

ELNA MATAMOROS

DANCE
&
COSTUMES

A HISTORY OF
DRESSING MOVEMENT



Alexander Verlag Berlin

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Zürcher Hochschule der Künste
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To the female dressmakers in my family.

They taught me how to choose clothes by the seams,
and people by their behaviour.

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INTRODUCTION

The key to this volume is that it is 'A History of Dressing Movement', for what Elna Matamoros is doing in this volume is not simply looking at costumes worn by dancers but thinking about the effect they have on the moving body. Her own experience is as a dancer and teacher and this comes across as she looks at the costumes. They are not garments in isolation. They have a purpose to reveal, conceal, extend or alter the dancer's movement not simply decorate the body. At times the body disappears, and we are left with simply traces of light. The costumes are considered here with a real appreciation of their purpose in conjunction with choreography.

To read *Dance & Costumes* is to time travel, back and forth between the court of Louis XIV and the Twenty First Century and to become aware of the milieu for which different styles of costumes were created. As a dancer with both a European and American background Elna has chosen to look at a wide range of productions of theatre dance; ballet, Spanish and modern dance. Toe shoes and tutus are discussed but so are shifts, tunics, body-tights and lengths of fabric. Does the costume liberate the dancer to move freely, or does its structure hamper movement? What happens between the external costume admired by the audience and the dancer's body? Is the dancer corseted? Does the dancer hide behind a costume that is really a prop?

In this well-illustrated volume, Elna faces the challenge of interpreting iconography whether she is looking at designs, illustrations or photographs. Was the designer's drawing modified by the maker of the costume to enable the dancer to feel more comfortable, or to make it acceptable to the audience? How and why did the costume change from one period to another? Did the illustrator draw what was presented or the illusion the producers were putting across? When in relation to the performance or creation of a production was the photograph taken?

In looking at the costumes themselves questions are asked. What is the effect of the weight, colour, transparency of the fabric and what challenges presented its nap, elasticity or effect under lights? Elna has consulted with wardrobe staff to appreciate their challenges as well as understood from her own experience the difference a costume makes to a dancer. This is then related to a historical perspective. There is a great deal more in designing for dance than an art-work on paper being translated into a decorative garment worn by a dancer. It becomes part of the dance and, as this volume reveals, the most interesting costumes are those created in collaboration with the movement the choreographers and dancers devise.

Jane Pritchard
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1. DANCING ON STAGE: AN INTRODUCTION

The identity of dance as we know it today –in any of its numerous variants– has been forged throughout history, and has precisely evolved with this history. If we narrow the field of study to the origins of what is termed “classical dance” (ballet) then we should limit the study to the search for its roots in stylized folklore, which was first seen in the dance at Court. There, following an impulse provided by Louis XIV “le Roi Soleil” in the France du Grand-Siècle, dance finally reached the stage.

In fact, the word “ballet” was born in France, but is now part of the international vocabulary. The *Encyclopédie Larousse* currently defines ballet as “Choreographic composition intended to be performed in public, with or without music, performed by one or many dancers”¹ and *Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary* as “A classical dance form demanding grace and precision and employing conventional steps and gestures set in intricate, flowing patterns to create expression through movement.”² If we consult the specialized publications, we find in *The Ballet Goer’s Guide*, by Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp, that ballet is “The form of classical academic dance which has evolved in the Western theatre.”³ With these last two definitions we find the two fundamental concepts of this art: its characteristic conventionality –the possession of its own language, specific and rigorous, but absolutely arbitrary– and its unavoidable characteristic as a western product. Yes, the ballet was born in France, but shortly thereafter it reached the west and south of Europe and just two centuries later it went to Russia; ballet has now spread worldwide.⁴

1 “Ballet,” in *La Grande Encyclopédie Larousse...* 2018.

2 “Ballet,” in *Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary...* 1996.

3 CLARKE - CRISP, *The Ballet Goer’s Guide...* 1981, p. 6.

4 cfr. HILTON, “Ballet Technique / ... French Court Dance,” NOLL HAMMOND, “id. / ... Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries,” and GLASSTONE, “id. / ... Since the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...* 1998.

From the moment conventionalisms dazzled artists and audiences, in Louis XIV's France, any stage element could become a creative tool for masters and choreographers, who developed ballet techniques at the same rate as the expressive needs of the dancer were demanding new challenges. If there was any one element that had a decisive influence on the work of the choreographer, it was the way the dancers were dressed:⁵ the shortening of the skirt length, the round neckline, the gradual disappearance of the heels in the footwear or the invention of pointe shoes were indispensable ingredients on which the choreographers based their creative work.

In the introductory chapter of *The Lure of Perfection. Fashion and Ballet, 1780-1830*, Judith Chazin-Bennahum, relies on the French historian Carole Rambaud's affirmation, "how in singling out this one [dance costume] of the choreographic spectacle, the costume becomes a plastic witness to the spectacle and uncovers a specific artistic expression of its creator. The costume designer not only works with the choreographer but also considers the movement as well as the dancer's body. The texture and tactility of the costume fabric enter into the choreography in an imaginative way. The costume becomes accompaniment to movement and to energy."⁶

Although very subtly, the choreographers' work was also being affected by those changes and vice versa: as the length of the skirts shortened, the choreographers devised new movements to surprise the public (since, for the first time, the audience could see the dancers' calves) as well as to motivate the artists. At same time, based on the novel contributions of Noverre and Angiolini, the ballet –whether it was called *ballet d'action* or *ballo pantomimo*– developed a new plot line in their choreographies that slowly but inexorably abandoned any relationship to Greek Classicism and mythology. Jean-Georges Noverre (1727-1810) and Gasparo Angiolini (1731-1803), eternal rivals, propitiated, in parallel, the definitive establishment of the narrative dance on stage. Although Noverre's *ballet d'action* differed slightly from Angiolini's *ballo pantomimo* –mainly in the process of the conception and development of a new work, rather than in the result itself–⁷, both

5 In fact, the influence of the costume goes far beyond mere choreography to reach any show or even any public act; cfr. McCORMICK, "Costume in Western Traditions/An Overview," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...*

6 CHAZIN-BENNAHUM, *The Lure of Perfection...* 2004, p. 3.

7 JÜRGENSEN, *The Bournonville Tradition...* 1997, vol. 1, p. 4.

choreographers defended the artistic capacity of dance to tell stories in a totally autonomous way and independently from pure dramatic acting: for the first time, choreographers were also narrators.

