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BIBLIOGRAPHY
THE SPIRIT OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BALLET:
THE PROCESS OF INTERPRETING BEYOND THE NOTATION

I. INTRODUCTION

The process of interpreting beyond the dance notation in any period demands a study of conventions in choreography and dance performance. Books like Jean Georges Noverre's *Les Lettres sur La Danse et les Ballets* certainly describe what people thought could be improved upon in the art of dance, but these books do not systematically outline the complete picture of theatrical conventions and how they were employed in the eighteenth century.

In attempting to realize a major work, it is important to study and analyze, first, the concrete evidence of the period dance notation; second, the different genres of dance and their context; and finally, the period acting treatises and how they pertain to the dance. One must also search for the dance in the arts of painting, sculpture and drama. Period concepts of "natural," and "beautiful" can be understood more fully today if the arts are studied as a whole and not as independent subjects. In their own day, both Noverre and the English dancing master John Weaver implored dancers to study painting and sculpture in order to portray expressive gesture in a well-crafted pose.

Ballet in the eighteenth century included singing roles and a chorus to convey the story. This paper will use Jean Philippe Rameau’s first full length stage work, *Hippolyte et Aricie*, premiered at the Paris Opera in 1733, as an example when referring to theatrical dance in the context of a ballet. The work, listed as a *tragédie lyrique*, consists of a prologue and five acts and is based on the Greek legend of Phaedra and Theseus. Some thirty per cent of the music is designated for the dance. In today’s terminology we would see it as an opera with ballet interludes; however, in Rameau’s time it was considered to be more in the ballet category. Ballet did not exist as a truly separate entity until much later in the century. (A television broadcast video of the work with my choreography, produced by the Festival d’Aix-en-Provence, conducted by John Eliot Gardiner and stage direction by Jean Louis Martinoty, starring Jessye Norman and The New York Baroque Dance Company, can be found in the Dance Collection at the Performing Arts Library in Lincoln Center, New York City.)

II. PHILOSOPHY and AESTHETIC THEORY

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2Pierre Beauchamp and Raoul Auger Feuillet, among other dancing masters, developed an abstract notation system for the dance. The first book published on this system and its application is *Chorégraphie* by Feuillet, Paris, 1700. Feuillet, much to the dismay of his colleagues, alone, retained the copyright of this seminal work.
3John Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing*, London, 1721. (pp.145-146)
4*Tragédie lyrique* is a genre of French opera from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It consists of a prologue and five acts. The libretto is based in ancient Greek or Roman history. Dance plays an important role in the development of the plot.
Before looking at the notation, the reconstructor needs to familiarize himself with descriptions of the dance left to us by writers such as Cahusac, Gallini, and Diderot in which we discover philosophical principles and aesthetic theory.

For example, Gallini states:

“Looks, movements, attitudes, gestures, should in the dancer, all have as appropriate meaning; so plainly expressed as to be instantaneously understood by the spectator, without giving him the trouble of unriddling them: otherwise, it is like talking to them in a foreign language for which an interpreter is needed.” (page 90)

With further reading of his treatise, one begins to understand that Gallini is not talking about pantomimic dance, but all theatrical dance categories.

Through letters, treatises, reviews and reports we can also build a social/political context for the works to be reconstructed and interpreted. Dance of the eighteenth century is entirely a part of its society, and the ceremony of the social dances as well as the very existence of the arts themselves must be seen in light of divine-right monarchical rule, the Enlightenment, and eventually the defining of the democratic state. Art was not, as it has become for us, a field where individuals try to invent their own meaning, mostly at odds with the established norms.

Today, the voluptuousness of eighteenth century art, the aesthetic of pleasure in the baroque and classical periods, is often misconstrued as “pleasure for pleasure’s sake.” This is a distortion as the point of this art often has to do with meaning, which is so much more acceptable when wrapped in a pleasing veneer. We must consider the Cartesian philosophy of the time: in order to inspire and stimulate the mind one must first touch the senses.

