Antiquity as Inspiration in the Renaissance of Dance: The Classical Connection and Fifteenth-Century Italian Dance
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Antiquity as Inspiration in the Renaissance of Dance: The Classical Connection and Fifteenth-Century Italian Dance

Barbara Sparti

Ancient Greece has been an inspiration to dancers and choreographers throughout history. In this century alone, classical themes and attitudes influenced, among others, Isadora Duncan, Michel Fokine, Antony Tudor, and Martha Graham. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France and England, ballets regularly featured the trials and loves of a cast of Greek heroes. And still earlier, Thoinot Arbeau compared his Bouffons to the ancient pyrrhic dances, while Fabritio Caroso enriched his choreographies with steps inspired by Greek poetry and architecture.1 But to discover the first renovators of "the ancient style" within the modern age, we must go back to fifteenth-century Italy.

In the fifteenth century, Italy witnessed not only a return to nature and a new emphasis on the dignity of man, but also "an intense preoccupation with classical antiquity."2 As part of this, it produced a profusion of treatises—in Latin and in the vernacular—on all sorts of questions, from education and the family to architecture, painting, and music.3 These treatises were often based on classical models, and many incorporated, at least in part, forms and styles

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# TABLE OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY DANCE SOURCES

## DANCE TREATISES WITH MUSIC
(in chronological order)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Domenico da Piacenza</td>
<td>c. 1455</td>
<td>De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi</td>
<td>PBN f. ital. 972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Cornazano</td>
<td>1455/1465</td>
<td>Libro dell’Arte del Danzare</td>
<td>RBV Cod. Capp. 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guglielmo Ebreo</td>
<td>1463</td>
<td>De pratica seu arte tripudii</td>
<td>PBN f. ital. 973</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giovanni Ambrosio (alias Guglielmo Ebreo)</td>
<td>c. 1474</td>
<td>De pratica seu arte tripudii</td>
<td>PBN f. ital. 476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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*PBN Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
RBV Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

## LOCATION OF OTHER VERSIONS OF GUGLIELMO EBREO'S TREATISE
(without music)
(in alphabetical order)

- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Magliabecchiano XIX, 88)
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Cod. Antinori 13), 1510
- Modena, Biblioteca Estense (Cod. Ital. 82. a. J. 94)
- New York Public Library (*MGZMBZ-Res. 72-254)
- Siena, Biblioteca Comunale (L.V. 29)

## LOCATION OF OTHER DANCE SOURCES

- Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Cod. Palat. 1021), fragment
- Foligno, Seminario Vescovile, Biblioteca Jacobilli (D. I. 42), bassetanze
- Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (HS 8842/GS 1589), 1517, letter with choreographies
- Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (It. II. 34 [= 4906] Libro di Sidrach), dance descriptions

such as the Socratic dialogue borrowed from the ancients. While early humanists pored over Greek manuscripts of literature, history, medicine, rhetoric, and philosophy, “editing, translating, commenting and synthesizing,” the wealth and power of Renaissance princes was being increasingly assessed by the quantity and quality of antiquities in their collections and libraries.  

Among these treatises were a number on the dance, of which nine have so far come to light (see Table). These contained the choreographic descriptions—and the music—of dances that were performed on public and private occasions. For the most part, both the dances and the treatises were the creation of two dancing-masters, Domenico da Piacenza and Guglielmo Ebreo (William the Jew). Both of them dedicated the first part of their treatises to a theory of the dance and set out its basic principles. Like so many of their contemporaries in other disciplines, they also included an Apologia, in their case aimed at proving the worth of the dance at a time when, like painting, it was considered neither art nor science. One of the ways the dancing-masters sought to give dignity to their treatises, and hence to the dance itself, was to imbue both defense and theory with references to antiquity. Guglielmo, for example, emulates Plato’s Socratic dialogue and utilizes it to convince a group of hypothetical disciples of the justness of his fundamental precepts.

