

Shadwell, Saint-André and the 'curious dancing' in *Psyche*

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Among the most spectacular productions of the late seventeenth century was the *tragédie-ballet Psyché*, a collaboration between Molière and Lully, performed in 1671 first as a court entertainment at the Tuileries and then in the public theatre at the Palais-Royal by Molière's own company. *Psyché* was probably seen by the English actor Thomas Betterton, who had been sent to France by Charles II to learn at first hand about the innovative theatrical productions in Paris. It was no coincidence, therefore, when in 1675 the Duke's Company (of which Betterton was the manager) mounted Thomas Shadwell's English tragedy *Psyche*, with all the elaboration of scenes and machines that the Dorset Garden Theatre would allow.

Both versions of *Psyche* were dramatic operas, with extended divertissements of singing and dancing added to spoken drama, and, although Shadwell claimed that 'For several things concerning the Decoration of the Play, I am oblig'd to the French, and for the Design of Two of the onley moving Scenes', the two have much more in common.¹ Shadwell had at least one native source to draw upon, Thomas Heywood's *Love's Mistress: or, The Queens Masque*, first performed in 1634 and revived as recently as 1669 (under the title *Psyche: or, Love's Mistress*) by the King's Company at the Bridges Street Theatre.² So, the Dorset Garden *Psyche* may well have drawn on English traditions as well as French innovations.

This paper will compare the dances in the French *Psyché* with those in the English *Psyche*, in an attempt to assess the balance of French and English influences in Betterton's production. It will also look at the dances in the wider context of dancing on the London stage during the early 1670s, and briefly consider the influence of Shadwell's *Psyche* on the subsequent development of dancing in the London theatres.

Psyché in Paris

The *tragédie-ballet Psyché* was first performed, for Louis XIV and his court, on 17 January 1671 (NS) in the Salle des Machines at the Tuileries.³ The work was apparently created in response to the king's desire to see again Vigarani's machines for the 1662 production of *Ercole amante*, particularly the scene representing hell. Molière had suggested the subject of *Psyché*, and the resulting production was a collaboration between him, Pierre Corneille, and Philippe Quinault, who together provided the text, and Lully, who wrote the music. Three *maîtres de ballet* apparently collaborated on the dances, Pierre Beauchamp, Nicolas de Lorge, and Anthoine des Brosses. The scenes and machines

were the responsibility of Vigarani, and included several from *Ercole amante*.⁴

The first production of *Psyché*, at court, was large in scale and of the utmost magnificence. The piece comprised a spoken prologue (which included a divertissement of singing and dancing) and five acts, with five sung and danced *intermèdes*. The *livret* published to accompany the court performances lists more than 200 performers, among whom were fifty-five dancers including Beauchamp, de Lorge, and des Brosses, alongside other professionals such as Favier, Lestang, Isaac, Dumirail, Le Duc, and Saint-André.⁵ The Marquis de Saint-Maurice provided an eye-witness account of the first performance:

I have not seen anything here better performed or more magnificent and such things cannot be done elsewhere because of the great number of dancing masters, there were seventy who danced together in the last *entrée*. Just as marvelous was the large number of violins, instrumentalists and musicians, more than three hundred, all magnificently costumed.⁶

Saint-Maurice's overestimate of the numbers of performers underlines the huge scale and dazzling opulence of the production.

When *Psyché* was first performed at the Palais-Royal by the Troupe du Roy on 24 July 1671 (NS), Molière was unable to rival either the magnificence of the costumes, scenes, and machines or the huge numbers of performers in the original production. The first published edition of the play indicates changes in the scenery, while the company's surviving accounts record the hire for the production of twelve unnamed dancers, and four 'petits' dancers, among other performers. The structure of the piece, with its prologue, five acts, and *intermèdes*, remained the same, and a comparison between the *livret* and the published play indicates that the themes and placing of the dances were largely unchanged. Of course, it is impossible to say what changes may have been made to the choreography, which at the Palais-Royal seems to have been the sole responsibility of Beauchamps.⁷

The Paris *Psyché* came at a period of change for ballet at the French court. It marked a departure from the run of *comédie-ballets* which had culminated in 1670 with *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, for the title page of the *livret* described it as a 'tragi-comédie, et ballet' and that of the play as a 'tragedie-ballet'.⁸ Thus, although *Psyché* could be seen as the latest in the long series of *ballets de cour* produced during the king's reign, it also looked forward to the *tragédies en musique* which would soon come to dominate French musical life. It ended the collaboration between