Period dance dictionaries link contemporary art with its history, placing dance’s roots in ancient Greek and Roman cultures. With the uncovering of Pompeii in the middle of the century, the arts were even more keen to link themselves with Aristotle, Bathyllus and Pylades. For example, Charles Compan’s *Dictionnaire de Danse* has listings which give us insights into the dramatic adaptation of Greek traditions by eighteenth century librettists. One is a description of the *archimime*, in the context of funeral rites. Gluck’s *Orfeo* opens with a dance for the *archimime* as Orfeo calls to the spirit of Euridyce. Another is a vivid description of the *Dance de L’Innocence* of the Lacedemonians danced by young women honoring the goddess Diana. Rameau composed his own *Dance de L’Innocence* in Act I, Scene 2 of *Hippolyte et Aricie*, when the priestesses of Diana enter singing: "Dans ce paisible séjour regne l’aimable innocence" and the music for the dance suggests a purity of mind as well as spiritual ecstasy. These dictionaries give us insight to the adaptation of Aristotle’s theories on art by eighteenth century practitioners.

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5Louis de Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne ou Traité historique de la danse*, La Haye, 1754.


III. CHOREOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS DISCOVERED IN THE DANCE NOTATION

After studying some 300 published notations in the Feuillet system, the concrete evidence, one can discern formulas for choreography used during the eighteenth century. I have observed the following principles.

1. The dancer(s) begin upstage center and then proceed downstage toward the audience in a presentational or introductory passage (the first "figure" of the dance).

2. The following figures develop the subject as the dance expresses itself through both the symbolic geometry of the dancer's path and through the steps.

3. The patterns the dancer traces along the floor are balanced around a strong center line running up and downstage, dividing the stage in half. For example, if one dances in a circular path on stage right, one would later cross the center line and make another circular path on stage left.

4. With a dance other than a solo, both mirror symmetry and irregular symmetry keep the dancers in a geometrical pattern filled with inner tensions.

5. The geometrical track or floor pattern the dancer traces corresponds with the length of the musical phrase and serves as a visual architecture.

6. The cadences in the music are marked by the completion of the dancer's geometrical pattern. It seems that the dancer assumes an expressive pose at this moment to crystallize the passion which had just been explored or to introduce the next subject.  

7. The dance closes with a leave-taking of the audience as the dancer retreats upstage center, ending where the dance began.

Performing the notated dances in a period theater with a raked stage reveals even more properties of period choreography. The upstage position for the opening and closing of a dance puts the dancer in a distant visual realm, removed from the spectator’s immediate reality. With the forced perspective of the set design, the dancer’s figure seems to grow upon descending toward the spectator. Often the most downstage part of the floor is leveled out. This leveling of the floor gives the illusion that the dancer has arrived into the world of the spectator. Any leaps downstage take on an acceleration and augmentation from the rake.  Running motions upstage demand more physical effort and amplify the distance between the performer and the spectator. In the context of a ballet, the motion of the dancer balances the lack of motion in the declamatory style of the singers who remain in the more downstage areas. The leave-taking of the dancer at the end of the dance can be grand and mysterious as it is enhanced by the rake.

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9The notation does not indicate a picture of a pose, but rather the dance step resolves in a corresponding physical cadence with the end of the musical phrase. In compliance with the rules of declamation, it seems to me the notation implies assuming a dramatic attitude at these cadences.
IV. CONTEXT OF THE DANCE WITHIN THE LARGER WORK

Now let us look at the placement of dance within the larger work. A well-composed theatrical spectacle balances the spectators’ focus on the aural, visual, emotional and philosophical elements. The senses are not fatigued by a long spectacle, but rather enlivened as a rhythm is established with the unfolding of the plot. The story alternates between the recitative and solo air, the chorus and the dance, and instrumental passages in the orchestra, keeping the aural and visual senses of the spectator alert.

The purpose of any dance is defined by its placement in the context of the ballet. By its very nature, the work requires different kinds of dance, not just the danse noble style. In Act III of Hippolyte et Aricie, for instance, there is a danced fête for sailors to honor the return of Theseus. The dramatic conflict is heightened by the juxtaposition of this fête to the previous scenes where the tragic discovery of suspected incest turns Theseus’s world upside down. His confused thoughts at the end of scene six are interrupted by the entrance music of the sailors, calling him to his public appearance at the fête in scene seven. To assume blithely that danse noble would suffice for every scene clearly makes no sense as here, to be sure, the drama calls for a faster, joyful dance of the people in celebration of the returning king and hero. Equally, the dance is crucial to the staging of the conflict between public life and private life, duty and passion, Theseus as a king and Theseus as a man. To treat the dance as a superfluous divertissement would weaken the opera tremendously while lessening the power of the dance.

