Chapter 3: Stillness in nature's dance: expanded choreographies of the Italian Renaissance

Contemporary knowledge of 15th-century Italian dance largely comes from the writings of three figures: Domenico da Piacenza (knighted dance master); Guglielmo Ebreo [the Jew] da Pesaro, known as Giovanni Ambrosio after converting to Christianity (student of Domenico and also knighted dance master);[1] and courtier Antonio Corna(z)zano (another student of Domenico). Since Cornazano's dance treatise includes several notions already developed by Domenico, the focus here is on the latter's *De arte saltandi & choreas ducendi* (*Of the Art of Dancing*, 1450s, in A.W. Smith's Italian transcription and English translation), and Guglielmo Ebreo's *De pratica seu arte tripudii* (*On the Practice or Art of Dancing*, 1463, in Barbara Sparti's Italian transcription and English translation, at times juxtaposed to Smith's).[2] Domenico and Guglielmo's theories partially overlap, but also diverge; here, they are treated as complementary, non-mutually exclusive manifestations of 15th-century Italian-dance culture.

The two treatises are among the earliest written sources on Western dance, contributing to their canonical status in the historiography of Renaissance dance and their particular position in the pre-history of choreo(-)graphy. While other treatises of the 15th and 16th centuries include material on notation (whereas Domenico and Guglielmo provide descriptive instructions), dance technique, and/or steps too, Domenico and Guglielmo's treatises are relevant here because they elaborate notions that refer to "expanded" aspects of choreography – for

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1   For a short biography see Sparti, Barbara: Introduction, in: Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica seu arte tripudii*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1993, pp. 23–25.

2   Domenico da Piacenza: *De arte saltandi & choreas ducendi*, in: Smith, A. William (ed.): *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music: Twelve Transcribed Italian Treatises and Collections in the Tradition of Domenico da Piacenza*, Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press 1995 [1450s, trans. A. William Smith], pp. 10–67; Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica seu arte tripudii*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1993 [1463, trans. Barbara Sparti]. The translation by William A. Smith in the edition indicated above was also used. The treatise attributed to Guglielmo should be seen as having been written by him in a non-literal sense; the actual writing was done by a scribe. See Barbara Sparti's introduction to her translation of *De pratica*, p. 6.

example, motionlessness. Through notions such as *misura* and *fantasmata* (analysed below), Domenico and Guglielmo allow one to distinguish early dance-historical sources' relevance to expanded choreography not through the contemporary focus on negation (e.g. the *lack* of motion) but as positively-defined parts of choreographic theory and practice.

The treatises are indeed composed of a combination of dance theory and practice – in the case of Guglielmo, a series of exercises – reflecting a permeability between them, and corresponding to their authors' multiple activities: teaching, theorising, choreographing, composing music, performing. Notably, the theoretical parts of the treatises enumerate the characteristics dance should display and skills dancers should acquire – presumably with the help of a dancing master. These include *misura* (analysed below), *memoria* (memory of movements), *concordantia* (Domenico) or *partire* (Guglielmo) *di terreno* (awareness of the dancing space and positions therein), as well as notions expressing stylistic and technical specifications, such as *maniera* and *aiere*. The texts then provide verbal descriptions of dances along with their music, which function as bases for contemporary reconstructions of Renaissance dance – even though they are not exhaustive (e.g. steps are named but not fully described), presumably because they assume pre-existing knowledge.[3] The most prominent type of dance represented is the slow and dignified *bassadanza*, but multi-rhythm compositions (*balli*) are also included.

The dances Domenico and Guglielmo refer to are those primarily practiced by the nobility of Italian Renaissance society. Vernacular forms were not documented with the same assiduity; however, a circulation of dance forms across socioeconomic classes can be hypothesised, beyond what the texts suggest.[4] In this context, the dances functioned, as Jennifer Nevile has explained, as a means for social marking and 'ritualised courtship'.[5] As the boundaries between

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3   Barbara Sparti considers the possibility that these descriptions may be mere "skeletons" to be enriched by ornamentation in practice : Sparti, Barbara (auth.), Giordano, Gloria & Pontremoli, Alessandro (eds.): *Dance, Dancers and Dance-Masters in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, Bologna: Massimiliano Piretti 2015, p. 145. Cornazano does purport to set the dances down in writing '*che l'arte gia insegnata non sia vana* [so that the art already taught might not be lost]': Cornazano, Antonio: *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, in : Smith (ed.) : *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music* [1465], p. 85.

4   Dances like the *piva* were practiced outside of the courts, but the fact remains that the dance culture not concerning the nobility is excluded from written sources. Sparti: Introduction, p. 58; Nordera, Marina: Pourquoi écrire la danse? Italie XVe – XVIe siècles, in: *La Notation chorégraphique: Outil de mémoire et de transmission: Etats généraux de l'atelier baroque*, Alfortville: L'atelier Baroque/Compagnie Fêtes Galantes 2007, p. 17.

5   Nevile, Jennifer: Dance and Society in *Quattrocento* Italy, in: Nevile, Jennifer (ed.): *Dance, Spectacle and the Body Politick 1250-1750*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2008, p. 81.

social and theatrical dance were not fully entrenched, these dances' steps may have been transferred to spectacular situations – such as dramatically-inclined *moresche.*[6] While Domenico and Guglielmo's dances characterise the 15th century, they remained in circulation until the early 16th; similarly, while they were mainly practiced in the courts of the Italian peninsula, the presence of italianised Spanish and French *basses danses* in Guglielmo's collections – as well as the fact that his treatise was brought to France by Louis XII – point to a wider European circle of influence.[7]

By composing sequences of corporeal movements, Domenico and Guglielmo practiced choreography as an art of making dances. However, when referring to dance-making, they used the terms "*compositione*" [composition] and "*fabricatione*" [fabrication] (Guglielmo also speaks of "organising" and "preparing" celebrations including dance); they used the term "notation" (e.g. "*balli notati*") for their writing.[8] Building on this discursive distance from "choreography", this chapter adopts an expanded-choreographic perspective in order to investigate the gaps remaining in understanding courtly dance in Renaissance Italy, if "choreography" is understood as revolving around a physical body, the singularity of human creativity and performance, and the primacy of motion.

Corporeal interstices and correspondences

Dance was an undoubtedly corporeal affair for the Italian Renaissance, as reflected in Domenico and Guglielmo's treatises – contrary to Raoul Auger Feuillet's one [Chapter 2]. The body often enters their discourse, with Domenico talking of the '*motto corporalle mosso da luoco a luoco* [bodily motion through space]' or dance's '*motti corporali* [corporeal movements]' and Guglielmo devel-

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6   Sparti: Introduction, p. 54, note 21. Sparti also reports that two of Domenico's choreographies include pantomimic gestures and facial expressions and Smith that Guglielmo also created more theatrical dances. Sparti, Barbara: Antiquity as Inspiration in the Renaissance of Dance: The Classical Connection and Fifteenth-Century Italian Dance, in: *Dance Chronicle* 16/3 (1993), p. 377; Smith (ed.): *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, p. 109.

7   Sparti, Giordano & Pontremoli: *Dance, Dancers and Dance-Masters*, p. 308; Wilson, David Raoul (ed.): *The Basse Danse Handbook. Text and Context: Seventeen Original Sources*, New York: Pendragon Press 2012, pp. 127, 129–130; Sparti: Introduction, p. 7.

