

attached to hold the wings down and which tinkled every time the dancer moved. The artist has taken great care over his instructions to the costume makers; colours are specified as his directional pen changes ‘citron yellow’ to ‘golden yellow’ for the body costume, for example; he indicates ‘olive green’ and green leaves for the wings; and, interestingly, he stipulates that the tights are ‘pearly grey’, while the drawing shows them pink, to make the image leap out from the page. Such detail appears in all Rabel’s work which, often, lists the names of the dancers in a column on the right of the figure.

Rabel’s album, which was discovered in Switzerland some twenty years ago contains in particular many grotesque drawings. Most were created for Louis XIII’s ballets performed from 1615 to the mid 1630s. For these designs, royal expense accounts confirm the detailed attention given to the artist’s instructions to tailors, shoemakers, wig-makers, florists and carpenters. Some make clear that, despite the heavy pedimenta piled upon their person, dancers’ legs were left free to perform complicated and often acrobatic dances, as is evident in the depiction of ‘Les Influences’ for the *Ballet du Grotesque*, 1627 [Fig 2]. The heavy, expressive mask emitting news from its mouth is noteworthy, while the legs are unimpeded, ready to dance. On the right, is the column of the six professional dancers – ‘de la ville’ – from the town, who performed this role: Monjoly, Henaut, Coquet, Riolant, Drugeat and Du Jon.

Other designs pose a question equally relevant to the costume creations invented for the *mascarades* of Francis I, a century earlier. How did a performer manage to dance, equipped as the professional dancer Maresse who is shown as the leader of Grotesque’s band of musicians? [Fig.3] Of course, all his instruments were quite light, made of cardboard. And yet, how did he struggle in with his legs hidden beneath his bell-shaped skirt, with the addition of a sword which seems superfluous?



Figure 2 *Les Influences*, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet du Sérieux et du Grotesque*, 1627. (Private collection)



Figure 3 *Grotesque*, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet du Sérieux et du Grotesque*, 1627. (Private collection)

Again, strange restrictions for the dancer can be observed in the drawing of the guards for this same ballet [Fig. 4] danced by professionals: 'St Hubert, St Leon, et autres comme Coldoré et Trouillart'. The inclusion of the name of St Hubert is interesting since he wrote one of the first treatises on ballet in French (*La manière de bien composer les ballets*, 1641). Figure 5 comes from the *Ballet des Fées*, 1625; she is appropriately christened La Musique with instruments adorning her head, ears and skirts. The lutes which decorate her voluminous frame were destined to be picked off by the musicians hidden underneath and who walked her onto the stage.



Figure 4 Guard, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet du Sérieux et du Grotesque*, 1627 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre Collection, S. 362-1988)

Not all grotesque figures had merely walk-on parts; Jacqueline l'Entendue, [Fig. 6], like all the other fairies in the ballet, entered bearing a grotesque mask and accompanied by a dancing animal. Her owl appears in detail in the expense accounts for this ballet, infinite care is taken to describe its making: the carton used for the overall shape, wings and head, the number of feathers attached individually to make its form as realistic as possible⁵



Figure 5 La Musique, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet des Fées de la Forest de Saint Germain*, 1625 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre Collection S. 1163-1986)



Figure 6 A Fairy: Jacqueline l'Entendue, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet des Fées de la forest de Saint Germain*, 1625. (Private collection)

Realism, making the dancers seem real whatever their extravagant or extraordinary attire, had been the aim of artists even from the early years of Francis I's reign (1515-47). To achieve such effects, the King had summoned pupils of the famous Giulio Romano to Fontainebleau, Rosso Fiorentino and Francesco Primaticcio. Both stayed in France until their death, devising costumes and décor for court entertainments, building and decorating royal palaces. Rosso, for instance, designed all the elements for a ballet in Paris in 1537 to greet James V, king of Scotland; while Primaticcio, from that time until his death in 1570, was responsible for the conception, décor and costumes for all fêtes at the French court. There were French artists too who learned from their Italian colleagues, painters like Jean Mignon who designed all the Turkish costumes for a ballet at Blois in 1541.⁶