V. DANCE CATEGORIES

This example of the sailor dances leads us to the question of the many categories in eighteenth century dance. Briefly, they can be characterized as follows. La simple danse was movement which expressed nothing and stayed close to the ground, but was graceful and was used exclusively in the ballroom. La danse noble was a noble, majestic style following classical principals of beauty. It was used in both the ballroom and the stage. La danse en haut or La danse haute was restricted to the theater and involved vigorous, high jumps and virtuosic dancing. La danse sérieuse et héroïque was also designated for the stage and expressed proud, noble sentiments and could involve virtuosic dancing. La danse grotesque, only for stage dancing, involved exaggerated motions, outside the noble definition of proportion. Some dancing masters put the dance for the furies in this category while others only group the vulgar and comedic dances here. La danse demi-caractère expressed tender and convivial sentiments of the common man and was designated for the stage.

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10 For a complete explanation of dance categories please refer to Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVII et XVIII siècles under the direction of Marcelle Benoit (Paris: Fayard, 1992).  
11 Claude François Ménestrier, Ballets anciens et modernes selon les règles du théâtre, Paris, 1682: “La simple danse est une mouvement qui n’exprime rien, et observe seulement une just cadence avec le son des instrumens par des pas et des passages simple ou figurez, au lieu que le Ballet exprime selon Aristote les actions des hommes, leurs moeurs, et leurs passions.” (158)  
12 Gennaro Magri, Trattato Teorico-Prattico di Ballo, Naples, 1779, translated by Mary Skeaping, London: Dance Books, 1988. “To do an attitude in the manner of a fury, the same arm and the leg which is in the air will be lifted high beyond measure with the fingers held with the said regularity, expressing the kind of rage which makes all the limbs of the body rigid, with
Carriage of the body and step vocabulary varied according to these styles. Details of step execution and height of arm motion were dictated by the category. For example, Le danse noble employed a regal carriage balanced with decorative and expressive arm gestures. The essence of this style was a contained spirit filled with all the passions of mankind. Le danse grotesque, in contrast, could be executed by a gnarled body carriage with twisted arm gestures low and close to the body. Accompanied by a flailing spirit of unconfined wrath, the body could be thrown into the type of acrobatic dancing usually associated with the carnival.

It is clear to me that all of these dance categories are called for in a historically informed revival of Rameau’s Hippolyte et Aricie. He balances the strength and pride (le danse noble) of Diana’s followers in the Prologue with the spiritual and emotional questioning (la danse sérieuse) of the Priestesses as Aricie enters the temple of Diana in Act I. The grotesque dancing of the Furies in Act II finds its contrast in the demi-caractère sailor dances of Act III. Remaining in the demi-caractère style the dance continues with the entrance of the hunters in Act IV and then returns to la danse noble, with the musette reuniting Aricie and Hippolyte in Act V. The musette typically represents a utopian Arcadia where Nature and Love reign. The final chaconne is a noble reflection on the drama, the ground bass representing Time and Fate.

Variety is the key to a successful choreography in this period, as in any period, and an effort is made by Rameau to provide for all facets of dance, not just the danse noble. A good example of the varied dance genres can be found in Gregorio Lambranzi’s book The New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing, published in Nuremberg in 1716, where he records over 100 dances described as Delicium Populi. These dance ideas are extremely useful to a choreographer/reconstructor today as they illustrate dances for sailors, hunters, tradesmen, commedia dell’arte figures, a few noble dances and absurd subjects such as dancing hats. The dances are not notated, but rather sketched out verbally. In some instances it is stated that the dancers mimed as they danced. Gennaro Magri’s Trattato Teorico-Prattico di Ballo (Naples, 1779) also gives a dancer’s perspective on these different categories.

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scintillating eyes, gnashing teeth, like mastiff dogs, and everything else which can characterize their embittered, vicious and spiteful character; for regularity should never be observed in them but only a skillful speed in gesturing.” (149)

13Gregorio Lambranzi was a Venetian dancing master who later lived and worked in Nuremberg. Not much is known about his life; however, judging from his book, he had a keen sense of humor and knowledge and a compassionate heart for those dancing masters who were fervently looking for new ideas to please their audiences!