Molière and Lully. The composer's next work, *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*, was given its first performance by the Académie Royale de Musique on 15 November 1672, just after the Troupe du Roy began a fresh run of *Psyché* on 11 November.⁹ In 1678 Lully reworked *Psyché* as a *tragédie en musique*, and the *tragédie-ballet* disappeared from the stage.¹⁰

Psyche in London

Thomas Shadwell's tragedy *Psyche* was first performed by the Duke of York's Company at the Dorset Garden Theatre on 27 February 1675.¹¹ The play was published the same year, and Shadwell devoted much of his preface to denying that he had merely translated the French original. He countered 'Here is more Variety, and the Scenes of Passion are wrought up with more Art; and this is much more a Play then [sic] that' – claims that seem to relate more to the production than to his text. He contended that 'the great Design was to entertain the Town with variety of Musick, curious Dancing, splendid Scenes and Machines' – much as Molière's *tragédie-ballet* had done in Paris. Shadwell dedicated the play to James, Duke of Monmouth, then high in favour with his father King Charles II and growing in power and influence, who had 'so Nobly Patronized this Undertaking'.¹²

The London *Psyche* comprised a short spoken prologue, five acts each containing divertissements and songs, and a short spoken epilogue. Very little evidence survives to tell us who performed in the production. The printed text does not include performers' names, and no information about these is directly forthcoming from other sources. Shadwell's preface says that Matthew Locke was the principal composer of the music, while Giovanni Battista Draghi was responsible for 'All the Instrumental Musick (which is not mingled with the Vocal)', that is the music for the dances. Shadwell further volunteered the information that:

'The Dances were made by the most famous Master of France, Monsieur St. Andréé. The Scenes were Painted by the Ingenious Artist, Mr. Stephenson. In those things that concern the Ornament or Decoration of the Play, the great industry and care of Mr. Betterton ought to be remember'd, at whose desire I wrote upon this Subject'.¹³

The scenes are described in detail in the published text, and were obviously intended to be as fine as the company could afford.

The Dorset Garden *Psyche* was not the subject of an eye-witness account until many years after the event, when John Downes mentioned it in his *Roscius Anglicanus* published in 1708:

The long expected Opera of *Psyche*, came forth in all her Ornaments; new Scenes, new Machines, new Cloaths, new French Dances: This Opera was Splendidly [sic] set out, especially in Scenes; the Charge of which amounted to above 800*l*. It had a Continuance of Performance about 8 Days together, it prov'd very Beneficial to the Company; ...¹⁴

Unfortunately, Downes said nothing about who performed the 'French Dances'.

Shadwell's *Psyche*, like Molière's, came during a period of change. After the Restoration, the London theatres had performed earlier English works. Thomas Heywood's *Love's Mistress: or, The Queens Masque*, first performed at the Phoenix Theatre in 1634, had been revived at the Salisbury Court Theatre in 1661, and the text was apparently republished at the same time.¹⁵ Heywood's version was performed several times during the following years, although by 1668 it seems to have been revised by the addition of extra singing and dancing.¹⁶ The most notable of these performances was on 24 June 1669, when *Psyche: or, Love's Mistress* was given at the Bridges Street Theatre in the presence of Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

An eye-witness account survives, which pays particular attention to the dancing:

To the story of *Psyche*, the daughter of Apollo, which abounded with beautiful incidents, all of them adapted to the performers and calculated to express the force of love, was joined a well-arranged ballet, regulated by the sound of various instruments, with new and fanciful dances after the English manner, in which different actions were counterfeited, the performers passing gracefully from one to another, so as to render intelligible, by their movements, the acts they were representing.¹⁷

It is impossible to be sure, but this 'well-arranged ballet' seems to have been an addition to the play rather than the dances recorded in the 1661 edition of Heywood's text. These had included a dance for 'Pan, Clown, Swains, and Country Wenches' in Act II, another for 'a King and a Beggar, a Young Man and an old Man, a Lean man, a Fat woman' in Act III, a 'Dance of Vulcan and his Cyclops' in Act IV, and a final dance for 'Cupid, Psiche, the gods and goddesses' in Act V.¹⁸ The 'new and fanciful dances after the English manner' in the 1669 performance seem to have formed a continuous series of danced actions, rather than separate dances at various points of the play. They may well have influenced other dancing in the London theatres.