Consider the spaces available for dancing, at first dancers performed in banquetting halls of palaces, executing their steps and their mimes against walls lined with rich tapestries, so that, Apollo for instance, was reflected back into his exploits embroidered in silk and golden thread; his nine muses played their instruments in harmony with those depicted behind them on the walls. A double mirroring effect. For elaborate occasions, Francis I ordered temporary buildings to be created for the dancing; at Fontainebleau in 1546, for the baptism of the dauphin, three courtyards of the palace were covered in silk hangings decorated as though they were the heavens so that, as contemporary dance theorists argued, the figurations executed on the floor of this temporary space actually seemed to reflect the celestial movements above. Within this temporary space, Primaticcio built a raised platform for the dancing, covered with a special cloth to ensure that the steps of the dancers were secure.⁷

Gradually, the need for more permanent space was recognised. In 1539, the King ordered Primaticcio to begin work on a ballroom at Fontainebleau, to design its walls with figures of gods at play, dancing and playing music, subjects displayed in paint from the brush of Niccolò dell'Abate.

How did dancers get into the hall or onto the stage? Mobile structures of spectacular form provided the most common means of conveying groups simultaneously. On his long journey home from Italy in winter of 1515/16, Francis I was greeted at every stopping place by *mascarades*, *moresques* and mimed dancing.⁸ At Aix-en-Provence (27 January, 1516), dancers disguised as forest dwellers entered the hall on giraffes and camels; three days later, the performers appeared in the guise of lions, salamanders and Turks mounted on similar exotic animals.

At court, the mobile mechanisms were more complex: in 1539, walking tortoises crept into the hall; a dolphin six feet high, seemed to swim into the dancing space, its skin made of tiny scales which shone in the candlelight; a chariot, drawn by serpents, brought in the dauphin in the guise of Diana. In many ways, this eldest son of the King, was the most ingenious and daring in his roles. In 1539, a great shell provided a seat for him as he came in to dance as a shell fish, all head down to the calves of his legs. A later drawing of Rabel give some idea of the balance required to dance when kitted out in this fashion: [Fig. 7] arms almost disappearing into the body of



Figure 7 Man all Head, drawing by Daneil Rabel for an unknown ballet (Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre Collection, S. 1177-1986)

the design, only legs free to perform. One might ask in what ways did the Dauphin's companions manage to dance; since from head to toe, they were sardines, their feet encased in pointed scales. Did they do more than show off their extraordinary costumes as they stood in their triumphal car, drawn by swans and designed by the artist Primaticcio?⁹

In 1559, the day after the signing of the marriage contract between Princess Elizabeth of France and Philip II, king of Spain, there was a splendid banquet in the *Palais de Justice* in Paris. This was followed by a spectacular ballet of twelve persons who had been brought into the hall: six satyrs on a rock and six nymphs on a castle. After they got down from their machines, a choreographed contest lasted for over an hour when the nymphs were victorious. Given the continuities in mobile design featuring triumphal cars and structures pierced with niches to accommodate the dancers, the rock which conveyed the satyrs probably looked very much like this engraving of a rock which housed sixteen nymphs destined to dance a ballet in 1573 which had been designed especially to impress the Polish ambassadors who had come to Paris to negotiate with their new king – Henri, duc d'Anjou, and to accompany him to Poland. [Fig. 8]

More complex designs, installed in the dancing space itself, were also attempted. The most tricky to mount and to maintain was created for the ballet celebrating the marriage of Marguerite de Valois to Henry of Navarre, future Henri IV in 1572.¹⁰ It was tricky because the structure simulated Paradise and required not only continuous movement but also the placing of lights which had to be set in motion. Above and at the end of the hall, a great wheel had been installed showing the twelve signs of the zodiac, the seven planets and an infinitude of tiny stars. A hidden mechanism kept the wheel in motion, supporting the twelve nymphs who were to perform a ballet taking Charles IX and his companions into Paradise. The whole structure was lit up with lamps and candles, strategically placed to throw into relief the signs of the zodiac and the planets. In 1546, At Fontainebleau, the heavens had been



Figure 8 Engraving of the Rock Machine for the *Ballet des Polonais*, printed in Jean Dorat's account *Magnificentissimi spectaculi* (Paris, Jean Morel, 1573)

painted; here in Paris in 1572, a three-dimensional structure had been erected, performing faultlessly.