14Gennaro Magri (birth and death dates unknown) lived in the second half of the eighteenth century. The majority of his professional life was in Naples. His book is one of the few treatises of this period which is written by a dancer for dancers. He, himself, excelled in the grotesque style.
VI. THE MASK

It is typical of the ballet that dancers are paired with the singing chorus and appear as "the people," echoing the function of the Greek chorus in ancient tragedy. But the dancers would wear their customary mask, which was not discarded in France until the end of the eighteenth century and whose custom also harkens back to Greek tragedy. The spectator looks to the dance for the "picture" to illuminate an essence of an emotion.

The use of the mask in today's revivals of the works of Rameau is a key to understanding the theatrical performance of the period. The wearing of the mask was well documented and masks were certainly worn in Rameau's operas on the Paris stage. Although Marie Sallé\(^{15}\) and Noverre later pushed to discard the mask for the freedom of an expressive face (a mobile mask), their own training was with the mask. This is an important issue as the mask does effect the way both the performer and the spectator perceive gesture.

Today, when one dons a mask in rehearsal, one is struck by the fact that any movement of the shoulders or head is no longer an abstract action, but rather a dramatic gesture with a specific meaning. The dancer becomes aware of the body as a gestural instrument. The words of Claude François Ménestrier\(^{16}\) from his book, *Des Ballets Anciens et Modernes selon les règles du théâtre* (Paris, 1682) take on a new meaning:

"Ballet imitates not only actions, it imitates according to Aristotle the passions and the manners, this is more difficult than the expression of actions. This imitation of manners and affects is based on the impressions that the soul naturally makes on the body, and on the judgment that we make of manners and observations of persons based on these exterior movements. ... As in Oratory, there are certain figures, that seem to make obvious the things the orator speaks of, one must do these same movements in the ballets."\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\)Marie Sallé (ca 1707-1756) was known for her expressive dancing. Noverre was one of her students and he carried on innovations she had started such as dispensing with the mask, more realistic costuming and using the dance to tell the entire story of the ballet rather than depending on a sung libretto. She was the choreographer for Handel's operas in London, performing with her own troupe of dancers and was a good friend of Voltaire’s. She did not publish a treatise on dance and her accomplishments often go uncredited. Descriptions of her dancing are to be found in the *Mercure de France*, January and September, 1732; July 1756.

\(^{16}\)Claude François Ménestrier (1631-1705) was a Jesuit priest, dance theoritician, dance producer and one of ballet’s first historians. He worked at the Collège de la Trinité in Lyon and was responsible for public celebrations and spectacles. A wonderful account of Jesuit involvement with dance and its development as a theatrical form can be found in Judith Rock’s book, *Terpsicore at Louis-le-Grand, Baroque Dance on the Jesuit Stage in Paris*, St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996.

\(^{17}\)Le Ballet n’imite pas seulement les actions, il imite encore selon Aristotle les passions et les moeurs, ce qui est plus difficile que l’expression des actions. Cette imitaton des moeurs et des affections de l’âme est fondée sur les impressions que l’âme fait naturellement sur le corps, et sur le jugement que nous faisons des moeurs et des inclinations des personne sur ces mouvemens extérieurs. ... et comme dans l’Eloquence il y a certaines figures, qui semblent mettre sous les
This quotation refers to the style of dance developed during Lully's time which was the basis of good training for Rameau's dancers. Indeed, the singer and dancer during Rameau's time are often referred to as "l'acteur chantant" or "l'acteur dansant". The performance of the solo singer and dancer is united in the acting technique of the period.

VII. PERIOD ACTING AND ITS RELATION TO DANCE

Although our historical dance field has been reluctant to apply acting theory to theatrical dance, Weaver\textsuperscript{18} and Taubert\textsuperscript{19} reveal in their treatises from the first half of the eighteenth century that the ballroom dance and stage dance differed. Indeed, it is difficult to ignore the book of Charles Pauli, \textit{Elémens de la Danse}, published in Leipzig in 1756, where he discusses the differences between \textit{la danse haute} (virtuosic theatrical dance which called upon the art of gesture) and \textit{la danse simple} (dance style of the ballroom). He clearly states: "\textit{L'Art d'écrire la danse} (referring to Feuillet's \textit{Chorégraphie}) only covers \textit{la danse simple}, and not the art of gesture... and can be seen as the base and theory of \textit{la danse simple}." \textsuperscript{20} This statement puts Feuillet's notation treatise in perspective, inferring that the dance of the theater requires further study and explanation beyond the scope of Feuillet's work.