Domenico, for his part, uses no less a classical authority than Aristotle to introduce and defend his basic principles of the dance. On the very first page of his treatise, he refers to Books Two and Ten of Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics. In applying the Doctrine of the Mean (Book Two, chapter 6) to dance, Domenico tells his reader never to take either Agility or Body Manner (basic principles necessary for good dancing) to extremes, but to maintain a balance, so that the dancer’s movement “is neither too much nor too little but has such smoothness that it resembles a gondola driven forward . . . through those little waves, which . . . when the sea is . . . calm, rise slowly and fall quickly.” Then, by simply reminding the reader that Aristotle

**E nota che questa agilitade e maniera per niuno modo vole essere adoperata per li estremi. Ma tenire el mezo del tuo movimento che non sia ni troppo, ni poco, ma cum tanta suavitate che pari una gondola che da dui rimi spinta sia per quelle undicelle quando el mare fa quieta secondo sua natura alcando le dicte undicelle cum tardeza e asbasandosse cum presteza.” (The transcription and translation are mine; abbreviations have been silently expanded.) This metaphor describes a step embellishment—a wavelike motion of rising and falling made with each step—which is called Air by Guglielmo and “ondeggiare” by Antonio Cornazano (note 16).
discusses motion in Book Ten, Domenico apparently believes he has provided sufficient authority for his basic principle of body movement.\textsuperscript{10}

Domenico was able to use Aristotle’s philosophy to morally justify dance as a virtue, not only because it shuns the extremes and keeps the mean, but also because Prudence (\textit{phronesis}, practical common sense)—one of the five Aristotelian modes of thought or states of mind through which truth is reached, along with art, science, wisdom, and intuition—is composed of Measure and born of Memory, two other basic principles of fifteenth-century dance.\textsuperscript{11} Measure was a complex and very important tenet in the dance treatises, meaning various things such as rhythm, units (or “measures”) of music, meter, timing (keeping one’s steps with the music), proportions (inspired, no doubt, by Pythagoras), regulations, quantity, and moderation. Another kind of Measure “partitioned the ground,” the dancer gauging the space, adjusting his steps according to the size of the room, and keeping apace with his partner.

Memory was an extremely significant concept in antiquity. The roots of the mnemonic art were pre-Socratic, Simonides of Ceos being considered its founder.\textsuperscript{12} And in the second century A.D., in his “On the Dance,” the most influential late-classical work on the subject, Lucian described Memory as the very first requisite for a dancer inasmuch as it allowed the dancer to know by heart and be able to give pantomimic representation of well-known episodes in history, mythology, and literature.\textsuperscript{13} Medieval scholasticism revived (and revised) the art of memory, as did the Neoplatonic movement of Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola in the late fifteenth century, transforming it “into an Hermetic or occult art.”\textsuperscript{14} But the early humanists—contemporaries of Domenico—tended to distance themselves from the Middle Ages, deprecating the ancient art with its “places and images” and coming out in favor of straightforward methods of memorising.\textsuperscript{15} This pragmatic approach to Memory is reflected in the dance treatises, which seem rather naively to include Memory as a basic principle primarily for its name and “prestige value”; its applicability to dance is limited to Domenico’s explanation that Memory is the “repository” of all movements, steps, and embellishments, and later to the admonition of Antonio Cornazano (one of Domenico’s disciples) to “remember the steps you have to do when you begin a
Guglielmo adds that a dancer should be wary of being “scorned for his lack of forethought or want of memory,” and if he allows himself to be borne along and led by chance, “not remembering what is the beginning, the middle, or the end, [he] will appear absent-minded and his dancing will be imperfect.”

Besides the basic principles of dance, Domenico presents an original concept, still fascinating to dancers today, that draws perhaps significantly on ancient Greece for both its name and the subsequent metaphor. According to Domenico, anyone who wished to learn the “craft” of dancing had to dance with “phantasmata.” This term (sing. φάντασμα)—which means “ghost” in Italian, “image” in Latin, and derives from the Greek verb “to appear”—was for Domenico “a body quickness” (or subtlety, created by the intellect) that consisted in the dancer making a pause at every step, “as if—as the poet says—he had seen the Medusa’s head; that is, having made the movement he instantly and completely turns to stone, and then immediately grows wings like a falcon which is seeking its prey.” According to Cornazano, this standing still as death for a tempo (the equivalent of a modern bar of music) and then entering into the following bar with airy motion was not unattractive if done now and then, and he confirms Domenico’s saying that slow dancing especially should resemble an “ombra phantasmatica,” a ghostly shade. This quality, we are told, means “many things which are difficult to express in words.”