The suppression of theatrical masks in stage dancing, perhaps Noverre's greatest innovation, would give rise to a new, more expressive and natural way of performing that would be seconded – to a greater or lesser extent, and with greater or lesser success – throughout Western Europe: in a short time, dance technique experienced a spectacular impetus. August Bournonville would recall in his *Letters on Dance and Choreography* how “the masks, the panniers and the tonnelets, the feathered head-dresses and the pointed heels disappeared, and the obsolete forms of dance moved imperceptibly towards characterisation and dramatic situations.”⁸ Not only did the costumes modify the movement per se, but also the dramatic interpretation of the characters. As Dorion Weickmann notes in *The ballet d'action of the eighteenth century*, “though the figures of the Hellenic myths still populated the stages, their bodies told different stories. Monarchical glory and *grandeur*^[9] disappeared and were replaced by human conflicts, sentiments and souls.”¹⁰ Both the academic technique and the dramatic performance underwent a strong momentum which led to its dramatic evolution.

Finally, the explosion of the German Romanticism affected professional dancing as it did to all the other art forms, and therefore, supernatural environments and spectral creatures filled up the stage. Almost all of characters were female. And they all wore tutus. At the end of this period, the tutus were even ‘camouflaged’ as peasant costumes, as in the first act of *Giselle* and other ballets with costumbrist scenes.

A good part of this study involves the tutu: as a first approximation, it is the traditional costume of the female dancer, and it is built by a skirt of tulle or muslin sewn to a corset (or bodice, depending on the different periods and styles) emphasising the waist of the dancer.¹¹ In the latest update of the Oxford Dictionary we read: “A female ballet dancer's costume consisting of a bodice and an attached skirt incorporating numerous layers of fabric, this either being short and stiff and projecting horizontally from the waist (the classical tutu) or long, soft and bell-shaped (the romantic tutu).” It also clarifies: “Origin. Early 20th century

8 BOURNONVILLE, “Lettres sur la danse...”, 1st letter, 08.07.1860, transl. 1999, p. 24.

9 In French in original.

10 WEICKMANN, “Choreography and Narrative...”, 2007, p. 55.

11 For further discussion, vid. AU, “Tutu”, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...*

from French, child's alteration of *cucu*, informal diminutive of *cul* 'buttocks'.¹²

There were several reasons that catapulted ballet dancers to fame, but there was one that by itself could have transformed the *ballerina* –the female dancer– into the real star of the stage: the new dance on *pointe*. What began on stage by reproducing the traditional shoe used by all ladies in ballroom dance, evolved over time in form, design and even the sewing patterns. The longitudinal and parallel pieces next to the sole disappeared, providing greater firmness in the structure of a new shoe with transverse seams; gradually, dancers found the way to improve both their technique and footwear throughout the years. Even today, the *pointe* shoes keep changing.

The possibility of performing some steps and movements on their tip-toes –at the beginning in a very rudimentary way but shortly after with more successful results– gave wings (never better said) to the dancers in order to recreate any supernatural, ethereal and phantasmagorical creature that the ballet librettist could think of. Although during the beginning of Romanticism it was the choreographer himself who dealt with the plot (and even sometimes also commissioning or composing the score) the main ballets of that period, such as *Giselle* or *La Sylphide*¹³ were based on *libretti* written specifically to be danced, based on carefully chosen storylines. By that time, the usual ballet training included *pas enlevés* [literally, “elevated steps”] or, in other words, movements performed *sur les demi-pointes* [“on half-pointe,” flexing the metatarsals so the dancer keeps all his/her body weight and balance on the metatarsals, instead of on the entire plantar base], the *pas sautés* [literally “jumped steps”] and the *entrechats* or *battus* [“beaten jumps,” because the feet or legs criss-cross while in the air] had become quite common since the 17th century. Now, however, once *pointe* shoes appeared, ballet students had to find not only a new way of performing any movement they already knew, but also to master a new number of steps created specifically to be performed on *pointe* in order to succeed on stage: for example *pas courus* [travelling

12 “Tutu,” in *The Oxford English Dictionary...* 2018.

13 *Giselle, ou Les Wilis*, music by Adolphe Adam, choreography by Jean Coralli & Jules Perrot, libretto by Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint Georges on an original story by Théophile Gautier after Heinrich Heine's *De l'Allemagne* and Victor Hugo's 'Fantômes' from *Les Orientales*, premiered at la Salle Le Peletier –Théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique– in Paris, June 1841. *La Sylphide*, music by Jean-Madeleine Schneitzhoeffer and choreography by Filippo Taglioni, libretto by Adolphe Nourrit on Charles Nodier's *Trilby, ou Le lutin d'Argail*, premiered at la Salle Le Peletier in Paris, March 1832.

steps performed by tiny fast steps, so the dancer seems to slide along the floor], or *piqués* [when the dancer holds a position on balance by the only direct support of the foot, on tip-toes].

In the same way, at the beginning of Classicism –understood as the period between the premiere of *Coppélia* in 1870 and the death of the choreographer Marius Petipa¹⁴ in 1910– the skirts would be shortened even more. At first, these new skirts were called “*powder puff tutu*”¹⁵ and later, as the ruffles of the skirt kept shortening, people started to name them as “*pancake tutu*”: the dancers would begin to raise their legs above the hip, and the *pas de deux* would adopt the standards we know today.

Although in its origin the term *pas de deux* simply defined any dance performed by two dancers –regardless of their sex– it would later imply a structure of a combined duo in which the male holds the female, who performs slow steps of plastic splendour or dynamic movements of acrobatic virtuosity. These novel acrobatics provided a great impulse to the art of choreography, and they were in part propitiated because the male dancer saw his work made easier, since for the first time he could see what his partner’s legs were doing while holding her, either on the floor or in the air.

Also at that time the pointe shoes evolved to becoming almost what we know as present day shoes. The Russian School¹⁶ gave another twist to the work begun during the Romanticism: the dancers could now perform *sur les pointes*, for example, *fouetté en tournant* [a turn outwards, around the axis of the dancer, which is the current emblem of technical acrobatics¹⁷], the *petits sautés* [literally, “little jumps”], the *promenades* [turn of the dancer on her axis while the man helps her to keep her balance on pointe] and other steps now common in classical dance. As the decades passed, more new steps were added to each re-staging of the Romantic ballets, probably because to the choreographers

¹⁴ Petipa’s ballets marked the greatest splendour of Classicism; *Swan Lake*, *La Bayadère* or *Don Quixote* are still performed by the world’s leading dance companies; vid infra, chap. 8, pp. 195 & seq.

¹⁵ Also associated to the later tutu designed by Karinska because of the free layers of fabric that built the tutu.