Focussing now on the large subject of costumes, an attempt will be made to present their range and richness, so that the essential role of the artist and designer is understood. Italian observers were astonished at the extravagance and variety of costume design for dancing at the French Court. Indeed, Gianbattista Gambara who wrote home regularly to his Duchess in Mantua, after listing all the different designs for a ballet in March 1541 where there were Roman emperors with antique helmets on their heads; figures disguised as Janus with his two heads; others dressed as Acteon and his stags; and yet others as peasants. Having noted all these variations, Gambara concluded – in exasperation: 'I can't tell you any more, there's no end to their ingenuity'.¹¹ Like Gambara, everyone commented on the

richness of the materials – gold and silver brocades, taffetas and figured silks, all incrustated with jewels; indeed, in 1539, in the snout of the bear which was a disguise worn by the King, a diamond worth 20,000 *ecus* was embedded.¹² By 1550, more caution prevailed as we learn from the expenses of the wardrobe of Mary, Queen of Scots, where numerous jewels were listed for her dancing – all were fake.¹³

If one were to attempt to categorize costumes worn for dancing, the table would look something like this:

Exotic designs

Heroic imitations

Extraordinary conceptions

Grotesque forms

Costumes made to highlight virtuosity

Designs that emphasised the contours of the body

Ideas which articulated elegance and decorum

Each category will be considered in turn.

Inspired by exotic costume books, artists produced designs like the one created for Francis I disguised as a Turk [Fig. 9] The flowing garments, the high, pointed and tiered headdress decorated with feathers, matches contemporary descriptions

Moustachios prominent on the mask with gestures appropriate to the king's entry into the dance, and gold cloth for the cloak are typical. In such an outfit, it is likely that the king attempted no more than the most decorous of social dances. Not all the beings who danced at Francis' court would have had this noble aspect. On his journey home in 1516, the king would have encountered images of what the designers thought were the inhabitants of America. In the *masquerades* devised to entertain him, he would have seen dancers dressed as black men, their faces covered in ash; brigands and savages performed before him, seemingly naked with their bodies simply covered with skins decorated with leaves and herbs; as they danced, they flourished their sticks threatening the company with menaces.¹⁴



Figure 9 Francis I as a Turk, drawing by Primaticcio (Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Palat. CB.3.53)

Heroic imitations frequently provided the basic inspiration for artists who could quickly supply dancers with designs which came from the classical remains which were becoming so popular with for collectors and antiquaries. Francis I, for example, sent Primaticcio to Rome in 1540 and ordered him to bring back casts of the most famous statues so that he could decorate his new palace at Fontainebleau appropriately.¹⁵ Primaticcio obliged, and immediately used this new material for ballet costumes. In February 1541, gods and goddesses with all their attributes, dressed as if they were Roman and Greek statues, came back to life. They danced in very formal style, fitting their status. A year later, for another ballet, to celebrate the Carnival of 1542, Primaticcio made the Dauphin into Julius Caesar who entered the

dancing area on an antique chariot as though making a formal triumphal entry into Rome.

In addition to this craze for all things classical and antique, early dancers were attracted by the extraordinary, and artists excelled themselves in producing ideas which tickled the imagination of their patrons but which actually introduced problems for dancing, so hampered were the dancers with all the paraphernalia of their character. Francis I frequently teamed up with his friend and ally, the cardinal de Lorraine. They entered the hall together, two bears with the muzzles made out of gold, their bodies encased in skin and fur, or again, clothed from top to toe in bark and leaves, they bounded in as trees. Elaborate headdresses, too, must have impeded performance. They were a dominant feature in early *mascarades*, although made of light material, they must have caused difficulties of balance. In 1541, some dancers sported clocks made of glass with white feathers sprouting out of the top; others were disguised as windmills with sails turning as they moved; dolphins, chickens and lobsters made up the cast.¹⁶

Cardboard and light wicker were used to make the grotesque appendages that were increasingly popular. In the 1550 accounts for the king's children, we learn that different shapes were required for their ballets and tournaments. These were made out of cardboard, in *papier mâché* and cut out into suns, stars and barrels; while such designs, especially the barrels encompassing all their person, might inhibit dancing skills, others were devised to show off their ability to dance.¹⁷ The emphasis in the design of costumes for dancing was always to give sufficient variety so that even a noble performer could display the range of his steps. Thus, we might recall that, at Moulins in 1516, dancers performed as Spaniards, English Gentlemen, German knights, Italian signori and French courtiers, moving in succession as they danced, from the choreographic styles of one country to the next.