The early 1670s saw French influence increasing both at court and in the theatres. Between 1671 and 1673, at the request of Charles II, Thomas Betterton visited France to see the latest staging practices there.¹⁹ Troupes of French players visited London in 1669, 1672 to 1673, and 1674.²⁰ In August or September 1673, the composer Robert Cambert arrived in London with a group of French musicians, possibly to join the household of Louise de Kéroualle who had been acknowledged as principal mistress to Charles II by her ennoblement as Duchess of Portsmouth in August that year.²¹ Cambert was responsible for the entertainment *Ballet et musique pour le divertissement du Roy de la Grande Bretagne*, given at court in February 1674 as part of the celebrations for the marriage between the Duke of York and Mary of Modena, and for the opera

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Ariane, given at the Drury Lane Theatre on 30 March 1674.²²

A new genre drawing on both English and French influences, dramatic opera, was fast developing. Sir William Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth*, with music by Matthew Locke, given on 18 February 1673, and Thomas Shadwell's adaptation of *The Tempest*, also with music by Matthew Locke, given on 30 April 1674, were mounted by the Duke's Company at Dorset Garden. Even more lavish than these was the masque *Calisto*, written by John Crowne with music by Nicholas Staggins, given its first official performance in the Hall Theatre Whitehall on 22 February 1675 with a mixture of aristocratic and professional, English and French performers.²³ *Psyche* came as the culmination of these productions, and has been described as the first dramatic opera to be given on the London stage.²⁴ It was given at least eight or nine performances in 1674-75 and revived the following season; thereafter it disappeared from the repertoire, receiving only isolated performances the last of which was in 1704.

Comparison of the Dances in *Psyché* and *Psyche*

The Paris *Psyché* and the London *Psyche* tell the story of Cupid and Psyche in much the same way, with very similar casts of characters. Shadwell pointed out that 'it is a Fable, written by *Apuleiius* [sic], in his *Golden Ass*; where you will find most things in this Play, and the *French* too'.²⁵ Both versions tell how Venus commands her son Cupid to punish her rival Psyche, but Cupid instead falls in love with her. He carries Psyche to his magic palace, where he provides her with every luxury but forbids her to ask his name. Psyche's

jealous sisters persuade her to put the fatal question, and Cupid immediately flies away leaving her desolate. Psyche has to endure many torments, including a visit to hell, before Jupiter intervenes, Venus is reconciled, and the gods celebrate her marriage to Cupid. Despite the similarities, there are also significant differences between the two versions. The following comparison draws on the version of *Psyché* performed by Molière's Troupe du Roy at the Palais-Royal, since it is likely to have been closer than the court production to the *Psyche* mounted by the Duke's Company at Dorset Garden.

In Paris, the divertissements in *Psyché* came in the prologue and in the separate *intermèdes* which followed each act; the first four *intermèdes* also served to introduce the action in each of the following acts, while the last formed an elaborate finale to celebrate the wedding of Cupid and Psyche. In London, *Psyche* began and ended with the usual spoken prologue and epilogue. Each of the five acts had a divertissement near the beginning, integrating them with the ensuing action, the third act had an additional divertissement near the end, and the fifth act ended with a divertissement for the wedding celebrations. There were also songs at various points during the action. The two versions were, in fact, more similar in structure than the printed texts suggest.

The following chart shows the placing (but not the structure) of the divertissements in the two plays, listing the principal characters and the individual dances in each of them. It also shows the placing of the songs that were not accompanied by dances in the London *Psyche*.²⁶

Act / Scene	<i>Psyché</i> in Paris (1671)	<i>Psyche</i> in London (1675)
Prologue	<i>Divertissement</i> : Flore, Vertumne, Palémon, Divinités de la terre & des eaux <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : 2 Dryades, 4 Sylvains, 2 Fleuves, 2 Naïades	[Short spoken prologue]
Act I		[Scene 2] <i>Divertissement</i> : Pan, Followers <i>Entry</i> : 4 Sylvans, 4 Dryads [Scene 4] <i>Singing</i> : Envy, Furies [Scene 8] <i>Song</i> : Venus
I Intermède	<i>Divertissement</i> : Personnes affligées <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : 8 Personnes affligées	[No intermède]

