3/2** courante or volte	**3/2** Courante

Figure 11 Melodies and time-signatures

and Music Figure 12, p. 16) with whom, since the year 2000, we have been studying, practising, experimenting and questioning. This table compares the same melodies in the different documents. The pieces are in the same order as those in the treatises: they are identified by Praetorius as coming from French dancing masters, as already mentioned, such as Francisque Caroubel (1612)[28] but also many of the 300 dancing masters in Paris. In Praetorius' chapter 'The Authors of the French Dances' he states: '...there are some three hundred

28 ibid: 'where some of these dances appear in practically the same order, as if a kind of suite was conventional at the time, as in the *Manuscrit Philidor* de la B.N.F. in which most of the dances do occur, but scattered throughout the MS. Only the Dessus and Bass are given'. We know that during Louis XIII's childhood, there were many dancing masters at the court : La Chapelle, La Grenaie, whose branles are present in *Instruction*, de la Motte, de la Fond and Beauchamp who is perhaps of the celebrated Pierre Beauchamp's (born in 1636) family.

TABLE DANCES and composers INSTRUCTION / APOLOGIE			
Dance	**ARBEAU** Attaingnant, Arbeau, Susato, Gervaise, Phalese, etc.	**INSTRUCTION** Francisque, Praetorius	**APOLOGIE** Praetorius, Branles of Branchu, Branles of Bocan, Chancy,Vallet *
branle simple (or branle commun c/o Mersenne)	(Attainsgnant, B. of Villages Praetorius) 3 binary measures	**C 2t** (Praetorius)	**2**
branle gay (tactus equalis)	**C 2t or 3/2** 2 ternary measures	**C 2t or 3/2** 3 measures	**C 2t or 3/2**
branle de Poictou	in 6 ternary measures	**3** in 6 ternary measures	**3** in 6 ternary measures
double de Poictou	4 or	**3/2** in 8 measures	3/2 in 8 measures
branle de Montiranday double de M.	**C** (Hault Barrois) 2 x 4 measures	**C** 2 x 4 measures	**C** 2 x 4 measures
gavotte	**C** mesure binary	**C**	**C**
La bourrée		**C**	
Danse du chandellier	**C** multiples of 4 measures	**C**	
La Boesme	**C** courante binary measure light (*légère*)	**3/2** courante or volte	**3/2** Courante
Les quatre bransles de la chapelle		**3/2** measures : 6//10/10//9//7//13//10//	
La Pavanne (d'Espagne)	**C** binary measure « médiocre gravité »	**C**	
Les quatre bransles de Loraine		**C** R4//6/R4/5/R8/7/R3/6 Terpsichore, Ballard, Du Tertre, Praetorius, Jean d'Estrée	
Les quatre branles de la Grenee		**C** barré/ Tactus alla breve 6//8// 8//8//8//13//10//10// /	
Le passepied de bretaigne	C barré Triory binary measure light	C 2	
Branles de Bretaigne		C Alla breve or very quick	

Figure 12 General Dances and Music

dancing masters in Paris, all capable composers, but they are not of the same quality as those mentioned above'. He has named de la Motte, de la Fond, de la Grenee and Beauchamp. He goes on: 'Thus the melodies of these masters and other composers have been given me by Anthoine Emeraud, Dancing Master of My Most Gracious Lord Friedrich Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg. I have taken these melodies and humbly added the bass and three inner voices and have signed them with my own name. However, several were composed in five parts some years ago by the musician Francisque Caroubel: I have ascribed each of these works to his name.'[29]

29 Terpsichore, Au chapitre 'Les auteurs des danses françaises', Praetorius nous apprend que: 'Il y a, de plus, trois cents maitres à danser à Paris, capables de composer, mais ils ne sont pas au niveau de ceux mentionnés ci-dessus' à savoir, de la Motte, de la Fond, de la Grenee, Beauchamp. Il ajoute: 'Ainsi les mélodies de ces maitres et d'autres tels compositeurs de ces danses m'ont été communiqués par Anthoine Emeraud, maître à danser de mon gratieux Prince et Lord, Friedrich Ulrich, Duc de Braunschweig et Lünebourg. A ces mélodies, j'ai humblement ajouté une basse et des parties intérieures et

Bringing together music and dance

There are also many other 'recueils' of music that we try to dance to. In Patrick's words: 'repeated readings, systematic tries, comparing the many tunes and the many interpretations of different steps, continually narrow down the possibilities, and make specific solutions more and more plausible'.[30] Praetorius, Préface, XI, explains: 'Notes are to be divided in two for rhythmic value, and should be paced using the Tactus alla breve (as the Ancients call it) so that the rondes or 4 minims include a simple Tactus, or else an extraordinarily quick Tactus.'

Now we will look carefully at how the steps are counted and compare them to the beats in order to establish what gestures or actions are contained in the steps, and their rhythmic relation to the melodic phrase. This table compares two hypotheses for musical structure and a new proposal for the realisation of steps in Branles (see Figure 13, p. 18).

Both choreographic documents describe each individual action as a step.[31] This is confusing, because for us, a 'step' is a combination of actions. But the counting of actions, of what *they* call steps, step by step, is also helpful, so that a single action, referring to both the dance and the music, can be combined to rebuild the cells which compose a step. In return, we have no indication of the rhythm and so are obliged to conjecture: for instance a simple or a double rhythm.

We have to decide exactly what these actions mean by using the specific codes of the period as well as the rhythmic nomenclature. Then they can be adapted to the diverse airs of the suite of brawls.

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les ai signées de mon nom. Plusieurs ont été, il y a des années, composées à cinq parties par un musicien Francisque Caroubel : j'ai écrit son nom à chaque fois.'

30 Patrick Blanc, article to be published, 'Quelles musiques pour les danses?': 'des lectures répétées, et des essais systématiques, tant de musiques diverses, que d'interprétations diverses de pas, conduisent à des hypothèses de plus en plus resserrées, et des solutions de plus en plus plausibles.' l'appellent) pour que deux rondes ou que 4 minimes comprennent un simple Tactus, ou bien un Tactus extraordinairement vite doit être employé.'

31 See Christine Bayle, Instruction pour dancer – Regards croisés sur la scène européenne, *umr6576.cesr.univ-tours.fr/publications/instruction/* La danse française entre Renaissance et baroque. Le manuscrit Instruction pour dancer (vers 1610) Actes de journée d'études (CESR Tours, 15 décembre 2012) Textes réunis par Hubert Hazebroucq et Jean-Noël Laurenti Publication : Janvier 2015 – *Scène européenne*, collection *Regards croisés*sur la Scène ...2017.

Dance	ORCHESOGRAPHIE 1588	INSTRUCTION ** 1610ca	APOLOGIE ** 1623	PRAETORIUS 1614	MERSENNE 1636
BRANLE SIMPLE (OR BRANLE COMMUN, MERSENNE)	**1 double and 1 simple** 6 measures	**8 steps (and 2 tans rellevez)** 6 measures	**8 pas** 6 measures	**8 steps** 6 binary measures spondaique : - u u - -	**10 steps, 12 movements, 6 binary measures** rythme spondaique : - u u - -
BRANLE GAY (tactus equalis)	**4 steps***	**4 steps**	**4 steps**	**3 steps, 6 movements, 2 ternary measures** ionique mineur : u u - - u	**3 steps, 6 movements, 2 ternary measures** ionique mineur : u u - - u
BRANLE DE POICTOU ou à mener, ou 3e	4 steps and 4 steps= **8 steps ***	**9 steps**	**12 steps**	**9 steps, 6 ternary measures & 18 movements** sesqualtiere ou hemiolia	**9 steps, 6 ternary measures and 18 movements** hemiola
DOUBLE DE POICTOU	5 steps and 7 steps quick*	**11 steps**	**15 steps**	11 steps, 8 leasures & 24 movements hemiolia iambique : u -	**11 steps, 8 ternary measures & 24 movements** iambique : u -
BRANLE DE MONTIRANDAY **DOUBLE DE MONTIRANDAY**		**3 parts :** **a), 11 steps, b) 12steps, c) 10 steps**	**11 steps** **9 steps**	**8 measures, 16 movements** anapestique : u u -	**8 binary mesures, & 16 movements** anapestique : u u -
GAVOTTE	**1 double & 1 simple** ornamented, feet joined, cabriole (9 pas *?)	**11 pas**	**none**		**8 steps, 4 binary measures & 16 movements** choreobacchique : u u u u - -

***** Arbeau does not count the actions called steps in *Instruction* or *Apologie*. We try to count the Arbeau's steps.

Figure 13 First Branles counting steps

This suite of brawls is called simply ' The Branle'[32] in the period of Louis XIII![33]

The case of the Branle Simple is a good example of the structural and rhythmic difficulties. It seems simple but since there are no step (what is *pas relleve?*) or rhythmic indications, reconstruction is very difficult. (see Figure 14, p.)[34]

Musical examples of Branle simple

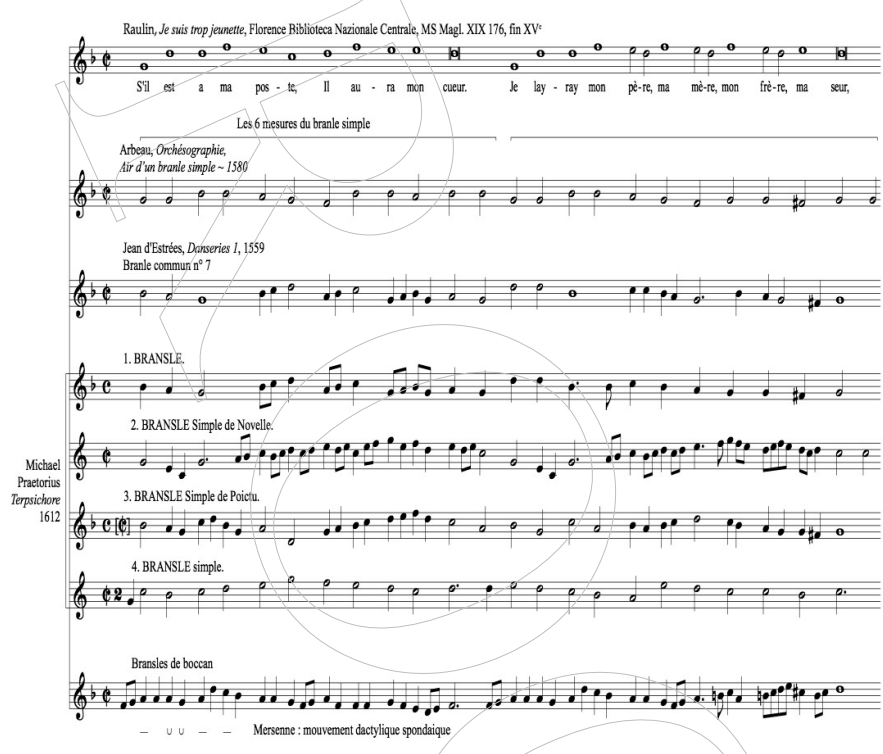

Figure 14 Examples of branle simple

32 *Herald, Journal de:* 'le Dauphin danse en branle, donnant la main à Alexandre Monsieur (second fils de Gabrielle d'Estrées) le Roi lui ayant commandé de le faire.' déc 1602.

33 *Herald, Journal de:* 'le Dauphin danse en branle, donnant la main à Alexandre Monsieur (second fils de Gabrielle d'Estrées) le Roi lui ayant commandé de le faire.' déc 1602.

34 It can be a foot up as Arbeau's 'jambe en l'air' or a rising of the heel, or else.

The division of the beats of the measure are explained by Praetorius thus:[35]

> Notes are to be divided in half, and should be counted according to the Tactus alla breve (as the Ancients called it) so that the rondes/whole-notes or 4 minims are included within a single Tactus. Otherwise a very quick Tactus must be used.

We have to put steps and notes together. Here is a detailed description of the steps:

> The branle simple[36] has 8 steps on the ground and twice rellevez (up) the first 3 steps (l.r.l.) forward beginning on the left, then feet together. The fourth beat is a rellevé of the right foot while the other 3 steps go backwards and the eighth is a rellevez of the left foot and the last two steps are done without moving (on the spot).

There are two plausible versions of the rhythm and even of the number of steps because the text is unclear. In the first, we take the text literally, the second, we presume that part of the description is actually an explanation of the steps. Arbeau's basic instructions could be taken as our point of reference. He always counted six 'appuis' (landing steps or the weight of each step). For the author of *Instruction* however, there are eight. But for de Lauze only three, although there are still eight in 1623, but they are neither the same nor are they performed in the same way: close to the ground. For Mersenne in 1636 there are ten.

The terms used to name steps and rhythms are seldom clear and often very confusing. Could it be explained by the difference between steps and beats in both the choreographic and musical organisation? Both Arbeau and Mersenne call 'mouvements' what l'*Instruction* calls 'steps'. But we would call them 'actions'. For instance, a 'tant relleve' seems to be one beat. ('Tant' being perhaps a misspelling of 'temps' – as a beat or a step!)

Is the counting by Mersenne (1636) similar to that of the *Instruction* (1610-12)? Mersenne writes that the branle simple 'consisted of six measures & eight steps but nowadays there are 10 steps, 12 movements and six double bars' while *Instruction* gives '8 steps on the floor and 2 temps/tant relleves'. This description

35 Terpsichore, Praetorius, Préface, XI. *Concernant l'alternance de Tactus lents et vifs*. 'Les Notes doivent être partagées en deux dans la valeur (par duplam) et doivent être mesurées selon le Tactus Alla Breve (comme les Anciens l'appellent) pour que deux rondes ou que 4 minimes comprennent un simple Tactus, ou bien un Tactus extraordinairement vite doit être employé.'

36 *Instruction*: 'Le branle simple a 8 pas à terre et 2 tant relleuez Les 3 premiers pas sont en auant commanceant du pied gauche et les posez lun apres lautre et le quatrieme cest un tant relleue du pied droict les autres troys pas suiuant vont en erriere et le huictieme est un temps releue du pied gauche et les deux derniers pas se font sans bouger dune place.'

suggests that the 'rellevé' counts for one beat. Are the 10 steps of Mersenne equivalent to the 2 measures of *Instruction?* What does Mersenne mean when he says quite precisely 'twelve movements'? Probably this: first, the 6 duple-bars are twelve beats. He does give some rhythmic hints. Could the 3 steps and leg up be counted for 4 steps in 2 bars forward, and 3 steps backward – including the 2 'landing steps (*posés*) not moving', counting for 2 steps in 1 bar, equivalent to 6 steps. This then could indicate the double rhythm of the last 3 steps and of the leg-up beat. And de Lauze says that the sequence is of *eight* steps. Could it be because of a difference in nomenclature between steps and beats? So the relleve would not be with body-weight and would therefore not count as a step, though its value could be that of a half-note.

Nicoline Winkler[37] suggests a structure similar to ours in the first time: a double step (from Arbeau) on 4 quarter-notes forward, on 4 quarter-notes backward, and 2 half-notes for the 2 steps without moving/ 'sans bouger d'une place'.

Naik Raviart[38] puts the weight of the steps in relation and explains that for de Lauze, there are in 1623 still 8 steps, but they are not the same as in Arbeau and they are not distributed the same way on the ground. (see Figure 15, p. 22)

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37 Nicoline Winkler, *Instruction pour dancer – Regards croisés sur la scène européenne*, *umr6576.cesr.univ-tours.fr/publications/instruction/* La danse française entre Renaissance et baroque. Le manuscrit Instruction pour dancer (vers 1610) Actes de journée d'études (CESR Tours, 15 décembre 2012) Textes réunis par Hubert Hazebroucq et Jean-Noël Laurenti Publication : Janvier 2015 – *Scène européenne*, collection '*Regards croisés sur la Scène*'.

Annexe 2, p.24: 'Desmarcherez trois pas sans bouger' : the practicability of the Instruction pour dancer: 'Le Branle simple de l'Instruction s'est (re)créé sur la base du Branle simple de Thoinot Arbeau (Orchésographie) répondant au désir de diminuer les pas de base. Le "double à gauche" du Branle simple décrit par Arbeau est découpé dans l'Instruction en deux doubles d'un tempo plus rapide : un double en avant se terminant par un pied en l'air au lieu d'un pied joint ("les 3 premiers pas sont en auant commanceant du pied gauche [...] et le quatrieme c-est un tant relleue du pied droict") suivi d'un double en arrière ("les autres troys pas suiuant [sic] vont en erriere et le huictieme est un temps releue du pied gauche"); en vue d'un déplacement de la ronde vers la gauche, je propose que le double à gauche soit d'une amplitude plus grande que celui à droite. Le simple à droite de l'Orchésographie garde sa valeur temporelle dans l'Instruction, mais les appuis changent de "pied droit largy, pied gaulche joinct" (Orchés. 71r) à un appui gauche et un appui droit qui se font à place ("les deux derniers pas se font sans bouger d-une place").

38 Naik Raviart, *La danse française entre Renaissance et baroque. Le manuscrit Instruction pour dancer (vers 1610)* ...Quelques éléments de Méthodologie, p.5. v Actes de journée d'études (CESR Tours, 15 décembre 2012) Textes réunis par Hubert Hazebroucq et Jean-Noël Laurenti Publication : Janvier 2015 – Scène européenne, collection, Regards croiséssur la Scène Instruction pour /dancer – Regards croisés sur la scène européenne, umr6576.cesr.univ-tours.fr/publications/instruction/

THOINOT ARBEAU

Tabulature du branle simple

Air d'un branle simple

Mouvemens pour dancer le branle simple

1 Pied gaulche largy

2 Pied droit approché

3 Pied gaulche largy

4 Pied droit approché

Ces quatre pas sont un double a gaulche

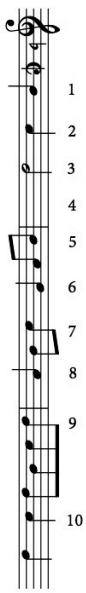
5 Pied droit largy

6 Pied gaulche joinct

Ces deux pas sont un simple a droict

INSTRUCTION POUR DANCER

Le branle simple il y a huit pas et deux tans relleuez



Le branle simple a 8 pas a terre et 2 tant relleuez

1 Les 3 premiers pas sont en auant commanceant du pied gauche et les posez lun apres lautre

2

3

4 et le quatrieme cest un tant relleue du pied droict

5 les autres troys pas suiuant vont en erriere

6

7

8 et le huictieme est un temps releue du pied gauche

9 et les deux derniers pas se font sans bouger dune place

10

Le branle simple a 8 pas a terre et 2 tant relleuez

1 Les 3 premiers pas sont en auant commanceant du pied gauche et les posez lun apres lautre

2

3

4 et le quatrieme cest un tant relleue du pied droict

5 les autres troys pas suiuant vont en erriere

6

7

8 et le huictieme est un temps releue du pied gauche et les deux derniers pas se font sans bouger dune place

Praetorius :
"contient 8 pas"

Figure 15 Branle simple 2 proposals

We have been using years ago a very regular rhythm on each semi-minim for the 'double steps and foot up forward and backward, and 2 minims for 2 'poses' But we re now convinced that is faulty. If we take from Arbeau[39] his indication for both rhythm and his tempo 'slow, or grave and weighty,' we can deduce another way : that 3 pas (steps) and a tant relleve take 2 binary measures, going backwards takes the other 3 steps and tant relleve takes only1. So, a possible explanation would make sense if we include the first 3 steps and a slow 'relleve' in 2 measures as the *double* (3 steps and feet joined – as in Arbeau's branle simple which according both to Arbeau and Mersenne, with 10 steps, has to be *grave* and *weighty* 'lent et pesant') and the three others must be done quicker in one measure for the 'three steps forwards and leg up', which is then seen as a double rhythm or a diminution on the 'simple' d'Arbeau. Then it fits nicely into the same structure as Arbeau. What is more, the Branle simple, 'composed of 8 steps'[40] in the *Apologie* fits into the same rhythm. This could be both a logical and a practical solution. In addition it would confirm our version of the *Instruction's* branle simple.

BRANLE GAY

ARBEAU	INSTRUCTION	APOLOGIE	LOUANGE	MERSENNE	TERPSICHORE
ternary	ternary	ternary	ternary	« *formerly* 6 movements »*	dance joyful, quick 3 types of Tactus (cf notation)
2 measures = 6 beats	6 beats	6t		2 measures of 3 beats	
4 steps and a pause	4 steps	4 steps	4 steps	3 steps	
3 marchs and semi breves cut into two minimes blanches other foot up	1. left on the middle of the foot[1], 2. right glides at the same time, 3. « beatten measure »[2], 4. « releve » (up) the right foot putting it on the ground to begin again quickly	(assemblé) & 3 other steps (left, right on heel), left on point, assemblé of right foot	(assemblé) 2 first ones « on the movement » of the foot, 3[d] flat, and bend and « relever » on the point of the feet	follows the beat of the Swiss tabour, is danced quicker than the first one u u _ _	triple very quick

[1] « mitan du pied »
[1] « mesure abattue »

Figure 16 Branle gay

39 *Orchésographie*: p.69r

40 *Apologie*, p.57, Du Premier Bransle: 'Je diray donc que le Bransle simple composé de huict pas…'

Next we look at the steps in *Instruction* and *Apologie*. In both cases, the two steps to the left are joined quickly by the right foot (*sur le mitan du pied* – on the middle of the foot); then, after '*mesure abattue*', *Instruction* stipulates a kick with the right foot. De Lauze's version is very similar, on the first two points, after which two quick steps, a gliding step to the left, and bending before the assemblé, rising, bringing the heels together, rather like an assemblé in the baroque style.

This table shows the various versions from *Orchésographie*, *Instruction* and *Apologie*, comparing the 4 steps, as well as the indications of the different authors.

So, in *Instruction*, what does the term *mesure abattue* mean? It is used only in this treatise and it seems to mean a musical indication, as maybe an empty beat. Reminding us of Arbeau's 'gaillarde silence' in the 5th note of a 6 beat measure. The expression is directly borrowed from the italian word *abbatuta,*[41] despondent, depressed, dejected.[42] But we cannot forget Arbeau's wonderful words: 'elle est défaillante selon un soupir équipolent à icelle'. The beat fades away like a sigh.

In *Apologie*, the steps are prepared by a lift on 2 feet to do an action (or a step) much like that described in *Instruction*.

In the measure of the branle gay, examining the numerous different tunes, we sense a possibility to do the steps in either binary or ternary rhythm .So does the branle de Poitou with sesqualtiera or hemiola rhythmic structures creating surprising cross-rhythms. They are good examples. The interaction between the steps and the musical rhythms create different choreographic possibilities. So we are constantly experimenting with equally valid realisations of what is, in fact, a subtle rhythmic polyphony. Should we take this complexity as going against the more 'natural' approach of Arbeau? Perhaps it is now seen as old-fashioned!

41 This expression seems to be directly borrowed from the italian word *abbatuta*, despondent, depressed, dejected. Let us not forget that Italians composer were very present and their compositions, beloved by Henri IV and Catherine de Medicis around 1605, specially when the Giullio Caccini's family came during six months (dec 1604-May 1605) for the Ballet de la Reine of this year. So we can approach the italian influence directly working. as Sébastien de Brossard precises later in the Dictionary of 1702: 'Cadenza. en latin ou Conclusio, CHEUTE ou une conclusion de chant & d'harmonie propre à terminer ou tout à fait, ou en partie une pièce, & qui se doit faire regulierement en battant, sur la finalle, ou la dominante, et quelques fois sur la mediante d'un Mode'. Ce mot prend bien un sens d'allure chez De Lauze, de mouvement, et également de fin de phrase, mais est évoquée également en début de phrase 'prendre la cadence'.

42 *Orchésographie*. p. 39r the 6 beats of the Gaillarde. It is like the 5th note of Arbeau 'the 5fth note & penultim is 'consumee & perdue en l'air' (consumed and lost in the air) ... because Arbeau too says that it is failing.

Example of Branle de Poitou

Here, compared to Arbeau, we see a significant difference of rhythm. The structures of the different airs – and their variations – of a given dance teach us that: the structure of many *branles gais* seems to work in two pairs of two measures in a time signature of 3/2, whereas the *branles de Poitou* consist of 6 ternary measures and the *double de Poitou* is a multiple of 4 ternary measures, as in Arbeau but with 9 steps in *Instruction*, and 12 steps in *Apologie*. In both *Instruction* and *Apologie* the rhythms are, either ternary, or hemiolia, and we have to choose where each step fits the best the measure.

In Branle de Poictou, we count the 'small steps' (petits pas) as corresponding to a quarter-note ('noire') for each of them.

In a few dances the steps seem to 'fit' the beats of the music as in Arbeau, in others, particularly by dancing masters, like the *Branles de la Chapelle*, *Branles de Lorraine,* a different complementary version between beats and steps can be perceived. It looks as if there were diminutions on the rhythmic basis; and it is like a rhythmic game and begins to resemble what becomes the Belle Dance. The *Branle de Poitou* (*the fourth*[43] in *Apologie*), *branle double de Poitou*, *branle de Montirandé* (the fifth[44] in *Apologie*) and *double de Montirandé* (two last couplets[45]) give fine examples of these combinations as in the 'branles couppés' d'Arbeau.

We cannot in this communication approach every dance and all the hypotheses but we just want to approach these new relationships and we can deal now with some terms and specific questions.

Some of the terms and new concepts as examples

Many of the used terms are unclear, even confusing. In music *Cadence* can mean two things: either, as in Arbeau, the end of a phrase,[46] or a movement, tempo,

43 *Apologie*, p.62, Methode pour les Dames: 'Le quatriesme bransle, se nomme le bransle de Poictou…'

44 *Apologie*, p.63, Methode pour les Dames: 'Le Cinquiesme se faist de mesme le precedant…'

45 *Apologie*, p.63, Methode pour les Dames: 'Pour la dernière diversité des pas de la suitte des bransles, ils se font sur les deux derniers couplets du dernier d'iceux.'/ For the last diversity of the steps of the suite of brawls, there are done on the last two couplets of the last airs.»

46 Arbeau: the cadence is next to what Sébastien de Brossard precises later on: 'Cadenza. en latin *ou Conclusio,* CHEUTE ou une conclusion de *chant* & d'harmonie propre à terminer ou tout à fait, ou en partie une pièce, & qui se doit faire regulierement en battant, sur la *finalle,* ou la *dominante*, et quelques fois *sur la mediante* d'un Mode.'/or a conclusion of singing and of harmony to close entirely, or in part, a piece, and which one has to do regularly beating, on the final, or the dominant note, and sometimes on the mediante of a Mode.'

as in the expression 'to take the cadence' ('prendre la cadence') of de Lauze,[47] or Pomey.[48]

But there are paradoxes. On the one hand, de Lauze writes: 'All cadences should be marked with a rising beat'[49] announcing strong rising accents 'up' like those in La Belle Dance and not a heavy downward beat – as we find so often in interpretations of music which ignore the dance.

On the other hand, we find in *Louange*: 'You must not mark the measure (Montagut uses the word *cadence)* by exterior signs, either by knees, shoulders, or by the head.'[50] We take this as a choreographic indication – as in de Lauze[51], to not dance like a schoolboy.

It is also a choreographic term, surprisingly, a step, in *Instruction*, but not described*: cadence and cadence glissee.* Arbeau uses this term only for the final jump on 2 feet (called the *posture* in a sort of 4th position) of the 6th beat of a Gaillarde, and the *glissee* is new. As we don't know what this step actually is, we refer to de Lauze who often begins and ends the phrase by an *assemblé upwards*, (*raising)* on points, often after a 'plié', (bending). This produces a strong rising thrust of the whole body. So we suggest that the *cadence* of *Instruction* could be a sort of step sideways, then joining the feet by the heels, staying close to the ground. Sometimes it can be without the step as we remarked, only the fact to join feet.

The *cadence* can also be '*glissée*', sliding. This is new, except in the Italian treatises. But how to do it exactly? With the foot to the side or by joining the heels of the outside feet? Or both?

And if so, what about the *glissade*, that goes by series of 3 sliding steps?[52] Does

47 *Apologie*: Ibid. p. 49, l.12 'Prendre la cadence' (take the cadence): tempo; it has to be done at the first beat, using the term in two meanings, with the cadence at the end of the phrase.

48 The *Dictionnaire Royal augmenté* by François- Antoine Pomey. In 1671 François-Antoine Pomey published a French-Latin dictionary, the *Dictionnaire Royal*, which reflects the changes of the lexicographical practices of the times. There is also: cadence des pieds au son de la flûte/ cadence of feet to the sound of the recorder. (Pomey)

49 *Apologie*, op. quoted, p.29 (De la Courante en général): 'Toutes les cadences se doivent marquer en l'air'.

50 Louange op. quoted, 1620, p. 10: 'il ne faut pas marquer la mesure par des signes extérieurs, ni des genoux, ni des épaules, ni de la tête.'

51 *Apologie*, op. quoted, p.42 last line down): 'qu'il n'y marque les cadences des genoux, des épaules, ni de la tête, & ne porte la vue basse' /'let him not mark neither with knees, shoulders, the head, nor by dropping the eyes'.

52 Naik Raviart, makes a glissade as for the glissade of the Belle Dance, with a demi-coupé plus a glissé, But then, what about the glissade entière? We do literally, when it is said 'glissades, word for word, a slide sideways, a slide joining and another one sideways when it is said 3 glissades; it reminds us of a sort of glissade vite de la Belle Dance later on where the end is on one foot and the other open besides.

it mean simply to go faster?

Among many other questions some steps remind us those of la Belle Dance but we have not to associate them automatically:

'Pas grave', used only in the Pavanne, would be a slow step, lasting an entire measure, preceding the 'pas grave' or 'temps de courante' of la Belle dance.

'Pas posé' poses yet another question. Is it a musical indication or only a way of walking? (gavotte (2r/3, Instruction)

We meet also, for the first time, the word 'double' referring to an air that is, according to Furetière: 'the second couplet of an air which contains different harmonies & diminutions.

Among many others, is the Temps releve, /temps relleve, tants rellevez/ tant relleve, tant rellevez: are these names different ways of saying the same thing? We have already noticed it in the branle simple and in Branle de la Grenee (1er branle, (17v/7) and temps (3e branle, 18/7). Does it mean one beat, 'one temps' in French?

Conclusion

These several examples among the numerous dances proposed in these treatises allow us to approach musical problems and the relationships between choreography and music that can be solved hypothetically by comparing the many different melodies of the same dance. The steps and the measures, the beats and the movements must be examined in their complexity, combined and interchanged. Even if we feel that all fits comfortably together, the hypotheses are still not absolutely certain.

We can only observe with wonder the enormous variety of the airs, the changing of the structure of steps and measures, and gradually we find ourselves able to propose a convincing way of dancing. The various versions of the same dances, as well as the steps, are ornamented or varied in different ways in different periods. But the instructions given by both Praetorius and Mersenne help us see not only a logical suite but also a continuity between the two periods in question. The dances and their specific rhythms, even if their execution seems to be different, notably by the use of the *en-dehors* of the legs and feet since 1620, share the same basic principles. What is wonderful is the quality and inventiveness of the writing, particularly in the dances from *Instruction*, even though they are still based on the authors in Praetorius, notably Arbeau, Gervaise, d'Estrées.

Much is yet to be done for the realisation of the brawls – and no one can be sure of the interpretation – but also for that of the many other dances in *Instruction* such as *Le Chandelier* (as in Arbeau's *Danse de la Torche*, also found as Caroso's *Ballo del Fiore*), dances figured for 8, such as *La Boesme*, *La Gillotte*,

those of Dancing Masters as the *branles de la Grenaie* or *de La Chapelle*. Then there are the remarkable and complex *branles de Lorraine*, also not to be found in the de Lauze and Montagu treatises. We used to dance them but many musical and choreographic problems remain in these cases.

We are grateful to John Whitelaw for help with translation.

Searching 'Je-ne-scay-quoy'

MOJCA GAL

> Before I proceed to treat on Motion, I apprehend it to be necessary to consider that Grace and Air so highly requisite in our Position, when we stand in Company; for, having formed true Notion of this, there remains nothing farther to be observed, when we enter upon the Stage of Life, either in Walking or Dancing, then to preserve the same. And, for the better understanding of this important Point, let us imagine ourselves, as so many living Pictures drawn by the most excellent Masters, exquisitely designed to afford the utmost Pleasure to the Beholders: And, indeed, we ought to set our Bodies in such a Disposition, ... that, were our Actions or Postures delineated, they might bear the strictest Examination of the most critical Judges.[1]

Grace and air (bel air/bon air) represent a principle of considerable importance for noble social circles of 17th and 18th century. This principle manifested in good manners, genteel behaviour and was characteristic for nobility as opposed to common people. In fact, it would have been even seen as distinction criteria between a noble and common person. Those principles are crucial when talking about art of the period: namely, art as the incorporation of the ideal of beauty would or should most clearly represent the highest ideal of the period: grace. Furthermore, artistic works were created for noble circles, so they should necessarily represent all the aesthetic ideals accepted by the nobility.