¹⁶ This is the pedagogical system created by Agrippina Vaganova [vid. infra, nt. 19] at the Imperial School of Ballet. Today it is named after her, Vaganova School, and provides dancers to the Mariinsky Ballet; the Vaganova School crystalized the purest tradition of classical ballet.

¹⁷ They can be performed individually or linked one after the other, as we can usually see in the coda of most of the classical *pas de deux*; the female dancer usually performs 32 *fouettés* in 32 musical measures of 2/4; vid infra, chap. 8, nt. 40, and chap. 7, pp. 182-183.

it seemed absurd to only use these new discoveries in their own new creations, and soon ballets such as *Giselle* passed through the hands of Marius Petipa¹⁸ or Agrippina Vaganova,¹⁹ who with all good intentions, incorporated their newly invented movements according to their own personal criteria.

During the 20th century, studies and experiments of scientific interest on movements of the human body would open up a new field in the art of choreography, and the dancer will be presented on stage, for the first time, as a mobile instrument and not as a character. The futurists, symbolists, dadaists, expressionists...²⁰ opened new windows onto the world of dance which, later on, would lead the founders of Modern Dance to change the lightness of *classical* ballet for heavier movements, elements of tension and contractions, other evolutionary *movements related to the reflected emotions*, as well as to the images they project upon the audience.²¹ The social changes, once again, would penetrate the creative process of dance, and a generation of female choreographers and dancers would claim their place on and off stage, freeing themselves from the artistic concepts that had been imposed on women by male choreographers for centuries. The corsets disappeared as a female ornament thanks to the work of artistic pioneers such as Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis, or Martha Graham and Mary Wigman years later;²² women were decisive elements in the new aesthetics of the scenic dance.

Meanwhile, the natural heirs of the academic ballet –led by Michel Fokine²³– would find their place in Sergei Diaghilev’s *Les Ballets Russes*²⁴

18 Based in Russia, Petipa created a huge repertoire and consolidated the academic ballet training; he also re-staged the old romantic ballets as they were performed in Russia; vid. infra, chap. 8.

19 Dancer and teacher at the Mariinsky Ballet in Saint Petersburg. It was her career as a ballet teacher what gave her prestige, but she also re-staged new versions of old ballets and choreographed some original pieces like *Carnival in Venice Divertissement* or *Diana and Actaeon Pas de Deux*.

20 vid. infra, chap. 10 and 11.

21 vid. infra, chap. 13, pp. 380-386.

22 vid. infra, chap. 3 and chap. 13, respectively, for one and the other.

23 Trained at the Imperial School of Ballet in Russia, he was an experienced performer of the romantic and classical ballets before starting his own career as a choreographer. His Russian name was Михаил Фокин (Mikhail Fokin), but once in the West he started to use the French version, Michel Fokine, and later the English form of his name, Michael Fokin. Among the different variants found, we chose Michel Fokine as it is the most frequently used. We will be doing this in similar cases.

24 vid. infra, chap. 12, “The contributions...”

and although they would revolt against the stereotyped characters, situations and predictable movements of Petipa's ballets, at no time did they renounce the academic heritage and training they had received; quite the contrary, they renewed it, allowing themselves to be affected by new aesthetic currents, encouraged by Diaghilev himself. In a few decades, the novelties applied to ballet by those who we now call neoclassicals²⁵ were mixed with the experiments of scholars perhaps less trained in choreography and professional dance, but great transgressors with respect to the analysis of movement.

Thus, the space/shape movement studies developed by Rudolf von Laban,²⁶ for example, would have a major effect on the use of direction and space in choreography; George Balanchine's dancers would perform *décalés* on stage in rehearsal clothes, showing bodies and choreography without any artifice.²⁷ Little by little, the tendencies were intermingled and the expressive and aesthetic creative thinking was widened. The choreographer, the Ballet Master, the dancer, as well as the tastes and demands of the audience, have been constantly influenced by the ever-changing stage costumes and vice versa.²⁸ All this has not only been the cause but also the vehicle and consequence of all this evolution.

25 vid. infra, chap. 13, pp. 365-380.

26 vid. infra, chap. 11, pp. 293-298.

27 Balanchine created the *Black & White Ballets*: the female dancers wear pink tights with black leotard, and the male dancers wear black tights with white t-shirt; vid. infra, chap. 13, pp. 369-370.

28 cfr. TER-ARUTUNIAN, "Designing for Dance," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...*

2. THE EMANCIPATION OF DANCE: COSTUMES, CHOREOGRAPHY AND ATTITUDES

The professionalization of dance gave rise to a genre that had already begun to be called *ballet* and managed to break through the stalemate that it had endured by being performed only by amateur dancers, courtiers, and other idle people of different categories and respectability. As an independent genre –exuberant, absurd and surprising– the *ballet de cour*¹ could not survive for long considering the social changes that were advancing into France, the country where it originated. These performances, always held in the court premises, were designed, performed and enjoyed only by courtiers, causing this genre to die out around 1665, which gave way to other genres such as *ballet mascarade*, *ballet à entrées* and, subsequently, the *opéra-ballet*.

The *ballet de cour*, by contravening the three classical unities for theatre –action, time and place– presented greater scenic possibilities, and the new creators enjoyed more artistic freedom. For example, the characters being interpreted would be costumed following the fashion of the time and sometimes they were provided with a specific symbolic element that transformed the performance into an important propaganda tool.² Following the rules of the court where the *ballet de cour* began, the segregation of sexes established that only the ladies of the nobility could act in proximity to the Queen, while only men could dance with the King; thus, certain roles were played by men dressed in transvestite; not a major difficulty considering the complexity of the wardrobe and the masks, and the sophisticated make-up used in the performances.³ Some courtiers

1 vid. MCGOWAN, “Ballet de Cour / 1560-1670,” and CHRISTOUT, “id. / 1643-1685,” in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...*, 1998.

2 vid. AU, *Ballet and Modern Dance...* 1988, pp. 13-16.

3 BLAND-PERCIVAL, *Men Dancing...* 1984, p. 11.



2.1 - *Le Roi Soleil en costume de théâtre ; Louis XIV au Carrousel*
Costume design by Henri de Gissey. Original coloured print.

played certain characters so often that they came to reflect them in their own personal behaviours. This happened to Louis XIV of France: his favourite character played on stage, Apollo, had a specific solar meaning, which led to the appearance of the Sun in his performances, which in turn, led to his nickname, “Le Roi Soleil,”⁴ evidently making it more relevant.⁵

To understand entirely the absurdity of this genre it suffices to name the *Ballet Comique de la Reine*, considered as the first *ballet de cour* containing all the elements of the genre, performed the 15th of October of 1581 on the occasion of the wedding of the Duke of Joyeuse, a favourite

⁴ Literally “The Sun King”; vid. fig. 2.1 - The image on the left shows one of the costumes used by Louis XIV, depicted as Le Roi Soleil. We can see that the adornments from his footwear, the heaviness of the jacket or his over decorated headdress made of feathers, would hardly allow him to perform complicated jumps or sophisticated steps.