Act / Scene	<i>Psyché in Paris (1671)</i>	<i>Psyche in London (1675)</i>
Act II		[Scene 1] <i>Divertissement</i> : Chief Priest & Priests of Apollo, Boys <i>Dance</i> : Priests of Apollo [Scene 2] <i>Singing</i> : Despairing Men. Despairing Women
II Intermède	<i>Divertissement</i> : Vulcain, Cyclopes, Fées <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : 6 Cyclopes, 4 Fées	[No intermède]
Act III		[Scene 1, Scene 2] <i>Divertissement</i> : Vulcan, Cyclops <i>Dance</i> : Cyclops <i>Dance</i> : Cyclops [Scene 5] Song: Invisible Singers [Scene 8 (penultimate scene)] <i>Divertissement</i> : Praesul & Priests of Mars <i>Dance</i> : Priests of Mars
III Intermède	<i>Divertissement</i> : Amours, Zéphirs <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : 4 Amours, 4 Zéphyr	[No intermède]
Act IV		[Scene 2] <i>Divertissement</i> : Statues, Cupids <i>Dance</i> : 10 Statues [Scene 8] <i>Singing</i> : God of the River, Nymphs
IV Intermède	<i>Divertissement</i> : Furies, Lutins <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : 8 Furies	[No intermède]
Act V		[Scene 1] <i>Divertissement</i> : Furies, Devils <i>Dance</i> : Furies [Scene 3] <i>Singing</i> : Pluto, Proserpine [Scene 10 (final scene)] <i>Divertissement</i> : Apollo, Mars, Bacchus, Followers <i>Dance</i> : 6 Elizian Princes. <i>Dance</i> : 6 Elizian Princes, 6 Attendants.
V Intermède	<i>Divertissement</i> : Apollon, Bacchus, Mome, Mars, Suivants [<i>Entrée de ballet</i> : Arts travestis en Bergers galants (suivants d'Apollon)] ²⁷ <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : 2 Ménades, 2 Egipans (suivants de Bacchus) <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : 4 Polichinelles, 2 Matassins (suivants de Mome) <i>Entrée de ballet</i> : Suivants de Mars. <i>Dernière entrée de ballet</i> : Suivants d'Apollon, de Bacchus, de Mome, et de Mars	[No intermède]
Epilogue	[no epilogue]	[Short spoken epilogue]

There were seven divertissements in the London *Psyche*, with singing added to six other scenes. The first divertissement came in Act I, Scene 2, into which Shadwell introduced Pan and his Followers. It included 'an Entry Danc'd by Four *Sylvans* and Four *Dryads* to Rustick Musick' which was plainly drawn from the *entrée de ballet* by Dryads, Sylvains, Fleuves, and Naiades in the prologue to the Paris *Psyché*, although the London divertissement otherwise bore little resemblance to its Parisian counterpart.²⁸ Pan may have been included because of his appearance in Heywood's play, in which he played a more significant role as well as dancing.²⁹ The singing by Envy and the Furies in Act I, Scene 8, had no parallel in the Paris production.

Act II began with a lengthy invocation scene with singing and dancing for the Priests of Apollo, including 'a Dance of Priests entring from each side of the Stage, with Cymbals, Bells, and Flambeaux'.³⁰ This was not derived from the Paris *Psyché*, although scenes based on the religious rituals of classical antiquity can be found in French *ballets de cour*.³¹ Act II, Scene 8, featured singing, but no dancing, by Despairing Men and Despairing Women; in Paris this scene, which had formed the second *intermède*, had included eight *Personnes affligées* who 'expressed their desolation through a dance full of all the signs of the most violent despair'.³²

The divertissement with Vulcan and the Cyclops, which formed the second *intermède* in Paris and Scenes 1 and 2 of the third act in London, began in much the same way in both versions. In London 'the *Cyclops* are at work at a forge, forging great Vases of Silver. The Musick strikes up, they dance, hammering the Vases upon Anvils'. However, in the Paris version only Vulcain sang, whereas in London the whole scene acquired comic overtones as Vulcan joined in a sung dialogue with the Cyclops, who would rather get drunk than get on with their work.³³ Vulcan and the Cyclops had a comic scene as well as a dance in Heywood's play, although Shadwell's text did not follow that of Heywood.³⁴ The 'Song by invisible Singers' in Scene 5 was derived from the divertissement for Amours and Zéphirs which formed the third *intermède* of the Paris *Psyché*, which Shadwell omitted.³⁵ Shadwell added a divertissement to the penultimate scene of Act III, for the Priests of Mars, suitably accoutred with 'Targets, Breast-plates, and Helmets of Brass', which included a sequence in which 'They dance, striking their Swords upon the Targets, showing the postures of their Swords'.³⁶ This dance was perhaps taken from the final divertissement of the Paris *Psyché*, in which an *entrée de ballet* had been performed by 'Followers of Mars, who dance with standards in the form of a [military] drill', but it could also have drawn on Act III, Scene 6, of the Quinault and Lully *Cadmus et Hermione*, given in Paris in March or April 1673 (NS), which included an *entrée* for Priests of Mars and

culminated (like Shadwell's scene) with the descent of Furies to destroy the altar.³⁷