However, it seems to be impossible to give a totally precise definition in words of the term grace in this period. (It is also not the purpose of this paper to find its definition: this would indeed be a hopeless procedure.) The other French term, the *'je-ne-sais-quoi'* suggests that grace can only be perceived or sensed, but not explained or defined – somewhat in the sense of:

> Le Gout est celui qui se sent le mieux et qui s'explique le moins.[2]

Bon gout (good taste) frequently appears with *grace, beauty and je-ne-sais quoi*. These terms don't mean the same yet seem to describe different aspects of the same idea. Grace and good taste were something learned and refined after

1 Kelom Tomlinson, *On the Art of Dancing explained by Reading and Figures*, London 1724/1735, Book 1, Ch. 1, 3.

2 Charles Compan, *Dictionnaire de danse,* Paris, 1784.

aesthetic principles of the period, so they could in the end appear as natural, performed with *easy behaviour and unaffected grace.*[3] It is also very interesting that grace in French sources very often appears with the word *agreement* – ornament, ornamentation, as for example:

> Gracieux: qui a de l'agréement, de la politesse, de la douceur et de la civilité.[4]

Graces in the English of the period or *grazie* in 17th century Italian literally means ornamentation in music. Ornamenting according to good taste thus seems to be the compulsory part of anything graceful: whether music, dance, architecture, furniture, clothing, etc. This principle is crucial for any historically informed performance of music or dance. Plain and straight was regarded as ugly and rude. Small details play a considerable role:

> Les agréments consistent dans les petites choses, quelquefois dans un geste, dans un air négligé, dans un sourire.[5]

An ornament was at this time not regarded as something voluntarily added and guided by personal taste. It was rather something added as compulsory and had its general rules of style. Lack of ornament was as inappropriate as their excess: personal good taste played a role in choosing the right ornament at the right place and time. Last but not least, all ornaments were to be executed with ease and grace.

Majestic grace: sarabande grave

Graceful conduct appropriate for a young lady would be quite different from the one appropriate for a sovereign. Gentlemen should in general strive for a manly, yet genteel and free behaviour. In the case of a sovereign, grace would be combined with authority and develop into an expression of majestic grace. Most male solos in serious ballet represent a noble character of a deity, sovereign or hero: majestic grace would thus be a very suitable description. Sarabande in particular is often described as a serious, slow, proud dance.

> At the beginning he danced in a *very graceful manner*, with serious and well measured movements, with equal and long cadences, and with such a *noble, beautiful and free* movement of the body, that he … all the time gave a *majestic* and at the same time *pleasing* impression. … At some point he would stay still in a very artful manner leaning towards the side with one foot lifted in the air, just after he would – as if he wants to replace this prolongation with a

3 William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty (London 1753), Chapter XVII, On action.*

4 Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, Paris, 1690.

5 Charles Compan, *Dictionnaire de danse,* Paris, 1784.

> fast cadence – rather fly than dance. For a while he wouldn't jump at all, afterwards he would suddenly retake leaps. And even if all those leaps were really demanding, he was able to hide this so artfully that nobody could remark it. One could think that it happened by coincidence.[6]

This description can be either taken as a mere prose – poetic paragraph upon a dance – or as a description that could suit a live period performance. However, the described change in movement activity and speed (slow versus fast, standing still versus sudden jumps) can be easily observed in all slow choreographies, including Sarabande, so I tend to see it as a possible description of a performance. I have chosen choreography of a *Sarabande pour homme, non dansée à l'opera*[7] as an example, since the structure of the choreography suits the text very well (choreography examples Figures 1-4).

The beginning is described as serious, well-measured and majestic, which suits the steps of *tems de courante/pas grave* very well. Most *folias* and *sarabande graves* actually begin with two *pas grave* as an opening statement. However, one should not isolate the pieces of information completely: respecting only 'serious' and 'majestic' without 'graceful manner' and 'free movement of the body' would give a totally different result, for example rigid and abrupt *plié-élevé*. Of course, on one side the movement of *plié-élevé* needs a certain impulse and energy in order to get the body in motion. Furthermore, precision was a well-appreciated quality of a dancer. However, if the movement is too rigid, it wouldn't suit the general aesthetics (treatises would advise frequently to soften the steps in order to avoid rigidity (*adoucir*). Also, the waving (and not square) form of *plié-élevé* was in itself perceived as ornamental and consequently beautiful and graceful.

Graceful and flexible playing applies also to musical execution:

> Despite so many bow-strokes back and forth, one hears at no time anything disagreeable or harsh, but on the contrary, a marvellous coordination of great speed and in long bow strokes, in an admirable steadiness of beat in the dance movements and in a diversity of tempos, in tender charm, and in vivacious playing. All of this is the great excellence of the true Lullists.[8]

Up to here, the sources show similar ideals. Yet, very often it happens, that the quantity of successive down-bows in Lully style leads rather to a rigid and strict

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6 M. Johann Adam Weber, *Lexicon Encyclion*, Zweyter Theil, Fuenfter Anhang, oder Beschreibung, XIX. Beschreibung eines Tanzes, so insgemein Sarabande gennenet wird (Chemnitz 1745), Translation M. Gal.

7 Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Recüeil de dances,* Paris, 1704*, Sarabande pour homme non dancèe à l'opèra*. p. 210.

8 Kenneth Cooper and Julius Zsako, *Georg Muffat's observations on the Lully style of performance*. The Musical Quarterly, Volume LIII, Issue 2 (1 April 1967), 230. https://doi.org/10.1093/mq/LIII.2.p. 220

execution than to the one described earlier. How can period sources help to find the way of playing which would suit dance more and/or be more graceful?

Firstly, it is very important to choose the correct bowing: this defines the rhetoric of the musical phrase, which is crucial for the style. A correct bowing would not be nowadays widely applied two down-bows and an up-bow, but one down and two up-bows, according to French treatises or treatises on French style of the period.[9]

The 1st note is the most important after bar hierarchy, which in this style corresponds with the cadence in dance. (Bowing rules under Lully crystallised in the context of opera-ballet, so dance music including its performance practice supports the dance movement directly). The movement on the *cadence* (1st beat of the measure) in dance is uplifting. A down-bow on the violin is but straight: how to get a waving shape of the uplifting first note on the violin?

Sources in general advice to shape the sound, starting with a slight crescendo and (in the case of a down-bow), fade out toward the tip as suggested by the natural dynamics and form of the bow itself. This already by itself gives a shape comparable with the uplifting dance movement. Of course, an exaggeration of this shape could lead to mannerism (not appreciated in the period either). Several sources give us suggestions on bowing technique, underlying the importance of a flexible wrist of the right hand. From the practical experience, playing with an appropriate bow model with French or under-grip and a flexible wrist facilitates the bowing considerably, contributing to a completely different playing feeling. I am however not suggesting that the only correct way of playing this type of music is with the under-grip: the Italian grip existed as well. I would however advise to at least experiment with the so-called French grip, simply because of the significant difference in the bowing technique. What is quite compulsory, is an appropriate bow type: this technique including Lully's bowing rules isn't appropriate for later bow models (or vice versa).

The 2nd note of the 1st bar (music above the choreography, Fig. 1) doesn't need to be emphasised: an accentuated 2nd beat is actually more of a contemporary invention. A strong gap between the 1st and 2nd note is also not necessary: first of all, dance needs them to belong together (pas grave as one unit of three components). Also, an abruptly shortened note would be after Roger North[10] understood as special effect expressing anger and should be only applied with care. However, as the musical figure has a leap of a third, we do need to have some articulation. But following the natural form of the bow and lighten up the bow stroke towards the tip already creates a sufficient articulation. Musicians tend to shorten notes quite a lot when playing dance music in general. Yet, this type of the bow unlike the late baroque type doesn't like to leave the string,

9 See treatises of J.P. de Monteclair, G. Muffat, P. Dupont.

10 Roger North. *The musical grammarian*, London, 1728.

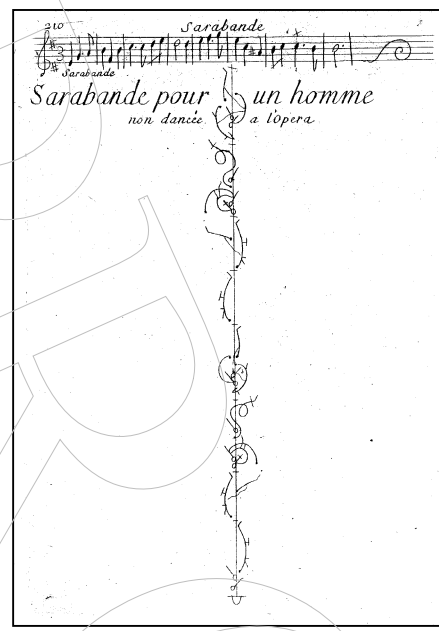


Figure 1.

especially when playing with French grip. It is actually astonishingly similar to the bow-stroke on a viol and does not give a sufficient result in terms of sound if played too short.

Two different bowing options are possible in the bar 2 to 3: two successive up-bows on the 2nd and 3rd note of bar 2, or two down-bows on the last note of 2nd bar and 1st note of the next. If a musician decides for the two down-bows, then he needs to keep in mind that one was not supposed to lift and retake the bow when executing two successive bow strokes in the same direction, but to stop the bow and continue (see Rousseau, *Traite de la viole*[11] also several other sources). Of course, with a bow that short one eventually arrives at the bow-tip after a certain number of strokes and has to retake at some point.

The 3rd measure shows another beautiful example of French *nègligence: inègalité*. *Inègalité* already *per se* belongs into the indescribable category of the *je-ne-sais-quoi*: the sources would mostly advise to prolong the 1st note somewhat and steal (shorten) the taken time from the 2nd, or to play it somewhat dotted. Remembering the ideals of grace, effortless and easy performance or slight negligence does change the manner of performing *inègalité* significantly and can be way more helpful than trying to find an exact mathematical relation between the notes. In the end, *inègalité* loses its charm if it is performed always exactly the same way after some mathematic relation, as it gets as one-sided,

11 Jean Rousseau. *Traitè de la viole*, Paris, 1687.

plain and simple as if it would be played *ègale*. The *ronds de jambe* ad *battus* in the choreography all the same should not be performed metrically too regular, otherwise the quality of the ornament is lost.

At the end of the phrase we can as usual find a hemiola. The cadence in dance very rarely adapts to the hemiola and stays as usual in three rather than changes to two times three instead of three times two in two bars. We do however have some few examples where dance does change together with the hemiola, yet this is more of an exception. I would suggest the musician not to mark the hemiola too strongly, but to rather softly head towards the penultima than mark all three hemiola beats. In this case in particular the leaps of thirds downwards need *tierce-coulé*, which in itself adds a light and easy expression to the execution.

After Weber's description the serious opening continues with beautiful jumps. We find some refined jumps on the 2nd page of the mentioned choreography (see Fig. 2), mixed with slow movements, requiring lot of balance as well as agility in order to be able to quickly and easily switch between the two types of movement.

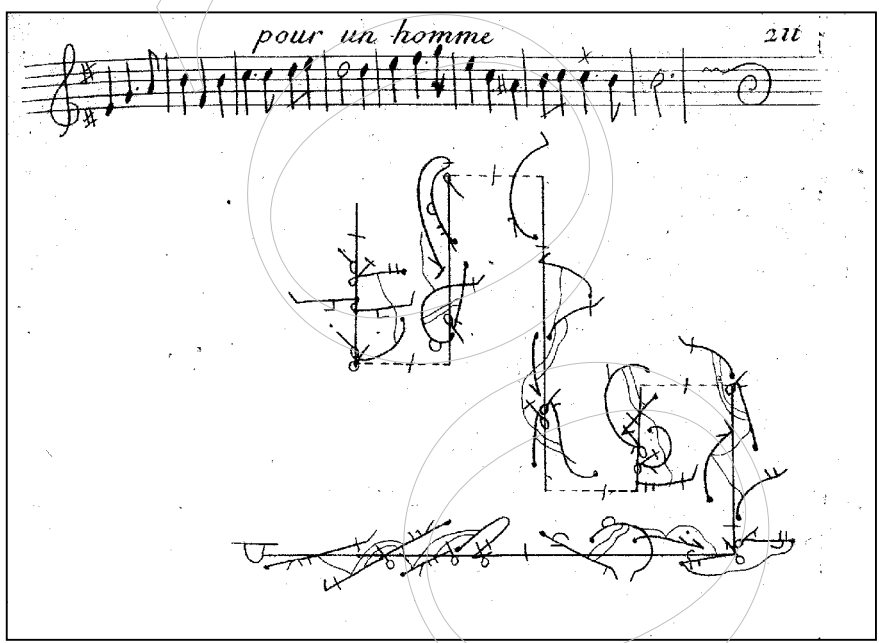


Figure 2

3rd page of the same Sarabande (*demi-coupé pointé* and the following bar, Fig. 3) suits the following text

'At some point he would stay still in a very artful manner leaning towards the side with one foot lifted in the air for the duration of the whole measure.'[12]

The succession of steps recalls very strongly a *pas de galliarde*, even if there is a *jeté* instead of a *tombé* (which in case of a soft execution nevertheless gives quite a similar result). As the choreography progresses with very slow movement, I could take another place of the text as an inspiration for this page – 'one saw him sighing, going pale with saddened looks',[13] following at the same time Rameau, when he suggests for the arms of the *pas de galliarde*: 'comme si les forces vous manquoient – ce qui fait votre pas tombé.'[14]

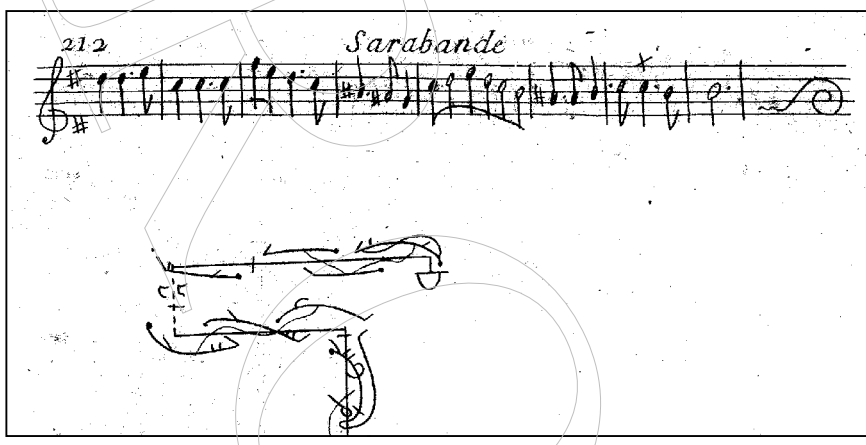


Figure 3

As for '*expression of anger, resistance and rushed movements'*, the *chassés* and the 1st half of the last page (Fig. 4) could offer sufficient material with beaten jumps, as well as the *chassés,* which are as Tomlinson described as a step with origins in fencing.

The swift changes between movements of different activity – from slow measures requiring good balance, well-measured movement with time standing still, to a very active beaten jump, almost flying – those changes are only possible with great flexibility and freedom in the body. And exactly this flexibility brings another quality to the way of dancing. Dance sometimes stands still, sometimes gets very active, yet the music stays in the same pace: a certain independence of music and dance is suggested by the choreography itself. Together with the description I suggest there should be a certain liberty in execution, similar to

12 M. Johann Adam Weber. *Lexicon Encyclion,* Chemnitz, 1745. Translation M. Gal

13 Ibid.

14 Pierre Rameau. *Le Maitre à danser*, Paris, 1725, 240.

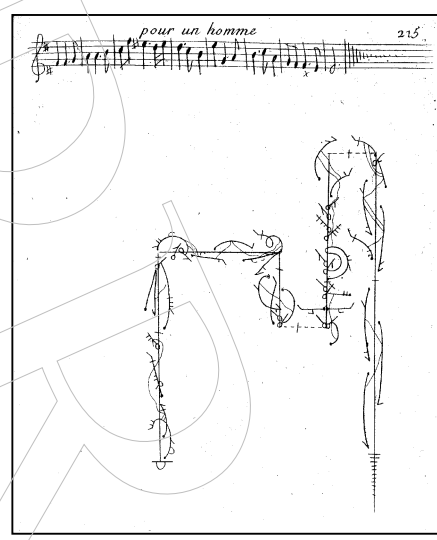


Figure 4

the one of bound rubato in playing slow movements in music. Namely, a dancer should mind the cadence and arrive well to every 1st beat in the bar, but during the measure he is free to dance in his own timing, which makes most sense for the choreography.

Feminine style – grace and vivacity

> Divers agréements qui ont les femmes qu'on aime.[15]
>
> Les gestes, les manières et les actions d'une femme aimable, ont des Graces infinies.[16]
>
> Mlle Prevost dansa avec toute la grâce, vivacité et légèreté que tout le monde lui connait[17]

Gigue

Period texts often mention vivacity and lightness as remarkable qualities of a lady (dancer). However, from my own experience of dancing a gigue, it is usually quite difficult to achieve mentioned qualities simply because of music accompaniment. Musicians usually tend to emphasise every half bar, which certainly doesn't help to achieve the right speed. The gigue is written in 6/8,

15 Antoine Furetière. *Dictionnaire universel,* Paris, 1690.

16 Ibid.

17 Marina Nordera. *Danser seule au XVIIIe siècle : un espace féminin de création et transmission?* (https://journals.openedition.org/danse/969)

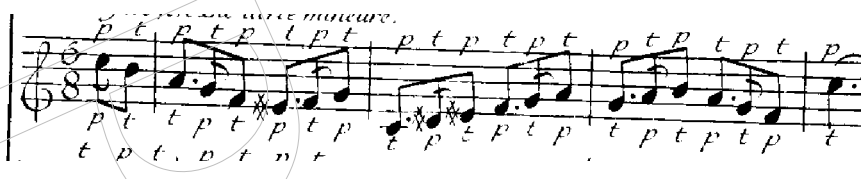


Figure 5

which means we only have one important beat in the measure (counting in 2 equal beats) and not two. Monteclair[18] suggests bowings exactly opposite to the rule of down-bow (see Fig 5), so I would even suggest one shouldn't make any particular accent in the gigue at all, also not on the *cadence*.

As this is a light dance for a lady with plenty of little jumps, clearly showing the above-mentioned type of grace, it needs an accompaniment which would support its vivacious character rather than keep it back with vertical accents. However, I am not suggesting that there is no profile or articulation in musical execution. One should not misunderstand the natural gravity for a vertical accent, or with other words, good rhythm for scholarly counting. The difference is as big as the one between a computer metronome and a good percussionist. A good percussionist will invite and support a dancer, which is as well true for historical dance, as they did use percussion in dance music. Of course, the bowing played with the technique discussed in the section on a Sarabande, enables playing in a tempo that is fast enough. Interestingly enough, the way of playing in this case strongly resembles that of Scottish or Irish fiddle players! It may appear as a contradiction to suggest folk music as a reference, as I started the paper with an affirmation that French baroque dance and music were exclusively noble arts. However, I think it can be helpful not to completely exclude the living tradition. We have to remember that in this period theoretical works were written on a basis of current, living praxis. Today, some hundreds of years later, we reverse the process in making praxis out of theory. There is a slight danger of an artificial touch in the realisation of this process as we are mostly dependent on written sources in the performance of early art forms in general, which we try to put into practice.

Back to the gigue: dance and music in gigues and canaries seem to have more independence from another (which, however, happens also in other stage dances). Musical phrases aren't regular, with rhetoric punctuations on unexpected places. Dance only occasionally rhetorically matches with musical phrases. In fact, very often one has the feeling of being off for half a measure! As for example in this following gigue:[19] the repeated jumps of the 1st phrase

18 Michel de Montéclair. *Méthode facile pour apprendre à jouer du violon,* Paris, 1711-12, 15.

19 Louis-Guillaume Pécour. *Nouveau recüeil de dance de bal et celle de ballet*, Paris

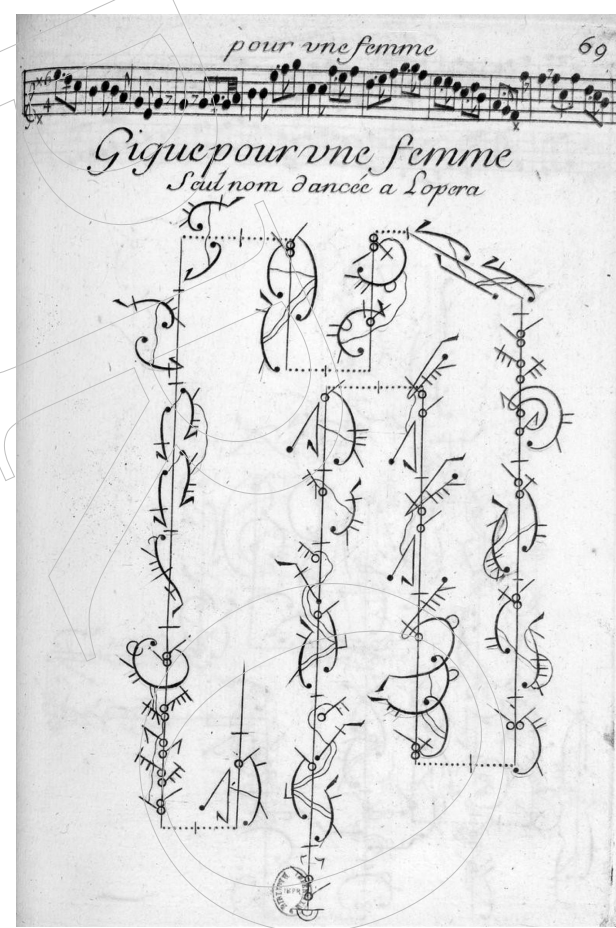


Figure 6

could match repeated notes in music, if one was to start half bar earlier. Yet, if starting exactly as written, the choreography follows music seemingly half a bar too late. At the beginning it might appear metrically a little difficult to get used to – baroque logic might have been a little different to ours. Yet once we get used to the way it is written, we can appreciate a certain charm in this irregularity.

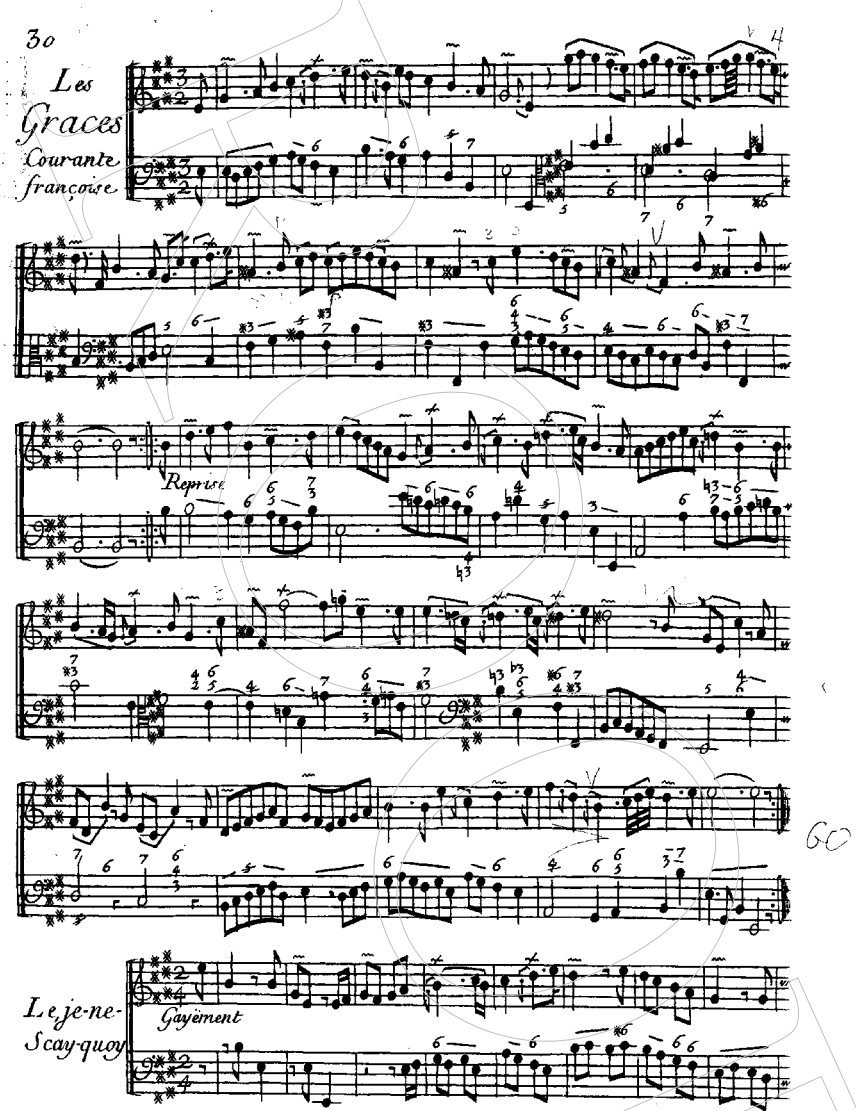
Rigaudon

One of the movements of the concert *Ritratto dell'amore* (Portrait of love) by Francois Couperin[20] bears the title '*Le je-ne-scay-quoy*'. The concert clearly has a programmatic concept, trying to describe the charms of love, but also the charms

1711, 69.

20 Francois Couperin. Concerts royaux, Paris 1722, 9ème concert.

of the beloved – charms which make us fall in love. Often the attraction is exactly this indescribable something, the *je-ne-scay-quoy*. This movement could thus give a hint of what this *je-ne-sais-quoi* or grace could be. What I was surprised by is that it is a fast dance (gayement; see Fig. 7). This, however, corresponds with the often-cited terms of grace, lightness and vivacity. Judging from the



Figures 7 and 8

musical figure at the beginning, they could suggest an uncertainty, something searching. However, I was interested more in the possible type of dance and its overall character rather than simply the interpretation of musical figures. At the beginning it could be anything, a Bourèe, Rigaudon, less a Gavotte. Yet the 2nd line clearly reveals a Rigaudon (typical rhythm bar 1-2 2nd line, also bar 3-4, same beginning of the 2nd part (Fig. 8).

A Rigaudon has in many ballroom choreographies a brisk, but slightly rustic character, which Mattheson later described as most beautiful fast dance with finest melody. However, the typical *pas de rigaudon* does have something slightly

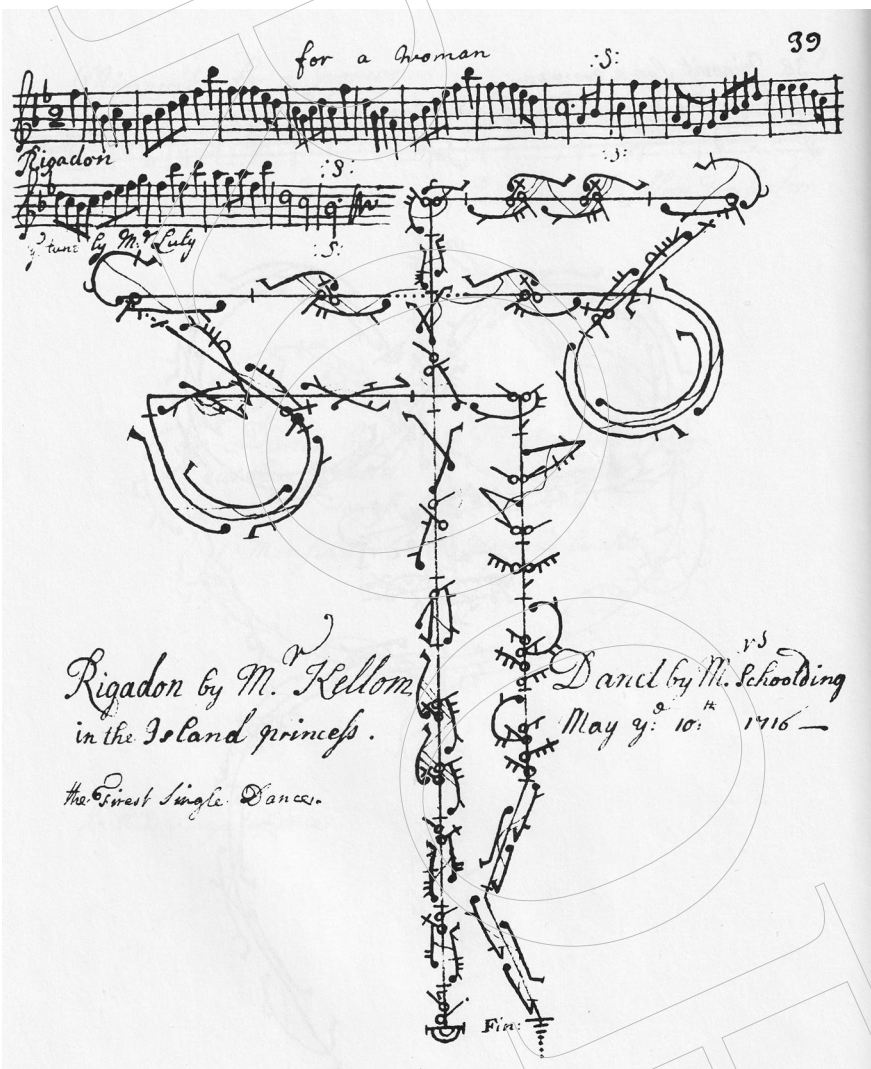


Figure 9

rustic and usually wouldn't appear in a noble stage Entrèe. Yet, if we take a look at Kellom's *Rigaudon pour femme from the Island Princess* (choreography Fig. 9), we get a different picture: the quantity of fast jumps corresponds with the idea of light and vivacious grace.

Graceful postures (attitudes)

If one takes Tomlinson's citation from the beginning of the paper seriously, the position of the entire dancing body should suit the aesthetic ideals in any given moment (if one would, as Tomlinson states, in any point draw a picture). The placement of the upper body and head is as important as port de bras or steps, even if dance treatises only give brief and unclear hints about it. Literature for nobility or iconography describes this particular point more in detail.

> head not quite upright, but inclined a little with graceful motion and all imaginable grace (see example in the image of the lady below).[21]

As with Tomlinson's Dancing Master the head (upper body) is never straight (Fig. 10), even in the 1st position a lady should turn the face slightly towards the side (Fig. 11). As far as I have understood, the advised inclination of the head refers to a slight turn towards left or right (see examples below) without lowering the chin.

Figures 10 and 11

21 Francois Nivelon, *Rudiments of genteel behavior*, London 1737, Plate 4.

Figure 12

Tomlinson shows very clearly the waving lines of a dancing body (Fig. 12): Rameau is somewhat less clear. In the 1st chapter he speaks about the *'tête droite, sans être gênè'*[22], which in my opinion speaks about holding the head held upright, without lowering the chin, or ear towards the shoulder. In the images (except for the reverence to the front or back, where the head is clearly directed toward the reader (person to which the courtesy is addressed) he however depicts more or less a clear turn of the head slightly to one or other side.

22 Pierre Rameau. *Le Maitre à danser*, Paris 1725, 2.

Figures 13, 14, 15, 16

Among the costume sketches from the atelier of Jean Berain we find a dozen examples with exactly the same posture (Figs. 15 – 18). I tend to think that this attitude should be a typical dancing one regarding the fact that it was copied over and over again. I included a portrait of *La Barbarina* at the end (Fig 18), which but needs no further commentary.

Figures 17 and 18

If we take a look at the rules of formal dance, why should or how could dance (the exercise that was supposed to cure faults in posture and teach graceful conduct) be different when it comes to stage dance and suddenly get rigid and straight? I think they even exaggerated in this sense, as many dancing masters served as caricature models and also Hogarth complains how the beauty of the 'unaffected grace' is lost because of dancing masters' affected exaggeration.

Waving lines

As a last comment to grace I would like to mention the importance of waving line, of round movement. As Hogarth states in the Analysis of Beauty,

> All sorts of waving lines are ornamental if properly applied – without any waving line things appear plain.[23]

23 W. Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, London, 1754.

The curls, waves, round movements seem to be crucial attributes of anything beautiful or graceful. When giving or receiving one should for example withdraw the hand till it comes to a circular motion. We find many circular motions in dance (rond the jambe/coude/poignes/épaule) Movement of arms basically consists of various sorts of round movements, and arms were considered as a compulsory ornament of a dancing body. Furthermore, most graces in music are of round figures in different directions. Even though Hogarth is a slightly later source and a little exaggerated in his preference for serpentine lines, it is very interesting to observe that he states

> for, when the form of the body is divested of its serpentine lines it becomes ridiculous as a human figure, so likewise when all movements in such lines are excluded in a dance, it becomes low, grotesque and comical.[24]

In Conclusion...

Grace in dance was the principle quality of this period, but is the first thing we tend to forget nowadays.

24 Ibid.

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Jean-Georges Noverre's ballets inspired by ancient Greece

M.-H. DELAVAUD-ROUX

Jean-Georges Noverre, creator of the *ballet d'action* in the eighteenth century, was interested in such ancient Greek mythological subjects as Paris and Helena, Danaïdes, Ajax's death, Agamemnon's death, Herakles' death, Iphigenia in Tauride, Alceste, or Medea and Jason. During a period where ancient Greek music was not known (with the exception of Mesomedes of Crete, but who was only known by scholars), Noverre worked in collaboration with different musicians including Granier, Salieri, Rodolfe and the famous Gluck. This paper will ascertain Noverre's knowledge of ancient Greece (books, drawings) and how he used it in his work (characters, settings, costumes, etc.). While it is known that the baroque dance technique is very different from ancient Greek dance, since Noverre had researched some elements in ancient pantomime and ancient choir, we propose to study them (gestures, steps, choreography).

What was the extent of Jean-Georges Noverre's knowledge of Ancient History and how did he use this knowledge?