⁵ AU, *Ballet and Modern Dance...*, p. 18.

of the King, with the sister of Queen Louise, Marguerite de Lorraine.⁶ The five-hour long presentation, based on Homer's *Odyssey*, took place in the large hall of the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon, adjacent to the Louvre Palace, a place so spacious that the King, as a spectator, was more than 50 metres away from the performance.⁷

The choreographer, Balthasar de Beaujoyeux,⁸ had a difficult time to come up with some interesting geometric designs or patterns⁹ since he could only count on a few courtesans as performers, who probably did not shine for their talent as dancers: moreover, from the King to the least significant performer, each had to shine, but above all the monarch. Even today, there is an *entrechat* –the simplest of the whole family of the *entrechats* family, because it barely has one crossing of the feet during the jump– whose name is *royal entrechat* because precisely the King was the only dancer allowed to perform it: it would undoubtedly be a triumph of the social permeability of dance and an irony of destiny¹⁰ if true, but it may well only form part of a legend. On the other hand, the costumes used did not make it much easier to perform any steps that were far beyond a mere rhythmic walking, since there was little or no difference between the stage and civil clothing, to the extent of ignoring the period and aesthetic references of the characters being interpreted.¹¹ The absence of any scenic sense –still undeveloped– allowed brocades, precious stones and other luxurious accessories to be real, so they did not spare any means for their productions. As a genre, the *ballet de cour* held such ostentatious and absurd artistic concepts that when the performance finished, all the costumes, stage elements etc. were piled on an enormous pyre that was lit after a huge celebration with fireworks. Thus, each presentation show was truly unique and unrepeatably.¹²

Le Roi Soleil was not exclusively focused on dancing: perhaps trying to alleviate court expenses, he created the Academies of Dance (1661) and

6 MCGOWAN, "Ballet Comique de la Roynie, Le," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...*

7 ESTEBAN, *Ballet...* 1993, p. 38.

8 Balthasar de Beaujoyeux (1500?-1587), whose real name was Baldassare de Belgiojoso, was a violinist, composer, dance teacher and choreographer who worked under Catherine de Medici and participated in the artistic education of her children. Vid. "Balthazar de Beaujoyeux," in *Encyclopedia Britannica...* 2016.

9 Accuracy on proportions and inventiveness were most remarkable among his many talents; cfr. MCGOWAN, "Beaujoyeux, Balthazar de," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...*

10 MATAMOROS, *Augusto Bournonville...* 2008, p. 168.

11 ESTEBAN, *Ballet...*, p. 40.

12 Ibid, p. 45.

Music (1666; originally called Académie d'Opéra).¹³ Besides bringing total independence to dance, the *Académies* regulated its teaching and performances, as well as fomenting the creation of new ballets. When dance –or at least the embryo being gestated– finally left the court and came on stage, the creative motivation of dancers and choreographers was not long in coming. They were eager to develop new steps and *enchaînements* [literally “chains” or brief choreographic phrases, consisting of one or two main steps and their corresponding ‘in-between-steps’ or movements to link them all]. In Italy, where the practice and theory of dance was slightly more developed,¹⁴ the famous Cesare Negri¹⁵ collected these practices and theories –in detail– in his treatise *Le gratie d'amore* (1602-04), dedicated in its first edition to Philip III, “re di Spagna et monarca del Mondo Nuovo,” and expanded it in his second one, titled *Nuove inventioni di balli*. This he compiled with great precision to explain things such as audacious steps with turns on one foot and twirls in the air, but also practical advice such as the logical need, for example, as looking for a point of support to train prior to performing some of the difficult movements.¹⁶ Obviously, the ballet masters wanted their dancers well trained... even before they had more specific steps to perform.

Negri's advice is a clear antecedent of the dancers' subsequent barre work, in which the dancers lean on a wooden bar attached to the wall to practice some movements while keeping their balance. This incipient barre work is depicted in his book by a male figure that stands on one foot while holding a chair with his left hand and a table with his right hand;¹⁷ his clothing does not differ at all from the traditional court

13 GUEST, *Le Ballet de l'Opéra...* 1976, transl., p. 7.

14 To the early treatises by Domenico da Piacenza (ca. 1440-50), Antonio Cornazano (1455) and Guglielmo Ebreo (1463) –vid. refs. infra, chap. 8, nt. 106–, we should add, in the 16th century, the remarkable Fabritio Caroso, *Il Ballarino...* Venice, Francesco Ziletti, from 1581 (vid. Bibliography).

15 Cesare Negri (1535-1605), Italian master and choreographer. Some scholars attribute to him the codification of the 5 basic feet positions, although Pierre Rameau names Pierre Beauchamp as the real inventor; cfr. [RAMEAU], *Le Maître à danser...* 1725, pp. 9-22.

16 NEGRI, *Nuove inventioni...* 1604, Regola XXXVII, pp. 78-79.

17 fig. 2.2 - This engraving in *Nuove inventioni di balli* by Negri is the first reference to what in the future will be the barre work. The dancer, using a table and a chair to keep his balance “appoggiandosi con le mani à qualche cosa, che sia commoda” (leaning with his hands on to something that is comfortable), practices the movements that he will have to perform later without support.



2.2 - *Nuove inventioni di balli...*, by Cesare Negri,
“Regola XXXVIII,” 1604.

outfit of those days, and it is difficult to imagine that any movement can be performed gracefully wearing a ruff, a heavy jacket, etc.

Even if we can see a small and outlined waist in the dancer from Negri’s treatise, it does not mean that he wore a garment adjusted to the body: on the contrary, it was the chest that was covered by a stuffed jacket that increased its volume and made movement quite difficult. This particular jacket does not reach the knee, as in some cases, although it did cover the inner shirt, and it was probably the most important male garment of the time. Obviously, the courtiers wouldn’t dance without it; with a central slight opening that allows him to show part of his codpiece, and tight at the waist, so that the dancer could separate the thighs with relative comfort, facilitating and propitiating the incipient *battements tendus* –movement of a leg extending from the hip and showing the foot– or *battements jetés* –similar to *battement tendu*, but slightly raised from the floor– in their dance. The same filling that prevented the wrinkles in the doublet was also used in his trunk-hose (stuffed breeches), increasing the volume of the superior part of

the legs, and consequently, making their crossing more difficult. The position that we find so frequent in images of the period, in which men usually keep their legs apart and one foot slightly forward, is suspiciously similar to the placement of Negri's dancer. We dare to suggest that this pose would be a more comfortable position for the lower extremities in that costume, and probably this 'discomfort' was the reason of the *battement tendu*.