Shadwell replaced the third *intermède* of the Paris *Psyché*, with its *entrée de ballet* for four Amours and four Zéphirs, with a divertissement in which 'Ten Statues leap from their Pedestals, and dance'.³⁸ This Statue Dance was probably taken from the fourth *intermède* in *Les Amants magnifiques*, the *comédie-ballet* by Molière and Lully given at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on 4 February 1670 (NS), in which 'Eight Statues, each carrying two torches in their hands, come out of their alcoves, and perform a dance with several figures and several beautiful attitudes, in which they rest now and then'.³⁹ Act IV, Scene 8, of the London *Psyche* included singing by the God of the River and Nymphs; the Dieu d'un Fleuve had been a speaking role in Paris.

The scene in hell which formed the fourth *intermède* in Paris was wholly danced, as 'Eight Furies come out [of Pluto's palace], & perform an *entrée de ballet*, in which they rejoice in the rage they have kindled in the gentlest of the gods'. In London, in Act V, Scene 1, Furies and Devils sang, rejoicing in *Psyche*'s torments and the horrors of hell, before 'A Dance of Furies', and this was followed by further singing by Pluto and Proserpine in Scene 3.⁴⁰ The final divertissement in Shadwell's *Psyche* was far less elaborate than that in Paris. Like the Paris *Psyché*, it introduced Apollo, Mars, Bacchus, and their Followers, all of whom sang, but the only dances were 'a Dance of six *Elizian* Princes gloriously habited' and a finale in which 'Six Attendants to the *Elizian* Princes bring in Portico's [sic] of Arbors, adorn'd with Festoons and Garlands, through which the Princes and they dance, the Attendants still placing them in several Figures'.⁴¹ In Paris, the wedding divertissement may have included as many as five *entrées de ballet*, for the Suintants of Apollon, Bacchus, Mome, and Mars in turn, as well as a final *entrée* for all of them at once. There were no 'Elizian Princes'.⁴²

Dancers in the London *Psyche*

The evidence provided by the published texts of the Paris *Psyché* and the London *Psyche*, and other sources, suggests significant French influence on the dances. Who were the dancers? Were they French or were they English?

There is little available information about dancers on the London stage during the period 1660 to 1700. Before the first appearance of the *Daily Courant* in 1702 there are few surviving notices for theatre performances. We are therefore dependent on references in diaries, letters, and other documents, including printed plays and printed and manuscript music, for evidence about dancers in the theatres after the Restoration. John Downes, prompter for the Duke's Company, provided information about many dancers and dancing-masters in *Roscius Anglicanus*.

He wrote of the 1673 production of *Macbeth* that it was given 'with all the Singing and Dancing in it: The first Compos'd by Mr. *Locke*, the other by Mr. *Channell* and Mr. *Joseph Preist*'.⁴³ Luke Channell was a member of the Duke's Company as early as the 1664-1665 season; Joseph (or Josias) Preist was involved with *Calisto* in 1675, and would work with Betterton and Purcell in the 1690s on the dramatic operas given at Dorset Garden.⁴⁴ Neither Downes nor any other sources provide clues to the dancers or dancing-masters involved in the 1674 production of *The Tempest*, although when the instrumental music was published with the vocal music from *Psyche* in 1675 Locke tantalisingly referred in his preface to 'the Dancers being chang'd'.⁴⁵

Locke's remark refers to a change which must have occurred during performances of *The Tempest* in the summer or autumn of 1674, a particularly interesting year for the development of dancing on the London stage. In February the divertissement *Ballet et Musique* had been given at court, and Brémond's preface to the libretto attributes the dances to the Frenchman Jean Favier.⁴⁶ In March the opera *Ariane* was given at Drury Lane, and the cast included four French dancers, Pecour, Le Temps, Shenan, and Dumirail; in April the 'four French dancers in the late opera' joined the King's Company, although no evidence is available to say how long they stayed or what they danced there.⁴⁷

The previous year, on 22 August 1673, James Vernon had written to Sir Joseph Williamson with the news that:

.. the Duke's house are preparing an Opera and great machines. They will have dancers out of France, and St. André comes over with them, who is to have a pension of the King, and a patent of master of the compositions for ballets.⁴⁸