8   Domenico da Piacenza: *De arte saltandi*, pp. 12, 16, 26; Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica*, pp. 84, 104, 118, 176, 251. (Guglielmo's references to "organising" and "preparing" celebrations are found in a second treatise he published under the moniker Giovanni Ambrosio.) Barbara Sparti does use the label "choreographies" to name the verbal descriptions of the dances.

oping a principle he refers to as '*movimento corporeo* [body movement]'.[9] Both considered a healthy and able body to be a pre-requisite for dance. For example, in Guglielmo's passage on the aptly-named *movimento corporeo*, he writes that

> [l]e qual cose sonno molto piu facili & suave a chi dal summo cielo ha la sua natura & complexione gentile a cio disposta & ben proportionata colla sua persona libera. sana. & expedita senza alchuno manchamento di suoi membri: ma giovene. formoso. destro. legiero. & di gratia bene dottato: in cui tutte le predite parti si possano con piu longa delectatione liberamente exercitando dimostrare. Impero che in persone de suoi membri defectose non possano haver luogho, come sonno zoppi. gobbi. stropiati. et simili genti: perche queste tal parti | vogliano & consisteno nello exercitio et movimento corporale [these things are far easier and more amenable for those whose nature and noble make-up have been disposed to it by the heavens above, and whose well-proportioned bodies are pliant, healthy and agile, with no feebleness of limb; that is, the young, the shapely, the nimble, the lightsome, and those well-endowed with grace, in whom all the aforesaid elements can, through liberal study, be demonstrated with more lasting delight. Thus there is no place for them in persons whose limbs are faulty (like the lame, the hunchbacked, the crippled, and such people), because these particular elements require and have their very essence in exercise and body movement].[10]

Domenico concurs:

> [N]iuna creatura creata che habia in se de natura mancamento de questo motto zentille capace sia […] zopi gobi guerci de tutti li ministerii aprensun sono Salvo che de questo operandose seria frusta. Adomque li bisogna prosperita de fortuna che e beleza [no creature who has natural defects is capable of this refined motion […] lame, hunchbacked, or maimed people of all callings will not succeed in this. One needs good fortune – which is beauty].[11]

Stylistic and technical aspects of dance are also particularly connected to the body; for example, *aiere* [air] is presented as a rising motion of the body and *mayniera* [manner] as a turning of the body.[12] Guglielmo's text includes a specific chapter on the proper bearing of female dancers as a '*humile & mansueto* [humble and meek]' bodily movement, with a dignified carriage, head '*dritto suso & alla persona respondente* [upright, aligned with the body]'.[13]

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9   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 10–13; Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 98–99.

10   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 98–99.

11   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 10–11.

12   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 96–99.

13   Ibid., pp.108–109.

But this body, however present it may be, is not a solely-physical entity. In a pre-dualist perspective – in which material and spiritual aspects of the person are not fragmented – reflections on the characteristics, postures, and capabilities of the body are complexified by references that expand beyond the physicality of a dancing corporeality. Guglielmo's text refers (apart from physical motions) to *movimenti spiritali* [movements of the soul] and to human spirits being moved,[14] widening the scope of his practice to the non-material. He presents the virtue of dance as '*una actione demonstrativa di fuori di movimenti spiritali* [an outward manifestation of the movements of the soul]'[15] through physically-instantiated movements. According to *De pratica*, harmonic music can have an effect on a person's intellect and affections; these non-corporeal aspects of the person are put into '*dolci commovimenti* [sweet commotions]',[16] which struggle to become exteriorised through action. Through Guglielmo's connection between outward physical motions and inner movements of the soul, dance becomes a sign of the dancer's inner nature:

> *La quale agl'inamorati & generosi cuori et agli animi gentili per celeste inclinatione piu tosto che per accidentale dispositione e amicissima & conforme. Ma aliena in tutto & mortal inimicha di vitiosi & mechanici plebei: i quali le piu volte con animo corrotto & colla scelerata mente la fano di arte liberale & virtuosa sci|enza : adultera & servile* [This [art of dancing] most favours and befits those whose hearts are loving and generous and those whose spirits are ennobled by a heavenly bent rather than by a fortuitous inclination. But it is completely alien to, and the mortal enemy of, vile and rude mechanicals, who often, with corrupt souls and treacherous minds, turn it from a liberal art and virtuous science into something adulterous and ignoble].[17]

At the same time, Guglielmo points to dance as functioning in the inverse direction – from outer action towards inner being; it is possible for external movement practice to influence the interior workings of the mover. In a short poem inserted between the theoretical and the practical parts of his treatise, he writes that '*Il bel danzar che con virtu s'acquista / Per dar piacer all'anima gentile / Conforta il cuor & fal piu signorile* [the beautiful dancing which with virtue is acquired / to give pleasure to the gentle soul / comforts the heart and makes it

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14   Ibid., pp. 88–89, 106–107. This conception of movement between the incorporeal and the corporeal was shared by Renaissance practitioners of other arts, most notably Leon Battista Alberti: Procopio, Patrizia: 'Danzare per fantasmata': L'immagine del movimento nell'arte coreutica del primo Rinascimento, in: *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 16/2 (2010), p. 563.

15   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 88–89.

16   Ibid., pp. 88–89.

17   Ibid., pp. 90–91.

more noble]'.[18] In his theoretical exposition about dance, the master accordingly argues that

> *non solamente gli huomini virtuosi & honesti fa tornare gentili & pellegrini: ma anchora quegli sonno male acostumati & di vil conditione nati, fa divenir gentili & d'assai* [not only does it ennoble and refine virtuous and esteemed men, but even the ill-mannered and the base-born become most noble minded].[19]

Dance not only reflects the soul but also – if practiced properly – acts upon the person's interiority through physical actions. Between "movements of the soul" and outwardly-visible dance steps, the dancer's actions appear to be those of a multi-faceted, not-solely-material being. Similarly, dance itself – more than an organic, incarnated practice – is situated at the interstice of the physical and the spiritual.

It is crucial to take this interstitial position into account when attempting to understand the choreographic politics of the Italian Renaissance. Treatises like Domenico and Guglielmo's were aimed at social distinction and therefore social stratification; both focus on dances of the nobility, potentially contributing to a marginalisation and/or assimilation of dances practiced outside of politically-, socially-, and economically-dominant classes' context and aesthetics. Guglielmo claims that the lower socio-economic classes – the '*mechanici plebei* [rude mechanicals]'[20] – are those whose vile nature leads them to practice a less-worthy – dangerous, even – dance:

> *ne descendano molti homicidij. peccati. et altri mali, questo non niegho, & cio quando tal arte e fatta et exercitata da huomini dissoluti. mechanici. plebei. et voluptuosi. [...] Ma quando e exercitata da huomini gentili. virtuosi. & honesti, dico essa scienza & arte essere buona et virtuosa et di commendatione & laude digna* [I do not deny that many murders, sins and other evils come of it; that is, when this art is performed and practiced by dissolute, vile, base and lecherous men [...] But when it is practiced by noble, virtuous, and honest men, I affirm this science and art to be good, virtuous and worthy of commendation and praise].[21]

As evidenced by the low economic status of certain dance masters in the Italian 15th century (at times holding multiple jobs), and the possibility that dances

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18   Ibid., pp. 122–123, author translation based on Smith.

19   Ibid., pp. 114–115.

20   Sparti notes that *mechanici* is used as a synonym for "base", while Smith translates the expression as 'unimaginative underclasses'. Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 90–91 footnote 7; Smith (ed.) : *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, p. 128.