1. Noverre's readings

Many of Noverre's ballets took their subject from Greek mythology,[1] which

1 According to Noverre's appendices in *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, Librairie Théâtrale, Paris, 1952, p. 344-352. Let us first note the ballets listed in the Saint Petersburg edition of 1804: *Euthyme et Euchari* (undated), an opéra-ballet/pantomime; *Médée* (Stuttgart, 1763), a tragic ballet; *Psyché et l'Amour* (Stuttgart, 1762), an opéra-ballet/pantomime; *Enée et Didon* (Vienna), a tragic ballet; *Hyménée et Chryséis*, an Anacreontic ballet; *La Mort d'Hercule* (1762), a tragic ballet; *Les Amours de Vénus*, a short ballet in action; *Apelles et Campaspe* (Vienna, 1774) a ballet/pantomime; *Pyrrhus et Polyxène*, a tragic ballet; *La Descente d'Orphée aux Enfers*, an opéra-ballet/pantomime; *La Mort d'Agamemnon* (1772), a tragic ballet in five acts; *Le Jugement de Paris* (Marseille, 1755), an opéra-ballet in two acts; *Les Danaïdes*, a tragic ballet in five acts; *Alceste* (Stuttgart, 1762), a tragic ballet; *Alexandre* (Stuttgart) and *Iphigénie en Tauride* (Vienna, 1772), a tragic ballet. Other ballets are then listed: *Cythère assiégée* (1753), an opéra-comique; *La Toilette de Vénus ou les Ruses de l'Amour* (Lyon, 1757); *Les Caprices de Galathée* (undated); *La Mort d'Ajax* (undated); *Orpheus und Eurydice* (Stuttgart, 1763); *Der Sieg des Neptun* (Stuttgart, 1763), *Hypermestra* (Stuttgart, 1764); *Der Fest des Hymenaus* (1766); *Der Raub der Proserpine* (1766); *Diane et Endymion* (undated); *Antoine et Cléopâtre* (undated); *L'Apothéose d'Hercule* (Vienna, 1767); *Agis et Galatée* (Vienna, 1772); *Semiramis* (Vienna, undated); *Gli Orazi e gli Curiazi* (1774); Flora (Vienna, undated), *Gli Amori de Venere ossia la Vendetta de Vulcano* (Milan, 1775); *Apollon et les Muses* (London, 1782); *Vénus et Adonis* (London, 1793); *Le Faune Infidèle* (London,

presupposes that the choreographer had significant knowledge of this latter discipline. Of course, such knowledge was very much in vogue at that time thanks to a number of literary and artistic productions inspired by Greco-Roman antiquity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But by what means had Noverre acquired his knowledge? And what means of knowledge of Greek antiquity were available at that time? By 29 April 1727, Noverre's date of birth, printed editions of ancient Greek texts had already existed for a long time, for example those of the Greek tragedies from which Noverre drew many of his subjects. The texts of Euripides' plays had thus been disseminated thanks to the edition by Janus Lascaris in Florence at the end of 1494 or beginning of 1495, perhaps using the Parisinus 2888 manuscript, and then in 1503/1504 in the edition by Aldus Pius Manutius.[2] It is notably this second edition that was disseminated and led to others.[3] Sophocles' texts had been published by Aldus Pius Manutius in 1502, followed by Janus Lascaris in 1518,[4] and Aeschylus' texts by André Asola also from 1518 on.[5] Of course, Noverre did not have access to one of these scholarly editions in the original text, but rather to a simple translation. Indeed, translation of the Greek tragic authors had been quite considerable in France since the 1660s, as M. Bastin-Hammou has shown.[6] The translation of the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes by Jesuit Pierre Brumoy had been published in Paris in 1730 in his book *Théâtre des Grecs*.[7] Noverre could thus have heard extracts of these texts in his youth or even read them. Brumoy's book began with three discourses re-situating these plays in their historical context: *Discours sur le théâtre grec*, *Discours sur l'origine de la tragédie* and *Discours sur le parallèle entre le théâtre ancien et moderne*. Noverre's father was a Swiss soldier in the service of the crown of France. He imagined the same type of career for his son, but the latter asked to learn ballet. He did not study at the Royal Academy of Music, however, but rather chose to learn under ballet master Louis Dupré who presented him in a performance at the court of Fontainebleau.[8] Noverre then made his début in the performances of the Opéra-Comique and at the Foire Saint Laurent, and created his first

1793); *Iphigenia in Aulide* (London, 1793); *Les Noces de Thétis* (London, 1793).

2 Irigoin J., *Tradition et critique des textes anciens*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, p. 10, 111-115.

3 Irigoin J., op. cit., p. 113.

4 Irigoin J., op. cit., p. 115-118.

5 Irigoin J., op. cit., p. 118-120.

6 Bastin-Hammou M., 'Introduction. Brumoy, pédagogue et passeur du théâtre grec', Anabases [online], 14 | 2011, p. 27-41.

7 Bastin-Hammou M., op. cit., p. 27.

8 Bourcier P., *Histoire de la danse en Occident*, Seuil, Paris, 1978, p. 158.

choreography in 1749.[9] We do not know what education Noverre received (he claimed he had been trained in osteology[10]), but in his Letter I, he says that he read much during his stay in London (1752-1753) in the library of his friend, actor David Garrick.[11] The latter had hired him with his troupe at his Drury Lane theatre on very advantageous terms: a fee of 450 *Louis d'or* for himself, 100 for his sister, as well as a share of the profits.[12] This engagement was short-lived, however, due to the importance of the anti-French party in London at that time. Indeed, an uproar occurred right from the first performance, and a riot at the sixth.[13] But this London visit gave Noverre the opportunity to read Quintilian,[14] Athenaeus, Augustine, 'and the authors who wrote on the theatre',[15] as well as Lucian,[16] Pollux,[17] Suetonius,[18] Dion,[19] Apuleius,[20] Veleius,[21] and Saint Cyprian.[22] Noverre thus possessed good knowledge of Greek pantomime in Roman times,[23] even though he did not seem to have understood the use of the mask in antiquity.[24] His knowledge of ancient dance, however, was incomplete, as proved in his statement: 'dance as such was an art unknown to the Greeks and Romans and that I had confused with pantomime which is nothing more than that of gesture.'[25]

9 Ibid.

10 Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, Librairie Théâtrale, Paris, 1952, p. 13 (Letter 1).

11 Noverre, op. cit., p. 11 (Letter 1). Perhaps the English translations read in this library were based on the edition of Euripides published by John King in 1726 using nine manuscripts preserved in Great Britain. On this point see J. Irigoin, op. cit., p. 113 (but Irigoin does not mention Noverre).

12 Bourcier P., op. cit., p. 158.

13 Ibid.

14 Noverre, op. cit., p. 12 and 14 (Letter 1), p. 30 (Letter 4).

15 Noverre, op. cit., p. 14 (Letter 1).

16 Noverre, op. cit., p. 23 (Letter 3): 'Lucian's treaty in the form of a dialogue between Solon and the Scythian Anacharsis'.

17 Noverre, op. cit., p. 24 (Letter 3).

18 Ibid.

19 Noverre, op. cit., p. 26 (Letter 3).

20 Noverre, op. cit., p. 27 (Letter 3).

21 Ibid.

22 Noverre, op. cit., p. 28 (Letter 3).

23 Noverre, op. cit., p. 15 (Letter 1) and p. 17-22 (Letter 2).

24 Noverre, op. cit., p. 21 (Letter 2).

25 Noverre, op. cit., p. 267 (Letter 28).

2. Visual and auditory sensations: images and music

In his Letter I, Noverre explains what he expected from music for his ballets:

> Music, above all, has been of the greatest assistance to me. I dictated to it by genres and it wrote; I drew passions for it and it filled in the colours; it added strength and energy to the feelings and affections that I traced for it; it strengthened the expression of the passions imprinted on my features, and which my eyes, burning with their fire, rendered still more vivid and animated. Music, abandoning the riches and vigorous outbursts of harmony, when my scenes changed character, when they expressed only the joy, tenderness, and felicity of two happy lovers crowned with love and marriage: music did then employ the tender and amiable colours of the melody; this simple and touching strain that strikes the ear and goes straight to the heart to associate intimately with the action of the pantomime. When music and dance work together, the effects produced by these two arts united become sublime, and their enchanting magic triumphs over both the heart and the mind.[26]

Noverre's knowledge of ancient music, limited to Roman rhetorician Quintilian's indications of rhythm and song,[27] was weak, and he tended to conform it to the standards of Western music. 'What we call tempo has been referred to as rhythmic music; but tempo is not music, it is only a division of time, and it is certain that a very pleasant music can exist without tempo; for example, the fermata or again the *Caprices ad Libitum* which are written without tempo.'[28] At the time when Noverre was composing his ballets, only two pieces by Mesomedes of Crete were known through manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries,[29] edited by Vincenzo Galilei in 1581.[30] It was not until the nineteenth century that the Egyptian musical papyri were discovered. Noverre could therefore only resort to the metre of ancient texts and probably the Latin metre, as he no doubt knew a little Latin but not Greek. The ancient authors had no idea of the concept of tempo: they wrote a text in

26 Noverre, op. cit., p. 13 (Letter 1). See also p. 71 (Letter 9) in which Noverre writes that the ballet master must know and choose his music well: 'the ballet master who ignores the music will misunderstand the airs; he will not grasp their spirit and character; he will not adjust the movements of the dance to those of the tempo with that precision and finesse which are absolutely necessary (...). The right choice of airs is as essential a part of dance as the right choice of words and turn of phrase is to eloquence.'

27 Noverre, op. cit., p. 32 (Letter 4).

28 Noverre, op. cit., p. 32 (Letter 4).

29 http://www.kerylos.fr/#rep-pres

30 *Musiques et danses dans l'Antiquité. Proceedings of the international symposium 'Musiques rythmes et danses dans l'Antiquité', Brest, 29-30 September 2006*, edited by M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, PUR, 2011, p. 11-12.

a rhythm useful for expressing the feelings of the characters, but it is we who translate their rhythmic combinations into tempo and beat. This translation is not always easy, and sometimes poses problems of interpretation. Noverre evoked the musician wearing a *kroupeza* with which he marked the beat,[31] but the latter marked the *ictus*, the strong beat, which is not the same thing.

For all these reasons, Noverre could not introduce Antiquity into the music of his performances. He therefore drew on the music of his time or that of a close past. He seemed to like Rameau and hate Lully:

> I always regretted, Sir, that Rameau did not collaborate with Quinault. Both endowed with creative genius, they were made for each other (…) Even if my opinion brings down upon me the wrath of a multitude of old people, I shall assert that Lully's dance music is cold, tedious and devoid of character. It is true that it was composed at a time when dancing was restrained and the executants totally ignored expression. Everything then was wonderful, the music was composed for the dance and *vice versa*; But what was compatible then is no longer so; the steps are multiplied, the movements are quick and follow each other in rapid succession, there are infinity of *enchaînements* and variation of times; the difficulties, the sparkle, the speed, the indecisions, the attitudes, the diverse positions – all this, I cannot say be harmonised with the grave music and uniform intonation which are the characteristics of the works of the old composers.[32]

Noverre worked with a wide variety of composers: François Granier for *La Mort d'Ajax* and *La Mort d'Agamemnon* in 1758; Antonio Salieri for *Les Danaïdes* in 1760; Jean-Joseph Rodolphe for *La Mort d'Hercule* in 1762, and *Médée et Jason* in 1767, 1776 and 1780; Joseph Starzer for *Der Tod Agamemnon* in 1771 (= *Agamemnon Vengé*, 1772); Gluck for *Alceste et Admète* in 1761, *Alceste* in 1767, *Paride ed Elena* in 1770, and *Iphigénie en Aulide* (Act II) in 1777. In his Letter XX, Noverre explains how he helped Gluck solve the problem of a choir who sang but were incapable of moving: he had them singing behind the scenes and replaced them on stage with dancers.[33]

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31 Noverre, op. cit., p. 35 (Letter 4).

32 Noverre, op. cit., p. 120-122 (Letter 17) = Letter 8, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 58 and p. 59-60.

33 Noverre, op. cit., p. 171 (Letter 20) = Noverre, *Lettres sur les arts imitateurs en général et sur la danse en particulier*, 2 vol., Paris, 1807, Vol. 1, 359: 'should break up the choruses and conceal them in the wings, so the public would not see them and I promised to replace them by the elite of my *corps de ballet* who would not perform the gestures appropriate to the song and so dovetail the action that the public would believe that the moving figures were in fact the singers. Gluck nearly smothered me in this excess of joy; he found my project excellent and its realisation created the most perfect illusion', quoted by F. Macintosh, Introduction, *The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World. Responses to Greek*

With regard to visual effects, Noverre wanted above all to introduce perspective into his performances:

> Jupiter on the pinnacle of Olympus, or Apollo placed on the summit of Parnassus, should surely, on account of their distance from the audience, appear smaller than the lesser gods and muses who, being placed lower down, are nearer? (...) It is particularly in fixed and stationary scenes in a ballet that gradation should be used, even if it be not important in those scenes which arise naturally during the progress of the dances.[34]

3. How did Noverre use his knowledge?

Noverre carefully selected those elements he integrated into his performances and those he rejected. He thus knew that the ancient actors and the *choreutai* used different types of masks that he was able to describe[35] but did not want to use:

> I return to the subject of the masks, those hideous faces that hide nature to show us only a deformed and grimacing copy. I had the courage to ban them from the theatre (...); I have always looked upon these wooden or waxen masks as a thick, coarse envelope that stifles the affections of the soul, and does not allow it to manifest externally the impressions it feels. It is the soul alone that imprints on the features of the face and in energetic characters the feelings, affections, passions, pleasures, and sorrows it experiences; it is the soul again that gives to the muscles of physiognomy the varied play and shades proper to expression; but this variety and mobility would be imperfect if the eyes did not add to it the mark of truth and resemblance (...) Did not these masks of the ancients deprive the head of its proportions? Did they not increase its size? Did they not cover all of the features of the face? Did they not hide the eyes? Undoubtedly, yes. Of what use could they thus be? Would it be an advantage to conceal from the public the part that is most essential to that of the expression of the actor, that which ultimately seals the perfection of his performance?[36]

A little further, Noverre considered that the mask could not create an illusion:

> is it possible to see passions born and to grasp all of their nuances and

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and Roman Dance. Edited by Fiona Macintosh, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 1-15.

34 Noverre, op. cit., p. 81 (Letter 10) = Noverre, Letter 6, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 45.

35 Noverre, op. cit., p. 21 (Letter 2) and p. 23-24 (Letter 3).

36 Noverre, op. cit., p. 20 (Letter 2). Same point of view on the masks in use in his day, see Noverre, op. cit., p. 143-144 (Letter XVIII) = Noverre, Letter 10, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 79.

> transitions when a mask, which has but one fixed expression, conceals all of the images that the passions etch on the face of the actor?[37]

We see in passing that, despite his knowledge, Noverre did not understand what the mask could contribute to the actor's and the dancer's performance, namely significantly increasing the expression of posture and movement. By removing the mask, Noverre advocated an intimate type of performance that did not exist in ancient times. This new performance was evident in his ballet *Apelles et Campaspe*, where the painter had his model, with whom he was falling in love, adopt different poses. He thus successively transformed Alexander's concubine into Pallas, Flora, Diana and Venus.[38] In his Letter XVIII, Noverre states that the ancient masks were designed for actors and not for dancers, quoting Quintilian's remarks on Thespis and Aeschylus, then on Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes and Menander.[39] He evokes wooden masks that were too heavy for dancing[40] and pantomime masks that were also too big,[41] without considering the possibility that relatively light plaster or stucco masks could be made. In general, Noverre argued for costumes that were lighter (no wig) and plainer (no gold or silver), while nevertheless finding lighter female costumes indecent.[42]

In terms of scenery, Noverre was above all interested in realism, respecting perspective and a certain harmony of colours. Only realism was capable of producing an illusion:

> If in a scene representing a cave of Hell, the *maître de ballet* desires that the raising of the curtain should reveal this terrible spot and the torment of the Danaïdes, Ixion, Tantalus and Sisyphus, and the different pursuits of the infernal gods: if he wish to show at the first glance a moving and terrifying picture of the tortures of Hell; how will he succeed in this instantaneous effect if he have not the talent of disposing objects and arranging them in the place proper to each, if we have not the talent of seizing the first idea of the painter and subordinating his own to the scenery which the former

37 Noverre, op. cit., p. 21 (Letter 2).

38 A. Fabbricatore, 'J.- G. Noverre et le mythe d'Apelle. Tableaux vivants et miroirs de la Scène', p. 8-9, to be published in Séminaires 2011-2012 (Saint-Denis, University of Paris 8, Institut National, 2012). <halshs-00756968>. See Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets* vol. III, p. 187 in the Saint Petersburg edition, 1803.

39 Noverre, op. cit., p. 158-159 (Letter 18) = Noverre, Letter 9, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 94-95.

40 Noverre, op. cit., p. 160 (Letter 18) = Noverre, Letter 9, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 96.

41 Noverre, op. cit., p. 160-161 (Letter 18) = Noverre, Letter 9, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 96.

42 Noverre, op. cit., p. 179-180 (Letter 21).

> has designed for him? He will see dark rocks and luminous rocks, obscure parts and parts gleaming with fire. A well-ordered horror should reign in the tomb; everything should be awe-inspiring; everything should indicate the place of the scene and display the torments and tortures of those who inhabit it. Dwellers in Hell, as they represented on the stage, are clothed in flame-coloured garments; sometimes the ground of their dress is black, sometimes poppy-coloured or bright red; all the hues are borrowed from the scenery. The *maître de ballet* should see that the lightest and most brilliant dresses are placed in the dark portions of the scenery, and distribute the darker costumes against the light coloured masses. From this careful arrangement harmony will arise.[43]

Integration of ancient elements in the technique of baroque dance

1. Difference in style between ancient Greek and baroque dance

A simple comparison between the paintings of the eighteenth century and ancient Greek vases shows that while it was common to portray the same subjects, the criteria of representation differed. Take the example of Medea on her chariot. The Painter of Policoro, towards 400 BC, used graphic conventions specific to Antiquity, for example the large radiating crown that surrounds Medea and her chariot as a reminder that she was the granddaughter of the Sun.[44] Charles van Loo in 1759 placed his character within a more realistic framework. An ancient monument can be seen in the background, as well as the sky. Similar differences can be noted in the portrayal of the dance scenes. Let us compare a pelike dating from 470-460 BC portraying an actor dancing the role of a maenad, and a portrait by Jean Raoux in 1727 of the ballerina Françoise Prévost as a Bacchante (a painting that does not correspond to a real portrayal of an actual performance). There is no representation of scenery on the ancient pelike, while in the eighteenth-century portrait we can see an ancient temple, trees, and other characters dancing in the background. We can also see by comparing the two images that the two characters do not dance in the same way, even though their postures seem very similar. As Noverre does not mention ancient vases in his letters, it can be assumed that he had never seen any. He certainly had not seen the pelike of the Painter of Policoro, which had probably not yet been discovered. However, having been to Italy, it is possible that he had visited or at least heard of the excavations at Pompeii, which had begun in 1747. Perhaps he had seen only much later images, those of the frescoes and paintings of the Renaissance, or of the seventeenth and

43 Noverre, op. cit., p. 83-84 (Letter 10) = Noverre, Letter 6, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 47-48.

44 Pelike with red figures, Berlin Altes Museum V.I. 3223, Painter of Policoro circa 470-460 BC Acquired in Rome in 1892.

eighteenth centuries. Whatever the case, Noverre had the great merit of raising the question of the technique used in ancient dance. He had a dream that he was in Rome, in a vaulted room filled with the tombs of famous men from Ancient History, and invoking the shadows of the dancers of the Augustan era, namely Pylades,[45] Bathyllus[46] and Hylas.[47] He questioned them: 'I asked them if their genre of dance had anything to do with ours; if they too used to perform *entrechats six* and *entrechats huit*, *cabrioles* and seven-turn *pirouettes*, a sublime invention that turns the light heads of the Parisians and is regarded by them as the fundamental basis of the principles of ballet. The shadows shrugged their shoulders and burst out laughing; I found that the dead were just as indecent as the living.'[48] He did, however, seek information from the ancient authors. He recognised the superiority of the ancients in terms of gesture:

In this respect the ancient were our masters, they understood the art of

45 Dancer to whom certain sources attribute the tragic pantomime, see Seneca the Elder, *Contr.*, 3, *Praef* 10; Plutarch, *Conv. Probl.*, 7, 8, 3; Athenaeus I20c; M.-H. Garelli, *Danser le mythe: la pantomime et sa réception dans la culture antique*, Louvain-Paris-Dudley, Peeters, 2007, p. 153; I. Lada-Richards, 'Dead but not Extinct: On reinventing Pantomime Dancing in Eighteenth-Century England and France', *The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World. Responses to Greek and Roman Dance*. Edited by Fiona Macintosh, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 19-38, see p. 19 and n. 1. Some authors consider him the introducer of the pantomime in Rome with Bathyllus, see Zosime, Hist., I, 6, 1; *La Souda* following ὄρχησις παντόμιμος and Ἀθηνόδωρος and Garelli, op. cit., p. 152. It was he who had the chorus accompanied by an aulete (chorula) and used a set of instrumentalists to give a concert, see Lucian, *De la danse*, 68 and Garelli, op. cit., p. 161-162. Finally, he integrated into pantomime mythological themes taken from ancient Greek tragedy, in particular *The Bacchae*, see Garelli, op. cit., p. 164-168. There were five other dancers of the same name under Trajan, Hadrian and Commodus at the end of the second century or beginning of the third century and during the reign of Septimius Severus, see Garelli, op. cit., p. 418-422. We assume that Noverre had read about Pylades I and not about the other dancers of the same name.

46 A dancer from Alexandria, freed by Maecenas, he performed with a *choraule* and a poet, see Athenaeus I 20d and M.-H. Garelli, op. cit., p. 49 and p. 150. He is sometimes credited with the introduction of pantomime in Rome with Pylades (Garelli, op. cit., p. 152; Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 19 and n. 1), or with the invention of the gay pantomime, see Seneca the Elder, *Contr.*, 3, *Praef* 10; Plutarque, *Conv. Probl.*, 7, 8, 3; Athenaeus I20c and Garelli, op. cit., p. 153 and p. 417. Another dancer of the same name is known for the end of the first century, see Garelli, op. cit. p. 418.

47 Hylas (1 BC to 14 AD) was a dancer of the time of Augustus, a native of Caria. He was whipped on complaint by the lender, see Suetonius, *Augustus*, 45, for it was forbidden in the theatre to evoke a well-known man, for example by pointing at him if he booed. See Garelli, op. cit., p. 197 and n. 186. He danced the roles of Agamemnon and Oedipus, see Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 2, 7 and Garelli, op. cit., p. 272. He is also mentioned in the inscriptions *CIL* 6, 10115 and *CIL* 8058, see Garelli, op. cit., p. 417.

48 Noverre, op. cit., p. 15 (Letter 1).

> gestures far better than we, and it was only in this part of dancing that they went further than the moderns.[49]

and

> However it may be (and in this respect opinions are one), the ancients spoke with their hands; the atmosphere, temperament and application employed to perfect the art of gesture carried it to a degree of sublimity which we shall never attain unless we take the same pain to distinguish ourselves in this art as they did. The dispute between Cicero and Roscius as to who should express thought best, Cicero by turn and order of his phrases, or Roscius by the movements of his arms and expression of his face, prove very clearly that in this respect we are but children, since we have only mechanical and indeterminate movements, devoid of significance, character and life.[50]

Noverre, however, did not have access to the indications given by lexicographers Athenaeus, XIV, 629f-630a, and Pollux, IV, 105, which we recall here:

- Σχήματα δέ ἐστιν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθίσκος, καλλαβίδες, σκώψ, σκώπευμα. ἦν δὲ ὁ σκὼψ τών ἀποσκοπούντων τι σχῆμα ἄκραν τὴν χείρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ, μετώπου, κερκυρτωκότων, μνημονεύει Αἰσχύλος ἐν θεωροίς·
Καὶ μὴν παλαιὼν τῶνδε σοι σκωπευμάτων
καλλαβίδων, δ΄ Εὔπολις ἐν Κόλαξιν·
καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,
σησαμίδας δε χέζει.
θερμαυστρίς, ἐκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεὶρ καταπρηνής, χεὶρ σιμὴ, διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος, στρόβιλος

'The schemata of the dance are the xiphismos (gesture of pointing a sword), the *kalathiskos* (small basket), the *kalabides* (*kalabis*: Lacedaemonian dance in honour of Artemis), the *skôps* (owl) and the *skôpeuma* (owl). The *skôps* (owl) was the gesture of those who observed from afar, their hand cupped over their brow. Aeschylus mentions it in the *Théôres* (Athenian representatives who attended the Panhellenic Games):

'And for thee, these ancient *skopeumata*.'

Concerning the *kallabides*, Eupolis [mentions them] in *Kolakes* (Flatterers):

'he does *kallabides* when he walks,

49 Noverre, op. cit., p. 188 (Letter 22) = Noverre, Letter X, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 100.

50 Noverre, op. cit., p. 162 (end of Letter 18) = Noverre, Letter 9, J.-G. Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 98.

when his bowels move, he eliminates sesame cakes.'

[There also exists] the *thermaustris* (entrechat), the *ekaderides*,[51] the *skopos* (look-out), the *cheir kataprênês* (hand with the palm turned towards the ground), the *cheir simè* (hand with the palm raised towards the spectator), the *dipodismos* (two-step),[52] the *paralèpsis xulou*[53] (gesture of holding a stick), the *epagonismos*, the *kalathiskos* (small basket), the *strobilos* (spinning top).'[54]

- Καὶ μὴν τραγικὴς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χείρ, καθαλίσκος, χεὶρ καταπρηνής, ξύλου, παράληψις, διπλῆ, θερμαυστρίς, κυβίστησις, παραβῆναι τὰ τέτταρα.

And here are the schemata of the tragic dance: the *cheir simè* (hand with the palm turned towards the audience), the *kathaliskos*[55], the *cheir kataprênês* (hand with the palm turned towards the ground), the *paralèpsis xulou* (gesture of holding a stick), the *diplè* (double line), the *thermaustris* (entrechat), the *kubistèsis* (somersault), the act of walking while carrying out all four.[56]

Not all of the gestures are mentioned by Athenaeus and Pollux. Others are known thanks to Greek vases, like that of supplication,[57] which is never represented in this way in the paintings of the eighteenth century.

Despite the gestural wealth of Antiquity, for Noverre, the ballet dancers of the eighteenth century were superior thanks to their technique: 'It must be admitted, however, that the ancient authors never spoke of the legs of their pantomimes, their momentum, nor the brilliancy of their feet, which proves

51 *Schema*, the name of which derives from the adjective eJkavteroı, a, on, 'each of the two', is difficult to translate. Lexicographers suggest different versions. For Hesychius, following eJkaterivı, it is a dance involving the feet and not the hands. Pollux, IV, 102 interprets the eJkaterivı as a dance with a kivnhsıı ceirw``n, a movement of the hands. C. B. Gulick, translator of Athenaeus in the Loeb edition, agrees with Pollux's version, translating ejkaterivdeß by 'each of the two', 'sometimes one, sometimes the other'.

52 Literally 'action of measuring by two feet'.

53 C. B. Gulick, the translator of Athenaeus in the Loeb collection, proposes the following translation, 'the one who takes the first place' because he interprets xuvlon as a bench and not as a stick. I prefer to interpret xuvlon as a stick given that paintings on Greek vases portray several examples of kômastes dancing with a stick or cane, see M-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les danses dionysiaques en Grèce antique*, Publication of the University of Provence, Aix-en-Provence, 1995, p. 90-92 and p. 95.

54 From the translation by C. B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library, 1950.

55 This is probably the word kalaqivskoß.

56 Personal translation. The expression parabh~nai ta; tevttara is difficult to translate because we do not know how to interpret ta; tevttara, the four.

57 Pitcher from Afrati, Heraklion Archaeological Museum. The same gesture is described in Iphigenia's prayer to her father Agamemnon, see Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1211-1252, but this passage was not danced.

that dance as we know it did not exist in Athens or Rome.'[58] He concluded that 'The ancients had arms and we have legs.'[59]

2. Choice of the ancient elements to be integrated

What Noverre knew was essentially the Greek pantomime of the Roman era, as evidenced by the continuation of his dream:

> I begged them to tell me what happy means they thus employed to intelligibly express the *past* and the *future*. These shadows, whose eloquence resided only in the gestures and the varied play of their hands and fingers, answered me in their language; I understood nothing of the movements of their arms and hands; I perceived the triviality and insignificance of their gestures. One shadow dressed in Roman garb shed light on my confusion. This was Quintus Roscius, the famous actor. He told me: 'Mortal, I shall satisfy your curiosity. The pantomimes were not dancers, but merely gesticulators; every Roman understood them perfectly, because there existed several schools where the art of saltation was taught, which is but the art of gesture; these schools were frequented by the nobles, the orators, and the people. These gestures of convention, this mute language, were understood by all classes of citizens; the shadows whom you have just consulted, by answering you in their language, employed the means of designating the past, present and future.' But could these fussy gestures, I replied, could this accelerated movement of the fingers and this perpetual play of the arms be perceived and felt in theatres as vast and spacious as those that existed in Rome? Were they noble and decent? The shadow said nothing and disappeared.[60]

Noverre compared this gesture with the signs used by Abbé Charles-Michel de l'Épée to communicate with deaf-mutes and deduced that these were gestures of convention.[61] Noverre seemed perfectly familiar with the incident when actor Livius Andronicus strained his voice, which led him to solicit the services of an actor for the declamation (and the song that Noverre does not mention) while

58 Noverre, op. cit., p. 27 (Letter 3).

59 Noverre, op. cit., p. 163 (Letter 18) = Noverre, Letter 9, J.-G. Noverre, Letters on Dancing and Ballets, transl. C. W. Beaumont, London, 1930, p. 98. See F. Naerebout, '"In the Search of a Dead Rat" : the Reception of Ancient Greek Dance in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe and America', *The Ancient Dancer in the Modern World. Responses to Greek and Roman Dance*. Edited by Fiona Macintosh, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 39-56, see p. 41 and note 9.

60 Noverre, op. cit., p. 15 (Letter 1).

61 Noverre, op. cit., p. 16 (Letter 1). Noverre was persuaded that the Abbé Charles-Michel de l'Epée had invented the gestures used with deaf mutes, when in reality he had learned from them and carried out research on this basis.

he himself continued to declaim. This new way, said Noverre, 'met with such prodigious success that the Romans adopted it for good'.[62]

While Noverre wanted to integrate ancient pantomime into his choreographies, the latter did not, however, represent a complete break with the French tradition.[63] The divertissements of Lully's operas, which Noverre hated, represented more than merely decorative dancing.[64] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, an elaborate gestural language existed on both sides of the English Channel. The French performers not only practised acrobatics, but also dance, mime and song.[65] In London, corporeal dramaturgy was performed in small, marginal theatres, but also by the two largest rival groups of Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields.[66] 'The revival in interest for ancient pantomime was undoubtedly facilitated by the popularity of the gesture of eloquence,' as I. Lada-Richards writes.[67] For her, Noverre's work bears the mark of an important cultural confluence between the pantomime of ancient origins and the specific preoccupations of his time.[68] It is to be related to Diderot's remarks[69] and his praise of the emotional force of the gestural language of deaf-mutes.[70] The pantomime dancers of the Augustan era, Pylades and Bathyllus, became famous in the eighteenth century thanks to such exceptional ballet dancers as Gaétan Vestris (around 1780) and his son, Auguste.[71] Thus, the eighteenth century, as

62 Noverre, op. cit., p. 18 (Letter 2). The account of Livius Andronicus straining his voice is reported in Livy, VII 2, 8-10. M.-H. Garelli, *Danser le mythe: la pantomime et sa réception dans la culture antique*, Louvain-Paris-Dudley, Peeters, 2007, p. 71, thinks that this served to justify the separation of voice and dance and to recompose a history of the theatre after the fact.

63 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 27; E. Nye, 'De la similitude du ballet pantomime et de l'opéra à travers rois dialogues muets', SVEC, 7, 2005, p. 207-222.

64 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 27; R. Harris-Warrick, 'Dance and representations in the operas of Lully', M. Biget-Mainfroy, and R. Smusch (eds), *'L'esprit français' und die Musik Europas : entsehung Einfluss und Grenzen einer âestetischen Doktrin : festschrift für fur Herbert Schneider / L'esprit français et la musique en Europe : émergence, influence et limites d'une doctrine esthétique, Hildesheim*, 2007, p. 208-218, see p. 209-210.

65 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 27.

66 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 28-29.

67 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 30.

68 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 35.

69 Ibid. and note 76; Diderot, *Entretiens sur le fils naturel*, 1751 in Versini L. (ed.), *Diderot. Œuvres*, vol. 4, Paris, 1996, p. 1143-1144 and 1182-1183; Diderot, *Lettre à Madame Riccoboni*, 1758 in Roth G. (ed.) *Diderot. Correspondance*, Paris, 1955-1970, 16 vol., 2, 91; Diderot, *Lettre à Voltaire*, 1760.

70 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 36; Diderot, *Lettre sur les sourds muets*, P. H. Mayer ed., *Diderot Studies*, 7, 1965, p. 37-89.

71 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 37.

recalled by I. Lada Richards, rediscovered the ability of ballet to tell a story.[72]

3. Modes of integration of Ancient History in baroque technique

What was the technique of dance at work in the eighteenth century? It was during the reign of Louis XIV that ballet first emerged. The ballets of this period, written using the Feuillet notation system, show that movements were made in straight lines, diagonals, squares or circles. But in the seventeenth century, the movements of both male and female ballet dancers remained limited by their costumes. The main steps (bourrée, petit jeté, assemblé, entrechat royal or entrechat three, etc.) were all small due to the long costumes worn by all of the dancers, as well as their high-heeled shoes. From 1727, the ballerinas of the Paris Opera were asked to wear long underwear as a precaution against offending modesty if they jumped or raised their legs.[73] From the middle of the eighteenth century, the ballet costume evolved, as noted by G. Prudhommeau:

> In 1750 the men's costume freed their legs, and while they still had the upper body tightly clasped in a costume with fitted sleeves that did not allow for raising the arms higher than horizontally, they wore a sort of short skirt that did not reach the knee and was very wide, allowing them *to lift their legs square and to jump,* even though their hats with their panache of feathers somewhat limited violent movements. For women, the heavy sack-back gowns still descended almost to the ankles; their width made it possible *to lift the leg to half height,* but with the leg still concealed underneath the dress. They were therefore aware of the need to lighten this costume in order to allow the development of virtuosity.[74]

The male costume continued to change: 'In 1780 the men were almost completely rid of their *impedimenta*: they wore stockings, French-style breeches that shaped the thighs and stretched to just under the knee, a long-sleeved shirt, possibly a waistcoat and a short jacket. An engraving shows Auguste Vestris with a hat, but holding it in his hand and lifting his leg very high, above the horizontal.'[75] It is difficult to know what Noverre thought of this transformation of ballet costumes, for he wrote contradictory remarks on this

72 Lada-Richards, op. cit., p. 38.

73 G. Prudhommeau, 'Evolution du costume de danse du XVe au XXe siècle', *Costumes en danse ou la chair représentée*. Texts gathered by Valérie Folliot, Curator of the exhibition, assisted by Philippe Colette. *La recherche en danse*, undated (1997), p. 43-57, see p. 52.