It is generally agreed that the opera was Shadwell's *Psyche*.⁴⁹

Saint-André, born in 1635, had already enjoyed a long career as a dancer in France, appearing in nearly every ballet given at court between the *Ballet de la Nuit* of 1653 and the *Ballet des Ballets* of 1671.⁵⁰ In the original court production of *Psyché* he appeared as an Homme affligé in the first intermède and an Egipan (Suivant de Bacchus) in the final wedding divertissement. Saint-André also danced five roles in *Les Amants magnifiques* in 1670, including that of a Statue in the fourth intermède. His last dancing roles in Paris seem to have been for Lully at the Académie Royale de Musique, in *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus* in 1672 and *Cadmus et Hermione* in 1673. In the former, Beauchamp, Saint-André, Favier, and La Pierre had danced alongside Monsieur le Grand, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duc de Villeroi, and the Marquis de Rassen.⁵¹

The date of Saint-André's arrival in London is unknown, although he may have made the journey from Paris soon after Vernon's letter. He was probably there in late 1674 to work on the dances for *Calisto*, for he was listed among the dancers in the surviving

documents, although he was not paid perhaps because he was already in royal service as the 'master of the compositions for ballets'. By 1675, Saint-André seems to have decided to stay in London for a while, for some of his private possessions were brought over from France. Although he was referred to by several writers over the next few years, nothing is known of Saint-André's activities in England after *Calisto* and *Psyche* and he had apparently returned to France by 1680, when he was listed as a member of the Académie Royale de Danse.⁵²

James, Duke of Monmouth was closely involved in both *Calisto* and *Psyche*. He danced a solo as Hero of the Land in the prologue to *Calisto*, and Locke dedicated the published edition of his music for the 'English Opera' *Psyche* to Monmouth, 'who gave them [i.e. 'these compositions'] Life by your often hearing them practis'd, and encouraged & hearten'd the almost heartless Undertakers & Performers', indicating that Monmouth was present at rehearsals.⁵³ Unfortunately, Draghi's music for the dances was omitted from Locke's score and is not otherwise known to survive, so we lack an important clue to the nature of the dancing that Monmouth would have seen. Monmouth had received his early education in France, and had recently had time (during a break from his military responsibilities) to appear with noble and professional dancers at the French court. Thus, despite his developing reputation as the 'Protestant' Duke (as opposed to the 'Catholic' Duke of York), his tastes were probably more French than English, at least as far as theatrical entertainments were concerned.⁵⁴

Although Shadwell does not specify the number of dancers for all the individual dances in *Psyche*, it is possible to calculate how many dancers might have been required for the production. There was a dance for four Sylvens and four Dryads in Act I, and another dance for ten Statues in Act IV; these are likely to have been roles requiring dancers, rather than actors who could dance. It is unlikely that greater numbers were used for the dance of the Priests of Apollo in Act II, the Cyclops' dance or the dance of the Priests of Mars in Act IV, or the Furies' dance in Act V; the Troupe du Roy had had six dancing Cyclopes and eight dancing Furies in the Paris *Psyché*, perhaps providing a model for the Duke's Company.⁵⁵ The maximum number to appear together danced in the final divertissement, as the six Elizian Princes and their six Attendants. Thus, at most, twelve professional dancers would have been required for the Dorset Garden production of *Psyche*.

There were, of course, at least twelve dancers at hand. According to the surviving documents, the dancers in *Calisto* were Saint-André himself, Isaac, Delisle, Herriette, Dyer, Smyth, Motley, Berteau, Lestang, Dumirail, Le Roy and Le Duc, and perhaps Joseph (or Josias) Preist.⁵⁶ It is possible that some, if not all, of them also appeared in Shadwell's *Psyche*. All of the dancing roles in the latter were for men, and none of the players in the Duke's Company during the 1674-75 season are known to have been dancers.⁵⁷ We

do not know how long Saint-André had to prepare the dances for *Psyche*, but the timing of the first performance indicates that he must have been working on the production at the same time as *Calisto*. Could he have been working with much the same group of dancers, several of whom he would have known well from performances at the French court? If he was, then the majority of his dancers were French and several of them had danced in the court performances of the Paris *Psyché*.

Psyche's 'Curious Dancing'