Guglielmo, dealing with the not unrelated concept of expression, describes dancing as “an outward manifestation of the movements of the soul . . . which, through our hearing, moves down with delight to our intellect and our affections, where there is then generated certain sweet commotions which, as if pent up unnaturally, struggle mightily to escape and display themselves in action.” This passage may well have been inspired by a similar concept in the Laws, where Plato affirms that “dance arose from the natural desire of the young . . . to move their bodies in order to express their emotions. . . .”

Closely connected to the idea of expressivity is gesture, so essential a part of ancient dance. Specific gestures and facial expressions are described in two of Domenico’s pantomimic choreographies. Guglielmo, who makes several references to gesture, exhorts his readers in his very first Rule to vary their steps and gestures according to the musical modes. The dance tunes were composed in two chiavi
(clefs)—B natural, "far more airy," and B flat, sweeter and less coarse—and it was of the greatest importance to follow carefully the particular music "with body and gesture." Renaissance musicians were fascinated with the Greek modes, not simply because they represented an ancient and noble past, but also because of the belief, derived from Aristotle and Plato, that the modes could unlock the powers of music over human feelings and morals.

The universe of the early humanists was dominated by the ideal of Harmony. Plato stresses "the sense of harmony and rhythm which . . . makes dances out of instinctive movements." And it is Harmony, seen as the source and sustenance of the dance, that dominates the introductory sonnet and Preface of Guglielmo's treatise. Guglielmo also uses the Preface to extol the virtues of Music, to discuss its possible inventors, and finally to show how Dance was born from it. He sets out to claim for Dance the status enjoyed by Music which, in fifteenth-century Italy, was considered both an art and a science. Music, we are told, had the power to stir old Pluto in the Underworld and to make stones and rocks arrange themselves into the walls of Thebes in response to Amphion's playing. And because such fabled ancient figures as Apollo, Syrinx, Vulcan, and Pan were all considered responsible for the invention of Music, Dance achieved moral and ethical respectability through its mediated association with them. Now, with its divine genealogy assured, Dance had become an appropriate pursuit for the contemporary nobility—the actual recipients of the dance treatises.

Domenico and Guglielmo even named some of their dances after classical gods and mythological figures, while others are named in honor of Italian princes and princesses. The choreographies for Jupiter, Cupid, Venus, Phoebus, and Daphne are in no way different as regards steps, form, and music from any of the other dances in the treatises. It is quite possible, therefore, that these dances were so named simply because of the distinction classical names conferred and the visions they evoked. They may, on the other hand, have been choreographies that were originally created for particular allegorical or cosmological representations.

These representations, called moresche or tramezzi (mimed, danced, or musical interludes inserted into long plays or banquets), are described, for the most part, in contemporary chronicles and am-
bassadorial reports. They portrayed allegorical, heroic, exotic, and pastoral scenes and were performed, for the most part, in costume, using distinctive headgear, masks, scenery, and special effects—fire in particular. Mock skirmishes were common and the Fool a popular character, while the grotesque was represented by doddering old men and fantastic monsters. Animals were often impersonated, the most frequently represented being lions, unicorns, bears, and stags. The motif of the Seven Planets was a favorite and may well have been inspired by the ancient dances of the spheres referred to in Lucian. A dance of the Seven Planets was performed in Pesaro in 1475 during the wedding festivities of a Sforza prince. And in the celebrated Festa del Paradiso, staged and directed by Leonardo da Vinci in 1490 in Milan, the Seven Planets—followed by Mercury, the three Graces, the seven Virtues, nymphs, and Apollo—came down to earth and honored the Duke and his new wife.

The moresche performed on state occasions and at official Carnival celebrations had a specific function and were not mere diversion. The allegorical themes and symbolism flattered and idealized the prince, his image reinforced through the highlighting of his virtues, magnificence, and power. In 1474, a prince from the Aragonese court of Naples was honored in the Duchy of Urbino with a “festa scenica mitologica.” In one scene, six lewd and treacherous women of antiquity, with Semiramis and Cleopatra at their head, accused Cupid of having tried to kidnap Persephone, and were subsequently dispatched to their “dark and gloomy haunt.” The high point of the spectacle was a dance performed around Chastity, led in by Penelope. First, six “queens of antiquity”—Nicostrata, Zenobia, Artemisia, Dido, the Queen of Sheba, and Tamyris—performed a bassadanza in a ring, and then, as they knelt in conclusion, they were circled in turn by twelve nymphs dancing around them, both dances being performed to the played and sung music of two well-known chansons. One cannot help but see similarities in Ben Jonson’s The Masque of Queens of 1609, in which twelve witches (Vice) danced twice, threatening King James and the audience itself, until “the hags and their Hell vanished” and twelve “famous Queens of history” (Virtue) danced three dances.