21   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, p. 114–115. "*Gentile*" is not precisely associated with a noble *class* – Smith translates it as "gentle", and uses "noble" as the translation of "*signorile*": Smith (ed.) : *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, p. 152.

intended for noble circles were taken up by other social classes,[22] it is possible that the attempt to present a specific dance practice as characteristic of a noble nature and class did not wholly succeed. Be it successful or not, however, the function of dance as a social stratifier goes beyond its instantiation in the physical body; Italian-Renaissance dance culture did not read the body as a purely-material space of social capital projection, but, rather, as a manifestation of a person's inner moral and – or therefore – social worth.

The non-solely-physical nature of the body and dance in the treatises is paralleled, particularly in Guglielmo's text, by a non-dichotomy between the human being and non-human entities – a non-anthropocentric view of the human being. Guglielmo's treatise establishes a relationship of correspondence between the four voices of music, the four humours (yellow and black bile, blood, phlegm) of the human body, and the four elements (fire, earth, air, water).[23] In *De pratica*, he writes:

> *quando [...] mancha in noi una di queste quattro sustanze principale chiamate elementi, de li quali siamo composti et formati: subito mancharia la propria vita. [...] et cosi similmente le quattro voci principali & formative della dolce melodia intrando per lo nostro audito quando hanno le sue debite & misurate concordanze porgeno a i nostri spiriti di singular dolceza una nuova et delectevole vita* [if [...] one of these four principal substances called elements (of which we are composed and formed) should be lacking, then our life would cease at once. [...] And so likewise, when the four principal voices which form sweet melody have their proper and measured concordances they bring, entering our ears, a new and delectable life of singular sweetness to our spirits].[24]

The correspondence between these tetrads – sometimes expanded to include the four seasons of the year – was widespread in Renaissance thinking, possibly through filtered Pythagorean thought.[25] Against this background, the writings

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22   Nordera: Pourquoi écrire la danse?, p. 19; McGowan, Margaret: *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press 2008, p. 35; Sparti: Introduction, p. 58. Barbara Sparti has written on Guglielmo's multiple attempts to social ascent, which were not fully successful. Sparti, Barbara: The Function and Status of Dance in the Fifteenth-Century Italian Courts, in: *Dance Research* 14/1 (1996), pp. 49–50, 52.

23   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 86–87, 106–107 see also footnote 5, p. 87 and Smith, A. William: Structural and Numerical Symbolism of Fifteenth-Century Italian Dance, in: *Fifteenth Century Studies* XIX (1992), pp. 246–247.

24   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 106–107. On this topic see also Smith: Structural and Numerical Symbolism pp. 246–247.

25   Cf. Heninger Jr., S.K.: *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics*, San Marino: The Huntington Library 1974, in particular pp. 151–176; Rygg, Kristin: *Masqued Mysteries Unmasked: Early Modern Music Theatre and its Pythagorean Subtext*, New

of Guglielmo – like those of Leonardo da Vinci[26] – assume a continuity between the microcosm of human beings and the macrocosm of their surroundings, that is both ontological (the elements that compose a person) and structural (their relative quantities).

The non-corporeally-founded, non-anthropocentric dancing subject sketched out in these early Renaissance treatises is mirrored in later Renaissance dance writing, illustrating the conviction that dance, as well as music, were identifiable beyond the human realm. In 1528, Baldassare Castiglione wrote that 'the universe was made up of music, that the heavens make harmony as they move, and that as our own souls are formed on the same principle they are awakened and have their faculties, as it were, brought to life through music'.[27] In 1550, Rinaldo Corso spoke of the universe as engaged in rhythmical dance in a *Dialogue on Dance*.[28] In 1588, Thoinot Arbeau incited his reader to 'make yourself a worthy companion to the planets who are natural dancers'.[29] Eleven years later, Arcangelo Tuccaro argued that when humans dance, their movements resemble those of the celestial spheres.[30] For Guglielmo as well, music had '*al mondo fatto singularissimi effetti et maravigliosi movimenti* [wrought extraordinary changes and marvellous motions in the world]';[31] the dancing master saw music as inciting spiritual and (therefore) physical motions in people, as well as enacting a transformative power upon non-human entities:

> *& i sassi & i monti facea per la sua gran dolcezza dalla propria sua natura ad altra piu benigna transmutare. Similmente si scrive dell'antichissimo Amphione: il quale chome vogliano i poeti, alla citta di Thebe col vago suono della sua cithara facea le pietre da gli alti monti scendere: et quelle per se medesme nella fabricatione dell'alte mura*

York: Pendragon Press 2000, pp. 89–92; Berghaus, Günter: Neoplatonic and Pythagorean Notions of World Harmony and Unity and their Influence on Renaissance Dance Theory, in: *Dance Research* 10/2 (1992), pp. 43–70.

26   Cf. Haitzinger, Nicole: Embodiment of Planetary Knowledge, in: BMfB (ed.): *Endangered Human Movements*, Volume 1, Vienna: Nadaproductions 2015, p. 274.

27   Castiglione, Baldassare: *The Book of the Courtier*, London: Penguin 2003 [1528, trans. George Bull], pp. 94–95.

28   Quoted in Berghaus: Neoplatonic and Pythagorean Notions, pp. 61–63.

29   Arbeau, Thoinot: *Orchesography*, Hampshire: Noverre Press: 2012 [1588, trans. Mary Stewart Evans], p. 195.

30   Quoted in McGowan, Margaret: *L'Art du ballet de cour en France 1581-1643*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1963, pp. 20–21. Several analysts also see, in the figured dance of early French court ballet and English court masques, a reflection and enactment of cosmic order on Earth. For example: Carter, Françoise: Number Symbolism and Renaissance Choreography, in: *Dance Research* 10/1 (1992), p. 26; Heninger: *Touches of Sweet Harmony*, p. 178.

31   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica*, pp. 88–89.

miraculosamente comporsi [The great sweetness [of music] also transmuted the very nature of rocks and hills into a more kindly one; as in the tale of Amphion of yore who, according to the poets, with the fair sound of his cithara, made the stones descend from the high hills and arrange themselves miraculously into the building of the high walls of the city of Thebes].[32]

Guglielmo uses mythological parallels to reinforce this view. He refers to how the lambs of Pan were '*quasi dalla forza di quella melodia commosse* [as if moved by the power of his melody]'; and how Pluto and other deities, animals, and beasts were soothed by the sound of Orpheus' music.[33] Humans may also employ music to intervene in realms that exceed humanity, including the divine:

> *& in gran parte conforme per la virtu et | potenza della qual gia si commosse il celestiale omnipotente idio dagli humani divotamente pregato: i quali nei sancti sacrificij con alta melodia cantando & con dolci instrumenti & sancti tripudij danzando obtegnevano la domandata gratia: chome gia piu volte si chome si lege il sapientissimo Salamone fece quando contra lui & il suo populo vedeva l'alto idio turbato. & chome anchora fece il glorioso re David: il quale piu volte collo suo amoroso & sancto psalterio & agionto insieme il tribulato populo con festevole & honesto danzare, & col harmonia del dolce canto commovea l'irato & potente idio a piatosa & suavissima pace* [because of [music's] virtue and power almighty God in heaven was moved by the devout prayers of men who, by singing lofty music, [playing] sweet-sounding instruments, and tripping sacred dances during the holy sacrifices, obtained the grace they had beseeched. We read that wise Solomon did this many times when he saw God on high vexed with him and his people. And so also did glorious King David who, many times, with his lovely and sacred psaltery, drew the troubled people together with festive and decorous dance, and through the harmony of his sweet song moved an irate and powerful God to a merciful and most gentle peace].[34]

Dance and music, then, do not solely (or primarily) concern the human community; rather, the dance of the humans is part of a dance that exceeds them. Therefore, it is only possible to project "choreography" on Domenico and Guglielmo if that choreography recognises and conceptually encapsulates a corporeality that is not solely physical and not singularised in its humanity; a dance that is, similarly, not defined by its humanity or physicality; an art practice that is performed by, and has effects beyond, humans – in other words, an expanded choreography that accepts continuities with the non-human realm of which the

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32   Ibid., pp. 86–87.