It would be unwise to discount English influences on the London *Psyche*, for these undoubtedly affected the structure of the work and its divertissements; these are topics which must await further research and analysis. However, the evidence set out in this paper suggests that many of the dances in *Psyche* were French-inspired. With the exception of the composer Matthew Locke, whose music for *Psyche* did not follow recent French developments (Draghi's music for the dances cannot be assessed), those most closely involved in the production looked to French models.⁵⁸ Betterton had travelled to France, perhaps as late as 1673, in order to see and report on French developments in staging practices, and was already using what he had learnt at Dorset Garden. He was responsible for engaging Shadwell to write *Psyche*, and Shadwell himself was forced to admit some indebtedness to the French play. The Duke of Monmouth was able to appreciate and perform French dances, and he was probably involved in bringing the French dancing-master Saint-André to work in London as a dancer and a choreographer. An analysis of the dances in the London *Psyche* demonstrates their dependence on earlier French works, not only the Paris *Psyché* but also *Les Amants magnifiques* and perhaps *Cadmus et Hermione*. Saint-André had danced in all three, and undoubtedly drew on his own experience when he came to create the dances for the London *Psyche*; he may even have worked with French dancers who were experienced in the choreographic conventions of the *ballet de cour*. At a time of increasing French influence at court, and strong royal interest in the theatre, it was inevitable that the Duke's Company, managed by Thomas Betterton and with a fine new theatre at Dorset Garden, should seek to emulate the spectacles offered in the public theatres of Paris.

Shadwell's *Psyche* was to exert its own influence on much later developments in dancing on the London stage. The work's last revival took place at Drury Lane on 9 June 1704, and was advertised with 'New dances proper to the occasion, particularly *Arbour Dance in Imitation of the Original*'. The '*Arbour Dance*' was, of course, Saint-André's dance of the Elizian Princes with their Attendants, and the Drury Lane dancers included du Ruel, Cherrier, and Laforest. Just a few days later, on 21 June, the entr'acte dances included the '*Cyclops Dance (from Psyche)*, in which Monsieur Cherrier perform'd the Part of Vulcan with great

Applause'. Despite the changes, it seems that Saint-André's dances were still remembered nearly thirty years later. The audience for these performances must have included the English dancing-master John Weaver, who several years later drew on the dances in *Psyche* for his innovative dramatic entertainments of dancing. In 1717 he included both a dance for Mars and his Followers and a dance for Vulcan and the Cyclops in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, and in 1718 he began *Orpheus and Eurydice* with an invocation scene and a dance of Priests, as well as including a spectacular hell scene with an Entry for Furies.⁵⁹ Weaver's works influenced not only his fellow dancing-masters John Thurmond and Monsieur Roger, but also (through the performances of his leading dancer Hester Santlow, who had been Cherrier's pupil), the young Marie Sallé, who in her turn influenced Jean-Georges Noverre. The wheel had turned full circle.

References

- 1 Shadwell 1675, A4v, italics reversed.
- 2 McManaway, 1961-62, 20-21. See also Shady 1977, pp. xxvii-xxviii. Shady dates the first performance of Heywood's masque to 1635 (p. xxvii).
- 3 France followed the Gregorian Calendar and the form of dating known as 'New Style' (NS), which in the seventeenth century was ten days ahead of the 'Old Style' dates of the Julian Calendar used in Great Britain.
- 4 Powell 2000, 50, 250; Anthony 1997, 80.
- 5 *Psiché tragi-comédie, et ballet. Dansé devant sa Majesté au mois de Janvier 1671* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1671).
- 6 Saint-Maurice 1671-1673 (1910), 14-15. 'je n'ai encore rien vu ici de mieux exécuté ni de plus magnifique et ce sont des choses qui ne se peuvent pas faire ailleurs à cause de la quantité des maîtres à danser, y en ayant soixante-dix qui dansent ensemble en la dernière entrée. Ce qui est aussi merveilleux est la quantité de violons, des joueurs d'instruments et des musiciens qui sont plus de trois cents, tous magnifiquement habillés'. All translations in this paper are by the author.
- 7 Powell 2000, 52, 331, 411, 412.
- 8 *Psiché, tragedie-ballet* (Paris: Pierre le Monnier, 1671).
- 9 Powell 2000, 59.
- 10 Turnbull 1983.
- 11 Unless otherwise stated, information about performances in London is taken from Van Lennep 1965. *Psyche* has also been dated to 1674; for evidence supporting the 1675 dating, see Holman 1993, 346.
- 12 Shadwell 1675, A4r-b1r, A2r.
- 13 Shadwell 1675, b1v, italics reversed.
- 14 Milhous & Hume 1987, 75.
- 15 McManaway (1961-62), 21. The new edition appeared under a false imprint, dated 1640 (the year the play was originally published).
- 16 Shady (1977), p. xxxvi.
- 17 Quoted in McManaway (1961-62), 20, from Magalotti 1821.
- 18 Heywood (1661?), D2v, E3v, F4r, G4r. The play (and its dances) as performed on stage in the 1660s may have been different from the 1661 published text.
- 19 Lefkowitz 1979-80, 42; Highfill et al. 1973-93, entry for Thomas Betterton. The *Biographical Dictionary* dates Betterton's visit to the summer of 1671.