74 Ibid.

75 Prudhommeau, op. cit., p. 53 and note 53: 'it is in 1800 that we find the oldest mention of the word 'arabesque' applying to a step. Until then, the word meant sinuous lines as in the plastic arts. In 1830 Carlo Blasis knew the word only in its meaning of sinuous line'.

subject, as evidenced by the application he addressed to the King of Sweden in 1791, namely two volumes of reflections on ballet.[76] For reasons of modesty, he refused to let his dancers dance barefoot, even though they are sometimes thus portrayed in the paintings.[77] The technique of ballet therefore remained dependent on the wearing of shoes. 'It nevertheless evolved considerably during the eighteenth century with the introduction of "temps de cuisse, doubles, triples, quadruples, steps involving throwing out the legs one after the other, pirouettes on the cou-de-pied, waltzes, arabesques, etc.".'[78] There was a quest for virtuosity, even if it was not until the early nineteenth century before ballet dancers started rising onto the pointes (between 1815 and 1820).

In the *ballet d'action* invented by J.-G. Noverre, the pantomime had thus to be included within a technically challenging choreography. Noverre never wrote out his choreographies because he was very critical of the Feuillet notation system. The few paintings and engravings of his ballets are insufficient to reconstitute them. The only possible way of gaining an idea of how Noverre had integrated pantomime is to consult the works of other choreographers who were noted using the Feuillet system. We assume that this is what M.G. Massé did when she choreographed in 2012 two works by Noverre, *Jason et Médée* on the one hand, and *Renaud et Armide* on the other.

The engraving depicting Jason and Medea reveals some interesting elements of gesture: the ballerina on the right has her fists closed; the one opposite has her right hand placed perpendicularly to the ground and her left hand turned towards the ground as in the *cheir kataprênês*. The only male ballet dancer in the scene also has his left hand in *cheir kataprênês* and his right hand open with his fingers pointing towards the ground. This has to be a coincidence, for Noverre had certainly never read the gestural enumerations of Athenaeus and Pollux. The head movements of the characters, however, are most likely inspired by the descriptions of the famous Pylades and Bathyllus that Noverre had been able to read. M.-H. Garelli noted the importance of the head movement, *neuma*, the Greek equivalent of the Latin *nutus*.[79] Such movements can also be found in the Dionysiaca of Nonnos of Panopolis, for example, in XIX 203-204, when

76 Noverre, Manuscript *S*254.1-2. Royal Library of Stockholm. 1791, vol. 2 Letter to the King (n. pag.), p. IV: 'one wraps oneself in draperies so voluminous that it is not possible to find the actor under so many multiple folds (…) The dancers adopt the indecent costumes of tightrope walkers', quoted by I. Ginger and K. Modigh, 'Une dernière tentative d'emploi de Noverre : le dossier de candidature au roi de Suède en 1791', *Musicorum*, 10, 2011, p. 209-228, see p. 215.
http://www.baroquedancers.se/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2013/04/Modigh.pdf

77 Noverre, Manuscript *S*254.1-2. Royal Library of Stockholm. 1791, vol. 2 Letter to the King (n. pag.), p. XII, quoted by I. Ginger and K. Modigh, op. cit., p. 217.

78 G. Prudhommeau, op. cit., p. 553:

79 Garelli, op. cit., p. 226.

Maron moved his head as though to shake the curls of his hair, even though he had none, as J.-Y. Strasser pointed out.[80] On the engraving of Noverre's ballet, this can work in the same way, even though all of the characters have their hair tied back. The ballerina on the left tilts her head forward while the male ballet dancer throws his head back. The ballerina on the right raises her head slightly and looks diagonally in front of her.

Conclusion

By his knowledge of ancient history, Noverre greatly revived the ballet of his day. While he was interested in subjects of Greek and Roman mythology, he was nevertheless a man of his time, as proved by his reflections on costumes and masks. In this way, he created an original art based on a performance that was more intimate than had previously been the case, revealing the facial expressions that up until then had been hidden by masks. He was undoubtedly the creator of the *ballet d'action* and enjoyed significant influence throughout the Europe of the Enlightenment. However, in 1791, the King of Sweden refused his application, preferring younger choreographers to him, reflecting a ballet in perpetual evolution.[81]

80 J.-Y. Strasser, 'Inscription grecques et latines en l'honneur de pantomimes', *Tychè. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichechte papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 19, 2004, p. 175-212 and slides 8-9, see p. 200: 'Maron (...) shakes the curls of his non-existent hair as though he was one of these *criniti ephebi* evoked by Claudian; A. Le Coz, *Le livre XV de la Chronographie de Jean Malalas. Traduction et commentaire*, Master's degree thesis in ancient roots of European societies, under the direction of B. Lançon, University of Western Brittany, 2005-2006, p. 78: 'Why this allusion to the dancer's non-existent hair, except to show that he is performing a pantomime worthy of a "long-haired" performer.' G. Gerbaud, Nonnos, *Dionysiaques*, vol. VII, Books XVIII-XIX, translation J. Gerbaud with the assistance of F. Vian, CUF, 1992, p. 96-97 recalls that the whole of the pantomime comprises *phorai* (movements), *schemata* (gestures), movements of the fingers and *neumata* (movements of the head), as well as expressions. It tends to make *schema* a synonym of *deixis*, but *deixis* refers specifically to mimetic indications and therefore no doubt goes well beyond *schemata*.

81 I. Ginger and K. Modigh, op. cit., p. 220.

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Connections between music and dance in Noverre' s ballets-pantomimes, 1776-1781

FRANÇOISE DARTOIS-LAPEYRE

At the end of the eighteenth century, the connection between music and dance was seen as obvious: dance was intrinsically linked to music by submission to rhythm, so much so, that one got educated to one art by exercising the other, all the more easily as dance tunes were endowed with a specific regularity. Reason was also hereditary, since J.J. Martinet, in his *Essay or Basic Principles of the Art of Dance*, agreed with the mythologists who considered arts as 'children of the same father':

> Euterpe is so closely linked with Terpsichore that it is very rare to see music without dance, and even rarer to see subjects that are sensitive to harmony and that are not so fond of dance. I could bring into evidence of the intimacy of these two arts some examples of young people who, by a lack of organ, were without provisions for the music, and who, by the practice of the dance, acquired a precision of which they did not seem susceptible of, and that they would never have by any other means.[1]

Dance was particularly appreciated by the public in the Age of Enlightenment, and it was changing quickly. In the theatre, the ballet master was in charge, exercising the dancers in technique, by dint of repetition, and designing more and more intellectually developed ballets. Dance had been incorporated into operas since Lully, becoming more expressive in the form of 'figurative ballet' (*ballet figuré*), thanks to the close collaboration between the librettist Cahusac and Rameau. It was followed by the beginning of the *ballet pantomime*, a term that appeared around 1730, first to designate entertainments represented at the Opera Comique of the Fair and at the Italian Comedy. In the 1760s, dance gained its autonomy over singing, and this led to a rebalancing of the relationship between dance and music, a less strict separation of choreographic genres and a diversification of dancing styles. In Europe, Noverre was, along with Hilverding and Angiolini, one of the major initiators of these transformations, as Gluck highlighted the dramatic dimension of musical theatre, which musicologists have long been interested in, but more rarely the historians of dance. Noverre introduced his novelties to the Opera where he became ballet master through the

1 J.J. Martinet, *Essai ou principes élémentaires de l'art de la danse*, Lausanne, Monnier et Jacquerod, 1797, p. 20. I warmly thank my colleague Mireille Dufoy for her invaluable assistance with the translation of this paper.

influence of Queen Marie-Antoinette in 1776.

As a historian sensitive to the evolution of the dancing art, I had the opportunity to question the way in which dancing theoreticians, in particular Noverre, in his *Letters on Dance* (Lyon, 1760), conceived the relationships between dance and music, and the way Angiolini and Gluck had been able to unite their talents in the *Don Juan* ballet (1761).[2] Here I would like to show how the relationship between dance and music took place in practice in the years 1776-1781, at Paris Opera. I will analyse some arguments concerning the way music and dance are intertwined, to determine how representative or exceptional they are according to the practices of that time. How was such interaction perceived in pantomime ballets? What was the impact of the coexistence of opera entertainment and *ballet d'action*? What were Noverre's relations with the composers of his time? To what extent did personal relationships between dancers and musicians influence some careers? Among the significant examples, we will focus on the seven *ballets-pantomimes* staged by Noverre at the Royal Academy of Music, where he was master of ballets from 1776 to 1781.[3] To stay within the limits of this article, the four pantomime ballets created by Maximilien Gardel during that period will not be studied. We will first observe how the ballet master became the main creator of *ballets d'action*; then we will examine the place given to music in the argument of his ballets. Finally, from a few scores, we will specify how the musicians took into account the dancers' work of interpretation and how they orchestrated the new mingling of the two arts.

The ballet master, a designer of ballet-pantomime according to Noverre

1. Challenge to the traditional dependence of the ballet master

Traditionally the inventors of court ballet dances had always been, as was Lully, good or excellent musicians. But from 1661 and 1669, the existence of the Royal Academy of Dance and the Royal Academy of Music offered dance artists a stable framework, in which they specialised and perfected their talents. Theatrical dance was enriched and technical progress became spectacular throughout the eighteenth century: Miss Camargo executed the first *entrechats* six and multiple pirouettes which excited public interest who then appreciated the Opera for both ballet and singing. In this new institutional framework, the skills of ballet masters and dancers were distinguished, recognised and developed in a specific way. 'It's at the Opera where dance shines most; it is one

2 Dartois-Lapeyre, Françoise, '*Don Juan* dans le ballet-pantomime de Gluck et Angiolini', dans *Choreologica*, part I, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 2011, p. 5-23; part II, vol. 7, no. 1, Winter 2014, p. 25-39.

3 Table 1. Noverre's collaboration with musicians for *ballets-pantomimes* at the Paris Opera (1776-1781). Sibylle Dahms, *Der konservative Revolutionär. Jean Georges Noverre und die Ballettreform des 18. Jahrunderts*, Munich, Epodium, 2010, p. 355-436.

of the essential parts of this greatness. All that poetry sketches, and to which Music gives the principle of life,'[4] noted P.-L. d'Aquin de Château-Lyon at the beginning of the century. He observed that in the opera 'three arts are united', poetry, music and dance, 'to give the movements and objects that were to be painted more truth and more enjoyment', but deplored, as Mr de St Mard, that the Opera looked like 'those unhappy States, where each one occupied only with its particular interest, mocks general interest'. Poet, Musician, Ballet Master, everyone in this country wanted to shine, wanted to shine alone; and no one really shone there, 'except our Orpheus for Music, and the Grand Dupré for Dance.'[5] Two artists stood out for their ability to combine talents in both arts for the benefit of opera: a musician, Jean-Philippe Rameau, compared to Orpheus, and a dancer, Louis Dupré nicknamed the 'God of Dance'.

Six years later, Noverre in his *Lettres sur la danse* shared these observations and regrets, but with a decidedly positive attitude: he worked to remedy the shortcomings resulting from too much non concerted artistic actions and elaborated a new innovative approach for radical changes in the way of dancing on stage, without making dance art fall back into a state of dependence towards music and poetry. In 1776, while Noverre was preparing to take up his duties as ballet master at the Royal Academy of Music, and staged his ballet *Apelles and Campaspe*, the *Mercure de France* deplored the revival of Cambini's opera *The Romans,* because of 'the lack of interest and of action in poems.'[6] Indeed, it did not communicate passions with sufficient force and was detrimental to the musician, 'who could only use a vague expression on words which offered him no energetic feeling to paint, no passion to render.'[7] The ballets therefore seemed 'long', despite the great talents of the dance, especially those of Miss Allard, 'charming Dancer' and 'excellent Pantomime.'[8] By providing himself with the scenarios of pantomime ballets, Noverre's ambition was to make this kind of approach outdated and to facilitate the work of the composer and dancers.

4 Pierre-Louis d'Aquin de Château-Lyon, *Siècle littéraire de Louis XV ou les lettres sur les hommes célèbres*, Amsterdam/ Paris, Duchesne, 1754, t. I, p. 181: 'C'est à l'Opéra où la danse brille le plus; elle est une des parties essentielles de ce grand Tout que la Poësie ébauche, & à qui la Musique donne le principe de vie.'

5 Ibid., p. 182: 'à ces Etats malheureux, où chacun uniquement occupé de son intérêt particulier, se mocque de l'intérêt général. Poëte, Musicien, Maître de Ballet, chacun en ce pais-là veut briller, veut briller seul; & personne n'y brille véritablement que notre Orphée pour la Musique, & le grand Dupré pour la Danse'.

6 Cambini's opera on a libretto of Bonneval. *Mercure de France,* September 1776, p. 157-158.

7 Ibid.:'qui n'a pu qu'employer une expression vague sur des paroles qui ne lui offroient ni sentiment énergique à peindre, ni passion vive à rendre'.

8 Ibid.

2. Ballet music main features at the turn of the century

The number of partners was reduced to two in the creation of the *ballet d'action*: the poet had disappeared, since unlike opera, there were no sung words; therefore, the musician and ballet master (himself in charge of poetics) no longer remained as protagonists. Noverre lamented that they worked separately and did not communicate enough to match the music with the ballet synopsis. His innovation was the collaboration he called for between these two creators. Would Noverre be the first ballet master to practise a real consultation with the musicians? Certainly not. In the first half of the century, Cahusac and Rameau had collaborated closely to create the 'figurative ballet' (ballet figuré). Noverre seems to ignore it and deliberately omitted in his *Letters* this first example of fruitful togetherness in opera, probably to highlight his own originality and to better reveal his pioneering role in the autonomous ballet creation. Nor was Noverre the only ballet master convinced of the positive influence that music could have on the evolution of the dancing art. M. Gardel shared this conviction, as evidenced by the homage he paid to Rameau for opening the way to progress thanks to his imitative music.[9] Rameau as a proponent of imitative music, used the musette for pastoral scenes and trumpets for military atmospheres. By his suggestive musical writing, he favoured the small flute to represent the wind and his play on tones expressed his desire 'to write by linking the dances to each other'.[10] The musician was concerned with the order of entry of the quadrille groups, their integration into the action and their expressiveness, thus promoting the development of the dancing art.

In the second half of the century, opera-ballets and fragments were usually performed to the music of different composers, and dance tunes were seldom composed specifically for a precise ballet. Noverre, hostile to these practices which led to ballets bringing together several heterogeneous pieces, defended the idea of a music intrinsically linked to the scenario conceived by the ballet master; this was why, unlike M. Gardel, he required original music created in keeping with his own intentions for dance. In addition, the ballet was often conceived as a kind of interlude. Traditionally, ballet is an entertainment of lyric tragedy: thus, *Medea and Jason* had been for a long time placed in the intermissions of operas: in between two acts of Jommelli's *Didone Abbandonata* in Stuttgart, on 11 February 1763 or of La Borde's *Ismene and Ismenias*, in Choisy, in June of the same year, for example. It was only in 1780 that Noverre

9 Jacques-Joseph-Marie *Decroix, L'Ami des arts ou Justification de plusieurs grands hommes*, Amsterdam [i. e. Lille], Paris, chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1776, p.100-101.

10 Thomas Soury, *Les Fêtes Hymen et Amour de Jean-Philippe Rameau: étude historique, génétique et critique*, unpublished PHD, dir. Sylvie Bouissou, François Rabelais University, Tours, January 24, 2013, p. 251 et 155.

managed to make it a truly autonomous ballet.

According to Noverre, in attempting to make the staging more dramatically efficient, he devoted himself to the poetics of ballet, endeavouring to transcribe his ideas in the form of the scenarios of ballets. He gave them enough importance to have them published, aware that the design of the ballet master deserved to be known to the public. His goal was to give the body a language similar in strength to that of musical language, which was why he integrated the musical dimension into his practice and reflection. For him, dance was, like music, an art of imitation; so, these two arts had to collaborate in the success of the pantomime ballet. It was only by improving and harmonising their languages that the two components could co-exist on stage, without words, whose pre-eminence had been absolute in the classical period. In his opinion, the new ballet d'action, which was the result of the full collaboration of the music composer and the designer of the dances, obeyed the rules of nature as well as those of art. Technical prowess became superfluous, because it had to move the senses; its goal was to touch the soul and not just the eyes.

Setting the music of the ballet master's scenarios

1. Stability of poetics and scores changes

According to Noverre, theatrical dance should always be very closely linked to action. His observations convinced him to rely on poetics to reinforce the weight of dance in relation to music: the verses by Quinault have aged better – he wrote – than Lully's music, and they experience a revival each time they come to terms with music; he therefore proposed to follow the example of the Italians, who, faithful to Metastasio, 'put him at it every day',[11] as in the courts of Germany, Spain, Portugal and England. He found that music varied infinitely, and each master of music – be it Graun or Hasse – gave him 'a new expression, a new grace; such a feeling neglected by one was embellished by the other'.[12] Noverre shared their veneration for this great poet and sets an example, in homage to the author of about thirty librettos, who became the official poet of the court of Vienna in 1729. When Noverre became a ballet master in the same court, he was inspired by his first book, *Didone abbandonata* written in 1723, to stage his ballet *The Loves of Aeneas and Didon or Dido abandoned* at the Hoftheater in Stuttgart around 1770,[13] on a composition by Josef Starzer, a very experienced

11 [Jean Georges] Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse et les arts imitateurs*, Paris, Librairie théâtrale, 1977, p.121. *The Works of Monsieur Noverre Translated from the French: Noverre, his Circle, and the English Lettres sur la Danse*, ed. by Michael Burden and Jennifer Thorp, Hillsdale, NY, Pendragon Press, 2014, p.295.

12 'Gronne', Music Master of the King of Prussia, wrote J. G. Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse*, op. cit., p.121. Hasse was Kapellmeister to the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony.

13 Between 1768 and 1773.

ballet composer. He was a violinist at Vienna's Burgtheater in 1752 and then began his career as a ballet composer and was invited to Saint-Petersburg in 1759 by choreographer Franz Hilverding, where he became Konzertmeister. In 1763, he was concert director of the Imperial Court, where he was particularly appreciated for ballets. When Starzer, the 'Gluck of ballet music',[14] returned to Vienna, he composed quite naturally about twenty ballets for the ballet master, among which were *The Judgment of Paris* (1771), *Adele de Ponthieu* (1773), *The Horatii and the Curiaces* (1774), *Roger and Bradamante, The Toilet of Venus or the ruses of Love*, which Noverre described at length in his *Letters* as well as *The Jealousies or Festivals of the Seraglio* (1771). The conjunction of the ballet master's talents in Vienna with those of a musician experienced in ballet music produced a prolific and much appreciated production, a sign of a particularly successful collaboration. This ballet was not performed in Paris, but Hus and Gaillard might have preserved Starzer's musical score to represent the ballet at the Opera of Lyon, in June 1781.

Noverre envisioned a reform in which dance, freed from the constraints of speech and singing typical to opera, would become a self-sufficient expression of action. Just as the poet for musical drama, the ballet master while delivering a prose programme intended to convey the lyricism of his ideas to the public. 'The musician would be responsible for translating them faithfully, and the dancers to express them forcefully and gracefully in movements.'[15] Everything would be salient and animated, all would eventually create 'illusion and become interesting, because everything would be in harmony'. Each art 'would help each other and lend each other forces'.[16]

By assuming the role of author of ballet scenarios, Noverre, who was also a talented writer, polished them for a long time before giving them to a musician. He trusted Jean-Joseph Rodolphe's experience while composing the music of several ballets. This Strasbourg-born person, who perfected violin in Paris with Leclair, became first violin in Bordeaux and Montpellier before serving the Duke of Parma (whose music teacher was Traetta) in 1754, then the Duke of Württemberg in Stuttgart, where he made with Jommelli's benevolent advice his first compositions. Thanks to this collaboration Noverre achieved his objective with the heroic ballet *Medea and Jason*; in fact, after the performance of

14 '*Gluck der Ballettmusik*' according to Joseph von Sonnenfels, quoted in Sibylle Dahms, *Der konservative Revolutionär*. Jean Georges Noverre und die Ballettreform des 18. Jahrunderts, Munich, Epodium, 2010, p. 346.

15 J. G. Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse et les arts imitateurs*, op. cit., p.119: 'le musicien serait chargé de les traduire avec fidélité, et les danseurs de les réciter par le geste, et de les expliquer avec énergie'.

16 Ibid., p.120: Chaque art 's'entr'aideraitet se prêterait réciproquement des forces '.

December 30, 1775, this 'ballet of the great genre, tragedy pantomime' seemed 'much better than the one just played before',[17] which was Guibert's tragedy *Le Connétable de Bourbon*. The *Mémoires secrets* mention his role not only for the strength of the staging but also for the success of the poem:

> It must be remembered that this Pantomime is a complete poem in three Acts. Miss Allard appeared there and played the role of Medea in the most tragic genre. The accessories of the decorations and the spectacle have made the effects more striking to the point of passing from the eyes to the soul and to move it strongly.[18]

With spirit and senses conquered, the spectators expressed their approval and enthusiasm so much, that on 12 February 1776, the 'excitement of the public for the Ballet of *Medea & Jason*' was considered 'incredible'.[19] In May, Bachaumont pointed out that any description could provide a 'faint sketch of this drama done for the eyes': it forms a 'tableau' in which 'there is more expression, sublimation, genius, than in the confused and complicated plans of our modern tragedies, and the play of which is more intelligible and more apt to penetrate the soul than the saccades of a thundering versification'.[20] His demonstration was successful, because the effectiveness of prose set in motion on the spectator, was offered with a strength and evidence superior to the texts declaimed.

2. Noverre's musical collaborations in European Courts and Theatres

Ballet required great means and companies of artists who were only found in some European courts and in the theatres of the largest cities. The place of residence and creation proved decisive to the point that the same outline of

17 Mathieu-François *Pidansat de Mairobert, L'Observateur anglois, ou Correspondance secrète entre milord All'Eye et milord All'Ear*, Londres, Chez John Adamson, 1779, vol. 2, p. 289-290: 'Après le Connétable de Bourbon, [...] on a exécuté un ballet du grand genre, tragédie pantomime, bien supérieure à celle qu'on venoit de jouer.'

18 Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France*, London, J. Adamson, t. VIII, 1784, p. 346, 31 décembre 1775: 'Il faut se rappeler que cette Pantomime est un poëme complet en trois Actes. Mlle Allard y a paru & a rempli le rôle de Médée dans le genre le plus tragique. Les accessoires des décorations & du spectacle en ont rendu les effets plus frappans au point de passer des yeux à l'âme & de l'émouvoir fortement.'

19 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, op. cit., t. 9, p. 44, 12 février 1776: 'Cette Pantomime héroïque est merveilleusement exécutée par les Demoiselles Heinel & Guimard, & le Sr. Vestris'.

20 Ibid., t. IX, 1784, p. 112-116, 4 Mai 1776: 'il y a plus d'expression, de sublime, de génie, que dans les plans embrouillés & compliqués de nos tragédies modernes & dont le jeu même est plus intelligible & plus propre à pénétrer l'ame que les saccades d'une versification tonnante '.

ballet could give place to very different music and staging. Thus, *Les Caprices de Galathée* was choreographed by Noverre, at the beginning of his career, on 16 November 1758, at the Royal Academy of Music of Lyon, to music specially composed by 'Granier'. Is he the cellist François Granier (1717-Lyon, 1779) or Louis (1740-1800), violinist born in Toulouse, whose relationship we do not know? The first names not being mentioned makes it uncertain, even if the first hypothesis seems more likely. Indeed, after beginning in Grenoble and Chambéry, F. Granier settled in Lyon, with his family in 1751, where he was a composer and professor of cello and violin. Noverre's collaboration for the new Opera with Granier in the years 1757-1760 was particularly brilliant, and he wrote in his *Letters*, that he was one of the best ballet music composers, because of his ability to adapt to the requirements of the ballet master. Noverre and Granier left Lyon the same year, and after 1760 the musician became a cellist in the Comédie-Italienne orchestra in Paris, where he published arrangements of operatic arias for chamber music in 1762. In 1761, Noverre had *Les Caprices de Galathée* performed in Stuttgart to different music, unfortunately lost, but probably composed by Florian Johann Deller, or Johann Joseph Rodolphe.[21] When, on 30 September 1776, Noverre had *Les Caprices de Galathée* performed at Fontainebleau, then in Brunoy and at the Paris Opera, 'chiefly by M. Picq, a celebrated Dancer, full of grace, and of the rarest talent',[22] and by Marie-Madeleine Guimard, a dancer always agreeable and seductive, he perhaps took up a part of Granier's original music; but the score indicates 'Garnier', which can also designate one of the similarly named musicians of the Opera (Adrien, violinist or F.J., oboist). Noverre chose especially many tunes from the repertoire, arranged by Berton, Trial and Rodolphe.[23] Qualified by the *Mercure* as 'a new, very ingenious and very courteous Ballet', it was reassembled in June 1780: then Mlle Théodore was one of the principal interpreters, which makes it possible to date the 'gavotte for Mlle Théodore' preserved at the Paris Opera Library.[24] At the end of his career, as he became a ballet master at the King's Theatre, Noverre staged this ballet back in London in May 1783 for the benefit of Mme Simonet, and finally again in 1789, forty years after its creation. Joseph Mazzinghi, then composed a new orchestration for Miss Baccelli and Miss de Camp (daughter of the famous flautist), who played Cupid.

In the same way, the pantomime ballet *Apelles and Campaspe or The generosity*

21 S. Dahms, *Der konservative Revolutionär,* op. cit., p. 376. Samantha Owens, 'The ballet composer Florian Johann Deller (1729-73) and music at the Württemberg court', in *The Works of Monsieur Noverre*, op. cit., p. 34.

22 *Mercure de France,* December 1776, p. 162.

23 Théodore deLajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l'Opéra*, Paris, Librairie des bibliophiles, 1878, t. I, p. 287, 300.

24 F-Po, Res. A.241, p. 42-49. *Journal de Paris* no.173, Wednesday 21 June 1780, p. 707.

of Alexandre was orchestrated twice: created on 4 February 1773 to music by Franz Aspelmayr, son of a dance master, composer of the ballets with the Kärntnerortheater, the ballet was produced at the Paris Royal Academy of Music, 1 October 1776, with new music by Rodolphe, in charge of the daily music of the King (*Ordinaire de la musique du Roi*). In accordance with the custom of the time, the *Mercure* said nothing about the musician, but introduced the ballet master, since this highly anticipated ballet was the first speechless one given by Noverre himself at the Opera. Reenacted in London on 5 June 1782, *Apelles and Campaspe* had only seven performances, instead of twenty-three in Paris.

Noverre, whose contract specified that he must provide the scores,[25] solicited successively three composers: Aspelmayer, Mozart and Barthélemon for *Les Petits-Riens*. Franz Aspelmayer, Austrian composer and violinist, designed music for creation in Vienna, in 1767. When the ballet was scheduled in Paris eleven years later, the music was commissioned by Noverre and the new director of the Opera, Devismes, from young Mozart, whose correspondence shows a very cordial relationship with the ballet master. The young musician, who was always welcome at Noverre's place, agreed, in the hope of a later commission of an opera, to compose the music of this ballet for free, 'out of favour', with a collaborator, because of the shortage of time. It would be performed at the end of the evening. He composed two-thirds of the music, which included a prelude *(ouverture*) and twenty numbers – whose order has not been preserved – corresponding to as many paintings, richly orchestrated, including two clarinets (introduced only in 1772 in the orchestra). François-Joseph Gossec, responsible for updating and completing the ballets put in the repertoire, took care of the last third, sometimes taking up old French airs. The ballet was appreciated by the public, always fond of gallant pastorals, who cried aloud at a piquant moment of the third episodic scene, where two *Bergères* in love with the same Shepherd discovered, on seeing her bare chest, that 'he' was a transvestite.[26] The critic, who found the ballet full of 'grace and spirit', also commented on the first part of the show of 11 June 1778, *Le finte Gemelle* (Piccini), which marked the entrance of *opera-buffa* into the repertoire, that the director wanted to expand. A Miss Granier – the link with musicians we do not know about – made her debut in the half-character genre on 21 June 1778.[27] The ballet, somewhat eclectic and more appreciated than the *Bouffons*' opera, was then overshadowed, in August, by the success of *Ninette à la cour, ballet d'action* designed more homogeneously by Gardel. When

25 Marie-Françoise Bouchon, 'Noverre Maître des ballets à l'Académie Royale de Musique (1776-1781)' in Marie-Thérèse Mourey (dir.), *Jean Georges Noverre un artiste européen au siècle des Lumières*, Musicorum no.10, 2011, p. 87.

26 *Journal de Paris*, Friday 12 June 1778, no.163, p. 651.

27 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets,* op. cit., t. 12, p. 26.

Noverre became a ballet master at the King's Theatre, he represented *Les Petits Riens*, described as a 'new anacreontic ballet', in London, on 11 December 1781. A Frenchman, François-Hippolyte Barthélemon, composed the music, but there are no known sources for the proportion of additions and reworkings compared to Mozart's score. Barthélemon, a violinist from Bordeaux, had been part of the Comédie-Italienne orchestra before making his career in London, where he performed his first opera in the Italian style, at the King's Theatre in 1766. Was Barthélemon recommended to Noverre by his friend Garrick, for whom he had composed some works? Perhaps; but his music for masks, his popular songs and his entertainments were sufficiently famous to be known to Noverre, and as the King's Theatre had engaged Barthélemon to compose ballet music, his collaboration with Noverre, institutionally organised, was self-evident.[28]

Noverre explored all genres of ballets, from the simplest to the most elaborate; but insofar as he thought that dance had to exteriorise the violent passions that language failed to express, he preferred the tragic, where all the features were strongly expressed, and where passions whole and brilliantly revealed themselves. In his *Letters*, he encouraged the ballet master to work in this 'energetic genre', reputed to be the most difficult, and which presented 'beautiful characters, situations to draw, groups to imagine, incidents to grasp, theatrical strokes to paint; the outcome of a vigorous action always offering "the model of a vast picture filled with interest".'[29] Noverre could put this forward at the age of thirty-three, when arriving in Stuttgart, he contributed to fulfil the Duke of Württemberg's wish: to make his court a brilliant artistic centre, like Berlin and Bayreuth.[30] Significant financial resources were made available for him to create more than twenty ballets; he met many musicians of various nationalities and collaborated particularly with Rodolphe, whom he met a decade later in Paris. Noverre was particularly involved in the composition of *Medea and Jason*, created on the occasion of Prince Charles Eugene of Württemberg's birthday, in Hoftheater Stuttgart, on 11 February 1763. On Rodolphe's music, Nancy Levier played Medea, Gaëtan Vestris: Jason, and Charles Le Picq: Hatred. These famous dancers were amazing by the force of their interpretation, and the Furies invoked by Medea, terrorised the spectators so much that some of them left the room. Joseph Uriot explained the intensity of the effect by the beautiful

28 Linda V. Troost, 'Barthelemon, François Hippolyte', dans Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, New York, MacMillan, [1992] 1994, vol. 1.

29 J. G. Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse et les arts imitateurs*, op. cit., p. 85: 'de beaux caractères, des situations à dessiner, des groupes à imaginer, des incidents à saisir, des coups de théâtre à peindre; le dénouement d'une action vigoureuse lui offrira le modèle d'un vaste tableau rempli d'intérêt'.

30 Mariette Cuénin-Lieber, 'Médée et Jason: un ballet de Noverre dansé au château d'Étupes en 1771', in *Bulletin de la Société d'Émulation de Montbéliard*, no. 129, 2006, p. 17-18. Born 29 April 1727, Noverre was a year older than Charles Eugene.

match between both arts: the music 'always succeeds in painting the different situations in which the ballet master wants to place his characters, and all the movements that must agitate them'.[31] Noverre managed a master stroke, since his ballet, which was to be an interlude between the first and second acts of the Jommelli's *opera seria Didone abbandonata*, was in the limelight, and Noverre's reputation had become international.

In June of the same year 1763, Gaëtan Vestris was invited to dance *Medea and Jason* before the Louis XV's court, at Choisy, between the acts of *Ismene and Ismenias* by Jean-Benjamin de La Borde,[32] who reduced Rodolphe's score, added some expressive music for the pantomime, but limited it to about twenty minutes, for fear of disconcerting the public and because it was only a choreographic entertainment warning the heroes against the dangers of love.[33]

Six years later, the ballet was performed at Fontainebleau (1769) then at the Opera, still between the acts of *Ismene and Ismenias*, on 11 December 1770. Grimm regretted that the ballet was organised or 'sewn' (*cousu*), 'not as it had been danced in Vienna by the care of Noverre, but as it could be imitated by Vestris',[34] who had danced it at the time of its creation. He deplored, not only the choreography, which did not reflect that of the inventor's, but also the musical mutation: 'it was necessary at least to preserve Rodolphe's music, which is said to be superb',[35] but M. de La Borde preferred to substitute his own without genius and taste. The judgment was severe for the first valet of the King, Jean-Benjamin-François de La Borde, governor of the Louvre, *fermier général* and composer, qualified by Grimm as 'amateur and storekeeper of semiquavers following the court'.[36] A satirical print depicted M. de La Borde with his opera *Ismenias* 'tumbling down a ladder and falling on a broomstick that received him and sustained him standing; it meant that without the ballet *Medea*, M. de La Borde's opera would have fallen'.[37] Protector of the Guimard, this courtier, a famous music theorist owing to his *Essay on the old and modern music* (1780),

31 Josèph Uriot, *Description des Fêtes données pendant quatorze jours à l'occasion du Jour de la Naissance de Son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Duc Régnant de Württemberg et Teck &c.* le Onze Février 1763, Stougard, C. F. Cotta, 1763, p. 45.