33   Ibid., pp. 86–87.

34   Ibid., pp. 88–89.

person and their dance are part. This choreography's author and creator is, likewise, not a singular-, autonomous-, wholly-human being.

The choreographies of music and of nature

The treatises' fundamental detachment of dance from the sole actions of human bodies particularly concerns its indebtedness to music. Guglielmo's "true" definition of dance includes music – and not the human body. His art *'altro non e, che un atto demostrativo concordante alla misurata melodia d'alchuna voce overo suono* [is none other than an outward act which accords with the measured melody of any voice or instrument]'.[35] This anchoring is so essential that music is presented as the source of dance:

> *danzare sia tratto & originato da essa melodia chome atto demostrativo della sua propria natura. Senza la qual harmonia overo consonanza, l'arte del danzare niente seria, ne fare si poria* [dancing is drawn and born from this melody as outward show of its true nature; [and] without this harmony or consonance, the art of dancing would be nothing, nor would it be possible to do].[36]

Correspondingly, in a short passage providing advice for composition, Guglielmo suggests that dance-makers start their choreographic process by composing their work's music – and only then can they engage in other aspects, such as the partitioning of the ground.[37]

Guglielmo does admit that it is possible to dance without music:

> *siando in un ballo otto o diece persone et ballando quelle coi passi concordatamente & misuratamente insieme senza suono e cosa naturale* [when eight or ten people are performing a ballo and are dancing without music but with steps which are measured and in accord with each other, this is something natural].[38]

However, this musicless dance – a collectively-rhythmed practice of human dancers – is 'something natural', juxtaposed to the author's conception of an artificial dance, based on music: '*sonando doppo il sonatore & misurando et concordando quelli ballano i lor passi col ditto suono e accidentale* [when the player plays and the dancers accord and measure their steps to the said music, this is artifice]'.[39] In this way, Guglielmo creates a dichotomy between the natural dance

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35   Ibid., pp. 92–93. See also the poem pp. 84–85.
36   Ibid., pp. 108–109.
37   Ibid., pp. 104–105.
38   Ibid., pp. 112–113.
39   Ibid., pp. 112–115.

that humans perform without musical assistance and the artifice that is possible through the contribution of music. Here "natural" dance can be associated with crudeness; for Sparti the term is associated with "*dolceza*", meaning simple, instinctive, sensual.[40] The transformation of this raw activity into artifice occurs through the dancers' accord with music, a process based on practice and intellectual engagement; recognising and following the musical *misure 'e segno di buona intelligenza et principio della vera praticha* [is the mark of keen intelligence and the beginning of serious practice]'.[41] In other words, while both "natural" and "artificial" dance are human endeavours, it is the presence of, and accordance with, music that guarantees the artistic status of dance, rather than merely being a *human* activity.

At the same time, some passages by Guglielmo shed doubt on a dichotomy between a music-based artificial dance and a musicless, natural one. For instance, the master writes of the four musical voices that

> *quando hanno perfettamente la sua com[p]ositione consonante & bene accordata colle debite & natural sue misure fanno agli ascoltanti commovere tutti i sensi in suavis|sima dolceza* [when they are so composed as to be in perfect harmony, and accord well with their proper and natural measures, they move all the senses of the listeners with the sweetest pleasure][42]

– and lead them to dance. While he has established that the presence of, and concurrence with, music renders dance artificial (as opposed to natural, non-musically-accompanied dance), Guglielmo suggests here that the harmony of music leading to dance also depends upon "natural" measures. It is in the combination of naturalness and artificiality that the value of dance can be found; '[e]*ssendo tal scienza di danzare cosa naturale et accidentale adoncha e perfetta & meritamente commendativa* [since this science of dancing is something [both] natural and artificial, it is perfect and deservedly commendable]'.[43]

Placing dance in an interstitial realm between the natural and the artificial, such passages are informative about the position of the human being in the creation of dance. When Guglielmo speaks of the harmonisation of the musical voices according to their "natural" measures (above), he uses the same word – *compositione* [composition] – as when he speaks of arranging a dance and its music.[44] While he does not explicitly specify who composes the voices in question, it is plausible he is speaking of a process of human/artificial composition

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40   Sparti, Barbara: Glossary, in: Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica*, p. 223.

41   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica*, pp. 100–101.

42   Ibid., pp. 106–107, emphasis added.

43   Ibid., pp. 114–115.

44   Cf. Ibid., pp. 104–105.

guided by natural, proper measures. In this reading, musical composition – and, by consequence, the choreography founded upon it – is "natural" through an (artificial) adherence to a natural harmony that exceeds or precedes the human practitioner. The passage is not detailed enough to confirm such a reading; nevertheless, several points do support the idea of an art-making guided by nature. Within the treatise, passages indicate a doubling of dance composition by a "natural" derivation from music; Guglielmo writes that

> *diremo essa arte et scienza del danzare esser virtute et scienza naturale composta & naturalmente tratta & cavata della melodia over suono d'alchune concordante voci* [we can affirm this art and science of dancing to be a virtue and a natural science, composed and in a natural fashion derived and drawn from the melody or sound of some concordant voices].[45]

Elsewhere, he indicates that the postural presence of the dancer should be '*chome quasi per se medesme la natura insegna* [as nature itself – as it were – teaches us]';[46] and considers technical aspects of the dance, such as *aiere* [air], to be necessary, lest the dance look '*imperfetto & fuori di sua natura* [imperfect and unnnatural]'.[47] Guglielmo also portrays nature as a creator when referring to birds' song that results from '*gran maestra di natura* [Nature's great mastery]'.[48] Other artists of the Italian Renaissance also believed that nature could be seen as a model for artistic creation; for example, both Leon Battista Alberti and da Vinci saw a guide, painter, teacher, and artist in nature.[49] This is supported by contemporary historians. Hartmut Böhme explains that even if this was not the sole paradigm of understanding nature in the Renaissance, certain practitioners held that

> *[d]ie Natur ist ästhetische Ordnung. Davon lassen sich Künstler, Ästhetiker, Wissenschaftler, Ärzte, Astronomen, Ingenieure leiten [...] Artifizielle Schönheit ist organisiert nach Regeln, in denen die Natur selbst concinnitas hervorbringt. Wenn Kunst wie die Natur operiert, dann heisst dies, dass sie wissenschaftlich und gesetzlich arbeitet* [Nature is aesthetic order. Artists, aestheticians, scientists, doctors,

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45   Ibid., pp. 108–109, emphasis added.