- 20 Rosenfeld 1955, 2-3.
- 21 Buttrey 1995, 206.
- 22 Ibid. 209-219; Holman 1993, 343-4.
- 23 Walkling 1996, 27-62.
- 24 Holman 1993, 345-6.
- 25 Shadwell 1675, A4v, italics reversed. For a translation of the original work see Walsh 1994.
- 26 The published text of Shadwell's *Psyche* does not number the scenes. Numbers have been supplied here, the beginning of each new scene being indicated by a change in the onstage characters.
- 27 Molière's published play omits the *entrée de ballet* for the *Suivants d'Apollon* which was included in the version of *Psyché* given at court (see *Psyché tragi-comédie, et ballet*, 34), but it is not possible to tell whether this is accidental or reflects a cut by the Troupe du Roy.
- 28 Shadwell 1675, 3-5; *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 2.
- 29 Although he was omitted from the French *Psyché*, Pan does feature briefly in the original story, see Walsh 1994, 94-5.
- 30 Shadwell 1675, 17.
- 31 For example *Les Noces de Pelée et de Thétis* (1654) and the *Ballet de la Naissance de Vénus* (1665), see Benserade 1997.
- 32 *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 24-6, 'l'autre [Troupe de Personnes affligées] exprime sa desolation par une Dance pleine de toutes les marques du plus violent desespoir' (p. 24).
- 33 Shadwell 1675, 29-31. In the Paris *Psyché*, 'Six Cyclops, with four Fairies, perform an *entrée de ballet*, in which they complete in time to the music four large vases of silver which the Fairies have brought them'. *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 40, 'Six Cyclopes, avec quatre Fées, y font une Entrée de Ballet, où ils achevent en cadence quatre gros Vases d'argent que les Fées leur ont apportez'.
- 34 Heywood 1661?, H2v-H3v, K1r.
- 35 Shadwell 1675, 36. *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 52-54.
- 36 Shadwell 1675, 38, 39.
- 37 *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 89, 'Suivans de Mars, qui font, en dançant avec des Enseignes, une manière d'Exercice'. Quinault 1999, I, 39-40.
- 38 Shadwell 1675, 45. The act had opened with 'a stately Garden ... The great Walk is bounded on either side with great Statues, Figures of Gold standing on Pedestals, and small sitting at their feet', p. 42.
- 39 Molière 1682, VIII, 61, 'Huit Statuës, portant chacune deux flambeaux à leurs mains, sortent de leurs Niches, et font une danse variée de plusieurs Figures, & de plusieurs belles attitudes, où elles demeurent par intervalles'.
- 40 *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 70, 'Huit Furies en sortent, & forment une Entrée de Ballet, où elles se réjouissent de la rage qu'elles ont allumée dans l'ame de la plus douce des Divinitez'; Shadwell 1675, 43.
- 41 Shadwell 1675, 66-71.
- 42 *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 85-90.
- 43 Milhous & Hume 1987, 71.
- 44 Highfill et al. 1973-93, entries for Luke Channell, Josias Preist. There have recently been doubts about the identity of Joseph or Josias Preist, see Thorp 1998, 198-210.
- 45 Locke 1675, A4r.
- 46 Buttrey 1995, 210, 212.
- 47 Highfill et al., 1973-93, entry for Mons Le Temps, identifies Le Temps as probably Louis Lestang. It is

- possible that Shenan could have been the dancer Joan who had danced alongside Lestang and Saint-André at the French court, Christout 1967, 131, 133. See also Holman 1993, 344.
- 48 Christie 1874, I, 180-1.
 - 49 Holman 1993, 345.
 - 50 *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), entry for Saint-André. For details of Saint-André's appearance in *ballets de cour*, see Christout 1967.
 - 51 Schmidt 1995, 5, 532.
 - 52 Walkling 1996, 28-29, 36, 41; Highfill et al. 1973-93, entry for St. André.
 - 53 Walkling 1996, 33; Locke 1675, A2r; Lefkowitz 1979-80, 49-50, wrongly asserts (on the basis of Locke's dedication) that Monmouth danced in *Psyche*.
 - 54 For Monmouth's life and career, see the entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Watson 1979.
 - 55 *Psyché tragedie-ballet*, 40, 70.
 - 56 Walkling 1996, 36.
 - 57 For the players in the Duke's Company in 1674-75, see Van Lennep 1965, and Highfill et al. 1973-93.
 - 58 Holman 1993, 347-9.
 - 59 For the published descriptions of these works, see Ralph 1985, 737-62, 766-812.

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