The most ingenious designs were those which moulded the body so successfully that

the human form beneath the costume virtually disappeared. In a chronicle describing life at Francis I's court, Sebastien Piccoté narrated a ballet entry as follows;

Huge ostriches covered in feathers with large wings and long tails, each one carrying in its beak a silver horse shoe, it seemed that no one was inside as the whole was so well made and so expertly covered with feathers.¹⁸

Piccoté knew that a male body was hidden beneath the plumes, but the simulation of dancer as ostrich was so effective as to make one doubt a human presence. An anonymous drawing of a cockerel [Fig. 10] gives some idea of the ingenuity involved.

Here, the human form is just visible in the legs and feet, by the pitch of the shoulders and the positioning of the hands, otherwise the disguise of the bird is complete with the marked crest on the head, the feathers finely drawn and the extravagant sweep of plumes at the back.



Figure 10 Cockerel, drawing by an unknown artist (Private collection)

The next design was made for a ballet around 1570 [Fig. 11] and attributed to Niccolò dell'Abate, the male form can just be detected beneath the realistic mask, scaled legs and arms, and from the hands clutching the pipes and trailing sheath.

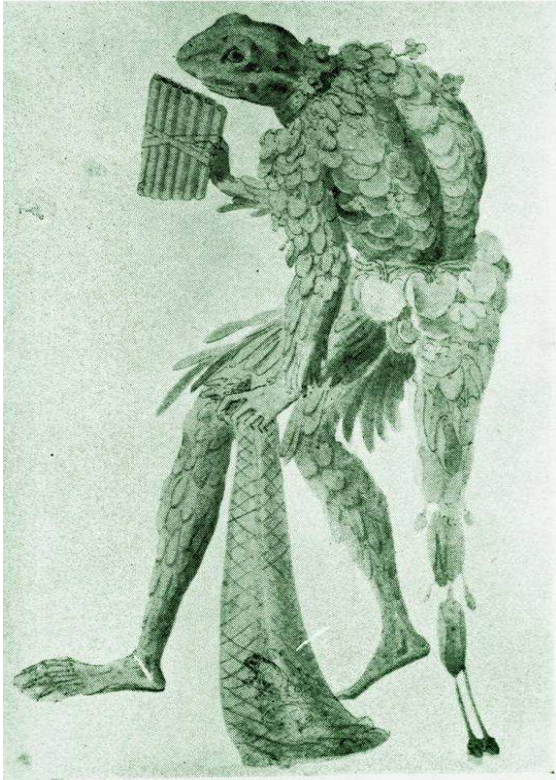


Figure 11 Frog, drawing attributed to Niccolò dell'Abate (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Inv.81. 1874:91)

Such close-fitting costumes ensured that the dancer was impeded in no way; in fact, they gave extraordinary freedom of movement so that the dancer could show off his skills.

Alongside this mastery in drawing and design can be placed those decorous conceptions wrought by Rabel for ballets for Louis XIII and his Queen. The figure of Harmonie, for example, whose dress blends light green, red and white colours, and on the silk were imprinted traces of musical instruments – lutes and guitars. [Fig. 12] Another of Rabel's elegant designs was made for the spirit of fire, danced by the king in 1617 [Fig. 13], simulated flames decorate the entire costume. The raised headpiece is especially interesting since it provides a tall vessel protecting the head from which real flames will emerge during the dance. Rabel was clearly proud of this creation since he

reproduced virtually the same design for the entry of a dance of devils performed during a ballet in 1632.



Figure 12 Harmonie, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet de l'Harmonie*, 1632 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre Collection, S. 1153-1986)



Figure 13 Spirit of Fire, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet de la Délivrance de Renaud*, 1617 (Private collection)



Figure 14 Ismen, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet de Tancredi*, 1619 (Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre Collection, S. 1178-1986)

Le grand ballet du Roy, entitled the adventures of Tancred in the Enchanted Forest, was performed in the Louvre on February 12th, 1619, to celebrate the betrothal of the King's sister, Christine, to the Duke of Savoy. Inspired from Torquato Tasso's epic poem, *Jerusalem Delivered*, it extolled the King's ability [as Tancred] to overcome all the enchantments devised by the magician Ismen. [Fig. 14] For this performance and the companion piece for the queen the *Ballet de Psyché* a mass of material survives, and the *Ballet de Tancrede* will serve as a conclusion to this essay. For this ballet, there is: the official description by Scipion Grammont; the verses by Laugier de Porchères, inventor of the ballet; unusually detailed accounts showing the participation of Tommaso Francini, the King's architect; a bevy of painters, unknown to us today but who were part of Louis XIII's household; of the engineer Horace Morel, responsible for spectacular effects; and the designer Daniel Rabel who devised all the costumes. There