The quintessential allegorical “representation” is probably the magnificent ballo which took place during the banquet organized in Rome in 1473 for the wedding of Ercole d’Este, the brother of the
celebrated Isabella d'Este. The dance centered on Hercules, the groom's namesake. After dancing with various heroes and nymphs, Hercules engaged in battle and in a grand finale defeated the Centaurs.35

It is interesting to compare Dionysius of Halicarnassus' account of another battle dance, or pyrrhic, with that of one that took place in Ferrara in 1502 for the wedding festivities of Lucrezia Borgia, the daughter of Pope Alexander VI. Dionysius, in his Archaeologia (Roman Antiquities), describes the dress of the performers, their helmets adorned with plumes, their spears and shields. He explains that the company was split into three divisions, each with a leader who prescribed the figure of the dance for the others and, to the music of flute or lyre, kept time with the beat. Generally, the motions were quick and war-like, and different offensive movements were attempted, at times in single combat, at times one division against another.36 In Ferrara, ten warriors took part, appearing first one by one and later in two groups. They also were dressed in armor and in helmets, with red and white plumes. They were "armed after the manner of the ancients," with large knives, maces, two-handed swords, and daggers. They danced to the music of pipes and tabors and, with quick movements expressing a determination to kill the opponent, they fell to blows which, like their steps, were in time to the music. The maces broken, they drew their swords, stabbing at each other with great dexterity (forward and backward), dancing the whole time. At a given signal, they threw down their swords, and taking their daggers, attacked each other. At another musical signal, one half of the number fell down as if dead or wounded, while the others, with their daggers drawn, stood over them. The conquerors then bound their prisoners and led them off the stage.37

Not only were the pyrrhic dancers in Ferrara armed "in the ancient manner"; they dressed in classical costume as well. Italian painters who were contemporaries of Domenico and Guglielmo also clothed their allegorical personages in the conventional "ancient manner." Men, indeed, were often portrayed wearing Roman-type armor, while women were depicted much like Salome in Filippo Lippi's "Dance of Salome" in the Cathedral of Prato. Salome wears no overgarments but has her chemise pouchged out between the girdles tied around and below her waist. The same formula is used in Mantegna's "Parnassus," now in the Louvre. According to Stella Mary Newton, Mantegna's
Filippo Lippi’s “Dance of Salome,” a detail of a fresco (1452–64) in the Cathedral of Prato (Italy).

paintings in particular give us an idea of the costumes used for “nymphs and goddesses, and of the general scenic presentation of the Italian court theatre as it was at the end of the fifteenth century.”38 Scenes from antiquity often decorated marriage chests, like the cassone now at the Huntington Library, which represents Stratonice, daughter of King Demetrius of Macedonia, marrying, banqueting, and dancing with Antiochus, her new husband. With her underdress tucked up, she too is dressed in the mock-classical fashion of the early Renaissance.39

In his treatise, Guglielmo also addressed himself to the question of who should dance, quite probably taking inspiration from Plato and Aristotle. “This [art of dancing],” he writes, “most favors and befits those whose hearts are loving and generous and whose spirits
A detail of Andrea Mantegna’s painting *Parnassus* (1497), now in the Louvre.
are ennobled by a heavenly bent . . . 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.’ At the same time, however, dance ‘not only ennobles and refines virtuous and esteemed men, but even the ill-mannered and the base-born become most noble-minded.’ To dance well, Guglielmo continues, is ‘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.’40

For Aristotle, dancing needed to be regulated to give young men moral training and intellectual and aesthetic gratification, highly
idealistic dance "purging the young student's soul of unseemly emotions and preparing the future citizen for a truly honourable enjoyment of leisure time." And in the *Laws*, Plato suggests that all boys and girls should be instructed in noble dance and music (which is fine and honorable), while all kinds of "unworthy rhythms and harmonies, steps and gestures" should be excluded from public performances and schools. Noble dancing created a well-balanced mind and conferred health, agility, and beauty on the body and goodness on the soul.