46   Ibid., pp. 108–109.

47   Ibid., pp. 96–97.

48   Ibid., pp. 88–89.

49   Alberti, Leon Battista : *De Pictura*, Paris : Allia 2010 [1435, trans. Danielle Sonnier], pp. 25, 43–44, 51; see also on Leonardo da Vinci : Wetzel, Michael : Autor/Künstler, in : Barck, Karlheinz, Fontius, Martin, Schlensedt, Dieter, Steinwachs, Burkhart & Wolfzettel, Friedrich (eds.): *Asthetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, Vol. 1, Stuttgart: Metzler 2002, p. 507.

astronomers, engineers, are guided by this [...] Artificial beauty is organised according to rules in which nature itself produces concinnitas. When art operates like nature, that means that it works scientifically and lawfully].[50]

Here, the notion of nature is complexified, moving beyond its status as a counterpoint to artistic-, musically-measured dance, and towards an agent that has operant choreographic functions.

Domenico's use of the term "*naturale*" introduces a further nuance, compatible with human choreographic engagement with a "natural" order. Possibly reflecting an Aristotelian categorisation,[51] Domenico distinguishes between "natural" and "incidental" [*naturalli / accidentalli*] movements.[52] "Incidental" movement can be translated – according to contemporary translators of Renaissance dance discourse – as accidental or incidental, but also as artful, artificial, man-made, ornamental, contrived; "natural" movements can mean basic (as in Guglielmo's first use of the term) as well as essential (which may correspond to Guglielmo's 'proper and natural measures').[53] *De arte saltandi* thus suggests that certain movements are "naturally" determined, with an essential character, while others '*non sono neccessarii segonde natura* [are not necessary according to nature]'[54] – they are ornamental additions to the dance. Dance is composed of a set of "necessary", natural movements complemented by man-made, incidental ones; the essence or necessity of nature is complemented by human ornament.[55] Once again, it is in this complementarity that the goodness of dance is found. Domenico agrees with his student when he states that virtue is not only found in artifice, as

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50   Böhme, Hartmut: Natürlich / Natur, in: Barck, Karlheinz, Fontius, Martin, Schlenstedt, Dieter, Steinwachs, Burkhart & Wolfzettel, Friedrich (eds.): *Asthetische Grundbegriffe. Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, Vol. 4, Stuttgart: Metzler 2002, pp. 476–477. The author associates this view with a Platonic-, mathematically-, and geometrically-focussed conception of nature.

51   Nordera: Pourquoi écrire la danse?, p. 18.

52   According to *De arte saltandi*, the natural movements are nine and are performed on the musical "*pieno*" [whole; here: strong beat, down-beat]; inversely, the incidental ones are three and are performed on the "*vuodo*" [empty, void; here: weak beat, up-beat]. Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 14–15. For the explanations of the terms *pieno/vuodo* see Sparti: Glossary, pp. 223, 228.

53   Sparti: Glossary, pp. 217, 223; Procopio, Patrizia: *Il De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi di Domenico da Piacenza*, Ravenna: Longo Editore 2014, p. 132; Smith (ed.) : *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, p. 13 note 10. For Guglielmo's quote: Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 106–107.

54   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 14–15.

55   For a more-systematic overview of the way in which the Renaissance and later periods developed ideas of mastering nature, and the progressive mechanisation of the concept of nature, see Böhme: Natürlich / Natur, pp. 475, 481–485.

'[e]l savio Aristotele [the wise Aristotle]' identified '*in tutte le cosse e alcuna buntade naturalmente* [in all things is some natural goodness]'.[56]

Both Domenico and Guglielmo's treatises underline the importance of authorship in dance; the former explicitly states he composed all the dances in his work, while the latter places his own or his master's name next to the title of each dance in his text. At the same time, however, an understanding of choreography as an art stemming from an autonomous human intention and (therefore) attributable to a human author's will is not applicable to their writing.[57] Be it through the effect of music or a compositional/choreographic engagement with nature, the treatises suggest that choreographic authorship must be decentralised away from the human. Indeed, contemporary analysts of Renaissance dance support the idea that dance-making was conceived as a response to a realm exceeding the human practitioner. For example, Smith parallels Domenico's list of twelve movements composing dance with the number twelve as a numerical value 'seen to reflect a universal truth'.[58] A choreography is thus sketched out that is non-human-centred, illustrating Domenico and Guglielmo's possible overlaps with a contemporary expanded choreography that also challenges that centredness.

Choreography in a world of proportion

If nature is an artist – as Alberti and the idea of a "naturally-informed" dance suggests – then nature can give rise to art-making principles. This possibility is reflected in Domenico and Guglielmo's notion of measure – one of the main notions a dancer-to-be needs to grasp. Indeed, the *misura* has its source in nature; Domenico claims that different measures acquire their arrangement from nature, while his student identifies measures that are '*debite & natural*

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56   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 12–13.

57   It was during the transformations that secularisation and the introduction of the printing press gave rise to that the Renaissance view of human artists as mediators of divine creation progressively moved towards the idea of individual human authorship; Domenico and Guglielmo's attribution of authorship while maintaining the guardrails of nature can be read against this background. Cf. Wetzel : Autor/Künstler, pp. 502-505.

58   Smith: Structural and Numerical Symbolism, pp. 248–249. Marina Nordera agrees that this number of movements is symbolic because the choreographies include more steps. Nordera: Pourquoi écrire la danse?, p. 18.

[proper and natural]'.[59] Both agree on the *misura*'s importance, referring to it as the 'foundation' of dance.[60]

Measure is applied to dance in multiple ways. According to Domenico's explanation, one of its uses is to '*mexurare el movimento del corpo cum la prompta del pede* [measure the motion of the body with the footstep]';[61] his definition of *misura di terreno* refers to '*mexura legiera e questa e quella che fa tenire el mezzo del tuo motto dal capo ali piedi* [a subtle *misura* requiring that you maintain the middle of the motion from head to feet]'.[62] Cornazano also refers to a motion-directed *misura* when he writes that

> *nel dançare non solamente s'observa la misura degli soni ma una misura la quale non e musicale ançi fore di tutte quelle che e un misurare l'aere nel levamento dell'ondeggiare cioe che sepre s'alci a un modo che altrimenti si romperia misura* [in dancing not only does one observe the misura of the music, but also a misura which is not musical and on the contrary lies beyond it. This is an orderly arrangement of the aire in the elevating of the ondeggiare, that is, one always rises in one way, otherwise one would destroy the misura].[63]

Guglielmo further applies the notion of measure to the spatial organisation of movement; a dancer must '*considerare il luogho ella stanza dove si balla: & quella* nel suo intelletto ben partire & misurare [tak[e] account of the place and room for dancing, and carefully *apportio[n] and measur[e] it in one's mind*]'.[64] Although these apply to the body and its placement in space, however, the *misura* is not solely concerned with corporeal motion.

In effect, as Cornazano's quotation suggests, measure is profoundly related to music. At a most literal level – but without exhausting the term's technical complexity[65] – it corresponds to the relationship between dance and music, based on the rhythm or metre of the latter:

> *Misura [...] se intende una dolce & misurata concordanza di voce & di tempo partito con ragione & arte: il qual principalmente consiste nello strumento citharizante o altro*

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59 Domenico da Piacenza: *De arte saltandi*, pp. 20–21, Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica*, pp. 106–107.

60 Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica*, pp. 102–103; Domenico da Piacenza: *De arte saltandi*, pp. 12–13.

61 Domenico da Piacenza: *De arte saltandi*, pp. 16–17.

62 Ibid., pp. 12–13.

63 Cornazano: *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, p. 90.

64 Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: *De pratica*, pp. 94–95, emphasis added.

65 For further meanings of the *misura* see Franko, Mark: *The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography*, Birmingham: Summa Publications 1986, pp. 60–63. Combining rhythmical and physical aspects of the *misura*, Franko proposes that it refers to 'that motion in dance which rises slowly and drops back quickly', p. 63.