32 Tragedy in music in three actes by M. de Laujon.

33 Benoît Dratwicki, *Opéra Royal Château de Versailles Spectacles. Saison 2012-2013. Musiques et Danses baroques françaises. Octobre à décembre 2012*, Versailles, Château de Versailles Spectacles, 2012, p. 136.

34 Friedrich Melchior, baron de Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, Paris, Garnier frères, t. IX, 1879, p. 237, janvier 1771.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.: 'amateur et garde-magasin de doubles-croches suivant la cour'.

37 Ibid., p. 238: 'dégringolant d'une échelle et tomber sur un manche à balai qui le reçoit et le soutient debout. Cela veut dire que sans le ballet de Médée, l'opéra de M. de La Borde serait tombé'.

had a common friend with Noverre: Voltaire, whom he had met at Ferney.

Grimm observed that Noverre had understood how to find the elements of the *ballet-pantomime*, 'which made such great prodigies' among the ancient Greeks and Romans, and whose idea he 'revived' in Germany's courts: as an excellent composer, he knew how to reserve the dance to the big movements of passion and the decisive moments of the action, adopting the 'rhythmic march' (*marche cadencée*) in the less intense moments. *La Correspondence littéraire* shows that the analogies between musical and choreographic structures were generally appreciated by connoisseurs, whether in operas or in *ballets d'action*. Grimm drew a parallel between the passage from the recitative to the air in the opera and the succession of the *measured marches* to the *dances* in the pantomime ballet: these two essential moments, must alternate, according to him, for the good rhythm of the work.

However, when the dancer Vestris was left to himself to perform the ballet, playing the role of Jason, he forgot this essential rule: the whole ballet was affected and produced no more 'effect'. Grimm considered Vestris as an 'imitator' devoid of the conceptual qualities of the inventor Noverre. Despite that awkwardness, the novelty of the show attracted a lot of people to the Opera and was successful, although opinions were much divided about the contortions of Vestris-Jason and Medea-Allard, often considered as ridiculous and appalling. Grimm was ironic about Creüse-Guimard who, having been poisoned in this ballet by his rival, danced in Bergère in the third act. Dancing for the sake of dancing thus prevailed over the truth of the whole, and the ballet provoked criticism.

Perhaps the Parisian spectators were particularly hostile to implausibilities at the theatre because in 1771, the ballet won the support of the public, less eager for likelihood, during the performance organised for the inauguration of the theatre of the castle of Étupes, even if Charles Eugène from Württemberg, who remembered the original performance, 'regretted Vestris' absence'.[38]

It was not until 1775 that the work became an autonomous ballet, when it was given after the tragedy *Le Connétable de Bourbon*, without any relation to it, in the second part of the evening on 30 December. The music, 'a mixed version of Stuttgart and Choisy',[39] augmented by a few (lost) pieces by Berton, was conceived for a larger instrumental staff. It lasted about thirty minutes, and was not long enough to fill a theatrical evening: like most ballets of that time, it was only part of the show. The Opera took it back in that form, in the second

38 M. Cuénin-Lieber, '*Médée et Jason*: un ballet de Noverre dansé au château d'Étupes en 1771', art. cit., p.98.

39 B. Dratwicki, *Opéra Royal Château de Versailles Spectacles*, op. cit., p. 136. Jean-François de La Harpe, *Correspondance littéraire*, Paris, Migneret, 1801, t. I, lettre XXXIX, p. 311.

half of the evening, but with more emphasis to 'warm up'[40] and save, thanks to its intimate union with ballets, another La Borde's tragedy *Adele de Ponthieu* (1774). Miss Heinel, who replaced Miss Allard, was a terrifying Medea, facing Vestris and Miss Guimard. Being the affirmation of a new aesthetics of ballet, it made a strong and lasting impression on the public, even if it was Vestris' version, before Noverre's arrival in Paris.

Noverre solicited at least three main composers, and this famous ballet knew many musical metamorphoses. Rodolphe left Stuttgart soon after its creation in 1763 and met Noverre again in Paris, where he published his famous *Solfege: Music theory,*[41] around 1790. Eager to stage his own ballet, Noverre wished to develop it, and asked Rodolphe to lengthen the score, to give a grandiose version, at the end of January 1780. It became pompous and emphatic, met with poor success, and Berton's tunes, added in 1776 then removed, were omitted by Grimm.

3. Between music and dance, the dancers' interpretation

The two masterminds – musician and ballet master – designers of pantomime ballets called on different meanings: the play of musicians essentially flattered the ears, while that of the dancers captivated the eyes. These masters did not maintain the same relations with the dancers. It was easier for the ballet master to choreograph taking into account the dancers' abilities he knew during rehearsals, than for the music composer to adapt to their talents, which he often discovered later, on stage, ballet being often repeated shortly before performance. When composers succeeded in highlighting the soloists' abilities and they revealed all the spring of their creativity, they received the praises of the *Mercure*, and this for a long time, long before the Noverre's ballets were included in the Opera repertoire. Thus, when the lyrical tragedy *Alceste* was performed on 9 December 1757, Jean-Barthélémy Lany, composer of the entertainments, imagined a beautiful dance in the third act, for Miss Puvigné who, among the Happy Shades, took on the character of music, and painted so well 'the local' place – Champs Elysées – that her dance became 'Elysian' (*Elisienne*).[42] Achieving this harmony between music and dance was, however, rare and d'Aquin de Château-Lyon warned against the virtuous excesses of a music sometimes unsuited to choreographic movements:

> Sometimes the Dance joins the Music to paint with it in concert, or to make

40 J.-F. de La Harpe, *Correspondance littéraire*, fac-sim. of 1820 ed., Genève, Slatkine reprints, 1968, vol. I, p. 311. Lettre XXXIX.

41 *Solfège ou Nouvelle méthode de musique Divisée en Deux Parties, la Première Contient la Théorie de cet Art, la Seconde les Leçons, par [Jean-Joseph] Rodolphe,* A Paris, Chez Le Duc (s.d.), in-fol., 168 p.

42 *Mercure de France*, January 1758, p. 151.

> the imitation of it more perfect, but it must not want to do too much. What is happening? Assuming that we play an air of Winds, of which the Symphony expresses delight in the whistles and speed, the Dancer may remain strong behind; the Violins have done twelve quavers before he has made a *rond de jambe*, and the Dance chasing the Music that cannot be caught is regretfully witnessed.[43]

At the end of the XVIII[th] century, a dancer was admired when he adjusted his movements to those of the orchestra, 'as a skilful Composer adjusted his music to the poem, and a good Actor, his tones, and his gestures on the meaning of words'.[44] For Noverre, in Paris, the difficulty was to have his pantomimes interpreted by dancers who, apart from G. Vestris and Anne-Frederique Heinel, were not trained in his style of expressive dance. The ballet master must act wisely and not follow the madmen eager to see Medea 'beat entrechats approaching the dagger of his children's hearts' and express her indignation against Jason 'by gargouillades and pirouettes'.[45] The dancers must put forward intelligence and delicacy to be a good interface between the ballet master, the conductor and the musicians whose scores sometimes contain valuable details about the dance.

The shadow of the ballet master in the scores

1. Music, a marker of dramatic turns and link between acts

Music marked the changes of scenes and contrasts of atmosphere which characterised the evolution of the action and the characters' psychology. The annotations on the musical scores often highlight the authors' intentions. Thus, the introduction of *Apelles and Campaspe* must be played 'very lightly' according to Rodolphe's partial autograph manuscript;[46] but after the curtain rises, Rodolphe asked the musicians to remove the mutes to play the march 'proudly and without slowness'. At the beginning of the second scene, according to the libretto, 'a sound of instruments devoted to war' announced the arrival of

43 P.-L. d'Aquin de Château-Lyon, *Siècle littéraire de Louis XV*, op. cit., t. I, p. 182.: 'Quelquefois la Danse s'unit à la Musique pour peindre avec elle de concert, ou pour rendre l'imitation de celle-ci plus parfaite, mais il ne faut pas qu'elle en veuille trop faire. Qu'arrive-t-il? En supposant qu'on joue un air de Vents, dont la Symphonie exprime à ravir les siflemens & la vîtesse, il arrive que le Danseur demeure fort en arriere; les Violons ont fait douze croches avant qu'il ait fait un tour de jambe, & l'on voit avec regret la Danse courir après la Musique qu'elle ne sauroit attraper.'

44 François-Louis Gand Le Bland Du Roullet (bailli), *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution opérée dans la musique par M. Le chevalier Gluck*, Naples/ Paris, Bailly, 1781, p. 230.

45 Ibid., p. 229.

46 J.-J. Rodolphe, *Apelles et Campaspe*, a manuscript notebook, in-4°, 32p. F.-Po, Rés. A.240.

Alexander the Great in the studio of the painter Apelles; on the score, 'the whole orchestra' participated in the 'Noise of war in D': the conqueror appeared, accompanied by Ephestion and his favourites; he was followed by women, among whom 'the beautiful Campaspe, only veiled', stood out. After a 'gavotte a little light', repeated twice more, and more vividly at the end, 'Apelles prostrated at Alexander's feet'.[47] The prince ordered him to portray his favourite.

After a return to a slow two-beat tune, the score referred to an *adagio*, then a velvet movement of the chaconne, 'a little restrained', followed by a 'lively gavotte movement' played *allegretto*, a little animated gavotte, and a brisk walk, on which the heroine danced. Her dance was the driving force of the action since, struck by the animated paintings brushed by Campaspe 'with as much grace as energy', Apelles, deeply troubled, felt love for her. Music and dance were then part of the festivities ordered by Alexander to honour Apelles: he gave the painter a new mark of his goodness by ordering his women to deploy their talents by playing various instruments or by performing dances: Campaspe embellished this festival by performing with them 'the dance of the crowns',[48] which alluded to the hero's many conquests and the laurels harvested during his victories. As Apelles' and Campaspe's attitudes betrayed their love, Alexander 'made the sacrifice'[49] of his own passion, and united the two lovers. In the booklet, Noverre explained that the musical and choreographic festivities, naturally induced by the circumstances, must be 'characteristic' in order to favour transitions. He implemented his recommendations. As he observed in his *Letters*:

> As long as the Ballets in Opera are not closely linked to drama, and do not compete in its exhibition, its knot and denouement, they will be cold and unpleasant. Each ballet should, in my opinion, offer a scene that enchained and intimately linked the first act with the second, the second with the third, etc. These scenes absolutely necessary to the progress of the drama would be lively and lively [... and] would happily finish the act.[50]

Noverre not only recommended the musical connection between acts, he put it into practice and demonstrated its validity. Thus, 'Alexander, not content to have pardoned Campaspe and the artist, still wished to unite them, and ordered them to follow him; they obeyed and went out with him 'at the end of the first act' (sc. 4). At the beginning of the second act, Alexander, followed by the same

47 *Recueil de programmes de ballets de M. Noverre. Maître des ballets de la Cour Impériale et Royale*, Vienne, Joseph Kurzböck, [ap. 1776], F-Po, ms frs, in-8°, p.258-259.

48 Ibid., p.259: *la danse des couronnes.*

49 *Apelles et Campaspe ou La générosité d'Alexandre, Ballet Pantomime De la composition de M. Noverre; représenté pour la première fois par l'Académie Royale de Musique le mardi 1er octobre 1776*, Paris, Delormel, 1776, p. 4.

50 J.-G. Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse et les arts imitateurs*, op. cit., p.119.

brilliant cortege, 'led the two spouses, presented them with the Bridal Cup, united them',[51] before they received presents offered by his princely Suite. The very well synchronised music, supported the staging of these actions, which followed one another logically. All the dances found their justification: this ceremony was followed by the coronation of Roxane, ended by a general dance with 'gay and fast movements' in which Alexander deigned to mingle.[52]

However, the welcome given to the ballet was not up to Noverre's expectation. Despite a brilliant cast including Miss Guimard in the role of Campaspe, G. Vestris in Apelles, and Miss Heinel in Roxane, the ballet was a bitter failure. Was it the expression of a typical Parisian sensitivity, or only the sign of the public's annoyance, shocked at seeing Marie-Antoinette impose her former master of dance (Noverre) as the master of the Opera ballets, to the detriment of his colleagues in place (Vestris, Gardel and Dauberval)? Rodolphe composed music for *Apelles and Campaspe*, which was represented at the Paris Opera in October 1776, less than two months after Noverre's arrival, which means that he was one of the first to be informed of Noverre's appointment as ballet master. But the 'distinguished protection' of the Queen, to whom Noverre dedicated his ballet, might well have predisposed the spectators and precipitated the fall of his ballet.

Noverre remained faithful to Joseph Starzer's score for *Les Horaces*, of which only the two first acts manuscripts are preserved in the Library of the Paris Opera. No one knows how Noverre translated the famous 'Let him die!' into gestures;[53] but the warrior and military character was clearly asserted in the music. After the 'rather slow' beginning of the second act played *Andante,* a 'walking March' preceded an *Allegro Maestoso:* trumpets and horns were all the more sonorous as they were played 'very loud' and that 'sounds of timballs'(*timpani*) were added for eight measures. Among the dances the gavottes dominated: the first one was played by the flutes, while in the second, slower, violins, oboes, horns and trumpets were also heard; finally a little animated gavotte was followed by a second 'walking March' (*Marche marchante*) to 2/4, on which the soldiers paraded at the end of the act.[54]

From Noverre's *Wiles of Love*, performed on 6 March 1777, the Library of the Opera mainly keeps one fragment of musical score, added later, attributed

51 *Recueil de programmes de ballets de M. Noverre*, op. cit., p.258-259, and *Apelles et Campaspe*, op. cit., II, p.16.

52 Ibid.

53 'Qu'il mourût!'. Théodore de Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l'Opéra*, op. cit., t. I, p. 289-290.

54 *Les Horaces, Ballet tragique, ce 21 janvier 1777. Di Giuseppe Starzer*, ms, gd in-4° (actes I et II). F-Po, Res.A.243.

to Louis-Charles Moulinghem.[55] It was to bring up to date the music of *The Toilet of Venus, or The Wiles of Love,* composed by Granier (probably François) in Lyon, in November 1757. For the first time, using 'Mr. Garrick's method'[56] for expressions, and thinking of sparing moments of silence and 'suspension in the Music and body movements', Noverre had given the audience time to perceive all the important moments of the action, generating 'a sensation that the Dance had not produced until then'.[57] Starzer composed the music for Vienna in October 1768. When in Paris Noverre went back to this ballet twenty years after its creation, he solicited the composers of the Opera ballet music, probably Louis Granier and Berton, and obtained his first great Parisian success. The pastoral country style final contredance was loudly applauded: this graceful genre seemed to the public and criticism more suitable to dance than heroic subjects. Later on, Moulinghem, who after leaving the music of Prince Chapel Charles of Lorraine, had become the conductor of several opera companies, in the provinces, must have been requested to increase the score for reenactments, probably not in 1780 but in 1799. Indeed he was used to composing for the theatres.[58] The ballet was revived in London, with music by Ernest Louis Miller', in April 1794.

But the score of *Medea and Jason* is the most precious for this article, because it contains explicit annotations on the search for a perfect match between music and dance.

2. Stage directions, signs of the close links between music and dramatic action

The details of the parisian La Borde's score of *Medea and Jason*, which are exceptionally precise, clearly indicate that the composer's choices were conditioned by the outline of 'Mr. Vestris'.[59] This attribution to Gaëtan confirms the words of Grimm in 1771: this version was not exactly that of the choreographer Noverre, but an adaptation by his pupil, who was also

55 *[La Toilette de Vénus, ou] Les Ruses de l'Amour, fragment of score* (non played air) by L.-C. or J.-B. Moulinghem, in the *Recueil de ballets XIXe*. F.-Po, Rec Ballet vol. 19, n° 20, and A.244 (whose end is missing). Brother of Jean-Baptiste (1751-ca. 1809), Louis Moulinghem, born in Harlem, in 1753, also learned to play the violin in Amsterdam, and settled first in Brussels before coming to Paris in 1785.

56 *Lettres sur la danse, sur les ballets et les arts, par M. Noverre*, St. Petersbourg,J. C. Schnoor, 1803, t.I, p.207.

57 Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse*, Vienne, J.-Thomas de Trattnern, 1767, p. 384.

58 François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et Bibliographie générale de la musique*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, [1860], 2e éd., 1864, t. 6, p. 218.

59 F-Po, *Recueil de Ballets*, ms., vol. XXII, partition, n.d., which comes mainly from the resumption of Floréal 16, year XII (6 mai 1804), with Gaétan Vestris'son, Auguste, as a dancer.

the interpreter.[60]

The 'majestically without slowness' opening was followed by a gavotte[61] with flute alone played *grazioso*, to which were added clarinets for Mr Vestris and Mrs Gardel's duet; it was 'played twice with an *encore* at the end'. A long three-stroke chaconne was then interpreted '*Allegro maestoso*' by clarinets, oboe, violin, viola, trumpet, horns, bass and timpani, which alternatively played 'soft' and 'strong'. It suggested the dancing movements and, as it lasted a long time, connected couplets that contrasted and raised the spectator's attention, passing from major to minor key, going from tender to bright, without going faster or slowing down the measure. In Pierre Gardel's 1804 version, the material indicates that during the chaconne, a 'ballet for men' (*ballet des hommes*) alternated with a 'women's ballet' (*ballet des femmes*), and that the gavotte gave even rise to a 'children's ballet (*ballet des enfants*)':[62] the changes in performers further reinforced the effect of passing from one tone to another and from one dance to another.

In the *passacaglia* – 'a species of chaconne whose song is softer and the movement slower than in ordinary chaconnes'[63] – the instruments played soft and even 'very soft' whereas Creuse was alone'; then the first and second oboes were silent at Jason's arrival, highlighted by a decrescendo of sixteenth notes violin, followed by a single bassoon. A silence was observed, then the violins emphasised the departure of the corps de ballet: 'The Ballet goes away'(*Le Ballet s'en va*); the oboes marked the moment when Jason and Creüse remained alone. A music chord played 'strong' punctuated Medea's arrival, supported by the violins playing 'soft', but with some high-pitched notes strongly contrasted.[64] The tense action was then tightened in the form of a trio pantomime (*pantomime en trio*), in which Medea confronted her rival and her unfaithful husband.

Each stage of the mimed action conceived by the choreographer was strictly taken into account by Rodolphe, emulator of Gluck, who intimately mixed music and drama. For sixteen bars, 'Jason went to Medea' while the oboes played softly and moderately; then the violins gave an account by rapid movements of the 'dispute' between Medea and Creüse: an ascending and descending pattern

60 Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, op. cit., t. IX, 1879, p. 237, January 1771.

61 'Air of two-stroke dance, cut twice, each beginning with the second beat, and ending on the first' (*Air de danse à deux temps, coupé par deux reprises, dont chacune commence avec le second temps, et finit sur le premier*), J.J.O. Meude-Monpas, *Dictionnaire de musique* [1787], Genève, Minkoff reprint, 1981, p.68.

62 *Médée et Jason: ballet-pantomime en trois actes de Mr Noverre, remis par Mr Vestris,* Separates parts (1776, 1780, et 1801-1804), F-Po, Mat. 19. 162 (1-37),Rodolphe, Berton et Granier; here, ballet part, Mr Gardel, 1804, p.35 et 38.

63 J.J.O. Meude-Monpas, *Dictionnaire de musique*, op. cit., p. 144.

64 Anonymous handwritten score, F-Po, A.236.a. See the printed score reproduced in Edward Nye, *Mime, Music and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: The Action Ballet*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 272-304.

of sixteenth notes, taken twice, coincided exactly with the moment when the rivals clashed; Jason went next to Creüse. While the oboes played very softly, Jason 'strived for peace' between the two women, then the violin played 'louder' to assert his will. Medea's refusal (*Médée refuse*) was expressed by a first violin playing 'loud'. Three sets of demi-semi quaver ascending runs announce 'Medea [who] threatens,' then slower chords dramatically announce paroxysm, indicated by two new series of ascending semi-quaver runs suggesting Medea who 'shows her dagger', followed by a descending movement ending in a white dotted crotchet for her exit. While Creüse 'was scared by the threats', the rhythm of the quavers was panting; but Jason reassured her, and the rhythm calmed down with the use of white dots, before 'she went out'. Spectacular turn of event: 'As Jason was going out, Medea arrived. She seemed softened, but the resumption of the musical motif used when she pulled out her dagger, and the rise of quavers played 'strong' aroused anxiety announcing a new climax. 'Jason let himself be moved', the violins played 'soft', when ascending crooks announced the return of Creüse. Jason 'went to her', then he 'fell into Medea's arms', begging her pardon, but she refused; filled with anger, she despised, 'scolded at him' generating new triplets and ascending ascents in the music.

Finally, Jason, furious, sent Medea back, and even overthrew her in the 1804 version,[65] and 'left with Creüse'. The music was slower. Medea remained 'spoiled in her pain,' and then, as she 'revived herself,' a series of ascending triplets, followed by descending triple quavers, were played loudly in unison; 'She fell again', the musical calm came back, punctuated with quaver notes interspersed with quaver-rest. Suddenly Medea 'became furious' and quadruple eighths rushed into an *allegro.*[66] In the third act, Medea returned with her children to bring 'a bouquet of jewels' for Creüse. This one faltered, walked across the stage, but her forces abandoned her, because the poison began to act: a succession of ascending and descending quaver notes reflected her uncertain fate and her 'convulsions',[67] until she fainted on the ground. Then an underground noise, due to a *presto* orchestra playing, with abundance of triple quavers and tunes of furies accompanied by rolls of timpani, rushed her into Hell.

The music was here created to fit the dramatic action and the use of leitmotiv contributed to the characterisation of the main characters, throughout the ballet. For Medea, it consists of 'rapid upward and downward movements' and large intervals illustrating her excessive and unstable nature. The duo Rodolphe-Noverre 'product of the Viennese crucible in the middle of the century'[68]

65 Expression used in *Médée et Jason, pantomime*, F-Po, Mat. 19. [162 (14): Brass, wood and ballet. Ballet part, p. 77.

66 F-Po, Matériel 19 [162 (15).

67 Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, op. cit., t. 9, p. 115, 4 Mai 1776.

68 See musical examples from La Borde's score in E. Nye and Fanny Thépot,

achieved a closely coordinated, exemplary work. It reflected a tendency to combine the best music and dance, which had been in the air since Gluck and Angiolini: their ballet *Don Juan* in 1761, already characterised personalities and behaviours through notes, rhythms and gestures, to the point that Marmontel evoked a music 'almost of pantomime'.[69]

But the annotations of the scores of *Medea and Jason* for the resumption in Paris, in January 1780, demonstrate the conductor's and musicians' will to adapt their music with even more precision to the highlights of the argument, to coordinate their technique with the dancers' one: musicians did not hesitate, for example, to wait for a dancer's movement to start playing; the annotation: 'wait for the gesture' (*attendre le geste*)[70] when Jason left the room with Creüse, testifies it. However, the chronicler of the *Mercure*, silent on the link between dance and music, remained puzzled by the attempt to render psychological expression and abstract notions such as Creon's project to marry his daughter to Jason, or his thoughts about his possible abdication, which seemed to him impossible to express with no words.

The scores, which sometimes included valuable indications of the link between the musical and choreographic interpretation, might also contain some of the the dancer performers' names: thus, this score indicates Sr. Henry was the interpreter of the chaconne of *Medea and Jason.*[71] The *début* of the dancers were also sometimes indicated : Rodolphe composed a slow romance for those of Miss Rose in 1786; and the musician Miller an air *allegretto*, finally played *allegro*, for Charles Didelot's *débuts* in 1788.

3. Intimate links between composers and dancers

Noverre, himself – who was married to a dancer – collaborated easily with Louis Granier, whose interest in dance music is explicable not only for professional reasons, but also because he was married to a first dancer of the Théâtre de la Monnaie, then of the Capitole Theatre in Toulouse, and was eager to compose for her and to showcase her abilities. The two couples of dancers had probably lots to share, and Granier reworked four ballets for Noverre in Paris.

The collaborations were facilitated by the family ties uniting musicians and

'Dramaturgie et musique dans le ballet-pantomime *Médée et Jason* de Noverre et Rodolphe', dans *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, 59e année, 2007-IV, no. 236, p. 305-323, in particular act II, p. 308-311: 'Medea arrives', when King Creon wants to marry his daughter Creüse to Jason, despite the fact that he is already married to Medea.

69 F. Dartois-Lapeyre, '*Don Juan*', art. cit., part I, p.14. Jean-François Marmontel, 'Essai sur les révolutions de la musique en France', in *Querelle des Gluckistes et des Piccinistes* [éd. Lesure, 1781], Genève, Minkoff, 1984, t. 1, p. 173, 179.

70 *Médée et Jason: ballet-pantomime en trois actes de Mr Noverre*, op. cit., p. 68. F-Po, Matériel 19 [162 (15).

71 Ibid., p. 46.

dancers. Maximilien Gardel, who was a surviving ballet master (*en survivance)*, worked with Noverre for the entertainments of five operas,[72] taking charge of certain acts. He was the only one, apart from Noverre, allowed to represent his *ballets-pantomimes* on the scene of the Royal Academy of Musique. His colleague Dauberval unauthorised to do so, eventually left the Opera to become a ballet master in Bordeaux. Pierre Gardel had the opportunity to dance ballets created by his brother: *Ninette à la cour* (September 1777) for example, and played a vital role in commissioning Ernest Louis Miller for music scores for the Opera, which helped to establish his reputation (even though an addiction to alcohol seemed to jeopardise his career).[73] This flautist and composer, also known as Jean-Gaspard Krazinsky, had made a career in the Germanic countries, particularly in Berlin, before moving to Paris, where his daughter-in-law, Marie Miller, became a brilliant dancer, a favourite of P. Gardel. Thus, many ballet tunes were composed by Miller for P. Gardel (who succeeded his brother after his accidental death in 1787), in particular, in 1790, the original parts of *Télémaque dans l'île de Calypso*, one of the most frequently played ballets. The collaboration between P. Gardel and the musician was fruitful and centred on Marie Miller, whose father-in-law followed to London in 1793, where he composed a new score of Noverre's *The Ruses of Love* (1794) for the King's Theatre. Their quasi-family ties were consolidated when P. Gardel married Marie Miller on 24 December 1795. Noverre praised Gardel's muse, renowned for its simple and pure dance style, in the tradition of Marie-Madeleine Guimard. He described her dance as 'dazzling', largely thanks to an impeccable ear – perhaps a musical talent inherited from her father – that enabled her to be in perfect harmony with the tempo.

4. Outstanding mention of the musician in the scenario of *Aeneas and Dido*

Ballets were often created from musical compilations, which might explain that only the choreographer's name was mentioned in the newspapers of the time. Gardel favoured this practice of musical pot-pourri, unlike Noverre, who used it only when he was short of time, or when he drew inspiration from a pre-existing work. Thus, for his ballet *Annette and Lubin*, performed on 9 July 1778, and resulting from a pastoral act mixed with vaudevilles and ariettes set to music by Adolphe Benoit Blaise, Noverre reused most of the original tunes and still others arranged by La Borde and probably Louis Granier. Granier, the author of Théonis (1767), was second violin in the orchestra of the Opera where he became assistant to the director in 1777, having previously been the Director of the Capitole in Toulouse. He collaborated with Berton and Trial and wrote

72 *Ernelinde* (Philidor), *Céphale et Procris* (Grétry), *Aline reine de Golconde* (Monsigny), *Castor et Pollux* (Rameau) and *Le Seigneur bienfaisant* (Floquet).

73 Ivor Guest, *Le Ballet de l'Opéra de Paris*, Paris, Flammarion, 2001, p. 68.

additional music for the operas particularly by Campra, Marais and Lully.[74] The Paris Opera's orchestral score of *Annette et Lubin*[75] mentions extracts from Antoine Dauvergne (*La Vénitienne's contredanse*), Jean-Benjamin de La Borde (*Romance de la ronde*), Étienne-Joseph Floquet (minuet), André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (jig, minuet, tambourine), who were active in Paris in 1778. It includes a hunt, an entry of herdsmen, a passepied and several gavottes; one of them by Miss Théodore (with rondeau in minor and major keys), was probably danced in a reenactment. Music by Bernardo Porta, Gossec (Deputy Director of the Opera in 1780), Nicolas-Alexandre Dezède's *contredanse* and *Péronne sauvée*'s minuet, and Dominique Della Maria's andante for Vestris' *Pas de deux* were written after the creation.[76] 'Vestris's father's name on this last fragment of score allows us to date it, since it was on 16 January 1799, since *La Revue de Paris* specifies that it was during the ballet restaging on 16 January 1799 that Gaëtan's coming back on stage dancing the minuet at 70 years old, aroused great applause in the public.[77] One of *Annette et Lubin contredanses* was integrated by Louis Milon in his ballet *Les Noces de Gamache,*[78] in January 1801. But seemingly a large part of Gossec's score concerns rather the eponymous ballet by Dauberval [1778], reenacted Porte-Saint-Martin, in 1804.[79]

Noverre's desire to make ballet a total work of art helped to change mentalities, as shown in the libretto *Les Amours d'Enée and Didon or Didon abandoned*, represented in Lyon, on 12 June 1781: this one mentioned indeed all the masters of work, which was exceptional at that time and deserves to be underlined. The title page honoured this 'Great Pantomime-Heroic Ballet', composition 'of the famous Noverre, Master of the King's Ballets and Opera'. The music composer's name, Joseph Starser (Starzer), 'famous Musician in the service of the Emperor'[80] was printed following the argument of ballet,

74 Théodore deLajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l'Opéra*, Paris, Librairie des bibliophiles, 1878, t. I, p. 287.

75 L. Granier, *Annette et Lubin*, ms., [1778], F-PoRes. A.255; ms., apr. 1778, F-Po Res. A.366.

76 Ibid.

77 F-Po, Res.A366. *La Revue de Paris, Edition augmentée des principaux articles de la Revue des Deux Mondes,* t. X, octobre 1837, p. 270: *'Vestris le père fait fureur en dansant [...] le 16 janvier 1799'.*

78 François-Charlemagne Lefebvre's orchestra score, *Les Nôces de Gamache, ballet-pantomime-folie* in two acts by Louis-Jacques Milon, represented for the first time on 28 Nivose year 9 (18 January 1801), F-Po, Res.A.376.

79 *Annette et Lubin, ballet-pantomime en un acte, de la composition de M. Dauberval, remis au théâtre par M. Aumer*, Paris, Porte-St-Martin, le 3 prairial an XII, Paris, Barba, an XII-1804, 15p.

80 *Les Amours d'Enée et de Didon ou Didon abandonnée, Grand Ballet Pantomime-héroïque de la composition du célèbre Noverre*, Donné à Lyon, sous la Direction des Sieurs

whose subject was taken from Virgil. The different episodes of the ballet were punctuated by 'six changes of Decorations', of which the last three, new, were 'from the composition of the Knight Moretti, Roman Decorator', who represented 'the burning and the destruction' of Carthage, while the costumes of the sieur L'Espérance, tailor and storekeeper of the Comedy, contributed to lend authenticity.

Noverre inaugurated the era of the ballet master. As such, he was the composer of autonomous works, whose subjects he chose, plan he drew up, content he imagined. Likewise he asked musicians to write a score in response to his expectations. The unusual abundance of directional and musical indications in the scenarios and scores of Noverre's *ballet-pantomimes* testifies to his particularly strong demands for coherence and his ability to direct collective stage work. His work with Gluck in Vienna for composing entertainments inside the opera was a field of experimentation useful for the creation of the new genre he conceived as a fusion of the arts. Despite his reputation for being a difficult and proud man, he did not just promote collaboration for the benefit of art; he set an example by practising it effectively with more than twenty music composers, among the most talented of his time, and with others still sometimes too little known (Granier, Moulinghem). His institutional collaborations were particularly fruitful in Stuttgart and Vienne, where he had the opportunity to show his experimental ideas. He directed twenty *ballets-pantomimes* with Joseph Starzer and ten with Franz Aspelmayer in Vienna, thirteen ballets with Florian Deller in Stuttgart, ten with Granier and six with Johann Rodolphe. He could maintain good relations in the long term, as evidenced by his collaboration begun with Rodolphe in 1761, in Stuttgart, and resumed fifteen years later, in 1776, in Paris.

At the Opera, the context of rivalry and the custom of favouring the composition of opera entertainments rather than *ballet-pantomimes*, for which a good public reception was not assured, explain the choice of re-staging ballets and a single creation *Annette et Lubin*. So, Noverre also composed the entertainment of thirteen operas, while allowing *ballet-pantomime* to set up at the Opera. In those days, ballet was not considered as a fixed form, and the notion of exact replication did not exist: just as danced entertainments were renewed during opera reenactments, the ballets of Noverre were given – except *Apelles and Campaspe* and *Horatius* – new music, often drawn from various works of the French repertoire, and arranged by specialised musicians. The presence of the ballet master remains in the annotations of the preserved music scores, particularly in those of *Horatius* and *Medea*. Fond of the unity of the ballet, he

Hus & Gaillard, le 12 Juin 1781.

claimed to be the main master of work and his originality was to privilege, when the context allowed, a single collaborator (Rodolphe, or Starzer for example) being able to compose an original music faithfully reflecting the intentions of the ballet master and secondarily the abilities of the performers. Rare were the dancers who easily adapted to his innovations and his style, and he lacked the time to train them. His student Dauberval, who became a ballet master in Bordeaux, also took care to keep contacts in Paris, especially to obtain scores.