Whatever parallels there may be between ancient Greece and fifteenth-century Italy regarding the status of the dance, certain important differences did exist. Whereas dancing was held in high esteem in Greece, it did not rank among the leading pursuits at the Italian courts despite the efforts of Domenico and Guglielmo; and although dancing was an integral part of most entertainments and festivities, many princes, in fact, had no permanent dancing-masters. Furthermore, the chroniclers of great weddings and receptions took little notice of the dancing, instead describing and recording the value of the clothes and jewels of those present. The humanist curriculum, directed primarily at educating princes and upper-class males, and centering on moral and religious studies, intellectual training, and physical development, essentially ignored and at times explicitly condemned the dance. Only two of the thirteen or more treatises on education written by leading Italian humanists in the fifteenth century admit dancing. Guarino allows it along with outdoor activities such as ball games, hunting, walking, and riding, while Vittorino da Feltre warns that dancing, like choral singing and instrumental music, should have a place in the curriculum in circumscribed situations only, that is, where it is certain not to lead to either indolence or sensual excitement.

As to the status of the dancing-masters themselves, in antiquity, according to Lillian Lawler, "Teachers of dancing, who devised and taught the choreography for the ancient ritual dances, were held in the highest regard," while all professional activity in the field of dance (as well as music) was to be relegated to slaves, freedmen, and foreigners. The situation was rather similar to that in Italy, where the social status of dancing-masters was so low that, judging by Guglielmo's career at least, even knighthood did not better it, and even the best dancing-master had constantly to search for patronage.
While it is unlikely that the dancing-masters themselves were acquainted with Plato’s or Lucian’s writings on the dance, their treatises are written in the humanist style and reflect the interest in all things Greek. References to the Golden Mean, to Memory, to classical philosophers and divinities, when applied to the dance, seem to have been primarily intended to impress the noble reader and to elevate the status of the dance. Parallels between allegorical moresche and the ancient sung-and-danced theatre interludes may well exist, although we shall probably never know if and in what ways the composers of the moresche thought they were recreating these Greek spectacles. What is important is that the moresche allow us to claim them as yet another indication of the way the fifteenth century found inspiration in antiquity, and at the same time they stand as a manifestation of a Renaissance conception of antiquity, vivid if inaccurate.

Notes


3. See, among others, works by Leon Battista Alberti on painting, architecture, and the family; Franchino Gafurio on music; and Vergerio and Leonardo Bruni on education.


7. These references were often simply “rhetorical attempts to bolster the social status” of the artist and his art and were, more than occasionally, made up of no more than naive affirmations, commonplaces, clichés, and forced, farfetched arguments which reflected, together with “profound original ideas about the nature of the arts,” the “many notions [which] were in the air” at the time. Emanuel Winternitz, Leonardo da Vinci as a Musician (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 219.

8. This same dialogue form was first used in a “defense of dance” in the second century A.D. by Lucian in his On the Dance, The Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 5 (London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936). And it was to be taken up again in the sixteenth century by Thoinot Arbeau in France and Fabritio Caroso in Italy in their important dance manuals (see note 1).


10. Aristotle discusses motion in Book Ten, Chapter 4.


13. Lillian B. Lawler, The Dance in Ancient Greece (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), points out that “some scholars regard this essay as the work of an imitator of Lucian” (p. 145).


15. Ibid., pp. 126–7.
AN\textsuperscript{TI}QUITY AS INSPIRATION

16. Antonio Cornazano was a courtier, humanist, and poet. Though not a dancing-master, he wrote a treatise for Ippolita Sforza, the daughter of the Duke of Milan. A later copy of the original treatise, now lost, was published by Curzio Mazzi in \textit{La Bibliofilia}, XVII, 1915, and translated into English by Madeleine Inglehearn and Peggy Forsyth (London: Dance Books Ltd., 1981).


18. Domenico, fol. 2'. "The poet" probably alludes to Homer, who first mentioned the Gorgon's head. Hesiod, however, in specifying three different heads, was the first poet to refer to Medusa.

19. Cornazano, \textit{Libro}, fol. 7'. It is still difficult today to interpret this enigmatic quality: possibly the holding and releasing of breath or energy, similar to a fermata, or perhaps rubato or phrasing in music. Domenico, indeed, refers to the body's breathing through "phantasma" (fol. 1'). And one wonders if there may not be a linguistic and conceptual link with the "umbregi" or body shading described by Guglielmo in his Chapter on Manner (fol. 8').