In the case of the dancer depicted in *Le Gratie d'Amore*, his jacket would be attached to the breeches by means of cords that passed through eyelets. His breeches would have been sewn –or at least fastened with suspenders– to stockings –knitted at that time– so that his movement would be very restricted in leg elevation and torso inclinations. The arm movements, limited by a jacket fitted tightly in the sleeves at the forearm, although wide at the shoulder, were so tight in the armhole that it was impossible to raise the arms without the jerkin pulling up from the breeches and stockings, so the dancer probably could not elevate his arms much more than shoulder height. Moreover, the position of his head would be very limited by the pleated ruff around his neck; although this ornament began to be used in the 16th century as a gathering of fabric that was made by pulling the top cord of the edge of the shirt, it later became an obvious sign of aristocratic privileges as it grew in size: who wore the ruff did not need to work.¹⁸ How could they then pretend to dance while wearing this? There is no doubt that dance masters had to find a balance between putting their art at the service of the court to dignify it, and the difficulty –if not the total incapacity– that their dancers had to deal with. If they also refused to take off their hats, as happens to the dancer pictured in Negri's treatise, any head movement would be even more uncomfortable. To make further movement even more difficult, our dancer wears a band crossing his chest, most probably with a symbolic meaning, perhaps in another attempt to add an aristocratic touch to his figure.

The footwear would take almost the entire 17th century to develop to a higher heel and a more curved arch¹⁹ and had a design that could almost be described as ergonomic compared with the rest of the costume. Practically the only lack of functionality in favour of appearance is found in the ornaments around the ankle of the dancer, which at the same time prevented comfortable flexing and extensions of the foot. These shoes

18 LAVER, *The Concise History...* 1969, augm. 1982, p. 91.

19 PRATT-WOOLLEY, *Shoes...* 1999, p. 16.

would probably be made with very fine leather that made a rounded cut in the front part of the shoe possible: it was an easy-to-handle material that would now facilitate an incipient raising of the dancer to the *demi-pointe* and a comfortable feeling while performing weight transitions in the choreography.

After carefully observing the dancer depicted in Negri's treatise, it is not surprising how the official professionalisation of dance must have provided a certain relief for teachers and choreographers. However, the arrival of professional dancers to the stage did not prevent them from continuing to wear costumes similar to civil clothing. There was a reason for this: most dances were performed in the intervals of the plays and as part of other theatrical productions. Dance still would take some time to become a totally independent performing art. Over time, it was essential to create an audience interested in what had once only been offered in the courts, and these performances were now being made available at independent premises. These were places where people (the audience) could only participate by means of paying a ticket, which formed an indispensable element to the professionalisation of the performer.²⁰

Professional dancers officially went on stage in 1681, but the truth is that artists such as Mlle De Mollier, Mlle Girault, Mlle De la Faveur and other ladies held prominent positions in the incipient world of dance companies before that year;²¹ for example, Mademoiselle Vertpré had come to dance with Louis XIV himself in the *Ballet de l'Impatience* in 1661.²² The contact between the aristocratic dancers and professional dancers increased in those years; Molière took on a dancer of important lineage in his company, the Marquise Thérèse Du Parc;²³ about her

20 Although the specific idea of audience was not forged until the 18th century in Europe, with the rise of the bourgeoisie first and the idea of democratising access to culture later, it became one of the fundamental ingredients in artistic production; contemplation, appreciation, the privileged meeting between the spectator and the artist during the performance..., are elements that have gradually modified the process of artistic creation. cfr. JIMÉNEZ, *Teoría del Arte...* 2010, pp. 144-155.

21 AU, *Ballet and Modern Dance...*, p. 23.

22 At the Louvre Gallery, with libretto by Isaac de Benserade and music by Jean-Baptiste Lully, with the collaboration of Beauchamp and Dolivet for the dance airs; vid. BENSERADE, *Ballet Royal de l'Impatience...* 1661. For further discussion, cfr. CHRISTOUT, "Benserade, Isaac de," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...*

23 FOLLIOT, "Le costume comme support...", 1997, p. 19.

dancing we know that she had a quite virtuosic jump, and that she succeeded partially because of the movements of her dress.²⁴

In 1661, the lack of qualified personnel would lead to Molière creating, with *Les Fâcheux*,²⁵ a new genre: the *comédie-ballet*. With this new work, the beautiful body of a nymph would dazzle Louis XIV himself.²⁶ However, the great evolution of the dance technique would still take further decades to become a reality. This was the work of two women who competed in agility and vivacity on stage, and of whose images and notable written references are preserved: Marie-Anne de Camargo and Marie Sallé.

La Camargo²⁷ (1710-1770) –as Marie Anne de Cupis used to be called because of her mother’s Spanish surname– had studied with Françoise Prévost (1680-1741), at that time *Première Danseuse* of the Paris Opera. Her great triumph took place when, in 1726, she crushed the masculine hegemony of the *entrechats*. Prévost, jealous of her student’s successes, refused to continue teaching her, so the young Camargo had to turn to other *maestros* –male teachers, especially Nicolas Blondy– to continue her training.²⁸ From them she learnt the technique of the *battus* or *entrechats*. In fact, she will always be remembered as the first woman capable of performing an *entrechat-quatre*; this jump of four criss-crosses of feet while in the air, was one of the first of a whole ‘family’ of jumps that was increasing in popularity in the following years. Due to the improvements in ballet training, dancers could successfully add more and more crosses of their calves in the *entrechats* through the years. In the 20th century, the *entrechat-dix* (ten crosses) was first performed by Vaslav Nijinsky (1890-1950)²⁹ who

24 She did, according to Mlle Poisson, “remarkable capers, because we could see her legs and part of her thighs, by means of her skirt, split on both sides, with silk stockings attached at the top of a small panty”; apud WITKOWSKI - NASS, *Le nu au théâtre...* 1909, p. 57.