Essential in ballet, the music must chant the rhythm of the poem and give an account of the psychological evolution of the characters. Its forms also evolved in the last third of the century: the ballet included traditional dances of fixed forms, but also many tunes for pantomime of longer duration and 'symphonies concertantes', a specialty by Gossec, soon to be essential in ballet. Noverre took advantage of the choruses, gave a new place to silence, which punctuated the main events of the ballet, imagined as a succession of paintings. He affirmed *ballet-pantomime* as a work of art in his programmes, which helped to slowly change the look of the dance, which had long been perceived as mere entertainment. More often quoted than the musicians he sought, Noverre struggled to have his status recognised as author, assumed the hegemonic position of the ballet master at the service of the ballet, and contributed – even if it was only once, in Lyon (1781) – to the recognition of the musician and all the artists involved in the staging. After his departure from the Opera, at the end of the century, the importance of the ballet composer increased even more, with the monopoly of Maximilien, then Pierre Gardel, helped by Louis Milon. When it came to paying tribute to a great ballet master like Dauberval, the Academy of Fine Arts naturally asked a musician, Gossec, to trace his career.

Table 1. Noverre's collaboration with musicians for *ballets-pantomimes* at the Paris Opera (1776-1781)

Italics : musical collaborations before or after those by Noverre, a ballet master in Paris.
Arranged tunes from the repertoire, with tinted boxes showing Specific Music

BT : Burgtheater (Vienne)
KT : Kärtnertortheater (Vienne)
TRD : Teatro Regio Ducale
ARM : Académie royale de Musique

DATES IN FRANCE	PARISIAN AND ALTERNATIVE TITLES	PARIS OPERA MUSIC AND SCORES	NUMBER OF REPRESENT-ATIONS IN FRANCE
01/10/1776 ARM 1787 ARM of Lyon	*Apelles et Campaspe* *Alexandre et Campaspe de Larisse*	*F. Aspelmayr (Vienna, BT, 4/2/1773) (Milan, TRD, 10/1774)* J.J. Rodolphe, Extraits : Introduction F-Po, Res. A.240 *Ludwig August Lebrun, London, King's Theatre, 5/6/1782*	23
30/09/1776 Fontainebleau 8/10/1776 Brunoy 17/11/1776 ARM June 1780 ARM Contredance in Milon's *Les Noces de Gamache* 18/01/1801 Théâtre de l'Opéra (A.376)	*Les Caprices de Galathée*	*Garnier (F. Granier ?) ARM de Lyon, 16/11/1758* *F.J. Deller ou Rodolphe, Stuttgart, Hoftheater, 11/2/1761* Garnier (F. Granier ?), P.-M. Berton, J.-C. Trial, Rodolphe (gavotte de Mlle Théodore, 1780) F-Po, Res. A.241 *Mazzinghi, Joseph, London, King's Theatre, 29/3/1781 (G. Vestris) 7/5/1789*	22

DATES IN FRANCE	PARISIAN AND ALTERNATIVE TITLES	PARIS OPERA MUSIC AND SCORES	NUMBER OF REPRESENT-ATIONS IN FRANCE
21/01/1777 ARM	*Les Horaces* *Die Horazier und die Cuazier* *Gli Orazi e gli Curiazi*	*Joseph Starzer* *Vienna, BT, 6/1/1774* *Milan, TRD, 26/12/1775* Two first acts F-Po, Res. A.243	9
06/03/1777 ARM	*[La Toilette de Vénus ou] Les Ruses d'amour* *Der Nachttisch der Venus*	*F. Granier, ARM of Lyon, 18/11/1757* *J. Starzer, Vienna, KT, oct. 1768* [Louis ?] Granier, perhaps with Berton A.244 (end is missing) L.-C. Moulinghem, Fragments, F-Po, Rec Ballet vol. 19 n° 20 (non played ; post-creation) *E. L. Miller (Krasinsky, Millard), King's Theatre, Londres, 1/4/1794*	12
11/06/1778 ARM	*Les Petits Riens* *Les Bagatelles*	*F. Aspelmayr (Vienna, BT, 26/12/1767)* *(Vienna, BT, 1768)* W.A. Mozart, K.299b F.-J. Gossec, F-Po, A.253.a *F.-H. Barthélemon, London, King's Theatre, 11/12/1781*	7

DATES IN FRANCE	PARISIAN AND ALTERNATIVE TITLES	PARIS OPERA MUSIC AND SCORES	NUMBER OF REPRESENT-ATIONS IN FRANCE
09/07/1778 ARM 28/12/1780 ARM 16/1/1799 ARM	*Annette et Lubin*	Granier. Fragments : F.-J. Gossec, A. Dauvergne (*La Vénitienne*), J.-B. La Borde (*Romance de la Ronde*), N.-A. Dezède (*Péronne sauvée*'s minuet, 1783, *contredanse*, 1785), É.-J. Floquet (minuet), A.-E.-M. Grétry (jig, minuet, tambourine), B. Porta, D. Della Maria (andante). Vestris' *Pas de deux*. Vestris' father's minuet. F-Po, Res. A.366 J.-F. Gossec (*Annette et Lubin* by Dauberval, 1778/1804 : Hunt, Herdsmen, *fête de village*) F-Po, Res. A.255 *Federici, Vincenzo, King's Theatre, 24/11/1778 (with Ch. von Simonet) 28/4/1789*	20

DATES IN FRANCE	PARISIAN AND ALTERNATIVE TITLES	PARIS OPERA MUSIC AND SCORES	NUMBER OF REPRESENT-ATIONS IN FRANCE
June 1763 Choisy (G. Vestris) inside *Ismène et Isménias* 1769 Fontainebleau 11/12/1770 ARM (G. Vestris) inside *Ismène et Isménias* Between August 8th-26th 1771 Étupes' castel 30/12/1775 Royal Opera of Versailles (G. Vestris) 26/01/1776 ARM (G. Vestris) inside *Adèle de Ponthieu* 30/01/1780 ARM (Noverre) 6/5/1804 Théâtre des Arts [Opera] (P. Gardel)	*Médée et Jason* *Medea et Giasone* *Jason und Medea*	*Rodolphe, Stuttgart, Hoftheater (G. Vestris) 11/2/1763* *Id. perhaps with Deller, Vienna, BT, 8/2/1767* *Vienne, KT, spring 1776* Rodolphe, La Borde Choisy, June 1763 Étupes, 1771 Paris (G. Vestris, then Noverre) F-Po, A.275 Berton, Garnier (Granier, Louis?), Gluck, Christoph Willibald (ouverture d'*Iphigénie en Aulide*), La Borde, F-Po, A.236.a et b. Mat.19-162 (1-165) Recueil d'airs en partitions, vol. XXII et LXXIV *Noferi, Giovanni Battista, Londres, King's Theatre, 29/3/1781 (G. Vestris)* *11/4/1792 (Noverre)*	13

Latching to music: the role of applied musical knowledge in classical ballet teaching

HELEN LINKENBAGH

Introduction and rationale

My interest in the relationship between music and dance originated in my earliest memories of dance class. The embodied vitality found in the perfect gathering of music and movement within the body has been a central force throughout my life as a student, dancer and teacher. For me, music has been the clearest 'way in' when moving, making and teaching; this fact has led me to undertake in-depth research into the relationships that exist between movement and music in dance and dance teaching. What follows here is a discussion of the development of my knowledge of how and why music moves us, framed by parts of my Master's of Teaching (Dance) research project. This work centred on an investigation of the idea that musical knowledge and understanding can play a key role in the acquisition of artistic and technical skill attainment in classical ballet.

Through this work, I have come to view the musical interactions that occur in ballet classes as being part of a participatory process where aspects of the musical accompaniment facilitated a form of *musical production*. In this conception, the dancer, in response to constitutive tools offered by the music, actively integrates embodied forms of musical knowledge in *producing* a dance. Forms of musical knowledge (knowledge of musical elements, forms and structures) are therefore tied to embodied knowledge (that which involves the integration of corporeal and cognitive understanding). These interactions illustrate the complexity of the rhythmic and dynamic forces that a dancer may access in producing and performing a dance, and how the dynamics of a dance may be seen to align with musical structures in a complex and energetic relationship. The aim of my work is to explore and promote an active and intelligent use of music as a learning resource for dance teachers and an in-depth understanding of the role of musical structures and music-dance interactions in the acquisition of technical and artistic skills in a classical ballet class context.

Music as an auditory device

The ideas that follow represent the gathering of thoughts and experiences from my twenty years' work as a teacher and university lecturer (working largely under the Royal Academy of Dance syllabi) that culminated in a Master's

degree research project during 2015. My interest in music led me to discover the growing body of research within the fields of ethnomusicology, sociomusicology, music perception and the psychology of music that investigates the idea that music may act as a constitutive auditory device that has action-based effects on the human body.

A key concept in the field is the idea that music *affords bodily action* in providing a range of structures that can support, organise and coordinate bodily agency (Clarke 2005; DeNora 2000; Krueger 2014; Maes et al. 2014; Menin and Schiavio 2012; Nonken 2008; Windsor and Bézenac 2012). The notion of *affordance* is most simply explained as being a relationship that arises between an organism (a *subject*), an object, and its environment (Clarke 2005, 37; Gibson 1986, 127). The concept of affordances is attributed to Gibson in his text *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (1986). The application of Gibson's theory of affordances within the field of musicology has led to an output of applied research and analysis by ethnomusicologists, sociomusicologists and music psychologists in investigating modes and meanings of perception in relation to music and movement.

The term *musical affordance* is used by DeNora in describing the effect of music as an 'accomplice' in configuration of the body and mind (102). DeNora's investigations have been pivotal in my work in providing conceptual understanding of the possibilities that music affords in facilitating a subject (in this case, a dance student) to 'constitute herself as an embodied, productive agent' (104). Music, dance and dancer can exist in independent isolation, but in the act of dancing *with the music* a dancer appropriates and augments aspects of the musical environment, benefitting from auditory properties in enacting various technical and artistic skills to produce a dance.

Participatory 'musicking'

This notion of *production* is echoed in Small's assertion that 'music is not a thing at all but an activity, something people do' (2). Small coined the term *musicking* in working to find a way of describing music that departed from the notion that it is an obscure, discrete 'object'. Turino's text *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* investigates the tension between participatory (music-making) and presentational (musical performance/appreciation of a musical performance) forms of music in the twenty-first century (23-65).

I view Turino's in-depth analysis of how we participate in and engage with musical experiences as an augmentation of Small's ideas about *musicking*. I propose that ballet classes that are specifically structured around activities that encourage an engaged, collaborative and cooperative awareness of the structures in musical accompaniment can become *participatory musicking experiences*. The process of enabling knowledge and understanding of perceiving, negotiating

and latching on to the constitutive tools and reference points found in the music can be developed into key technical skills that are essential in producing and performing a musically aware dance.

Musical movement: Dalcroze eurhythmics

Émile Jaques-Dalcroze was a musician and pedagogue working in Germany and Switzerland in the early part of the twentieth century. Dalcroze developed his method of *eurhythmics* as a way of facilitating the experience of musical concepts through movement (Dalcroze UK 2015; Findlay, n.d; Jordan 2000; Lopukhov and Jordan 2002). In the Dalcroze method, there is a focus on integrating knowledge of music in the mind with experiential knowledge of music in the body, with the role of movement in developing musical expression as a central concern. The Dalcroze method is a clear model for *musicking*; students participate in an active, collaborative process of gaining understanding of relationships between musical and movement-based structures in producing musically attuned movements. *(Dalcroze Eurhythmics: Moving through the archive* 2015).

Latching and entrainment in the ballet class

The afforded agency that music provides is presented in DeNora's text as an 'affective power' that works on the body to shape movement and action responses (86). A key aspect of the operation of these affordances is the propensity for humans to semi-automatically synchronise with the metrical and rhythmic (temporal) structures present in music. This phenomenon is called *musical entrainment.* Entrainment may be described as an *ergogenic effect on the body;* it is an effect elicited by an external influence that enhances and facilitates physical exertion. Ergogenic effects align with what DeNora calls 'aerobic agency' in her research into the effect of the changing rhythms and tempi of the musical environment throughout an aerobics class (106-107). This phenomenon is congruous with the structure of ballet classes wherein specific musical and rhythmic selections play a central role in profiling, organising, ordering and facilitating ('affording') specific movement qualities and diverse types of embodied agency. The practical Dalcroze activities that I used in my research project centred on the development of understanding of musical terms and concepts: *pulse, metre, duration, phrasing, time signature, the anacrusis, tempo, pitch* and *melody.* These concepts were explored via group movement-based tasks and explorations that were framed around familiar musical types and structures used in ballet classes (basic time signatures, the *waltz* and *mazurka* rhythm). These tasks were included in order to facilitate understanding of musical terminology and to enable practical, physical explorations of the experience of *latching* on to musical structures. The new forms of knowledge that the participants gained

during these activities were then applied to the set ballet variations from the Royal Academy of Dance Advanced 2 syllabus (2013), with the express aim of improving each participant's performance of the variation in preparation for official Royal Academy of Dance examinations.

Some of the most useful observations from the tasks undertaken during these practical research investigations consisted of moments where engagement with the dynamic and musical shape of a particular movement required conscious action and agency in its preparation and execution; rather than semi-automatic, 'natural' entrained or inherently 'afforded' responses that may naturally occur in the act of dancing. In one such task, participants were asked to practice movement sequences whilst actively using two different types of force; firstly, dancing a classical ballet sequence whilst focusing upon storing energy 'on' the *plié* or *fondu,* then, dancing whilst actively pushing 'off' away from the floor. The aim was to gain understanding of how the initiations of these actions coincided with the musical dynamics in affecting the timing of the movement and the force and energy required in pushing from the preparing or supporting foot in producing a dynamic, coordinated, musically correct movement. In a number of cases the key participants found that active employment of one or both of the 'on' or 'off' actions shifted the timing of, or preparation for, the movement. Certain movements needed fine articulation and coordination through the *anacrusis* to prepare the correct dynamic and feel the full vitality of the movement whilst negotiating and keeping time with the musical resources available in enhancing the action.

The articulation of movement in a way that modulates the forces and torsions in the use of the foot and *plié* into or away from the floor is a key point of relation in connecting these ideas to Still's discussion of the use of the down/upbeat in ballet class music. Still describes the way that dancers move to music 'in highly skilled, but not necessarily simple or obvious ways'. These modulations and adjustments to sensations of gravity in music become 'second nature through extended practice' (Still 6). This attuned negotiation with the up or down beat does not discount the fact that the metrical accents in a piece of music may afford a particular action; instead, it supports the notion that the schooling and training a dancer undertakes will prepare the body for fine-tuned negotiation of the complex and demanding dynamic structures that are present in ballet repertoires

The centuries-old traditions of ballet training place consistent emphasis on the acquisition of strength and precision in schooling correct ballet technique to produce expressiveness and artistry in performance (Beaumont and Idzikowski 2003; Kostrovitskaya 1987; Royal Ballet School 2012; Ryman 1997; 2002; Schorer, Rosegg, and Lee 2006; Vaganova 1969; Warren 2008). Sufficient levels of technical skill and knowledge, securely supported by a strong, well-

aligned body are paramount in enacting embodied forms of artistic and musical knowledge. In sequences where dancers perform ballet movements that require a skilled, musically and technical attuned response we may see that they employ tacit knowledge in using their many years of physical training in working with and against gravity in a way that accesses the complete range of structures that music is able to afford.

'Musicking' in the ballet class: the musical education of the dancer

The facilitation of opportunities for physical exploration of musical elements and structures where there was no set form or dance technique applied allowed my research participants to examine, embody and understand the music, employing tacit movement knowledge in responding freely to the music. The adapted Dalcroze activities brought attention to musical forms without the need for participants to learn to play an instrument or read any form of musical notation. This accessibility is a key aspect of the value of these activities in a ballet teaching context: they may be readily adapted to suit the age and ability of any student group.

The skills developed within these activities were aimed at enhancing the dancer's ability for sensitivity to music, enabling the appropriation of structural features of the musical resources in the environment. The act of participating in *musicking* activities may therefore be seen to attune perceptive abilities, facilitating latching to music and allowing the dancer to access, understand and process the broadest range of afforded agency present in the musical accompaniment. These observations and discussions support DeNora's ideas about music's ability to profile movement style and aesthetics, instigating what she calls 'action-feeling trajectories' (17, 82).

Further investigation and development of this research will form a rationale for the development of a set of principles and practices that will shape and enhance the way that I teach my students about the metrical, rhythmic and dynamic structures present in movement. I also hope to normalise an extended view of the purpose and function of ballet accompaniment and indeed, the role of pianists and recorded music in the ballet studio in actively working toward the continued development of learning and teaching practices and resources that actively encourage the collaborative use of music and musical knowledge in extending bodily agency to promote the acquisition of technical skill.

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Gret Palucca: dance, music and pedagogy

CAROLINE KONZEN CASTRO

I An overview of the life of Palucca and her first steps

1. Gret Palucca

Margarethe Paluka (called either Gret or Gretel by her parents, and in 1921 she renamed herself Gret Palucca) is one of the most important figures of dance in Germany, especially Dresden, where she lived for most of her life and, whose cultural landscape she likewise shaped. One of the leading exponents of the Ausdruckstanz (literally "dance of expression") in Germany, her legacy on dance education resides mainly in the fact that she had built one of the renowned dance institutions in Germany, the Palucca Hochschule für Tanz Dresden (Palucca University of Dance Dresden).

2. Early life: Munich – California – Dresden

Palucca was born in Munich on 8 January 1902, her father Max Paluka (1872-1915) was a native of Constantinople, and her mother Rosa Merfeld (1880-1925) was of Jewish-Hungarian descent. In Munich Max Paluka worked as a pharmacist and as a businessman. The mother was a housewife.

Gret Palucca and her brother Hans Joseph Paluka (1902-1919) frequently spent time at the house of their maternal grandmother, Mathilde Merfeld. There was a piano there and she played it for the children when they were visiting. From that time, Palucca moved, turned and clapped her hands[1]. But, the good times dancing to the grandmother's piano music did not last long. Max Paluka's business was not going well, and he declared bankruptcy in 1905. He could not find employment in Germany, and so moved to San Francisco in 1906. Soon after Palucca, her mother and brother, moved to California.

In America Palucca attended elementary school. Although placed in class with children of her own age, they spoke a strange language, and she quickly learned how to express herself through motion.[2] Subsequently as a dancer, she

1 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009), p.24

2 Diane Shelden Howe. *Individuality and Expression: The Aesthetics of the New German Dance*, 1908-1936, vol. 24, (New York, 1996)

would claim: 'Was die Menschen verbindet, ist die Sprache. Tänzer wollen jedoch nicht mit Worten kommunizieren, sondern ihren Körper sprechen lassen.'[3] In San Francisco she already stood out for her gymnastic ability, for example – competing with the boys in the long jump. 'Later during her performing career, her jumping abilities helped her to be recognised as a legendary technician.'[4]

In America and unable to speak English, however, Palucca's mother felt increasingly isolated. She also missed her friends from Germany, and her marriage was not going well. She divorced and returned to Germany with her children in 1909. She decided to settle in one of the most artistically important cities of Germany: Dresden. Palucca's father stayed in America and wrote to his children not to forget him.[5]

3. First formal dance studies: Heinrich Kröller

In Dresden, Palucca's talent was spotted when Karl Maria Pembaur, a friend of her mother and the conductor at the Opera's Choir, recommended her to Heinrich Kröller[6] (1880–1930), a dancer who performed all over Europe and who then worked as Balletmeister at the Dresden Opera. The reason he decided to take her on was because whenever he played the piano, Palucca tried to create a dance: 'Pembaur ist ganz erstaunt und sagt, daß sie Tänzerin warden müsse.'[7]

In 1914 Palucca began her formal ballet studies with Kröller. During these classes she quickly noticed that there were differences between her idea of dance and what Kröller taught, and she often left many of his classes feeling dissatisfied.[8] Both of them felt that she was not suited to become a ballet performer.

The classes with Kröller could not continue, because in 31 October 1914

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3 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009), p. 26

4 Diane Shelden Howe. *Individuality and Expression: The Aesthetics of the New German Dance*, *1908-1936*, vol. 24, (New York, 1996), p.138

5 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009), p. 28

6 "Kröller galt als Ausnahmepädagoge, auch als aufgeschlossen gegenüber modernen Ideen, doch bisher hatte sich kaum eine der neueren Ideen durchgesetzt, die europäische Tanzkunst war in Routine erstarrt. Zwar hatten sich in Paris 1908 der russische Impresario Sergei Diaghilewund Vaclav Nijinski – der zum berühmtesten Tänzer aller Zeiten werden sollte - zusammengetan und waren dabei, mit ihren »Ballets Russes« für enormen Wirbel zu sorgen. Denn Nijinski sprang so hoch, wie es niemand für möglich hielt, gleichzeitig versuchte er sich von der klassischen Schule zu lösen und dem ewigen Emporstreben etwasentgegenzusetzen, zu stampfen und zu schleifen und mit geometrischen Formen zu experimentieren, doch alle das war neu und in Dresden noch nicht angekommen." Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009), p. 32

7 Peter Jarchow; Ralf Stabel, (Berlin, 1997). *Palucca. Aus ihrem Leben – über ihre Kunst*, p. 16

8 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009)

Palucca's mother married Rudolf Berthold, which resulted in them moving to Plauen, Saxony. They spent World War I in Plauen, and on 20 July 1915, her father Max died in combat in Russia (fighting for Germany). His death in battle could have contributed to Palucca's growing independence and self-reliance as a woman, and to her decision in 1918 to move to Dresden and conclude her training. She chose a school that was dedicated to preparing young girls for their professional life and also for fulfilling their roles as wives and mothers in their future families, the Privatschule Margarete Balsat (renamed in 1907 Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt für Mädchen höherer Stände). Palucca went to Dresden alone and settled herself in the boarding school.

The real reasons for this move are not known, but it is known is that, for her final year at school, she chose to attend this school, where she had studied in 1909. It can be speculated that one of Palucca's reasons to do this was due to her desire to become a self-sufficient woman. But there is no record of her true motivation.

After the conclusion of her education in 1918 she moved to Munich to train with her teacher Kröller and to work as a Ballet Elevin[9] in the Münchner Hof- und Nationaltheater of Munich (currently Bayerische Staatsoper). At this time Palucca was not convinced that ballet was artistically sufficient to satisfy her desire to express herself: 'Ballett "füllte mich nicht aus; ich wollte mehr ausdrücken können, wußte aber keinen Weg".'[10] But in November of 1919, she saw Mary Wigman (1886-1973) on stage and she had a transformative impact on her understanding of modern dance.

4. Palucca encounters Mary Wigman and modern dance

Palucca could not predict that on 7 November 1919 she would experience a pivotal life-event. On that evening she attended Mary Wigman's performance in the Great Hall of the Kaufmannschaft (Merchants) in Dresden. Wigman was on tour as guest performer in the Münchner Hof- und Nationaltheaters (National Theatre Munich). That night she danced Johannes Brahms's *Ungarische Tänze* (Hungarian Dances), an unnamed *Walzer* (Waltz) by Johann Strauss, and Enrique Granados's *Marche Orientale*. Palucca was impressed and realised that only Mary Wigman could help her, for Wigman was able to express herself through dance exactly as Palucca had felt:

> Der Wille zur Bewegung war in mir seit meiner frühesten Kindheit rege. Als er schließlich in tänzerische Bahnen gelenkt wurde, quälte mich bald der Mißklang zwischen dem, was mir als das Ideal von Tanz vorschwebte,

9 Ballet Elevin/Eleven is a temporary job as an apprentice in a professional Company..

10 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009), p.45

> und dem, was als Tanz gelehrt wurde. Der innere Zwiespalt wurde so groß, daß ich an meiner tänzerischen Begabung schon völlig verzweifelte. In diese Krise hinein fiel meine erste Begegnung mit Mary Wigman. Es ist sehr schwer, der heutigen Generation klarzumachen, was für uns damals Mary Wigmans erstes Auftreten bedeutete. Es war so etwas unerhört Neues, etwas so Elementares, daß mir sofort klar wurde: Entweder kann ich bei ihr tanzen oder ich lerne es nie! Hier war der neue Tanz, der meinem Ideal entsprach – hier war der Mensch und Führer, den ich suchte![11]

From this moment onward she decided to study with Wigman. In 1919, she left Kröller and the ballet to become one of her first students in Dresden. The classes started in 1920 in the social rooms of the Palast Hotel Weber, where Wigman kept her private residence.

Palucca became her follower, 'studying with her, going on tour with her, and playing the percussion accompaniment for her'.[12] Together with Wigman, Palucca found a path through which she could express her freedom and her own ideas, as well as learn techniques different from ballet. On the teachings of Wigman, Palucca remarked:

> Sie hat also nicht Ballett gelehrt, sondern sie hat uns Schülern viel Freiheit gelassen, obwohl sie außerordentlich viel von uns verlangt hat auch Technisch. Aber es war auch eine vollkommen andere Technik. Wir mussten unsere Körper restlos beherrschen und hatten aber die Freiheit uns so auszudrücken, wie wir es eben empfanden, oder wie wir unsere Ideen verwirklischen wollten.[13]

Taking part in Wigman's group (named Kammertanzgruppe Mary Wigman), Palucca could express the Ausdruckstanz tradition. The popularity of Wigman's group as well as Palucca's popularity increased gradually: 'Die Vortellungen der Wigman-Gruppe wurden immer voller, die Zuschauer zahlten im März 1923 schon 150 Mark allein furs Programmheft und wollten vor allem Palucca sehen.'[14] According to Maja (1998), in November 1923, the glamorous magazine for culture, fashion and society, called *Die Dame*, published an enthusiastic critique of Palucca's skills in art and dance. Palucca's public recognition and her desire for independent work increased, and eventually led to her separation from Wigman in 1924.

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11 Palucca's speech, In: Edith Krull and Werner Gommlich, *Palucca*, Theater und Film; 6, (1964), p.7.

12 Diane Shelden Howe. *Individuality and Expression: The Aesthetics of the New German Dance, 1908-1936*, vol. 24, (New York, 1996), p.139

13 Palucca's speech, In: Ulbrich MAJA, *Die Tänzerin Gret Palucca*. Erschienen: [Köln] : WDR. Filmporträt, Deutschland, , (1998), 00:04:12 – 00:04:40. (Own transcriptions)

14 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009), p 72

5. The separation from Wigman and Palucca's independent work

Bayer (2009) reports that the main reason for the break-up between Palucca and Wigman was their contrasting goals. Palucca had a desire to be a soloist and she had artistic divergences with Wigman, as well as different conceptions and ideas about dance: 'Mary Wigman wollte Gruppen führen, Palucca aber wollte eine Solistin sein. Sie wollte tanzen wie ein Kind, unbeschwert von theoretischen und spirituellen Überlegungen, die für Mary Wigman zum Tanz dazugehörten.'[15] In addition, unlike Wigman, Palucca did not want to speak of her own dances in theoretical terms, that is she did not employ content or theme in her creative work. She supported her dance only in her own act of dancing, in her excitement and wish of dancing. Without attributing interpretations or explanations for her dances, Palucca would not bring to the stage something that was not pure movement:

> Ich denke immer nur an Tanzen, wenn ich erfinde oder wenn ich einen Tanz zum soundsovielten Male auf der Bühne zeige. Oft bin ich überrascht über die Deutungen, die man Tänzen gibt, ich selber gebe ihnen keine, sie sind für mich nichts als Tanz. Das übrige verdanke ich nicht mir, sondern einer Gabe, die ich nicht weiter erklären kann.[16]

Wigman as well as many of the choreographers of Ausdruckstanz, like Grete Wiesenthal (1885-1970), Niddy Impekoven (1904-2002), Harald Kreutzberg (1902-1968) among others, engaged in themes in their choreographic works. According to Howe (1996), many of these choreographers were 'often concerned with macabre and solemn themes' (p.37). Gret Palucca, on the other hand, 'more often presented the other side of life by focusing on a largely optimistic view of the world'.[17] This set her apart from other dancers. Leni Riefenstahl (1902-2003), who in 1920 trained together with Palucca in Mary Wigman's master class, states about Palucca's dances: 'Der gegenzatz zu Wigman ist extrem. Palucca war ein Bündel von Fröhlichkeit und ihre Bewegungen darauf ganz anderes, die waren nicht stilisiert sondern die waren impulsiv (...).'[18] ???

Consequently Palucca left Wigman's school in 1923 and made her professional solo debut on 1 February 1924 at *Vereinshaus Dresden*. In the same year she also married Friedrich Bienert (1891-1969), a rich businessman who

15 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009), p. 74

16 Palucca's speech, In: Gerhard Schumann, *Palucca: Porträt einer Künstlerin, (Berlin, 1972), p. 177*

17 Diane Shelden Howe, *Individuality and Expression: The Aesthetics of the New German Dance, 1908-1936*. (New York, 1996), Vol. 24, p.37

18 Leni Riefenstahl's speech; In: *Ulbrich Maja, Die Tänzerin Gret Palucca.* Erschienen: [Köln] : WDR. Filmporträt, Deutschland, , (1998), 00:06:30 – 00:06:45. (Own transcriptions)

helped her to start her solo career, find sponsors and also establish her future school.

II The foundation of the Palucca School Dresden and musical choices

1. Palucca School

It is known that Palucca lived with her husband Bienert at Bürgerwiese 25, Dresden. Consequently, the classes were held initially at their house: 'in dieser Wohnung befindet sich auch ihr Übungssaal.'[19] This room was the largest in their house and became Palucca's dance room at this time.[20] Though the place was not yet officially considered to be a school, all documents relating to the class were already signed in August 1925 with 'Sekretariat der Palucca-Schule'[21] (Secretariat of the Palucca School). Hanna Eisfelder, Bienert's secretary, was in charge of this task.

According to the document 'First report of the school'[22] sent by Palucca to the supervisory school authority *(Schulamt)* in Dresden, the functional beginning of the school as an establishment is on 1 September 1925, and at this time the institution already offered two types of training: vocational training (Berufausbildung), and courses for lay people (Laienkurse). Palucca's dance group was formed with the pupils of the vocational training, initially composed of Liselore Bergmann, Lore Geißler, Lotte Goßlar, Erica Hauck, Margot Kirmse and Else Stöckigt.[23]

2. First musical choices

Palucca's group danced mainly to the sound of percussion instruments, such as drum, triangle, and gong; as well as to folk music. Palucca expressed the preference for old folk music, since she considered that these melodies could encourage the feeling of freedom within the dancers, and consequently allow for more liberty in the creative process in dance: 'Die Tänzerin muß die Musik ihrem Tanze dienstbar machen, sie vergewaltigt sie. Darum ziehe ich alte Volksmelodien vor, ungarische, spanische, mexikanische, die, primitiv, dem Tänzerischen am nächsten zu stehen scheinen und ihm alle Freiheit lassen.'[24]

19 Ralf Stabel (Hg): *Palucca Schule Dresden. Geschichte und Geschichten*, (Dresden 2000), p. 22

20 Susanne Beyer, *Palucca – die Biografie*, (Berlin, 2009).

21 Ralf Stabel (Hg): *Palucca Schule Dresden. Geschichte und Geschichten*, (Dresden 2000), p. 22

22 GRET-PALUCCA-ARCHIV PALUCCA SCHULE, 1926

23 Programme leaflet of the Palucca's group debut in Berlin/Volksbühne on 15th November 1925. (Gret-Palucca-Archiv, ADK, Berlin, Nr. 4938)

24 Palucca's speech; In: Paul Stefan, *Tanz in dieser Zeit*, (Wien, 1926), p. 94

In this quote she exemplified her argument mentioning old folk melodies from Hungary, Spain, and Mexico, and justified her choice for these melodies applying the adjective 'primitive' to this type of music. What did Palucca mean exactly by the word primitive? Her line of thinking is that that these melodies seem to be closer to the dance and therefore allow for more freedom to the dancers. Thus through her use of the expression 'primitive' one could speculate that she associated it with ancient kinds of music, originating long before the classic tradition, danced by people without rules or predetermined steps, in other words, danced simply to the rhythm propelled by music to the body. So for Palucca the folk melodies facilitate the process of learning musicality oriented to dance.

Interestingly, at the beginning of Palucca's career as a dancer she was also inclined to folk pieces of music: 'In den ersten Jahren ihrer Laufbahn tanzte Palucca gern nach ungarischen, portugiesischen oder mexikanischen Volksmelodien, bevorzugte national gefärbte Kompositionen von Bartók oder Dvorak und griff wiederholt zu Klavierwerken der Spanier Albéniz, Granados und Turina.'[25] One can ask whether she felt that she could best express herself in her dances to the sound of folk melodies, or even if these melodies could have a better relation to her dance rhythm. What can be inferred is that Palucca appreciated the rhythmical character of the folk music and that her musical choices were also part of her 'dance style': 'Zu diesen Aspekten zählen die auch jetzt noch ihren Tanz kennzeichnenden Merkmale ihres Stils aus den 20er Jahren wie ihre Art Sprung, Schwung, Leichtigkeit, Dynamik und manche der von ihr gewählten Musikstücke sowie ihr Umgang mit diesen.'[26] Indeed, at the time the percussion instruments were an attraction as musical accompaniment for dances as a new feature to be included in the choreographies, and perhaps Palucca felt this new 'musical atmosphere' and incorporated it into her work:

> Als in den Anfängen des neuen künstlerischen Tanzes Gong, Trommel und andere 'Geräuschinstrummente' zu feiner akustischen Begleitung verwendet wurden, begann eine Art Selbsthilfeaktion in musikalischen Fragen, deren erste Versuche, so befremdend sie für viele erschienen, den Reim zu heute erkennbaren Ergebnissen in sich trugen.[27]

Regarding Hafting's words, on the beginning of the Ausdruckstanz (also called new dance or even modern dance) new instruments were employed as musical accompaniment, such as the gong and the drum. At that time the

25 Waldemar Wirsing, *Musiker um* Palucca: Eine Zeitreise; In: Ralf Stabel (Hg): Palucca Schule Dresden. *Geschichte und Geschichten*, (Dresden 2000), p. 135

26 Katja Erdmann-Rajski, *Palucca – Künstlerische Identität und politische Systeme*; In: Sabine Karoß, Leonore Welzin (Hrsg.), *Tanz, Politik, Identität*, (Hamburg 2001), p. 148

27 Hanns Hasting, *Das Klangorchester*; In: Rudolf Laban, Mary Wigman, *Die tänzerische Situation unserer Zeit*. Ein Querschnitt, (Dresden, 1936), p. 26

appearance and emergence on the dance stage of these percussion instruments was unusual in the field of music. This entire 'self-help struggle' concerning the use of percussion instruments for dancing achieved recognition in the thirties. How was this relationship formed between Ausdruckstanz and percussion instruments?