> *suono [...] bisogna che la persona che vuole danzare, si regoli et misuri, & a quello per-*
> *fettamente si concordi nei suoi movimenti si et in tal modo, che i suoi passi siano al ditto*
> *tempo et misura perfettamente concordante, & colla ditta misura regulati* [measure
> [...] means a sweet and measured accord between sound and rhythm, appor-
> tioned with judgment and skill, the nature of which can best be understood
> through the [playing] of a stringed or other instrument [...] the person who
> wishes to dance must regulate and gauge himself, and must so perfectly ac-
> cord his movements with it and in such a way that his steps will be in perfect
> accord with the aforesaid tempo and measure and will be regulated by that
> measure].[66]

Renaissance dance is characterised by the prevalence of four *misure*, or rhyth-
mical structures – *bassadanza, quadernaria, saltarello, piva* – each related to a
corresponding movement and tempo. For Domenico, performing a movement
in its 'essential' manner [*lo suo essere*] means performing it in time with the cor-
responding rhythm; the essence of movement is dependent upon its alignment
with musical measure.[67]

   Characterising both music and dance, measure is itself characterised by
proportion. Notably, Domenico established a system of proportional relations
between the four *misure* of dance. For example, the *quadernaria* is '*piu strecta dela*
bassadanza uno sesto [a sixth shorter in distance than that of the *bassadanza*]'
and the *saltarello* is '*piu strecta dela quadernaria uno altro sesto* [more narrow by
a sixth than *quadernaria*]'.[68] Governed by calculable proportional relations, the
misura can therefore be seen as a structural, numerically-analysable principle.
As such, this principle is transferable across different types of phenomena –
it can travel from the domain of musical rhythm to the field of corporeal
movement. In effect, dance practitioners were invited to display their skill and
demonstrate their grasp of the measured relation between music and movement
by playing with this auditory and kinetic proportion, performing steps out
of their "essential" rhythm; for example, combining *bassadanza* movement with

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66   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, 92–93. For more information about the associations
      of the *misura* with music see Sparti: Glossary, pp. 222–223.
67   E.g. Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 20–21 & note 7.
68   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 16–17. Cornazano perpetuates this relational
      conception of the *misure* when he writes that '[t]*utte le dicte misure si altarano e si fan l'una*
      sul'altra al modo (dicto) [...] Quanto crescino et calino alterate al modo dicto per la figura della
      dicta Scala e manifesto [all of the aforesaid *misure* are exchangeable, and they are mutated
      in the manner described. [...] How much they increase or decrease when exchanged
      is evident by the aforementioned ladder.]' Cornazano: *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, p. 93.
      Barbara Sparti, in her introduction to Guglielmo's treatise, notes that both he and his
      master Domenico had 'tried to notate *misura* relationships and changes of tempo' and
      points to the use of proportion signs in musical notations. Sparti: Introduction, p. 69.

quadernaria rhythm, increasing the speed of the dance, or dancing counter to the musical measure to draw attention to its tempo.[69] Domenico used spatial terms when explaining the proportional relations between the four principal *misure* – the *bassadanza* is the '*piu larga* [widest]' *misura*, the *piva* is '*piu strecta* [narrower]'[70] – further illustrating the transferability and the double, musical-kinetic nature of measure. "Measured" movement may, therefore, be seen as indirectly resulting from music, but also sharing measure with music as a transversal characteristic. In effect, Guglielmo writes of dancers' gestures being '*alla ditta misura, et secondo il suono concordante* [in accord with the measure and music]',[71] implying that the *misura* can also be understood as a principle "external" to both. Measure, then, is neither primarily kinetic – it is not fundamentally defined in relation to movement or dance – nor primarily physical – it applies to the body as well as conceptions of space and music. In other words, if the *misura* is a major choreographic principle in the treatises, it is a principle of a choreography that is not fully defined by – and, therefore, not fully understandable through – the body in motion. Rather, it is transmedially applicable, allowing compositional translation between different artistic fields.

In effect, the principle of measure applies to more than art's physical-kinetic and auditory modalities; through measure, dance movement enters a wider frame of reference shared with other domains (including, but not limited to, music). Guglielmo explicitly claims that the *misura*'s practice in the dance realm fosters '*ogn'altra scienza alla qual s'apertegna di havere misura* [every other science where mensuration has a place]';[72] measure was shared with other artistic disciplines of the Italian Renaissance, such as painting.[73] Further transferring the notion from art practice to a performance of virtue, Domenico rhetorically asks: '*operando questo dilecto per fugire tristeza e molesta domque e virtu ma non sapiamo noi che la mexura e parte de prudentia et e nele arte liberale* [using this art to escape sadness or boredom therefore is a virtue. Don't we know that the *misura* is part of prudence and of the liberal arts?]'.[74]

Moreover, the *misura* is linked to phenomena beyond human activity. Nevile summarises this expanding sense of the *misura* when she writes of it as

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69   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 22–23; Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 100–101.

70   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 16–17.

71   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 92–93.

72   Ibid., pp. 102–103.

73   Alberti, for instance, saw the *misura* as the basis of perspective: Sparti, Giordano & Pontremoli: *Dance, Dancers and Dance-Masters*, p. 102.

74   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 14–15. Prudence or *phronesis* is an Aristotelian notion seen as a path to truth, related to both measure and memory. Sparti: Antiquity as Inspiration, p. 376.

a proportioning of the space around a dancer's body through the movements of the body, a proportioning of the ground on which the floor patterns were traced out, and a proportioning of the music. It is this concept of proportion that linked the art of dance (and the other arts) to the Pythagorean and Platonic idea of the nature of the cosmos.[75]

Given the prevalence of Pythagorean thought filtered through to the Renaissance, the proportionality of measures might be related to Pythagorean principles of numerical proportion, according to which music expressed ratios and harmonies governing the cosmos.[76]

This supra-human "governance" also applies to choreographic politics; the social stratification reflected by dance is mirrored by the non-dance-specific, structural principle of measure. For example, when Domenico orders the *misure* in a diagram, he starts with *bassadanza* as their '*regina* [queen]', followed by the *quadernaria*, the *saltarello*, and finally the *piva* – the '*piu trista* [saddest]' of the *misure*.[77] This hierarchy directly parallels the inequalities in the world experienced and lived by the treatises' authors and readers. The *piva*, notes Domenico, is the saddest of the *misure* because it is practiced by villagers; in contrast, the *bassadanza* is only accessible to a select few – presumably those who have access to a dance master. [78] Cornazano agrees with his master in observing a hierarchy between *misure*, and provides an illustrative diagram too; once again, it is the *piva* that is at the base and the *bassadanza* at the top of the hierarchy. Cornazano explains that one must ascend from one level to the next by increasing one's skill (again, this presumably requires access to master-mediated knowledge). Cornazano similarly describes the *piva* as '*tanto minore* [lesser]' because it is a country dance, derived from the hornpipes of the shepherds; it is only through the refinement of the intellects that it could be practiced by dancers of his age and context.[79]

The principle of the *misura* replaces the specificity of the physical or the kinetic in choreography by traversing different media. At the same time, it points

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75   Nevile, Jennifer: *The Eloquent Body: Dance and Humanist Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2004, p. 78.

76   Sparti: Antiquity as Inspiration, p. 376 (at the same time, however, Sparti has also referred to '[t]his unusual proportion, purely notional for some scholars, based on Pythagorean ratios for others', Sparti, Giordano & Pontremoli: *Dance, Dancers and Dance-Masters*, p. 102); Nevile, Jennifer: The Relationship between Dance and Music in Fifteenth-Century Italian Dance Practice, in: Nevile: *Dance, Spectacle and the Body Politick*, p. 158; Nevile: *The Eloquent Body* p. 110.