25 With music by Pierre Beauchamp, also author of the choreography, and Jean-Baptiste Lully, premiered at the Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte on August 17, and shortly after performed in Paris (November 4) at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal. There is a publication dated one year later: *Les Fâcheux. Comédie de I.B.P. Molière...* 1662.

26 vid. infra, chap. 3, pp. 49-51.

27 fig. 2.3 - The fame of La Camargo made Lancret portray her in a gallant festive atmosphere, performing the steps that made her famous.

28 GUEST, *The Romantic Ballet...* 1966, reed., p. 17.

29 As reported by his sister, Bronislava Nijinska; apud ACOCELLA, “Nijinsky, Vaslav,” in *International Encyclopedia of Dance...* 1998. About Nijinsky dancer, vid. infra, chap. 3, pp. 69-77, and chap. 12, pp. 340-356.

became famous, precisely, for his extraordinary jump and elevation. But of course, Nijinsky would wear what are considered to be the first male ‘tights’ in history, something that would undoubtedly make his job easier.³⁰ Returning to La Camargo, dance historian Ivor Guest affirmed that what she performed was an *entrechat-six*;³¹ that is, two more crosses than the *entrechat-quatre*, which would make La Camargo’s performance an extraordinary milestone for era.

The choreography that Prévost, La Camargo’s teacher, had prepared for her debut in the ballet *Les Caractères de la Danse*³² included *jetés battus* and *pas de basque*.³³ To what extent the audience could appreciate her choreographic evolutions is still uncertain. Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743) painted La Camargo several times,³⁴ around 1730; in all his paintings that have been conserved, La Camargo performs the same movement wearing very similar dresses and the dancer depicted in an atmosphere of *fête galante* –or a festive country gathering– appears to be surrounded by more or less musicians, depending on the type of painting. The portraits show with great detail the cut, the fabrics and even the adornments of the dress;³⁵ we can appreciate a costume in the fashion of the moment, with a wide pannier that, although it allowed some freedom of movements inside the skirt, surely impeded the visibility of the legs from the audience.

The pannier,³⁶ a kind of hollow frame that was placed under the dress to give volume to the skirt, was the return of hoops,³⁷ but the truth is that it added a baroque image to the dance that choreographers would know how to take advantage of, even if its use made it difficult for the dancers to move. Supposing that La Camargo could really perform *jetés*

30 vid. infra, fig. 3.11.

31 GUEST, *The Romantic Ballet...*, p. 12.

32 Choreography by Françoise Prévost, music by Jean-Ferry Rebel. It is a suite of solo dances premiered by Prévost herself at L’Opéra in Paris in 1714. After preparing it with La Camargo 1726, she would take it up again three years later, in 1729, with Marie Sallé.

33 FOLLIOU, “Le costume comme support...,” p. 19.

34 In addition to the above-mentioned painting [fig. 2.3], from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, at least two other different versions of the same work, with a similar title: *Mademoiselle de Camargo dancing*; one at The Wallace Collection in London and the other at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. In these other two, La Camargo appears without any accompanying dancer, and flanked only by musicians.

35 They clearly show the volume of the pannier, the movement of the overskirt and the low-cut shoe that allows the raising of the foot *sur la demi pointe*.

36 Literally, “basket,” the name it received because it was generally made of wicker rods.

37 LAVER, *The Concise History of Costume...*, p. 130.





2.3 - *La Camargo Dancing*.
Oil on canvas by Nicolas Lancret, ca. 1730.

battus –and assuming that her crossing of the *battus* was made from the ankles, and not from the thigh, as it is currently performed– it would be difficult for her not to hook the top foot with the bottom of the skirt. The *jeté battu* ends with a foot *sur le cou de pied*³⁸ instead of landing on two feet, like the other *entrechats* cited at the time, including the *entrechat-quatre* or *entrechat-six* that made her famous. An added difficulty, no doubt, but if we think of the effect that the flight of the dress must have had, that is, the petticoat –always worn between the structure and the dress– and pannier, surely we will understand the reason for the profusion of small jumps in the choreographies of those days. The delayed descent of the dress after the dancer's landing from the jump, added to the lightness of the fabrics, would have created a candid, agile and prodigious vision to the movement.

It is more complicated to know exactly how she performed the other step referred to in the chronicle of her performance,³⁹ the *pas de basque*. In the absence of a precise description of how the *pas de basque* was performed, we have to rely on the technical manuals from these days: August Bournonville explained this step in his *Études Chorégraphiques*;⁴⁰ considering the ballet training received by Bournonville from his father and teacher, Antoine Bournonville, pupil himself of the famous danseur Noverre in France, we can assume that Bournonville's *pas de basque* was similar to the movement performed by la Camargo in her professional debut, on May 5, 1726 at the *Académie royale de musique*.⁴¹ According to Bournonville, to perform the *pas de basque* the legs are thrown forward during the take-off of the jump, then the dancer must draw –in the vertical plane– successive circles, and conclude when the dancer lands on the floor.⁴² A very spectacular movement when interpreted by a man, and which was widely used by women up to the first part of Romanticism due to the beautiful flight that it created in the skirt of the dancer. However,

38 Literally, “in the neck of the foot,” referring to the ankle.

39 vid. supra, p. 25.

40 BOURNONVILLE, *Études Chorégraphiques...* 1848-61, K.A. Jürgensen & F. Falcone (eds.) 2005, p. 271. There are three handwritten versions of the Bournonville *Études*, dated 1848, 1855 and 1861, respectively; the 1848 version is very focused on the historical and aesthetic analysis of dance, the 1855 version gives priority to the technical part of the choreographic annotation, and the 1861 version is more pedagogical and didactic; Jürgensen explains it in the cited edition, which gathers the three originals.

41 cfr. DACIER, “Les Caractères de la Danse’ Histoire...”, 1905, p. 324.

42 MATAMOROS, *Augusto Bournonville...*, p. 188.

the *pas de basque* could cause more than one problem to a dancer who performed it without her safety bloomers⁴³ under the pannier.

What is certain is that the audacity of La Camargo –and some of her contemporaries– in shortening her skirts above the ankles opened up a whole world of technical possibilities for choreographers and dancers, who stopped being mere puppets to their male partners. Their clothing now allowed the audience to see their evolutions on stage because of the greater comfort in the joints of their legs. How much La Camargo shortened the length of her skirts, is difficult to prove; we can calculate, from Lancret's paintings, that the hems were cut at least 10 centimetres, since in the *arabesque*⁴⁴ performed by La Camargo the ankle of her supporting leg –Camargo's right leg– is completely visible and the beginning of the calf appears under the skirt; from the lifted leg –Camargo's left leg– we can even see the lower part of her knee appearing under the dress, since the flared skirt lifts up together with her leg. Also, by the flounce of what looks like an overskirt or 'mantua' (presumably made of fine brocade silk) one can suppose that there was a small turn towards the right, which could correspond to a slight *piqué en tournant*, which would be linked to another travelling step. This dress design pictured by Lancret was very popular in the fashion of the time: it was open at the front, with an inverted 'V' cut shape which showed the petticoat underneath, sometimes equally as decorated or even more than the dress itself. Undoubtedly, the movement of this overskirt was a determining factor so that the choreographer could include slow turning steps that would add light movement to the upper layers of the dress, but not fast enough to let the frills be lifted and show more than strictly necessary.