It is known that the Ausdruckstanz searched for the new and unusual not only on the matter of movement, but also in the musical sphere. Accordingly, this new way of dance renounced the existing musical standards in favour of distinct musical proposals. Hanns Hasting, Wigman's musical assistant, said about this:

> Wir wollen in Kürze nach dem Sinn für den Gebrauch der Schlaginstrumente im Zusammenhang mit dem neuen Tanz forschen, und müssen gleich feststellen, daß ein zutiefst naturhaft verankerter Wille es war, der instinktsicher nach anderem tönenden Material griff, als es innerhalb der vollendeten Klassischen Musikform bekannt war.[28]

So the desire for new acoustic instruments was natural, 'instinctive', and gradually they were considered to be more suitable as musical accompaniment to the new dance, due to their free vibration and lack of formalism. Here the author exemplified this argument making a comparison between the sound of the piano and the violin with the sound of the gong for supporting dance gestures:

> Wenn aus dem Klang des temperierten Klaviertones, der Violine und der meisten unserer bekannten Instrumente sofort die Verpflichtung nach musikalisch-formalem Ausbau erwächst, so fehlt z.B. dem Gong diese zielgerichtete Beziehung vollständig und macht ihn deshalb ganz besonders geeignet, die frei schwingende, tänzerische Geste zu unterstützen.[29]

These declarations came from the composer and musical assistant of Wigman. That means that these ideas were already disseminated in the Wigman School. To what degree was Palucca in contact with these concepts and even with these instruments during her formation with Wigman?

It is known that Palucca had classes with percussion instruments alongside Mary Wigman and learned to play them as accompaniment to the dances: 'Photos of Mary Wigman in her school reveal much of the studio space dedicated to an assortment of instruments: gongs and whistles, drums and other percussion instruments and a piano. Wigman's students all learned to accompany the

28 Hanns Hasting, *Das Klangorchester*; In: Rudolf Laban, Mary Wigman, (Dresden, 1936), *Die tänzerische Situation unserer Zeit*. Ein Querschnitt, p. 26

29 Hanns Hasting, *Das Klangorchester*; In: Rudolf Laban, Mary Wigman, (Dresden, 1936), *Die tänzerische Situation unserer Zeit*. Ein Querschnitt, p. 26

dance.'[30] With Will Götze, Wigman's composer, accompanist and also musical instructor Palucca learned to deal with the percussion instruments: 'Bei Will Götze erlernte Palucca das Spielen der Geräuschinstrumente.'[31]

3. The music lessons

Palucca, therefore, also realised the importance of percussion classes and included them in her own school music lessons, with for example, drum classes taught by the chamber musician H. Knauer: 'Für den Trommel Unterricht ist ab 15. März 1927 Herr Kammermusiker Knauer von der Staatsoper gewonnen worden.'[32] The use of drums in dance classes could assist students on learning musicality since the clear drum beat helps them to realise more easily the musical rhythm (of the beat) and consequently, they can answer more freely to the dance-rhythm with their bodies. Correlating to this relationship between dance and music, she also included in 1927 the subject *tänzerische Musiklehre* (as a concept of music didactics for dance) taught by Herr Walter Schönberg.[33] The importance of the intimate link between dance and music to Palucca is shown by its presence in the school's curriculum. But what were the primary objectives of this subject?

According to Will Götze in his writing concerning the *tänzerische Musiklehre*, published on the *Münchener Tänzerkongreß* (Dance Congress of Munich) in 1930 its focus was an educational work in the music field within vocational training in dance. The objectives covered, among others, a theoretical and practical overview of the creative possibilities of music, the teaching of the fundamentals of chord and harmony, and the composition of short musical pieces in connection with dance.[34]

The influence of this subject for the dance at the time is demonstrated by Wigman also including it in her school's curriculum in 1931.[35] In the Wigman School the subjects *Geräuschrhythmik* (rhythmic sound) and *Musiklehre* (teaching of music) were taught as parts of the field *tänzerische Musiklehre*. The search for a better relationship between dance and music was indeed a prominent

30 Mary Anne Santos Newhall, (2009), Mary Wigman. p.85

31 Waldemar Wirsing, *Musiker um* Palucca: Eine Zeitreise; In: Ralf Stabel (Hg): *Palucca Schule Dresden. Geschichte und Geschichten*, (Dresden 2000), p. 133

32 Palucca, In: I. Bericht der Palucca Schule Dresden 1927, p. 3

33 Palucca, In: II. Bericht der Palucca Schule Dresden 1927, p. 3

34 Will Götzer, *Tänzerische Musiklehre* (1930), p. 321; In: Ilse Loesch, Mit Leib und Seele. *Erlebte Vergangenheit des Ausdruckstanzes* (1990).

35 Heide Lazarus, (2002). Die Wigman-Schule-Dresden (1921-1942) im Spiegel kommunaler Akten; In: Gabriele Klein, *Tanz, Theorie, Text*. [Kongress ... im November 2001 unter dem Titel „Wissen Schaffen über Tanz. Zum Aktellen Stand der Tanzforschung" an der Akademie der Künste in Berlin], vol. 12 (2002).

topic discussed in congresses of the time, for example, in the *Magdeburger Tänzerkongreß* (Dance Congress of Magdeburg) in 1927: 'Die Problematik der Beziehungen von Tanz und Musik beginne da, wo es gelte, die Vision des Musikers und des künstlerisch darstellenden Tänzers in Einklang zu setzen.'[36] This points to the difficulty of relating dance and music as there is a dilemma in unifying the vision of the musician with the performance of the dancer, mainly about what is represented and expressed throughout the dance. For musician and dancer to approach this aim it would be necessary, therefore, to harmonise the creative process of both. This principle is an issue in the case in which the musician works together with the dancer, as Palucca did from her first work as independent solo dancer. What was the relationship between Palucca, musician and music during her choreographical process?

4. The role of the music

Expanding on this thought, the pianist and composer Herbert Trantow, Palucca's first musical accompanist revealed:

> Wenn sie morgens, nach dem technischen Training, anfing zu improvisieren, sich wie unter einem magischen Zwang zu bewegen (und es war doch alles nur Ausdruck ihrer ureigenen Natur!), dann brauchte sich der Musiker nur, 'auf ihre Welle einzustimmen', um adäquate Musik zu finden.[37]

Trantow's statement discloses some clues about the role occupied by musicians in Palucca's improvisational work. When he says that after the technical training Palucca began her creational work through movements that emerged under a magical compulsion by themselves and that expressed her true inner nature. In relation to this, it becomes plausible that Palucca's propulsion for movements was inspired by her own desire of movement and not by the music. Consequently, as Trantow adds, the musician had the role of finding an adequate music that agreed with her imagination and with her impetus of movements. Thus, for Palucca, in the choreographical process, at the same time that the idea or insights as well as the creation of dance occurred first, they should be in harmonic relation with the music:

> Die tänzerische Phantasie ist natürlich vor der Musik da und ich möchte auch nicht sagen, daß sie sich von der Musik die Gestaltungsweise oder

36 Hedwig Müller, Patricia Stöckemann, *'... jeder Mensch ist ein Tänzer': Ausdruckstanz in Deutschland zwischen 1900 und 1945*; [Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung 'Weltenfriede – Jugendglück', vom Ausdruckstanz zum Olympischen Festspiel; eine Ausstellung der Akademie der Künste, Berlin; 2. Mai – 13. Juni 1993; mit einem Begleitprogramm aus Aufführungen, Symposien und Vorträgen]. (Giessen, 1993), p . 65.

37 Herbert Trantow; In: Gerhard Schumann, *Palucca: Porträt einer Künstlerin*, (Berlin, 1972), p. 67

> den Richtungsablauf vorschreiden läßt, es handelt sich kurz gesagt für mich eher um einen Parallelismus der tänzerischen mit der musikalischen Gestaltung.[38]

Although Palucca did not draw on the interpretation or understanding of music as a source of inspiration for her dances, she stated the necessity of music for her creative process connected to dance: 'Musik brauche ich zum Tanzen: nicht um sie zu interpretieren oder gar zu verstanden, sondern weil Musik und Tanz für mich Geschwister sind. Daß die Musik des Tanzes nicht bedarf, wohl aber der Tanz der Musik, besagt nichts gegen den Tanz.'[39] It is interesting to note that this was one of the points of contrast between Palucca and her mentor Mary Wigman, who composed dances without music. Rather than, in Palucca's conception, dance need music as accompaniment and both music and dance should be strongly connected. This connection lies in the fact that Palucca's movement reacted appropriately to the musical rhythm:

> Ich beginne. Ich stehe im Saal und höre eine Musik, mehrere Musiken. Ich habe nicht die Absicht, dieses oder jenes zu tun. Ich bewege mich wie von selbst. Dann gibt es einen Punkt, wo der Körper auf einen Rhythmus, ein Stück Melodie reagiert, im Gleichklang oder im Gegensinn. Eine Musik erweist sich als verwendbar, nicht im Sinne der Ausdeutung, sondern in dem der musikalischen Begleitung eines Eigenen.[40]

This connection lies in the fact that during her improvisational work, Palucca's body chose appropriately how to react to the rhythm of the music. In other words, she answered with movements according to the melody, and these answers could not only be in consonance with it but also in opposition to it. The way in which Palucca outlined her movements in connection with the music and consequently transformed them into her dance was a highlight for the critics of the time, for example, in the magazine *Die Frauen Tribüne*:

> In der Musik findet alles Fließende, dauernd sich Wandelnde, seine klingende Erscheinungsmöglichkeit. Der Tanz aber empfängt seine stärksten Antriebe aus der Musik, spontan verwandelt Palucca Musik in Körpereinfall und Rhythmus.[41]

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38 Palucca in interview with Böhme, In: Huguette Duvoisin; René Radrizzani (2008). *Gret Palucca : Schriften, Interviews, Tanzmanuskripte*. Basel : Schwabe, p. 83

39 PALUCCA, 1936; In: Gerhard Schumann (1972). *Palucca: Porträt einer Künstlerin*. (Berlin, 1972), p. 169.

40 Huguette Duvoisin; René Radrizzani (2008). *Gret Palucca : Schriften, Interviews, Tanzmanuskripte*. Basel : Schwabe, p.20 .

41 M. Bauer, *Die Frauen Tribüne*, (February 1933), 4 Heft, p.03. GRET-PALUCCA-ARCHIV AKADEMIE DER KÜNSTE, Nr. 4938 Berlin.

Palucca, therefore, could unite movement and rhythm in a dynamic in which at the same time that the movement ruled itself, it stayed in constant connection with the rhythm. According to Bauer (1933) her movements were without any type of symbols or ideology, they were simply shape and expression: 'Paluccas Tanz beruht auf der Gestaltung des rein Bewegungsmäßigem – Nicht-Tänzerisches, Sinnbildliches, Weltanschauliches bleibt diesem Tanz fern. Die Bewegung an sich regiert – sie wird Form und Ausdruck.'[42] The act of dance can include various possibilities of expression: music, speech, themes, besides all gestural choreography. However, the defining characteristic of Palucca's expression in dance was the manner in which her own movements interrelated with themselves.

Conclusion

This paper was divided into two parts. The first part presented an overview of Palucca's life, her first steps in the dance, her formal studies with Heinrich Kröller and subsequently with Mary Wigman and the possible reasons for their separation. The second part discussed the foundation of her school, as well as the issues related to the music in her teaching. The music lessons and the influences of the time on the subjects of music were revealed in this part, as well as a discussion about Palucca's musical choices. Finally, we might better understand the role of music in her artistic work by the end of the paper. It can be inferred that the music had a fundamental importance not only in her creative process in dance but also in her pedagogical legacy.

42 M. Bauer, *Die Frauen Tribüne*, (Berlin, February 1933), 4 Heft, p.03. GRET-PALUCCA-ARCHIV AKADEMIE DER KÜNSTE, Nr. 4938.

Rudolf Laban and Kurt Jooss: the good, the bad and the very (un)fortunate

CLARE LIDBURY

In his autobiography, written at the great age of 26, Jooss wrote: 'I landed at the Stuttgart Academie of Music with the idea of becoming a singer, but I was most dissatisfied. I studied drama and with great success, but I remained empty [...] A chance meeting introduced me to Rudolf von Laban and to the world of dance, which was quite unknown to me.'[1] Later Jooss was to recall this meeting in more detail in his interview with John Hodgson – as a member of the German Youth Movement Jooss had dance classes learning German folk dance. His un-named teacher knew the editor of *die Tat* which had published two articles by Laban. This teacher asked the editor where Laban lived and they were delighted to learn that Laban was in Stuttgart.[2] How fortunate then that Laban had settled in Stuttgart in the post-war instability that had left him unable to stay in Switzerland; the history of European Modern Dance may have been quite different if Jooss and Laban had not come together at this time. Jooss recognised this himself saying 'It's unimaginable luck to meet someone like Laban and to have him as a master. I think that was the greatest gift the gods could have given me.'[3]

Jooss described to Hodgson how he and Laban met one Sunday afternoon in July 1920 and that the following week they, Jooss and his teacher, went for a class with Laban where he gave Jooss the task of 'You are a slave and you'll be sacrificed' to improvise. Evidently Jooss's response was adequate because Laban agreed to teach them both after the summer holidays but only if they brought with them a group as he did not want to teach them alone. So in September Jooss and nine others attended for their first class with Laban. The next day they were told by Dussia Bereska, Laban's assistant, that he was ill and could not teach them anymore. Jooss and his teacher were somewhat sceptical about this but it transpired that this was true. This left Jooss in a predicament as he appears to have given up his place at the Academie to study with Laban. Laban suggested Jooss study with Mary Wigman, which he refused, but he did take a class or two with Rudolf Böde. However, even after experiencing just the first

1 Kurt Jooss, *Mein bisheriger Lebenslauf* cited in Anna Markard and Hermann Markard, Jooss (Cologne: Ballett-Buhnen-Verlag Rolfe Garske, 1985): 29.

2 Kurt Jooss, interview with John Hodgson (1973), transcribed by Cat Harrison, edited by Dick McKaw, unpublished.

3 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

meeting and the one class, Jooss had recognised that it was Laban who had what he was looking for; he went back to Laban and demanded that he teach him. This resulted in Laban teaching Jooss for 'five most fascinating months' during which he had individual classes and later small group classes.[4]

Family circumstances forced Jooss to leave Stuttgart to return to his father's farming estate but he found it unbearable; by September 1921 Jooss was back with Laban staying with him until the summer of 1924. During this time Jooss described himself as 'student, dancer and later regisseur with Laban in Mannheim, Stuttgart and Hamburg', travelling all over Germany with the Tanzbühne Laban.[5] It was an intensive time for Jooss during which he gained much experience as a dancer/performer, as a teacher, as a student and, as A. V. Coton put it, 'one of the dancer models Laban used in his research'.[6]

Jooss witnessed and experienced Laban as a choreographer by dancing in such works as *die Glebendenten* (1921) an abstract choric dance, *Himmel und Erde* (1922), a tragi-comic pantomime and *Gaukelei* (1923), a dance drama. He was exposed to a range of subject matters and styles and experienced dancing as a soloist, in duets and trios and in large group pieces; he danced in silence, to percussion, to music composed by Friedrich Wilckens (musical director of Tanzbühne Laban) and to works by composers such as Tchaikovsky and Berlioz.[7] Jooss remembered Laban as a choreographer: 'We could never copy; never do what he said because he never said anything. He only ever said very vague things and we had to work it out. [...] With *Gaukelei* usually he got us to improvise what he wanted to see and if he liked it he liked it and if he didn't like it he said "no, find something else".'[8]

This creative process seems to have had considerable influence over Jooss for as a choreographer he too worked through improvisation to generate dance material – for example Jooss recalled Ernst Uthoff's contribution to the creation of the role of The Standard Bearer in *The Green Table*: 'He got very excited about that dance and often tried out movements with the flag, what he could do with the flag. I didn't invent all those movements. They came from his enthusiasm for the flag [...] he found one movement and then another and my work was to put them properly together and to balance them and to set the accents where I thought they belonged.'[9] Unlike Laban, Jooss's use of improvisation was

4 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

5 Jooss cited in Markard, *Jooss*, 31.

6 A.V. Coton, *The New Ballet* (London: Denis Dobson, 1946): 16.

7 See the comprehensive list of Laban's dance works in John Hodgson and Valerie Preston Dunlop, *Rudolf Laban: an introduction to his work and influence*, (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1990).

8 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

9 Transcription of a tape-recorded interview between Kurt Jooss and Tobi Tobias

supported by a strong dance technique developed after his time with Laban during the mid 1920s-early 1930s.

We might too see Laban's influence in Jooss's choreographic works in the wide range of subject matter – from the comic *Company at the Manor* (1943) to the epic *The Green Table* (1932), from the political satire of *Chronica* (1939) to the parable *The Prodigal Son* (1933, re-worked 1939) – and in the equally wide-ranging accompaniments Jooss used for his work from specially composed works by Frederick Cohen and Robert Goldschmidt to extant music by Stravinsky and Strauss, all arranged for two pianos by Cohen.

Jooss also experienced Laban as a teacher although his influence on Jooss in this area is harder to discern. Laban did not teach identifiable steps or gestures but encouraged his students to use their bodies as a means of communication so that the body could employ any movement to express a choreographic idea. Jooss said 'the education he gave us was to dissolve every form into its ingredients'.[10] The summary of Laban as a teacher as 'more of a catalyst than an instructor, more of a coax than a coach' seems a fair description of Jooss's experience[11] for he recalled that during those first five months with Laban he worked on Eukinetics and Choreutics at a time when nothing was systemised: 'He just threw some ideas here, some ideas there [...] and spoke in unrelated phrases now and then [...] He didn't give us any kind of straight thing, we had to straighten everything out ourselves.'[12] Jooss clearly did straighten things out because his understanding and absorption of Laban's theories is evident in much of his extant work to the extent that he described his most well-known work, *The Green Table*, as 'really a showpiece of Eukinetics – and also of Choreutics'.[13]

The Tanzbühne Laban performed extensively with Jooss dancing in a number of works by Laban and with Laban. He describes Laban's abilities as a dancer/performer: 'There would be simple, simple movement and lots of hands [...] and his face was very sort of speaking or expressive. But of course in his dance he never had the ambition to jump or turn or be a dancer – he was a mover with a rather uncomplicated rhythm [...] his stage presence was the most impressive thing [...] it was wonderful to see.'[14] Jooss's own stage presence, particularly in the role of Death in *The Green Table* was frequently commented on by critics of the time – John Martin for example described

for the Oral History project, The Dance Collection, New York Public Library, September 1976.

10 Jooss, Tobias interview

11 Hodgson and Preston-Dunlop, *Work and Influence*, 37.

12 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

13 Kurt Jooss cited in Michael Huxley, '*The Green Table* – a Dance of Death', *Ballett International*, 5, no. 8/9 (1982): 9.

14 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

Jooss's performance as 'beautifully effective'.[15]

If Jooss found so much to admire in Laban – his extraordinary, radiant personality as he put it[16] as well as his skills as choreographer, dancer and teacher – why did Jooss leave Laban in 1924? What had become so bad about what had been so good? Jooss was absolutely clear about this, putting his separation from Laban down to his ambition, his jealousy of the women surrounding Laban – particularly of Bereska, who took responsibility for the group when Laban was away – and that Laban made Jooss very unhappy by completely withdrawing from him; Jooss remembered that Laban once said to him: 'You are spoiling every sound idea which I ever had.'[17] In the end it seems that Jooss did not want to be in the atmosphere that had developed in the group in Laban's absence. He told Laban he wanted to leave 'and of course we had a horrific row and Laban said "You can't leave me, you owe me your education." '[18]

Jooss's decision to leave was made easier by the offer of a job in Münster from his friend Hans Niedecken-Gebhardt. However, Jooss felt this break from Laban very deeply, stating 'I was so in love with Laban that I couldn't bear to be not with him.'[19] Interestingly, in his autobiography, written soon after his separation from Laban, he wrote much more dispassionately that 'I needed independence for my further development so, with great regret, I left the Tanzbühne Laban.'[20]

How did Jooss's leaving affect Laban? He left with his company for a tour which ended in Zagreb. Jooss's roles were covered by a new member of the company, Karl Bergeest, but, as Preston Dunlop reports, he seems not to have been too successful.[21] Unfortunately although the company as a whole had some success they did not make enough money to cover the cost of the tour and were forced to abandon it; after the summer Laban returned to Hamburg.

In Münster Niedecken-Gebhardt was artistic director of the theatre whose productions of Handel's operas and oratorios reflected a surge of interest in the composer's work in Germany.[22] He was already established as a director of

15 John Martin, 'Kurt Jooss Ballet Cheered at Debut', *New York Times*, November 1st 1933. Jooss did not put himself as the central performer in his works; the company were often complimented on their ensemble playing within which individuals were first rate dancers, both technically and artistically.

16 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

17 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

18 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

19 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

20 Jooss cited in Markard, *Jooss*, 35.

21 Valerie Preston Dunlop, *Rudolf Laban: an extraordinary life* (London: Dance Books 1998): 93. Somewhat ironically Karl Begeest later joined Jooss's company and created the role of 'The Profiteer' in *The Green Table*.

22 Hans Redlich, 'Handel in our Time', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,*

some repute staging the operas and oratorios with movement an integral part of his productions. Recognising that he needed 'a movement specialist, someone trained to deal with the various tasks that his progressive style demanded', Niedecken-Gebhardt approached Jooss.[23] Fortunately for Jooss this offer came at a time when he was becoming disillusioned with the Tanzbühne Laban. Thus he was engaged as 'movement regisseur' to assist with opera and drama performances. Coton describes this role as someone who was 'not only a dance arranger but someone who exercised a control and supervision over the ways in which actors and singers disposed of themselves on the stage'.[24] The musical director there was Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, also known for his pioneering and innovative productions,[25] with Frederic Cohen employed as opera conductor and Hein Heckroth as stage designer.[26]

In addition to hiring his friend and dancer Sigurd Leeder (whom he had met and worked with in Hamburg) Jooss was also able to engage dancers from the now defunct Tanzbühne-Laban including his future wife Aino Siimola,[27] and have them work with him on the opera productions and in his own work, for, in addition to his work in the theatre, Jooss was able to create his own independent dance group, the Neue Tanzbühne. With Cohen, Heckroth, Leeder and Siimola

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80, no.1 (1953): 87-99.

23 Isa Partsch-Bergsohn, *Modern Dance in Germany and the United States: Crosscurrents and Influences* (London: Harwood, 1994): 35.

24 Coton, *New Ballet*, 16.

25 Partsch-Bergsohn, *Modern Dance in Germany*, 35.

26 Fritz Cohen worked with Jooss from their time in Münster through to 1942 composing ten ballets and arranging scores for three others. He was musical director and pianist for the Ballets Jooss and joint director, with Jooss and Leeder, of the Jooss-Leeder School of Dance at Dartington. When the Ballets Jooss were forced to disband on their US tour (1942) he stayed in America where he directed opera and taught at Black Mountain College, North Carolina and at Kenyan College, Ohio. In 1946 he became founding director of the Juilliard Opera Studio, retiring in 1963. Hein Heckroth worked with Jooss in Münster, Essen and Dartington designing some 24 ballets for him. In his post-Jooss years Heckroth is most well-known for his Oscar winning designs for *The Red Shoes* (1948) and *The Tales of Hoffman* (1959).

27 Leeder was a dancer in the Ballets Jooss and also ballet master and teacher at the various schools associated with the company. He worked with Jooss until 1947, when he established The Sigurd Leeder School of Dance in London. He moved to Chile to become Director of the Dance Department at the University of Santiago in 1959, and then to Switzerland in 1964 to again open his own school. Aino Siimola danced in the Tanzbuhne-Laban, joined Jooss in Munster and followed him to Essen. Markard described her parents' professional relationship as 'artistic partners' and 'close collaborators' and that 'together they direct[ed] the Folkwang Tanztheater and later Ballets Jooss.' (*Jooss*, 157) She returned to Essen with Jooss in 1949 and continued to work with him until the mid-1960s when ill-health forced her to retire.

Jooss had around him for the first time the creative team who were to work with him for the next two decades.

At this point then Jooss's work with his dance company existed alongside his work in the theatre each equally important for, according to Jooss, in the following three years he and the Neue Tanzbühne 'made a name for ourselves in Germany [...] [while] the Münster theatre [...] became famous through its powerful productions'.[28] Evidence of the latter is seen in an English review of the Münster production of Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas* in 1926. 'Münster is not a great city, the resources of its opera house are modest [...] And still it was the best performance of *Dido* that I for one have seen [...] One's hat is raised to the manager Niedecken-Gebhardt, and to the ballet-master Kurt-Joos [sic] who are men of ideas [...] The scene of the sailors and the witches in Act 4 was brilliantly animated.'[29] Undoubtedly this was a very important time in Jooss's development not only as a choreographer but in becoming immersed in theatre practice and the ways of the theatre.

Meanwhile Laban turned much of his attention to writing with contracts for two books (*Des Kindes Gymnastik und Tanz für Kinder* and *Gymnastik und Tanz* (both 1926)) for his students and the teachers he had trained but more importantly 'to protect his own ideas from plagiarism'.[30] He also strove to protect his name and reputation by developing an accreditation system for those teaching his work – they had to have earned the Laban Diploma and keep it up to date by attending annual vacation courses. Although burdensome in organisation and administration it kept a sense of community between those working in Laban's name and was a source of income. In addition he had formed a new group, the Kammertanzbühne, which performed in Hamburg, and created several works which were well received e.g. *Don Juan* (1925) and *Narrenspiegel* (1926).

It is difficult to tell what, if any, was the relationship between Jooss and Laban at this time. Hodgson writes somewhat vaguely 'For a while the paths of Laban and Jooss only crossed from time to time [...] Jooss remained ever on the look-out for chances of reconciliation with his master.'[31] Preston-Dunlop however states more definitively: 'In 1925 and 1926 the three men [Jooss, Leeder and Laban] and Bereska met on and off, but with intense discussion.'[32] The discussions were about Laban's movement notation system to which Jooss, and Leeder, were

28 Jooss cited in Markard, *Jooss*, 35.

29 N.a. 'Purcell's *Dido* in Germany' *Musical Times*, 67, (1926): 317-318. Some of Heckroth's designs for the production can be seen at http://www.euterpevenezia.it/attivita/rivista/VeMu_33_10-22_focus_on.pdf [accessed 03.09.2015]

30 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 99.

31 John Hodgson, *Mastering Movement, the life and work of Rudolf Laban* (London; Methuen, 2001):97.

32 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 117.

very committed. Jooss is credited by Laban[33] with suggesting one of the most important developments in his system, that of aligning the system vertically.

1927 saw the first German Dancer's Congress take place in Magdeburg in June. Laban was one of the organisers and it grew out of the Theatre Exhibition already planned for the city. It attracted some eighty or so delegates, including Jooss, who were given lectures and performances including an evening of work by Laban at which *Ritterballet*, *Titan* and *Nacht* were performed.[34] After the conference Laban, Jooss, Leeder, Bereska, Albrecht Knust and others gathered together to work on Laban's notation system. The final decisions were made and the system was ready to be trialled; Laban worked on a booklet of the system's principles, while Knust explored its efficacy though notating Laban's *Titan* after the Magdeburg performances and then using the score to remount the work successfully in Hamburg.[35] How fortunate that Jooss and Leeder had this interest in kinetographie for Labanotation (as the system became known) played a crucial part in the preservation of the Jooss's repertoire – at the Jooss-Leeder School in Dartington in the late 1930s Ann Hutchinson, trained by Leeder, notated Jooss's four signature works. Jooss was one of only a few choreographers able to read the notation of his own works and he used Hutchinson's scores often to remount his work.[36]

In 1927 it was time for Jooss and Leeder to move on; Schulz-Dornburg, Jooss and Hein Heckroth co-founded the Folkwangschule für Musik, Tanz und Sprecten in Essen, supported financially by the city, with Jooss as director of the dance department. Cohen, as pianist/composer/conductor, and Leeder and Siimola as dancers were employed by the Essen opera as well as joining Folkwang Tanztheater Studio (Jooss' new company founded in 1928) with Leeder also teaching at the school. This company became the permanent ensemble of the Essen opera and toured as the Folkwang-Tanzbühne. Once again Jooss had his creative team around him and now had a school to train professional dancers for his company. This enabled Jooss and Leeder to draw on their several years of experience working in Münster, to develop the ideas and theories of Rudolf Laban and to reflect on their other individual dance experiences, which now included a brief time in Paris and Vienna where they had studied ballet. In the school these influences were channelled into a curriculum which included 'a modified form of classical training as a supplement to modern technique', eukinetics, choreutics, dance improvisation, composition, dance notation and so on,[37]

33 Rudolf Laban, *Principles of Dance and Movement Notation* (London: MacDonald and Evans, 1956): 8.

34 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 126.

35 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 133.

36 Clare Lidbury, *Kurt Jooss: Big City* (London: Dance Books, 2000): 9.

37 Markard, *Jooss,* 145. This adaptation of ballet for modern dance training pre-

while in performance these influences were channelled into what Jooss called 'Dance Theatre' the 'form and technique of dramatic choreography, concerned closely with libretto, music and above all with the interpretive artists'.[38]

The second German Dancers Congress organised by Jooss and others, in Essen in 1928 was attended by three hundred or so people from all forms of dance in Germany. There were performances, including Laban's *die Grünen Clowns*, and discussions focussed on how the new German dance should evolve – should German modern dance co-operate, or (in Jooss's case particularly) synthesise with ballet to work in the theatre, or whether (as Wigman insisted) should ballet be denounced in favour of [her] absolute modern dance?[39] Opinions were strongly divided. Laban and Jooss, on the same side and reconciled perhaps, both recognised that modern dance needed the financial and artistic support of theatres and opera houses to survive. Wigman was totally opposed to this but, somewhat ironically, after the Congress, her acclaimed ensemble was forced to disband for lack of funding. The other significant event of the Congress was that Laban introduced his notation system to the delegates which 'was welcomed wholeheartedly'.[40]

The relationship between Laban and Jooss changed during 1929. Laban's Central School had been in Hamburg since 1923 but was moved to Berlin where Laban's Choreographisches Institut had been established in 1926. When the Institut was forced to declare bankruptcy the establishment moved again, this time to amalgamate with Jooss's department at the Folkwangschule in Essen where Jooss was firmly established.[41] Jooss recalled that he was 'quite ready to arrange things and make it so he [Laban] was the uppermost god there [...] I'll do this for him so we [can] come together'. [42] How fortunate that Jooss was in a position to make this happen. However it seems Laban's standing in the school was not how Jooss envisaged for essentially Jooss remained in charge and Laban was employed for only a few hours of teaching and examining. Quite how Laban felt about moving to Essen is not known. Nonetheless Jooss believed that 'Laban

dates by five years or so the Nazi policy of introducing ballet technique as part of the curriculum for modern dancers. See Susan Manning, 'Dance in the Third Reich,' in *Choreographing History*, Ed. Susan Leigh Foster, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995):165-176.

38 Jooss, cited in Markard, *Jooss*, 39. For an exposition of Jooss' movement language see Jane Winearls, *Modern Dance – the Jooss-Leeder Method* (London: A and C Black, 1958).

39 Horst Koegler, *In the Shadow of the Swastika – Dance in Germany 1927-1936* (New York: Dance Perspectives Foundation 1974): 11.

40 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 137.

41 Evelyn Doerr, *Rudolf Laban: the dancer of the crystal* (Maryland USA: Scarecrow Press, 2008).

42 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

needed me somehow [...] I had never stopped making every effort to have peace between us again because [...] my heart was so dependent on Laban. I was really more than a son, I was a loving devotee.'[43]

Laban's 50th birthday was celebrated at the end of 1929. Amongst a plethora of performances and articles acknowledging Laban's work and influence was Jooss's creation *Pavane on the Death of an Infanta*. It is the earliest of his surviving ballets and in it we see Jooss exploring the aims of his dance theatre. The story unfolds of a princess shackled by the confines of the manners of court and her attempt to free her spirit. This narrative is told only in dance (no mime) with the dance existing only to tell her story. But it is not a mere ordering of events for the ballet reveals the feelings of the Infanta in her situation. The courtiers move with cold articulation keeping their distance from the unhappy Infanta. With curving pathways she moves amongst the rigid straight lines of the courtiers but they take no notice. The rhythm of her movements – free flowing and impulsive – contrast strongly with the strict rhythm of the courtiers' constant pavane, bound by the dance forms' insistent 4/2 metre in their impacted step close pattern. Her central movements, reaching out to the faceless people around her, are rebuffed by their desire to be separate from her. Coton[44] called it 'a perfectly proportioned miniature dance drama' where the aural, visual and emotional elements are integrated to make a brief but complete theatrical dance work. How fortunate that Jooss and Laban were reconciled and that Jooss made this work for Laban, and how fortunate are we that the ballet was notated so that it can be with us still when so much of Jooss's other work is lost.