77   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 18–21. The diagram is reproduced in the same edition, p. 4.

78   Ibid., pp. 18–21.

79   Cornazano: *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, pp. 91–92 and p. 68 for the diagram.

towards a choreography governed by artistic and aesthetic principles as well as ethical and possibly-political ones. In these ways, it illustrates a choreography – and a dance – that is not delimited by the autonomous realm dreamt by modernism. As examples of a pre-modernist choreographic practice, Domenico and Guglielmo's treatises posit the contingency and (therefore) reversibility of that dream – the direction to which contemporary expanded choreography is also tending.

Choreographies of the non-kinetic

The not-primarily-physical, not-primarily-kinetic principle of the *misura* introduces a parameter to dance that casts further doubt on dance's kinetic focus. This is found in a short section of Domenico's text that has generated a great deal of research interest; it is the injunction that one

> *bisogna danzare per fantasmata e nota che fantasmata e una presteza corporalle la quale e mossa cum lo intelecto dela mexura dicta imprima disopra facendo requia acadauno tempo che pari haver veduto lo capo di meduxa como dice el poeta cioe che facto el motto sii tutto di piedra in quello instante et in instante mitti ale como falcone che per paica mosso sia* [needs to dance according to fantasmata. Note that fantasmata is a physical quickness which is controlled by the understanding of the misura first mentioned above. This necessitates that at each tempo one appears to have seen Medusa's head, as the poet says, and be of stone in one instant, then, in another instant, take to flight like a falcon driven by hunger].[80]

According to Sparti, *fantasma* – in contemporary Italian, "ghost" – is etymologically connected with the Latin word for "image" and derives from the Greek "to appear"[81] (Patrizia Procopio translates *per fantasmata* as '*con l'ausilio delle immagini* [with the aid of images]'[82]). Multiple, non-mutually-exclusive interpretations have been given of this metaphorical, imagery-filled term. Cornazano presents his teacher's idea by talking of an *ombra phantasmatica* (translated by Smith as a 'ghostly shadow'), in which the dancer follows a tempo of motionlessness with an '*aeroso modo quasi come persona che susciti da morte a vita* [airy style like a person who revives from death to life]'.[83] In the field of contemporary dance history, Procopio has focussed on *fantasmata* as an exteriorisation of the soul's

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80   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 12–13.
81   Sparti: Antiquity as Inspiration, p. 377.
82   Procopio: *Il* De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi, p. 137.
83   Cornazano: *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, p. 88.

state through movement.[84] Other scholars have concentrated on how *fantasmata* describes the performance of movement itself; for Nevile, it refers to 'an infinitesimal pause at the end of a step, and then a resumption of movement in an incredibly light and airy manner';[85] for Sparti, it describes a 'holding and releasing of breath or energy';[86] for Mark Franko, it is 'an alternation of motion and pose in which one is constantly overtaking, indeed invading, the other, both sequentially and spatially',[87] drawing connections between *fantasmata* and measure.

The first impression given by *fantasmata*, then, is that of an oscillation between movement and pose or pause; an alternation between displacement (the darting falcon) and stillness (the petrifying medusa). Domenico's choreographies include two steps – *posa* and *posada* – which can be interpreted as a conventionally-understood pau/ose; Ingrid Brainard relates these to *fantasmata*.[88] But, arguably, *fantasmata* has a wider reach than these choreographed pau/oses; *posa* and *posada*'s relatively-limited occurrence – they appear in seven out of 23 choreographies in *De arte saltandi*, sometimes placed towards the end of the dance or phrase – differentiates them from *fantasmata*, which is presented by Domenico (and contrary to Cornazano) as a general principle of '*spirando el corpo* [placing the body]' to be practiced '*acadauno tempo* [at each tempo]', i.e. throughout the dance.[89] Thus, Domenico describes a quality imbuing the dance itself, instead of specific steps. In effect, the phrase "*danzare per fantasmata*" can be translated as "to dance through or with *fantasmata*". This interpretation inscribes the stilling of motion in the dance's form; dance is not a practice of motion, but an alternation between motion and its absence – it can be present where movement is not.

It may be possible to add a further layer to this reading, in which movement and stillness are not opposed components of the dance. Indeed, while the definition of *fantasmata* suggests performing stone-cold stillness and flight of movement consecutively and alternatingly, the fact that it instructs to do so

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84   Procopio: *Il* De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi, p. 137.

85   Nevile: *The Eloquent Body*, p. 70.

86   Sparti, Barbara: 'Artistic' Theory of Dance in Fifteenth-Century Italy, in: *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 35 (2003), p. 184.

87   Franko: *The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography*, pp. 63–64.

88   Brainard, Ingrid: *Die Choreographie der Hoftänze in Burgund, Frankreich und Italien im 15. Jahrhundert*, PhD thesis, Göttingen: Georg-August-Universität 1956, p. 285.

89   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 10–13. For the references to *posa* and *posada* in the choreographies, pp. 33, 45, 57, 59, 61, 65; a further possible reference may exist in the dance *Zoglioxa*, p. 67, cf. footnote 2. For a further discussion of the relation between pause and pose see Franko: *The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography*, p. 64, commenting on Brainard.

'*acadauno tempo*'[90] – Franko translates this as 'each bar'[91] – implies both occur in a single musical unit. Several scholars correspondingly suggest *fantasmata* allows a non-oppositional view of motion and stillness. Brainard discerns a dynamic pose interval, in which the silencing of movement brings new energy and preparation for the next pose. While she sees a contrapunctal opposition between silence and movement, she presents their *Spannungsverhältnis* [relationship of tension] as allowing a liveliness to enter into pose and a statuary plasticity to imbue movement – accentuating both, instead of mutually erasing them.[92] Nicole Haitzinger analyses Cornazano's *ombra fantasmatica* by metaphorically opposing death/revival in movement; '[d]*ie strukturell gedachte Bewegungsformierung bleibt trotz eines Augen-Blickes des Stillstandes im Fluss* [the structurally-conceived movement formation remains in flow despite the instantaneous stillness]'.[93] Franko speaks of *fantasmata* as an interstitial, transitional territory:

> Measure signifies the relationship between movement and the pose which is neither one nor the other but each in their transition to the other. This transitional moment is called "fantasmata" by Domenico. [...] *fantasmata* is not a quality peculiar to either movement or the pose, but rather one inherent in their interplay [...] *Fantasmata* denotes movement as the phantom of itself, about to stop but not yet in stasis.[94]

In a more abstract interpretation, Rudolf zur Lippe sees a kinetic equivalent of a dialectic process in this alternation of pause-in-movement and movement-in-pause, in which pause is not an *interruption* of motion but a *synthesis* of consecutive movements. For zur Lippe as well, the falcon does not contradict the medusa; the bird is motionless but perpetually prepared for movement – dance can be found in the moments where no (externally-visible) motion can be seen.[95] In this sense, stillness can be viewed as related, not opposed, to movement: a movement suspended, but still there, or a stillness that includes motion potential. Cornazano, explaining his master's concept, points to a pau/ose without referring to immobility *per se*: he speaks of '*tacere* [silencing, omitting]' a tempo and '*star lo morto* [being as if dead]'.[96] Both expressions approach the notion

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90   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 12–13.