We should not overlook the fact that at that time the women's fashion entered fully into the dictatorship of corsets and bodices. Although the most critical point of women's underwear would be reached almost a century later –when the tightness of the bodice went to unhealthy maximums– a radical aesthetic change was happening in Europe and the new search for a different point of attention in the female body had started: if during the 17th century the most admired part of the woman had been the bust and fashion emphasized the cleavage, now

⁴³ A garment designed to prevent inconvenient parts of their anatomy from being exposed; vid. infra, chap. 3, pp. 51-54.

⁴⁴ Position in which the dancer lifts one of the legs behind the body; we assume this is the gesture depicted in the painting; we can see in the figs. 2.8 and 2.10 different ways of executing it.

the attention was focused on the lower half of the body.⁴⁵ In the 18th century, dresses showed some gathering of the fabric around the waist, which was accentuated by the enormity of the pannier. It seems probable that under the dress worn by La Camargo in Lancret's oil painting, the dancer wore a strapless bodice as was usual at the time,⁴⁶ barely held by the ribbons that supported both sides of the garment, and would probably be free of the sophisticated and cruel bones –whale bones or stays that, arranged vertically, would give consistency to the bodice, keeping the sides of the woman in a still position– facilitating the inclinations of the torso, characteristic of the choreographies of those days.

Although the neckline and the armhole of the dress do not seem to prevent the rotation of the shoulders, they could surely limit the elevation of the arms, because the fabric –obviously not elastic at the time; the synthetic fibres that would allow the fabric to stretch were not invented yet– does not seem to have the traditional sleeve design of most stage costumes of today. Over the years and as more technical acrobatics were performed to dazzle the audience, stage costume designers started to solve the discomfort of street clothes for dancing. Nowadays, some cutting techniques facilitate the movement of the arms allowing the dancer to raise the arm above the head without lifting up the jacket or bodice, or tugging at the waistline.

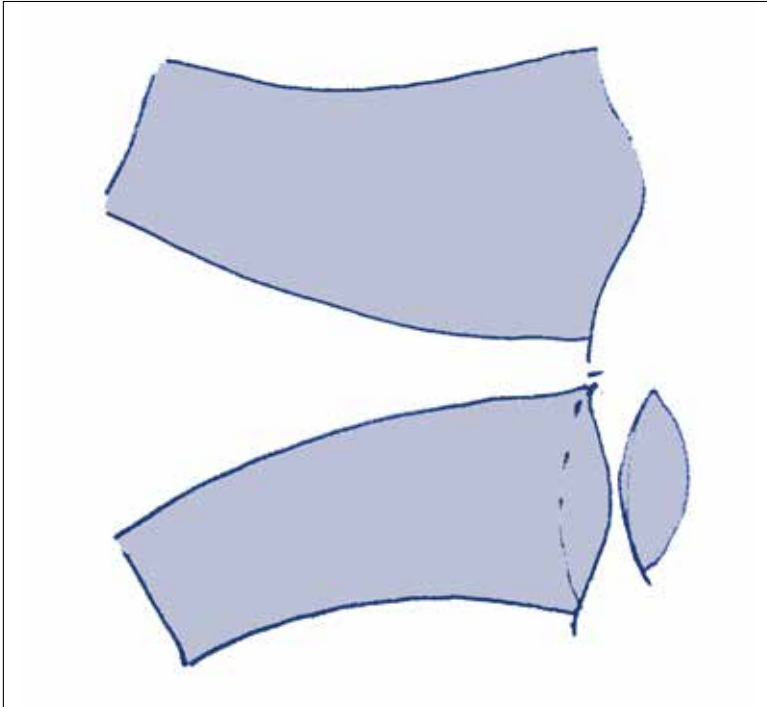
Some costume-shops or designers add a small rhombus-shaped piece right at the bottom of the seam between the sleeve and the garment side seam, under the dancer's armpits.⁴⁷ The technique used in the costume-shop at the Mariinsky Theatre is different, but it also solves the problem: the arch corresponding to the cut of the armpit changes direction in the pattern of the sleeve, so that it has a few extra centimetres of fabric that prevents the jacket from pulling upwards when the arm is raised.⁴⁸ This detail, simple but convenient, facilitates the movement performed by the dancer's torso, giving greater freedom to the

⁴⁵ WILLET-CUNNINGTON, *The History of Underclothes...* 1992, pp. 70-71.

⁴⁶ SALLEN, *Corsets. Historical Patterns...* 2008, p. 11.

⁴⁷ MATAMOROS, *Danza-Cuerpo. Diálogo...* 2008, p. 5.

⁴⁸ fig. 2.4 - Above, stage sleeve pattern; below, dotted, the standard sleeve cut; on the right, the extra part of fabric that is added to the sleeve; it is sometimes called "shield" because of its original rhomboidal shape, although it is sometimes designed as a curved extra piece of fabric. Also figs. 2.5 (a & b) - Details of a male stage jacket. On the left, movement of a sleeve to which an extra piece has been added under the armpit, whose pattern is reproduced in the previous figure (2.4). On the right, way in which the movement of the sleeve would be limited without the extra fabric.



2.4 - Sleeve pattern. Drawing by Tatiana Noguina, Mariinsky Theatre, 2009.



2.5 a & b - Detail of a male stage jacket. Costume-shop at the Mariinsky Theatre, St. Petersburg.

choreographer to incorporate any kind of *port de bras*⁴⁹ in his/her creation. In the past, part of the seam under the armhole was left open, so the limb could be raised as much as with the rhombus-shaped cut. This technique, however, had the disadvantage of showing the dancer's own armpit –or the garment they wore underneath, which could be a shirt under the jacket– when he/she moved his/her arm upwards. It seems logical to think that La Camargo would barely raise her arms above her chin, thus maintaining the prudence and modesty that corresponded to the dancing of the time.