Once re-established the relationship between Jooss and Laban seemed to flourish. In the summer of 1930 they worked at Bayreuth on the production of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* conducted by Toscanini. This brought together dancers from Laban's Kammertänzbühne, Jooss's Essen dancers and dancers from Laban's Choreographisches Insitut. Jooss was billed as Laban's 'choreographic collaborator': 'Quite how much Jooss helped him [Laban] with the choreography is open to dispute [...] Jooss himself took the view that his collaborative role had been considerable.'[45] The production would seem to have been successful according to contemporary reviews, although Frederick Spotts, in his history of Bayreuth, wrote that the Bacchanale was performed 'to suggest an orgy. Some found the choreography bold and exciting; others saw it as chaste gymnastics.'[46]

43 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

44 Coton, *New Ballet*, 57. Edited extracts of Pavane can be seen at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HzGQFXj9izQ&list=PL8sv_3DwR1TzGWc48jUM7AZbxgdEZcs5o&index=13 [accessed 03.09.2015]

45 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 157.

46 Frederic Spotts, *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1994): 152.

The relationship between Jooss and Laban at this time was in such good order that Jooss and his wife asked Laban to be godfather to their first child;[47] any remaining animosity between them must have disappeared by this point.

At the end of the summer Laban took up his new post at Berlin's State Opera at Unten den Linden with 'the most prestigious ballet company in Germany'.[48] He was responsible for choreographing new opera productions, personally responsible for the opera ballet (their standard of performance, company class, rehearsals and so on), the opera ballet school for children, and separate dance evenings for the opera ballet. This was an enormous undertaking for Laban without any of his usual supporters (Bereska for example) against an increasingly unstable economic and political background. He must have been successful as his one year contract was extended for another three.[49]

Jooss meanwhile returned to Essen trying to work, as was everyone, in what had become extraordinary circumstances. Jooss, like his company members, had been too young to see military service in World War I but they all experienced the aftermath; nearly two million Germans had died, another four million were wounded while the cost in materials, lost talent, despair and injured minds was incalculable. The 1920s had seen some economic recovery and political stability, but economic recovery – which allowed industry to thrive, the infrastructure to develop and finance for municipalities and states to subsidise theatres, opera companies and so on – used foreign loans. Jooss and his Folkwang Tanzbühne Essen undoubtedly benefitted from this but then experienced the change in circumstances as the economic situation worsened (when foreign investors called in their loans following the Wall Street Crash in 1929) leaving many actors, musicians and dancers unemployed. [50]

At the end of 1931 Jooss was invited to compete in *Le grand concours de chorégraphie* organised by Rolf de Maré and *Les Archives Internationales de la Danse* (AID) in Paris. However he was unable to register for the competition as 'New difficulties from the city of Essen again harshly crossed my most beautiful plans. Now I am stuck again and don't know how to finance the project [...] I am still hopeful of some private people [...] but [...] one cannot know whether begging will have even a glimpse of success.'[51] The money came from somewhere and Jooss and his company journeyed to Paris in June 1932 for an event which was to change all their lives.

Participants in the competition came from all over Europe (but there was no representation from Britain and little from the US) and presented dance in

47 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

48 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 159.

49 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 164.

50 Koegler, *Shadow of the Swastika,* 11.

51 Jooss cited in Markard, *Jooss*, 43.

a range of styles – from classical ballet to folk dance, German modern dance to historical dance and much more – covering a huge range of themes and subjects.[52] Jooss remembered that 'a few were very good [...] and some were rather rubbish'.[53]

Was it significant that Laban was one of the two choreographers on the sixteen-person jury?[54] He brought his wealth of experience as a dancer, choreographer, teacher and theorist in modern dance while Max Terpis, the other choreographer, had been a student of Mary Wigman, was a dancer, teacher and choreographer who had stated his admiration for both Wigman and Pavlova at the second German Dancers Congress in 1929. The final marks for the competition show that Jooss won by some considerable margin,[55] thus there is no suggestion here that it was fortunate for Jooss that Laban was on the jury although exactly how Jooss's work compared with the others is impossible to tell. Some of the competitors' work was a of a very high standard – Trudi Schoop went on to tour with some success in the US, Rosalie Chladek continued teaching and choreographing to great acclaim for many years while Oskar Schlemmer's work is well respected and researched. On the other hand several of the choreographers seemed to have vanished without trace (eg Caird Leslie and Janine Solane) while others are remembered for their careers as dancers rather than choreographers (e.g. Boris Kniaseff). Nevertheless one may wonder how well Jooss would have fared if any of the Americans (Doris Humphrey or Martha Graham for example), the Russians (George Balanchine or Serge Lifar) or the English (Frederick Ashton or Ninette de Valois) had competed. It is however very possible that *The Green Table* with its contemporary subject matter, its unique dance language, its simple but effective designs, its original music, its fine dancers and superb crafting in terms of composition may still have been judged in first place. The fact that it has been in the repertoire of companies all over the world must be testament to *The Green Table's* valid claim to be an admirable winner, paving the way for it becoming a classical work of the modern

52 See 'Les Participants au Concours de Chorégraphie' in Archives de la Danse, no.0 http://mediatheque.cnd.fr/ressources/ressourcesEnLigne/aid/ [accessed 03.09.2015]

53 Kurt Jooss, The Kurt Jooss Lectures (Hull, Hull University AVC, 1972).

54 In addition to Laban and Terpsis there were three dancers (Albert Aveline, Carlotta Zambelli and Alexandre Violinine, all from the classical school) a conductor (Vladimir Golschmann) and two theatre directors (Henri Varna and Serge Volkonsky), two artists/designers (André Masson and Ferdinand Léger), two musicians (Florent Schmidt and Gabriel Astruc) and two representing the AID (Rolf de Maré and Pierre Tugal).

55 Eduard Szamba, 'Tanzbriefe' *Der Tanz*, August 1932, 6-8. Szamba's points for 2nd and 3rd places do not clarify the winning margin – he gives Chladek 2nd place with 1048 points and Gunther 3rd place with 1079. Most likely Chladek's points should have been 1084.

dance repertoire. How did Laban feel about Jooss's victory? According to Doerr[56] 'Laban was overjoyed even to tears for his student.'

Jooss and his company returned to Essen 25,000 French francs better off and with the promise of a two week season in Paris later in the year. They were extremely busy for their Paris season was quickly followed in November by the premieres of two new works *Big City* and *A Ball in Old Vienna.* These, together with *Pavane on the Death of an Infanta* and *The Green Table* – always performed as the final ballet of the evening – completed what has become known as Jooss's signature programme.[57] Jooss and his company toured this programme locally through to the end of 1932.[58]

1933 saw the company begin the year touring in Holland and Belgium, just as Hitler became Chancellor; the Nazification of culture and the anti-Jewish policy began to impact on Jooss, his company and his work. In March, Frederick Cohen, the company's Musical Director and composer, and two other company members were discharged from employment at the theatre by the municipality.[59] Fortunately Jooss had separated the company from the theatre (and thus from the municipality) and so, under private management, was able to keep the company together – after which it was known as the Ballets Jooss.

During April and May the company had a three week season in Paris and then toured in Switzerland. In June the Ballets Jooss had their first season in London before returning to Essen. The consequences of Jooss's 'inclination to Judaism'[60] began to impact; he wrote of this time: 'During August the daily difficulties with the NSAP are constantly increasing [...]. Finally [in] mid-September, two weeks before the planned Dutch tour, Jooss is warned through the freemasons: He is to leave Essen and Germany immediately, because the Gauleitung have decided to take him into protective custody (i.e. concentration camp). An immediate, adventurous plan is successful and two days later the entire ensemble crosses the Dutch border.'[61] So, as a direct consequence of increasing political pressure and activity, Jooss and his company left Germany. He, like many other artists, but not Laban, found he could no longer live or work under the Nazi regime;[62] his personal beliefs were contrary to all that Nazism propagated.

How did Laban cope with this Nazification of culture at his job in Berlin?

56 Doerr, *Laban*, 170.

57 These four ballets are Jooss's only extant work.

58 Markard, *Jooss*, 45.

59 Markard, *Jooss*, 53.

60 Jooss, Hodgson Interview.

61 Kurt Jooss, Biographical note, c1975, cited in Markard, *Jooss*, 53.

62 Laban was not alone in this. Other dancers who stayed after Hitler came to power included Mary Wigman, Albrecht Knust, Rosalie Chladek, Gret Palucca and Dorothee Günther. See Manning, *Third Reich*, 175

Many Jewish children from the school and dancers in the ballet were forced to leave; music by Jewish composers was forbidden; the choice of repertoire was driven by Nazi policy. The burning question has to be why did not Laban leave or resign? In answer Preston-Dunlop[63] writes 'For many liberals, the awfulness was seen as so irrational, so bizarre, that it surely could not last. [...] he may have thought [it could] be survived, even turned into a support for dance.' Kolb[64] however suggests, that Laban collaborated 'to enjoy the advantages the new regime had to offer' for over the next few years the Nazis offered, and Laban held, several posts. These included: Director of the German Dance Theatre in which he organised all dance productions in the Reich; Director of the Master Academy of Dance; and Choreographer of the Opening ceremony of the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin.

Meanwhile, the Ballets Jooss performed in Holland in September and left for the United States in October (1933) where they were very well received.[65] After the USA performances the company returned to Europe and toured independently for about six months but, unsurprisingly perhaps, were forced eventually to disband. Later, through Beryl de Zoete, Jooss was introduced to Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst – owners of the Dartington estate and leaders of the experiment in rural reconstruction and cultural education there.[66] This was 'a combination of fortunate circumstances on both sides. Jooss desperately needed a refuge for himself and his group. The Elmhirsts [...] were looking for an artist of international standing and experience, with a coherent philosophy of dance.'[67] So it was that not only Jooss but also the Jooss-Leeder School were established at Dartington in the summer of 1934, for Leeder, some staff and over twenty students left the Folkwangschule in Essen to resume their work at the new school in England. Given the circumstances they had left behind finding themselves based on a 4000 acre estate of farm and woodland, purpose-built dance studios, The Barn Theatre for performances and excellent accommodation for staff and students, must have seemed incredulous.[68]

In September 1935 The Ballets Jooss was 'refounded' at Dartington so that Dartington became 'the home, headquarters and training ground of an international ballet [company]'.[69] Dartington gave Jooss space and time to

63 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 174-6.

64 Alexandra Kolb, *Performing Femininity*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009): 276.

65 John Martin, 'Art of Jooss', *New York Times*, November 5, 1933.

66 Michael Young, *The Elmhirsts of Dartington*, (Totnes: The Dartington Hall Trust, 1996): 226

67 Victor Bonham-Carter, *Dartington Hall – The History of an Experiment* (London: Phoenix House, 1958): 130.

68 See the advert for the 'Jooss-Leeder School of Dance' cited in Markard, *Jooss*, 57.

69 Bonham-Carter, *Dartington Hall*, 131.

create new work; Jooss, in return – through the quality of his work and the performances of it by The Ballets Jooss across the USA, Canada and Europe (during 1935-1939) – helped to give Dartington an international reputation as a centre for the arts, while tours in England helped to confirm Jooss's place, and that of his company, in the British performing arts world of the 1930s.[70] It was a prolific period for Jooss during which he re-worked some of his old ballets (*Big City* for example) and created several more.

Two of these new works evidence Jooss's continued political stance – *The Mirror* (1935) and *Chronica* (1939). Both are completely lost surviving only in photographs and in writings of the time. *The Mirror* was described as a sequel to *The Green Table* with Jooss attempting to show the problems of peace in the aftermath of war, principally that of unemployment (very topical in Britain in the early 1930s) while *Chronica*, a satire on dictatorship, was a blatant comment on the political situation of the time, even if it was disguised by being set in the Italian Renaissance.

With Jooss making works like this the political situation in Germany and Britain must have been at the forefront of all concerned with the company and at the school. Communications from friends and family in Germany must also have conveyed the situation there to the refugees and it was, of course, widely reported in newspapers, film, and on the radio in Britain. The political situation in Britain was of equal significance with unemployment and poverty key issues alongside dealing with Hitler's policies and actions in and beyond Germany. We know that Jooss visited Germany more than once after his escape to Dartington but Jooss has stated unequivocally that 'there was no contact' with Laban.[71] Was this Jooss saying, in effect, that he could not condone Laban staying in Germany?

Laban's work on the festival opening of the Berlin Olympics has been well documented by Preston Dunlop and Doerr. Sufficient to say that at the final rehearsal Goebbels was most displeased by what he saw, fearing that Hitler would consider Laban's work too 'intellectual'; rather than face Hitler's disapproval Goebbels 'dropped the whole thing'.[72] Laban was dismissed from his post as director of the Master Academy and his sphere of influence was steadily reduced;

70 Clare Lidbury, 'Kurt Jooss and Sigurd Leeder: Refugees, Battle and Aftermath' in *German-speaking Exiles in the Performing Arts in Great Britain from 1933*, Eds. Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013).

71 Jooss, Hodgson interview. However Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004): 59 cite Laban's 'farewell letter' to Marie-Louise Lieschke in which Laban writes 'Jooss assures me of his willingness to help but is overburdened "with such cases" ' suggesting that Jooss and Laban were in contact but that Jooss was not able to do anything in the circumstances.

72 Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004): 121

later he was harassed by the Gestapo over proof of his Aryan ascent and his affiliation with societies, specifically the Freemasons. He became ill, he had no work and so no income and he looked to friends and former students for support. In August 1937 he travelled to Paris for a dance conference at the invitation of Rolf de Maré and then stayed 'to help set up a "European dance pavilion" for the World's fair'.[73] He still sought work in Germany but to no avail; he spent the end of 1937 living in abject poverty declining mentally and physically.

It seems Jooss and his wife, needing a holiday at the end of 1937, drove to the South of France; alerted by Lisa Ullmann to Laban's situation they met him in Paris and persuaded him to come to England – in spite of their political differences Jooss's feelings towards Laban appear unchanged. How fortunate that Jooss was in a position to offer Laban a home through the generosity of the Elmhirsts; the history of dance in Britain may have been very different had Jooss not chosen to share his good fortune.[74] As it was Laban was granted permission to stay in Britain for six months. Both Doerr and Preston Dunlop credit Lisa Ullmann as being Laban's saviour as she nursed him through those first months at Dartington. At first he was too ill to work and then it became clear that there was little work for him in the Jooss-Leeder School. Later Laban was to write 'It was my illness, my own indecision and without doubt also the general situation which limited a lively participation in the common work at Dartington.'[75] However by the time of his 60th birthday in November 1939 Laban was well on his way to recovery. Jooss, now a well-established figure in British cultural life, as ever was supportive of his one-time master – he wrote in a celebratory article in *The Dancing Times* 'Laban is not just a great *maître de ballet* among others of our time. His part in the history of dance is much more significant and essential [...] actually he created an entirely new conception of dance.'[76]

When the Nazis invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 Britain declared war on Germany two days later but the Ballets Jooss continued touring in England. *The Green Table* was immediately dropped from the repertoire, *Chronica* was not. Then, under a contract negotiated before the war started, at the end of December 1939 the Ballets Jooss left for a tour of the US, with Cohen as director. Jooss did not go with them 'on the grounds that he wished to remain in and with England in its struggle against the Nazis and the belief that the time would come when his services in one form or another might be made use of'.[77]

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73 Doerr, *Laban*, 179.

74 Hodgson, *Mastering Movement*, 99.

75 Letter from Rudolf Laban to Dorothy Elmhirst, dated 12 January, 1941 in the Dartington Archive [DWE Arts 8.B]

76 Kurt Jooss, 'Rudolf Laban on his sixtieth birthday', *The Dancing Times*, (December 1939): 129.

77 Francois Lafitte, *The Internment of Aliens* (London: Penguin Books, 1940): 154.

This was not to be, at least not in the short term for Jooss was interned at Huyton camp (Liverpool). In the interview with Jooss (1973) Hodgson seemed incensed that Laban was not interned when Jooss was: 'He was the biggest risk [...] You had been here since '34! Between '34 and '39 you were clearly working in a very defined area. Laban came [...] straight from Hitler's bosom.' Preston Dunlop[78] suggests Laban was not interned 'on the grounds of his ill health' but he did have to move from the coastal area around Dartington. At first he and Ullmann moved to the Elmhirst's London flat and then to Newtown in Wales; she embarked on her mission to bring Laban's work to the notice of British educators while Laban, finally granted a work permit, continued to write and lecture, supporting Ullmann as she spread the word. Given Laban's apparent pro-Nazi stance before he came to England how bizarre that his contribution to the war effort came when the British Air Ministry asked him to help them understand parachute jumping[79] and through the contribution that he made with Frederick C. Lawrence, an engineer and co-director of Paton Lawrence and Co., to helping the workforce in a variety of factories to achieve maximum output.

Jooss, after nearly six months in internment, and following a change of government policy, was released to go to Cambridge where he and Leeder restarted the Jooss-Leeder School with initial support from the Elmhirsts.[80] Jooss again was very fortunate; such was his standing in the cultural life of Britain that soon he came under the patronage of Alice Roughton[81] and was supported by the likes of John Maynard Keynes. But, from the time of his release from internment, Jooss fought to be allowed to join his company in America. By mid-1942 there was no company for Jooss to go to – after touring across the US the company had gone to South America criss-crossing the continent for fourteen months giving over 300 hundred performances. Eventually the company returned to New York and performed briefly on Broadway before finally disbanding. One by one those who wished to return to England did so. In August 1942 Jooss was able to reform the Ballets Jooss in Cambridge; with

78 Preston Dunlop, *an extraordinary life*, 210.

79 Jooss, Hodgson interview.

80 Christopher Martin, *Report to the Dartington Hall Trustees*, (7 February 1941): 3, in the Dartington Archive [T/AA/1]. With so many staff interned, and many of the international students having left, the Jooss-Leeder School at Dartington had been forced to close. By the time Peter Wright joined Jooss in 1944 training of students was done on the road – see Peter Wright, 'Wright on Jooss', in *Kurt Jooss: 60 years of The Green Table*, Eds. Andy Adamson and Clare Lidbury, (Birmingham: The University of Birmingham, 1994): 50-62.

81 Alice Roughton was a wealthy, somewhat eccentric psychiatrist well known for her anti-war views. She was extremely generous opening her house in Cambridge to her patients and to refugees from across the globe; these included Jooss and his family.

male dancers at a premium, he was forced to dance again in the company, so that '[he] did the work of three men – choreographer, artistic director and dancer'.[82] The company managed to maintain its high standards of technique and performance and, despite the appalling wartime conditions, toured for thirty-five to forty weeks of the year.

In the aftermath of the war, early in 1946, the Ballets Jooss's first post-war tour took them to Belgium, Germany and Holland with ENSA, in British uniforms – one can only speculate what this must have been like for Jooss and Leeder and the few other German members of the company. They then travelled to America where they incurred huge losses and a season in Paris was also unsuccessful.[83] After nearly twenty-five years of working together Jooss and Leeder were at a crossroads with no school and a company in dire financial straits; in August 1947, in the post-war financial climate, the Ballets Jooss had to disband – Jooss and Leeder went their separate ways.

Were Jooss and Laban in contact at this time? Laban and Ullmann had worked closely together with Laban rethinking, adapting and extending his theories to suit the new initiatives forged by Ullmann so that Laban's work found its way into industry, actor training, movement therapy and so on.[84] By 1946 his work was well established so that the Art of Movement Studio was founded in Manchester. Just as Laban's work was becoming firmly established in Britain Jooss's time here came to an end. We do not know if they had contact before Jooss went to Chile in May 1948 (where three former Ballets Jooss dancers had settled establishing what was to become the Chilean National Ballet) nor if during the following year Jooss discussed with Laban what must have been a momentous decision – to return to Germany to direct the dance department at the Folkwangschule in Essen with the condition that he had an independent Dance Theatre company, as in 1932.

The Folkwang Tanztheater der Stadt Essen was established in 1951with the repertoire of the Ballets Jooss, and some of its soloists, transfering to it. During the two years of its existence the company toured the UK and Europe and received very good reviews, indeed it was described as 'Germany's premier ballet company'.[85] Mary Clarke reviewing the company's season at Sadler's Wells in 1953 suggested that the new works did not compare favourably to *The Green Table* although she was very complimentary about the quality of the dancers and dancing. Jooss recalled that it was during that season in London in 1953 that he saw Laban for the last time.[86]

82 Fernau Hall, *Modern English Ballet* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1948): 188.

83 Hall, *English Ballet*, 189.

84 Hodgson, *Mastering Movement*, 110.

85 J. Stewart Barker, 'Ballets Jooss 1953', *Dance and Dancers*, (April 1953): 8.

86 Jooss, Hodgson interview. Laban died in July 1958. Jooss retired from the

Jooss and Laban's paths had crossed for some thirty or so years and clearly it was mutually beneficial even as the fortunes – artistic, personal and financial – of each waxed and waned. It is evident from the many interviews which Jooss gave that his admiration of Laban never faltered even if their political views were different. Laban does not seem to have been interviewed about Jooss in the way Jooss was about Laban, but a letter dating from Christmas 1938 makes clear Laban's opinion of his former student. Jooss thought Laban's words significant for he published the letter in subsequent Ballet Jooss programmes: 'Your work has developed in an individual and original manner, its source is as clear and its enthusiasm as genuine as it was when I had the privilege to introduce you to the noble Art of Dancing [...] I see through your work [...] a great hope nears fulfilment: that the language of movement might become apt to express things which can only be stated by the dance [...] you have to admit [...] you are a poet who can give utterance to the eternal ideas of humanity as well as to the problems of our own day in the language of an entirely new art.'[87]

Laban signs the letter 'in true friendship'; perhaps it was the depth of this friendship which allowed the good, the bad and the very (un)fortunate not to stand in the way of an interesting and stimulating relationship between two great men of European modern dance. That it was of profound significance to them both is not in doubt.

Folkwangschule in 1964 – a resurgence of interest in his dance works from the mid-1960s culminated in the Joffrey Ballet Company's presentation of the four signature works in 1976; he died in March 1979.

87 Rudolf Laban, Letter to Kurt Jooss dated Christmas 1938, published in subsequent programmes.

Report on the 2017 EADH Conference held in Dresden

Held at the Technische Universität, Dresden

This year's conference was held at the Technische Universität in Dresden and for those members who could arrive early the Friday was given over to a fascinating day of exhibitions and visits. It began with a visit to the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings to see the collection of illustrations of dancers' costumes. There then followed a visit to the Dresden State Art Collection in the Royal Palace. This included the Electoral Wardrobe, an amazing collection of early seventeenth century male and female costume work originally by members of the Electoral family and in perfect condition. Also in the Royal Palace was the Dresden State Art Collection which drew gasps of amazement and many cries of 'have you seen …', particularly in the treasure chamber of Augustus the Strong. I personally will remember the exotic Turkish embroidered tents used when the Turkish army went into battle, as well as the delightful *Court of Delhi* with its exquisite miniature gold, enamelled and bejewelled figures in perfect proportion, showing visiting dignitaries approaching the Sultan's palace with their gifts. After several hours wandering around this amazing museum, those who still had the stamina were taken on a sightseeing tour of the city of Dresden.

The Conference proper began on Saturday morning with a welcome by Uta Dorothea Sauer and a paper by Iris Winkler on the theme of the conference, the relations between Dance and Music in which she spoke of the dances in operas and the use of their music in social dance. After this Giles Bennett told of a newly discovered late seventeenth-century manuscript of German choreographies for six dancers, showing floor patterns. These were probably for six male dancers and may have had connections with the Jesuits schools. They were in the style of Lambranzi and the English country dances but they pose intriguing problems as they have no steps and no music, and give no indication of repeats, if any, for each figure.

After the coffee break Jane Gingell spoke of choosing music for the Stuart masques and antimasques. She was followed by Barbara Segal with a particularly provocative paper on the interpretation of choreographies. She quoted Balanchine as saying that 'dance is music made visible' and demonstrated the many ways dance steps and phrasing can create their own rhythms, this being distinct from the rhythm of the music. She suggested that there should be a partnership between dance and music and that it should be possible to vary the rhythm of the steps within the musical phrase. This produced a lively debate which extended into the lunch break.

After lunch we were to have a paper given jointly by Mary Collins and Rachel

Brown, but Rachel reported that Mary was ill and unable to attend. We sent her our best wishes for a speedy recovery and meanwhile Rachel proceeded to say that few musicians understood the nuances of dance music. She took the sarabande as a particular example because she said it offered a wealth of information in the performance for musicians. She illustrated the different interpretations for playing for the dance. Mojca Gal also used the sarabande as well as the rigaudon in her examples of how different baroque bowing affected the interpretation of the dance, using first a pochette violin before changing to a baroque violin. She pointed out the difference between simply counting the beat and following the rhythm, and said that the player should not keep taking the bow off the strings. This theme was followed by Ricardo Barros and Nicolette Moonan in their paper 'Lully the sound alchemist'. Ricardo quoted Dumanoir's *Marriage of Music and Dance* in which he says that the dancer must have a good understanding of rhythm and harmony. Michel de Pure in 1688 also stated that a dancer should at least know the bars of music. Nicolette took up the question of bowing and illustrated how the use of the bow could give harmonic rhythm colour and phrasing which could change the dancers' reaction to the music. She suggested that the terms 'down bow' and 'up bow' were not appropriate.

The final session of the day began with Christine Bayle looking at the musical and choreographical questions in the period between Renaissance and Baroque. She discussed the various seventeenth-century manuscript sources for the Suites of Branles and compared the different versions. She was followed by Edith Lalonger who spoke of the ballet figuré in the operas of Rameau and as described by Noverre. She pointed out that the term 'pantomime' was not used by either Rameau or Noverre. She followed her paper with a short workshop on the dance of Satyrs.

The first day ended with a demonstration by young students of Ingolf Collmar of Berlin. They presented some of Collmar's choreographies for Purcell's masque The Fairy Queen. These young dancers showed a dignity and grace which charmed and inspired the whole audience and made a happy close to an intense day's work.

Sunday began with much laughter and clattering of castanets as Konrad Przybycień gave a very dramatic demonstration of their use. Jane Gingell then tried to teach everyone the basic rules for their use. When the excitement died down Françoise Lapeyre spoke of the connection between music and dance in the ballets presented in Paris during the years 1776-1782 and deplored the lack of action in poems at this time. Noverre said that the three arts, poetry, music and dance should unite and work together. Following this Helena Kazarova showed film of ballets in operas ranging from Starzer to Beethoven.

After lunch Tiziana Leucci gave another of her fascinating papers on the relationship between music and dance in the western world as opposed to the

east. She pointed out that in the west the orchestra is below the level of the stage and therefore the dancers have to rely on the conductor and can have problems if he varies the tempo. In India it is the dancer's feet which make the percussion and can therefore improvise their movement. They dance to a song, the singer being able to repeat lines of verse and according to his variations of mood the dance can change as there is no score for the music. The dancers wear bells on their ankles which can show if they are out of time and the musicians are usually behind the dancer so there is true dialogue between the two.

Lisa Fusillo then spoke about the collision of music and dance in the work of Massine. In his use of whole symphonies such as Tchaikovsky's Symphony number 5 for his ballet *Les Presages* he was accused of arrogance. However, after he had left Diagilev's company their *Rite of Spring* shocked audiences in both the music and the dance. Susanna Avanzini followed this showing extracts from the Marche des Vignerons in *Giselle* and drawing comparisons with the Grande March Diabolique in *Faust*. This was followed by Caroline Konzen who spoke about the school of Gret Palucca. Palucca trained in ballet but changed her style after seeing the work of Mary Wigman. She began to work as a soloist and later set up her own school in Dresden.

The final paper of the conference took us back again to the fifteenth century when Bill Tuck discussed 'who played for the dancing'. He showed a number of illustrations of couples apparently dancing and looked at the instrumentation, drawing the conclusion that probably the wind bands were playing for processions while the dancers were accompanied by pipe and tabor.

The conference closed with thanks to Dresden for hosting this year's conference and to Uta Dorothea Sauer for organising it. We said goodbye and hoped to meet again next year in Seville.

Madeleine Inglehearn

Giannandrea Poesio

It is fitting to pay tribute to our former Chairman and editor of *Choreologica*, Giannandrea Poesio who died last year aged 57. Giannandrea had previously held the post of Vice-Chairman of the EADH since its early days.

He was born to a highly cultured family in Florence and Italian through and through. His father was a respected theatre critic and had been active in the resistance during the Second World War. The great Italian opera conductor, Gianandrea Gavazzeni, was a family friend and Giannandrea, with an extra 'n' to avoid confusion, was named after him.

Very early into his career as a dancer he applied himself to dance scholarship. After graduating from Università degli Studi di Firenze with a degree in the History of Performing Arts in 1986 he set on a long road of research and further educational plaudits gaining a PhD in Dance History from the University of Surrey in 1993, where he also directed the MA courses from 2000-2005. After this he was principal lecturer at the London Metropolitan University for six years before moving to the University of Bedfordshire where he remained until his death.

He was Dance Critic for the *Spectator* from 1994-2014 when he began writing for *Dance Europe*. His critiques for these publications are insightful and enlightening infused with a wealth of reference acquired by his deep immersion in the study of Dance History. This set him apart from many of his journalist contemporaries.

His academic contribution cannot be overstated. He was internationally acclaimed for his knowledge of the Italian Ballet and the effect of the peregrinations of the Italian dancers across Europe in the nineteenth century with particular emphasis on London and Russia. I think he felt quite a spiritual affinity with Enrico Cecchetti and Pierina Legnani. This led him to Russia to research their contribution and influence on the Maryinsky Ballet and the Imperial Theatre School. He spent extended periods in St Petersburg on research accessing the remotest of archives in search of his quest. This led to an invitation by Sergei Vikharev of the Maryinsky Ballet to assist in the remounting of the original 1890 choreographic version of *The Sleeping Beauty*. Here his expertise in the field of mime came into its own. He was often engaged to teach the mime aspects of the great ballets to leading dancers of UK ballet companies.

Giannandrea has left a large legacy of academic essays in many respected journals. Although there is a special focus on Enrico Cecchetti, he was a totally rounded academic well read around his subject. This gives his writing the added dimension to provoke thought on the philosophy of dance in its widest sense.

There are obituaries in the *Daily Telegraph* and *Dance Europe* which give a sense of his achievement.

On a professional level he will be greatly missed by the dance world for his immense contribution and on a personal level as a true raconteur and bon viveur.

Geoffrey Whitlock

Ivor Guest

14 April 1920 – 30 March 2018

For this illustrious readership I have no fear of anyone saying Ivor Who? Because I know, because I fear, that we all have only to look towards our groaning bookshelves to be all too aware of the scale as well as the literal weight of Ivor Guest's contribution to our subject – Dance History.

Ivor did not start out as a dance historian, not even a historian at all. His first published book *Napoleon III in England* (1952), was occasioned by a fascination that the Emperor Napoleon III had made his home in exile close to where Ivor was brought up. But long before that he had been writing scholarly articles for Richard Buckle's magazine *Ballet*. Buckle had produced the first issue just before the outbreak of war and resumed the publication in 1945. He then gathered around him a group of dedicated balletomanes and sprinkled the publication with innovative photographs and early artworks by many of the big names in post-war British art. They formed an informal academy in which Ivor functioned as their 'History Man'. Articles on the history of dance were leavened with wider subjects – he wrote memorably about the Eglinton Tournament where the cream of Victorian aristocracy dusted down their family suits of armour and joined the joust (it rained) and gradually he accumulated material towards *The Romantic Ballet in England* (1953) – the rest, is of course – history.

As a solicitor by profession he brought his professional acumen and knowledge of how the world worked to a great number of institutions. He was one of the founders of the European Association of Dance Historians and a life member. He was generous with advice if asked and a gentle guiding hand on any committee and like the proverbial iceberg, the majority of his work, as with his relentless scholarship, remained unseen. He married Ann Hutchinson the pre-eminent historian and practitioner of dance notation in 1962.

I had met Ivor Guest a couple of times – how could one not – but in 1996 I offered up my M.Phil thesis on James Harvey D'Egville and the London Ballet at the University of Surrey – I had had taken a few swipes at Ivor in Chapter One and was horrified to find that he would be one of the examiners for my Viva Voce examination. I need not have worried – Ivor was kindness personified and over the next two hours we tussled over the affairs of the King's Theatre, ballet in London and Paris, and Mr D'Egvilles place therein.

I had to provide an extra copy of my thesis for him which was returned – it had been heavily annotated, all the French accents had been added, and there had been many comments in the margins – all erased (you're not allowed to put a mark on a thesis) they were, however, still readable and it remains one of my

most treasured possessions.

Ivor Guest will be remembered with equal admiration and affection – our task is to live up to his standards – in both regards.

Keith Cavers

CHOREOLOGICA

The refereed journal of the European Association of Dance Historians aims to provide a forum for historical and theoretical explorations of dance histories and practices. Articles for submission are welcomed. These may include analyses of individual works or investigations, whether they be monographic, contextual or interdisciplinary. Submissions may address topics ranging from the past dance practices to contemporary themes. The editorial board particularly welcomes essays rethinking current approaches and theoretical understanding of dance practice, history or crossovers into other disciplines.

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Editorial Board Choreologica
European Association of Dance Historians
9 St Margarets Avenue
Torquay
TQ1 4LW
eadhcommittee@gmail.com

ISSN 1746-5737

eadh European Association of Dance Historians

2 370000 463098