are payments to carpenters who, under time constraints, were allowed a supply of wood to heat the theatre and candles to light up their work as they toiled throughout the night to finish the scenery. The names of suppliers are listed as well as details of the machinery required to operate the movement of clouds in the heavens and of the chariots that crossed the stage. The music was composed by Pierre Guedron, and the choreography by Jacques de Belleville who received the large sum of 600 *livres tournois* for having spent six weeks and thirty rehearsals teaching the steps to the dancers.¹⁹

It is possible to follow the rhythm of the ballet by considering each change of scene in turn. At the outset, the stage was entirely covered by a large curtain depicting the Siege of Jerusalem in a highly decorated frame. Francini designed the scene which was painted by Pierre Dumartin. As instrumental music distracted attention, the curtain dropped to the ground and revealed a most ambitious design: an enchanted forest whose trees, made from wood, were all etched in gold leaf, with candles and lights strategically placed to give the impression that the whole forest was on fire. This burning place was the main obstacle to Tancred and his sixteen companions coming to the aid of Godefroy de Bouillon who was in difficulties during the siege; for, in this space, strange creatures appeared, summoned up by magic. Unfortunately, we have no visual records of the elaborate stage machinery, but drawings by Rabel survive: after a group of Sylvains [see Fig. 1] danced with other inhabitants of the forest, they all disappeared and Ismen invoked even more frightening beings to challenge Tancred. These were the powers of hell, and the furies, [Fig. 15], their costume being marked by serpents that writhed around their waist, which they clutched in their hands and which curled around their neck, and emerged wriggling from their heads.



Figure 15 A Fury, drawing by Daneil Rabel for the *Ballet de Tancred*, 1619 (Private collection)



Figure 16 The Wind, drawing by Daniel Rabel for the *Ballet de Psyché*, 1619 (Private collection)

Prosperine, together with Pluto, entered next to conduct their frenzied dancing. Before they moved, however, thanks to the ingenuity of the engineer Morel, the gods of the underworld set all the dancers' heads alight, making them burn red, so that their ballet impressed everyone as lights moved and changed with every step.

Once this blazing scene had disappeared, there came into view a noble Amphitheatre. Above, the skies opened to reveal a host of angels singing. This lavish scene was conceived by Francini in direct imitation of similar Italian shows. He activated the wooden cylinders and flats to create a true perspective, and – master of the techniques of managing the pulleys required to operate the movement of the clouds, he also produced four gilded chariots of goddesses, drawn by swans and decorated with silver and roses, to ensure that they glided swiftly down in a decorous manner to participate in the dancing with other celestial beings. Francini's final scene is the Temple of Glory which opens up to reveal Tancred and his triumphant companions; they move down from their half-

circle tabernacle to perform the final Grand Ballet.

The companion piece, the *Ballet de Psyché* performed by the Queen some days later was equally rich in conception with elaborate décor, gardens, temples and celestial chariots, and the drawings of Rabel for the costumes give a good idea of the elegance which inspired the whole work. There is a delightful drawing of one of the winds who blew Psyché up to heaven [Fig.16]. The artist's annotations again testify to the care he lavished on every detail, the kind of material – silk and satin, the puffs of simulated cloud, white and blue, on the entire costume, and the transparent and twinkling curls of paper that imitated the breath of the wind.

If we glance back over the 100 years which have been evoked in this essay, although there is evidence of increased complexity in the use of theatre machines as engineers became more expert, as permanent theatres came into being, and as artistic and princely rivalry continued to support such enterprise, although these changes are clear,

continuities may also be observed. Court spectacle continued to play a significant role in political affairs; ballets continued to be a serious and formidably time-consuming affair. They were planned weeks ahead, and royal accounts show the care and extent of the labour that went into their production. Workmen were paid for overtime; building scenery took weeks to design and more weeks of preparation for an army of specialists and suppliers. Rehearsals occupied the time of choreographers, dancers and musicians. Primaticcio, dell'Abate and Rabel prepared their drawings well in advance, giving minute instructions to the makers of fabric, colour, size and ornament. What is remarkable is the care expended by everyone: care to ensure

that bold theatre machines were safe; that the extravagant lighting effects did not smoke or set fire to the person or the stage; that costumes impressed either by their richness, their originality, and the ability to permit ease of dancing.