The sleeves of La Camargo's dress, which we can see follow the usual design of those days –a tightly sewn down sleeve of three quarters length, probably with a false adorned cuff⁵⁰– barely reaching below the elbow, which is then decorated with spectacular ruffles following the fashion of the time. The sleeves could have two or three ruffles made with the dress's own silk, and were known as the “classic rococo double or triple-sleeve ruffle.”⁵¹ This sleeve significantly beautifies the arms by visually diminishing the size of the hands, as demanded by the canons of feminine beauty of the 18th century. No doubt the choreographer would have coached the dancer to move her hands with exquisite elegance. The headdress, so light that even Noverre would have approved it,⁵² would also not prevent her from performing fast turns, although there was no specific technique for using the head-spot for *pirouettes* at that time.⁵³ Our dancer adorns her hair only by wearing a light floral decoration, which brings naturalness and joviality to the image. As a whole, only the skirt would prevent a higher rotation speed for performing turns on the ground or while jumping.

Curiously, despite having passed to posterity as a pioneer in having eliminated the heel from her dance shoes, and wearing ballet shoes similar to what we use today,⁵⁴ in the images we have of La Camargo she is always depicted wearing high heels. In Lancret's oil paintings, the dancer wears

49 Literally, “arm movement.”

50 ECHARRI-SAN MIGUEL, *Vestuario teatral...* 1998, reed., p. 109.

51 HART-NORTH, *Historical Fashion in Detail...* 1998, p. 90.

52 In addition to those already commented about choreographic creation, another of the reforms of the great Noverre was, as we have already advanced, to free the dancers from the great wigs and masks that hindered their work; the dance will find itself closer and closer to achieving an adequate technical and artistic interpretation; vid. infra, pp. 39-43.

53 BRUHN-MOORE, *Bournonville and Ballet Technique...* 1961, reed., p. 42.

54 A recognition so widespread that we find it even in didactic or divulging publications; e.g. HASKELL, *Prelude to Ballet...* 1936, transl. & augm., *¿Qué es el ballet?...* 1973, p. 31.

a pair of beautiful shoes, with presumably –if we look at them in detail– 6 centimetres-high heel and made, or lined, with a fabric similar to that of the dress: brocade silk with red ornaments on the tongue. The heel, leaning inwards, would force the dancer to keep her body weight closer on the metatarsals, far from the heels, which in a way would facilitate her quick raising *sur la demi-pointe*. A poorly trained body, or one not accustomed to standing on this heel, however, increased the risk of a sudden fall backwards, of even losing balance completely. What could be truly uncomfortable in street movements, presented some advantages to the dancer, something that both the performers and the ballet masters would know how to use.

La Camargo's shoes, light in colour and closed by a beautiful red ribbon –in all the three paintings of her–, also have red heels; a detail that may go unnoticed but it is revealing due to its singularity if we think that it was a very rare feature at the time to chromatically separate the different parts of the footwear. In general, shoes used to be discreetly coloured, and only light or bright shades were used for special occasions and eye-catching dresses.⁵⁵ This would undoubtedly be what La Camargo was looking for: her feet to stand out when she performed on stage. On the other hand, as Linda O'Keeffe points out, "red heels, a symbol of social prestige in 17th and 18th century Europe, were worn only by the privileged classes."⁵⁶ La Camargo, in addition, imposed her own style to the fashion of the moment, to the extent that, for the accessories and complements with its characteristics, the expression "à la Camargo"⁵⁷ was coined.⁵⁸

Although in Lancret's painting at the National Gallery in Washington, the dancer appears dancing with an unknown couple –at least their names have not reached us– and surrounded by a bucolic country landscape, it is surely a recreation of some of her scenic performances decorated by the pastoral settings that the painter used in most of his works. We find a whole theatrical staging perfectly studied to showcase the main artistic virtues of our dancer, and the choreographer –if not she herself– would take full advantage of it.

55 PRATT-WOOLLEY, *Shoes...*, p. 40.

56 O'KEEFFE, *Shoes: A Celebration...* 1996, p. 79.

57 Camargo style.

58 "Dresses, hats, shoes, fans, all accessories are made and worn 'Camargo style'"; PUIG CLARAMUNT, *Guía técnica, sumario...* 1944, reed., p. 16.

It is tempting to compare this image of La Camargo with a later one of Mademoiselle Anne Aurette.⁵⁹ Anne Aurette danced in London between 1742 (Covent Garden) and 1765 (King's Theatre),⁶⁰ often accompanied by her sister Janneton. There is a print by Gérard Scotin, estimated to have been made approximately during these years, just a few decades later than Lancret's *La Camargo*.

When comparing them, several things surprise us: the first and most important is that both dancers are portrayed in almost identical postures; it can almost be said that Aurette has imitated La Camargo in gesture, grace and even in clothing, bearing in mind that her portrait is later: the cut of the dress, the lower folds of the overskirt, the length of the pannier and the design of the sleeves are similar. Scotin has shaded the lower part of the dress, exactly under the gathered layers of the skirt, which makes us understand that the dancer wears a full dress, although slightly shorter than the inner petticoat, and thus reveals the fabric and adornments similar to those of the dress that covers it. The pannier, considerably larger than that of La Camargo, also shows the evolution of the fashion of the time, in which the volumes of women's dresses were laterally enlarged, making it very difficult for women to move around even in their daily routines. We can suppose that in dancing, it would be so much more so, and that dancing as a couple would become quite complicated.

But apart from the size of the pannier, between the portrait of La Camargo and that of Mlle Aurette there are two other obvious differences, when it comes to the wardrobe. One is the design of the neckline of Aurette, much more open and daring⁶¹ as we will see in the prints; the other important difference can be seen when comparing the shoes of both dancers. Aurette's heel is considerably shorter, would probably not reach 4cm in height, and the front of the shoe is lower, and is adorned with a buckle.

The fact that in a few decades the size of the pannier in dancers' dresses –and with it the total weight of the dress– had increased, and the lowering of the necklines, could indicate that most of the jumped steps would have been removed from the choreographies. Perhaps we

⁵⁹ fig. 2.6 - Anne Aurette's posture is very similar to that of La Camargo in Lancret's oils. The cut of the dress, the lower folds of the overskirt, the length of the pannier and the design of the sleeves are also similar. The pannier, considerably larger than that of La Camargo, shows the evolution of the fashion of the time.

⁶⁰ "Aurette, Anne," in HIGHFILL-BURNIM-LANGHANS, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors...*, 1973, and SCHNEIDER, *Index to the London Stage...* 1979.

⁶¹ vid. infra, chap. 3, pp. 54-57.