22. \textit{Mercantia} and \textit{Sobria}. See also Giorgio's \textit{Tangeloso}, where the two dancers, with each step, have to "look at one another with jealousy." The Giorgio treatise has recently been edited by Andrea Francalanci and is published in \textit{Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis}, 14 (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 1990).

23. Sparti, \textit{Guglielmo Ebreo}, pp. 104 and 105. The \textit{chiavi} (musical clefs or signatures) of B molle and B quadro probably refer to the two systems known later as \textit{cantus mollis} and \textit{cantus durus}, which developed out of the hexachord theory. The three hexachords were \textit{naturale}, beginning on C; \textit{durum} (hard), beginning on G; and \textit{molle} (soft), beginning on F, with a B flat.


26. Lucian did not have to prove the worth of dance through music. It was enough for him to recall that the greatest of the heroes and gods of ancient Greece had danced.

27. See Patrizia Castelli, ""Il moto aristotelico e la 'licita scientia,' " in the catalogue \textit{Mesura et Arte del Danzare. Guglielmo Ebreo...}
da Pesaro . . . (Pesaro: Gualtieri, 1987). Among the princes and princesses to whom Guglielmo and Cornazano presented treatises (of which all but one are lost) are Lorenzo de’ Medici, Duke Federico of Urbino, Galeazzo Sforza (the future duke of Milan), his sister Ippolita (who became Duchess of Calabria), and Alessandro Sforza, lord of Pesaro.


33. Alfredo Saviotti, “Una rappresentazione allegorica in Urbino nel 1474,” Atti e memorie della R. Accademia Petrarca di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Arezzo, I (1920), pp. 18–26, where costumes are also described. (See also page 161, note 28, in S. M. Newton’s Renaissance Theatre Costume.) That the queens, Chastity and Penelope come from different civilizations and historic periods was not unusual. Antica, at this time, was a catchall for medieval (Christian) Virtues, for Sybils, Prophets, and Kings of the Old Testament, for Roman generals, Greek philosophers,


37. See William Gilbert, Lucrezia Borgia (London, 1869), and B. Zambotti’s “Diario Ferrarese,” Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, XXIV, vii, p. 325. McGowan (pp. 29–38) describes a very similar armed dance performed in Lyons in 1548 to honor the entry of Henri II of France. She points out that the dance, more than just a military exercise, was a political statement and, above all, that it “restored” an early form of dancing.

38. Newton, p. 130.

39. This cassone, painted “in the manner of” Matteo di Giovanni, is in the Huntington Library Gallery in California, together with its “twin” panel, which depicts the sick-with-love Antiochus being examined by Eristerate, the physician informing the King, and the King’s decision to divorce Stratonice.


42. Lawler, p. 124.

43. See Paul F. Grendler’s Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning 1300–1600 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University

44. See Woodward, pages 180–1, for a list of the principal treatises with approximate dates. The best-known authors besides Vittorino da Feltre are Vergerio, Leonardo Bruni, Francesco Barbaro, Aeneas Piccolomini, Guarino of Verona, Maffeo Vegio, Jacopo Porcia, and Gianozzo Manetti.


48. The rough and pedestrian style of Guglielmo’s letters and autobiography (which is included in the Giovanni Ambrosio copy), compared with the format of his treatise, with its erudite references to antiquity and elegant prose, leads one to speculate that he, at least, may well have used a “‘ghost-writer’” to shape and enhance his “book of dances,” someone like the poet-humanist Mario Filelfo, whose “Ode to Guglielmo” is included in the treatise.

49. Expanding our knowledge in these and related areas requires further research and, in particular, the collaboration of specialists—not only experts in Italian Renaissance and ancient Greek dance, but of scholars working on the general influences of antiquity on the Renaissance and the Baroque. See, for example, the article “Greek Dance” by the late J. W. Fitton, University of Exeter, in *Classical Quarterly*, XXIII, 3 (1973); and R. Weiss’ *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Blackwell, 1969); as well as Régine Astier’s “The Influence of Greek Rhetoric on the Composition and Interpretation of Baroque Stage Dances,” in the Proceedings of the International Conference “‘Dance and Ancient Greece’” (Athens, 1991, distributed by Dora Stratou Dance Theatre), II, pp. 199–211, and Françoise Syson Carter’s “Dance as a Moral Exercise,” in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Pesaro 16–18 luglio 1987*, ed. Maurizio Padovan (Pisa: Pacini, 1990), pp. 169–79.