91   Franko: *The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography*, p. 64.

92   Brainard: *Die Choreographie der Hoftänze*, pp. 288–292.

93   Haitzinger, Nicole : *Vergessene Traktate – Archive der Erinnerung. Zu Wirkungskonzepten im Tanz von der Renaissance bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Munich : epodium 2009, p. 66.

94   Franko: *The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography*, pp. 64–65.

95   Lippe, Rudolf zur: *Naturbeherrschung am Menschen I. Körpererfahrung als Entfaltung von Sinnen und Beziehungen in der Ära des italienischen Kaufmannskapitals*, Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat 1974, pp. 167, 169, 172.

96   Cornazano: *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, p. 88, author translation.

of stillness – a silencing, turning-off of kinetic flow, a lifeless state – without explicitly affirming an absence of movement; they instruct to still movement without establishing a clearly oppositional view of (im)mobility. Thus, *fantasmata* could refer to a proximity between movement and stillness, the tension of a stillness ready to move and a movement on the verge of being contained – instead of one's emergence depending on the other's absence.

In a "weak" sense, then, *fantasmata* could point to a dance that remains present in the absence of movement; a dance not founded upon incessant motion. In a "strong" reading, *fantasmata* could imply that momentary lack of displacement is not dichotomously opposed to movement. Domenico's references to the concept are too scarce for solid interpretation; in both cases, however, *fantasmata* casts doubt upon the association of dance – and choreography as dance-making – with constant displacement and the necessary performance of *kinesis*. Occupying the interstitial space between stillness and motion, *fantasmata* questions the dichotomy that turns stillness into a refusal of dance – or even movement. Renaissance dance-making conceives of a dance that is founded not on incessant bodily motion or a refusal of movement, but on a non-dichotomous blending of the two. This reading is supported by how movement terms are used in the treatises. Certain occurrences of the term "*moto*" in *De arte saltandi* seem to correspond to dance in general, with the author referring to '*questo motto zentille* [this refined motion]' or '*questo motto de danzare* [this motion of dancing]' in a generic sense.[97] Uses of the term "*movimento*" similarly refer to the way in which the body acts in dance in general; practitioners are advised by Guglielmo to '*perfettamente si concordi nei suoi movimenti* [perfectly accord [their] movements]' with the musical tempo.[98] Nevertheless, instances of Domenico and Guglielmo's movement-related terms also indicate that dance was equivalent to a succession of steps, not to a process of unfolding undifferentiated movement.[99] "*Moto*" and "*movimento*" function as generic signifiers of "step" – in the sense of codified assemblages of actions – or denote specific types of steps, such as the "*moto quadernario*" or the "*moto del Saltarello*",[100] therefore contradicting the idea of undifferentiated, generic motional flow. In this sense, movement is at interplay

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97   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 10–11, 16–17.

98   Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro : *De pratica*, pp. 92–93.

99   Three manuscripts relating to Guglielmo's theory even include a definition of dance as a succession of discrete steps; arguably, dancing (*ballare* or *danzare*, depending on the source) consists of knowing the steps making up the dance (*continentie, riprese, sempi, doppi…*), as well as the way and *tempi* in which they are performed. Smith (ed.) : *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, p. 200.

100   Domenico states that *memoria 'e texonera de tutti Li motti corporali* [stores all of the corporal movements]' and enumerates the twelve "movements" of the art of dance. At times, *movimento* also corresponds to a particular step unit in Domenico's text, one Guglielmo

between continuity – the "motion of dancing" – and discreetness – its steps. The treatises provide a glimpse of reconciling discreetness with flow in movement.

This refusal of fully-fledged motion acquires an ethical aspect. Domenico's description of *agilitade* and *maniera*, for instance, advises dancers not to go extremes but

> *tenire el mezzo del tuo movimento che non sia ni tropo ni poco (ma) cum tanta suavitade che pari una gondola che da dui rimi spintan sia per quelle undicelle* [maintain the mean of your movement that is – not too much nor too little. With smoothness, appear like a gondola that is propelled by two oars through waves].[101]

In these ways, Domenico and Guglielmo's texts question the primacy and essential place of the kinetic in choreography, admitting principles that reduce, regulate, and contain motion without following a specifically-motional logic. In this construal, a notion of choreography – even one expanding beyond the human – which is founded on its kinetic character and the performance of motion may not be fully adapted to *De pratica* and *De arte saltandi*. An expanded notion of choreography can inversely draw attention to Domenico and Guglielmo's dance's pau/oses as non-kinetic – but nevertheless choreographic – material.

Conclusion

Choreography – if choreography is understood as dance-making – was practiced by Domenico da Piacenza and Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro, *balli* abounding in their writings and their students' ballrooms. But, if choreography conceives of dance as an activity that is disconnected from other human endeavours, it cannot grasp dance as a practice of ethics – targeting beauty as much as virtue – and as a socially-embedded practice which actively participates in definitions – or at least negotiations – of social stratification. And, if choreography is a practice of putting the human body into motion, then choreography was, again, practiced by Domenico and Guglielmo through specifications of corporeal technique and style, and combinations of steps and figures. But if choreography is assimilated to a solely physical/organic bodily practice, specific to its human performers, or to the authoring gesture of an autonomous human agent, it cannot grasp the spiritual in dance, the treatises' supra-human conception of

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takes up and sometimes refers to as *scosso*. Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 12–15, 22. Cf. also Sparti: Glossary, p. 223.

101   Domenico da Piacenza : *De arte saltandi*, pp. 12–13. The notion of moderation, here in its kinetic version, is associated by Domenico with virtue : '*per la mediocritade* [...] *sia conducta questa virtu singolare* [through moderation [...] this exceptional virtue is found]', pp. 14–15.

anthropos, or dance creation guided by nature. And, if that choreography is founded upon the particularity of the kinetic, it excludes the treatises' transmedia principles and their embracing of stillness. In all these ways, *De Pratica* and *De arte saltandi* illustrate the shortcomings of essentialised conceptions of (physicalised) dance, (necessary) motion and the (human) body that have crept into choreographic discourse until today.

As is the case in certain manifestations of contemporary expanded choreography, Domenico and Guglielmo's distance from a choreography based on human corporal motion is not the result of a refusal of the body, human element, movement, or dance. Instead of a focus on the physical or spiritual, the treatises occupy a non-dualist territory, where both the former and the latter are concurrent aspects of the dancer and of dance. Instead of a unique focus on the human being or what lies beyond it, the treatises expand the human body and place the person in a universe structurally and qualitatively continuous with them. Instead of existing uniquely in movement or resisting movement, the treatises relativise the place of the kinetic as a performance mode and as a principle of choreographic creation. Between the physical and the spiritual, the human and the natural, motion and stillness, Domenico and Guglielmo's choreography illustrates a profoundly-ethical position that avoids extremes; an expanded-choreographic perspective thus points to and deconstructs the dichotomies projected upon their texts. This reading of the two dance masters acts as a reminder that if contemporary choreographic production is drawn to the non-human (as opposed to anthropocentrism), stillness (rather than motion), interdisciplinarity (as an alternative to medium specificity), or a decentralised-horizontal authorship (rather than singular authorial intention), this is also because it is bound to respond to constructed dichotomies that need not be. Pointing to a non-anthropocentric performance and authorship, the potentiality of translations between different media and fields, and a conception of motion that does not exclude its containment, Domenico and Guglielmo invite expanded choreography today to enter into a game of relationalities, correspondences, and transversalities, rather than one of negation – be it of dance, motion, or human corporeality.