Artistic skills were fundamental to the success of choreographic art at this period. They kept spectators and dancers alert and enthusiastic. They enhanced their form and gave them ideas about dancing steps that fitted the costume design. We are fortunate that so much material survives to enable us to reconstruct - in part - the delights that so absorbed princes and their courts.

End Notes

¹ These Italian sources have been extensively used by Monique Chatenet, *La Cour de France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Picard, 2002), and Carmelo Occhipinti, *Carteggio d'arte degli ambasciatori estensi in Francia* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2001). For English records of performances, see the Calendars of State Papers cited in detail in my *Dance in the Renaissance. European Fashion: French Obsession* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

² The principal accounts for Louis XIII's reign are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Menus plaisirs et nécessités de la Chambre du Roy, Année 1619*, Ms. Clairambault 808, ff. 207-20 for the 1619 Ballets; and for the *Ballet des Fées* (1625), *Les Comptes de l'Argenterie de 1625*, Archives nationales, KK.200.

³ Cesare Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diverse parti de Mondo* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590); and Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium* (Frankfurt: Abraham de Bruyn, 1581).

⁴ Jehan Cousin, *Livre de Perspective* (Paris: Jehan le Royer, 1560); J-A du Cerceau, *Les Plus Excellents Bastiments de France*, David Thomson (ed.) (Paris: Sand and Conti, 1988); and Philibert de l'Orme, *Traité d'architecture*, Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montaclos (ed.) (Paris: Léonce Laget, 1988). For the important role of engravers, see

Henri Zerner, *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1969).

⁵ Les comptes de l'Argenterie de 1625, Archives nationales KK.200.

⁶ Occhipinti, *Carteggio*, pp. 63-5.

⁷ Chatenet, *La cour de France*, pp. 225-9.

⁸ For an account of this long journey filled with entertainments, Raffaello Tamalio, *Federico Gonzaga alla corte di Francesco I di Francia nel carteggio private con Mantoua 1515-17* (Paris: Champion, 1994); for the expenses incurred, the article of Emile Baux, Victor-Louis Bourrilly and Philippe Mabilly, 'Le voyage des reines et de François I^{er} en Provence et dans la vallée du Rhône (décembre 1515-février 1516),' *Annales du midi*, 16 (1904), pp. 31-64.

⁹ Details given in Occhipinti, *Carteggio*, pp. 132-4.

¹⁰ Simon Goulart provides an account of this festival in his *Mémoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX* (Middlebourg; n.p. 1578), 3 vols, I, pp. 87-8. An analysis of this ballet can be found in my *Dance in the Renaissance*, pp. 87-90.

¹¹ Chatenet, *La Cour de France*, p. 215.

¹² Occhipinti, *Carteggio*, pp. 146-8.

¹³ Reported by Catherine Grodecki, *Documents du minutier central des notaires de Paris. Histoire de l'art au XVIe siècle, 1560-1600* (Paris: 1985).

¹⁴ Tamalio, *Federico Gonzaga*, and Baux, Bourrilly and Mabilly, *'le voyage des reines'*, pp. 49-50.

¹⁵ For the taste in Roman antiquities in France, see my *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000). For Primaticcio's work at the French court, Dominique Cordellier, *Catalogue du Louvre. Primatice, Maître de Fontainebleau*, exhibition Louvre, 21 September, 2004-3 January, 2005 (Paris: 2004).

¹⁶ Occhipinti, *Carteggio*, pp. 63-5.

¹⁷ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 11207, Trésorie de Mgrs les Enfants de France pour l'année 1550 et 1551.

¹⁸ Sebastian Piccoté, *Chronique du Roy François I^{er}*, Georges-Maurice Guiffrey (ed.) (Paris: 1860), pp. 371-3.

¹⁹ For all the sources for the *Ballet de Tancrede*, see chapter VII of my *L'Art du Ballet de Cour en France, 1581-1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1963), pp. 117-131; the contemporary librettos were: Scipion Grammont, *Relation du Grand Ballet du Roy dance en la salle du Louvre, le 12 février 1619 sur l'aventure de Tancrede en la Forest enchantée* (Paris: Jean Sara, 1619) and *Discours de la Reyne, tiré de la fable de Psyché* (Paris: Jean Sara, 1619).