In speaking of \textit{la danse sérieuse}, and specifically chaconnes and passacailles, John Weaver's \textit{An Essay Towards an History of Dancing} (London, 1712), praises the French dancer, Desbargues: "$...who had a certain address and artfulness in his gestures, which, as they are the most material articles, and qualifications of the Arts; so, who excels in them, ought I think to be esteemed the greatest Master." Clearly, it is in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and not only with Noverre's inventions, as dance historians have often written, that the art of gesture was required in \textit{la danse sérieuse} and in the dance of the theater in general.

Allow me to clarify the word "gesture." When dancing masters write about the motions of the arms, they make a distinction between movement of the arms and expressive gesturing with the arms. In the context of his full essay, Weaver's reference to "a certain address and artfulness in his gestures" refers to an expressive attitude of the body and expressive use of the arms. The word "expressive" is not to be confused with the act of miming or with pantomimic dance, an entirely different subject.

Going beyond notation, today's choreographer/reconstructor must turn to the acting technique to discover a common ground between the actor and the dancer. In looking more closely at Ménestrier's words, "... and as in Oratory there are certain figures that seem to make obvious
the things the orator is speaking about, it is necessary that the movement do the same in ballet,”
today’s reconstructor should be encouraged to study the abundant acting treatises in this period.

VIII. CHIRONOMIA AND THE “BAROQUE BUBBLE”

Published in 1806, but reflecting back on the second half of the eighteenth century, Reverend
Gilbert Austin’s Chironomia offers an analysis of attitude and gesture which can be directly
related to the dance. The same theories presented in this book are reiterated and are perhaps the
basis of the methods of Delsarte, Ted Shawn and Doris Humphrey.

In studying Chironomia I was struck by five concepts which directly relate to the dance.

1. Austin defines a sphere around the body which is the actor’s expressive space.

Much like Rudolph von Laban’s kinesphere, this sphere vibrates with a dramatic and physical
tension. In my lectures I often refer to this sphere as the “Baroque Bubble.” Each performer’s
bubble maintains a polite distance from others sharing the space on stage. The Baroque Bubble
also contains the character’s full range of dramatic and psychological energy. If the bubble is
pressed by another performer’s presence, a relationship of intimacy or conflict is immediately
perceived by the audience.

2. The shifting of the body weight within the sphere carries dramatic implications just as
the motions in the geometric path of the dance color the symbolism of the dance.

Austin notates a poem, The Miser, and clearly indicates the actor’s shifts of weight within the
sphere as the drama unfolds. The dancer, while moving, can also utilize these same shifts of
weight in the carriage of the body while in motion on the track of the choreography. One might
visualize Austin’s actor shifting his body in the sphere and gesturing dramatically as his legs
dance upon the track of the choreography. I suggest this image as an attempt to understand the
nature of expressive dance (not pantomime) in Rameau’s time.

3. Austin’s definition of “attitude” is the same as that used in dance dictionaries of the
period.

“The painter is struck by the boldest and finest of the significant gestures which
are called attitudes, and he records them; they are the proper objects of his art;
they are striking and less evanescent than the other gestures, which pass unnoticed
by him, although they make up by far the greater and more important part of the

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21 Reverend Gilbert Austin, Chironomia: or a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery; comprehending
many precepts, both ancient and modern, for the proper regulation of the voice, the countenance,
and posture. (Together with an investigation of the elements of gesture, and a new method for
the notation thereof; illustration by many figures.), London, 1806. Austin developed a notation for
gesture which he explains in this book.

22 It is very interesting to compare Austin’s book with Shawn’s Every Little Movement, Lee,
Massachusetts, 1954.

23 The Miser and Plutus, described as a fable by Gay, Chironomia, page 368.
gestures requisite for illustrating the sentiments.”

Compare this quotation to that of Gennaro Magri in his *Trattato Teorica-Prattico di Ballo*:

“The true Theatrical attitude does not consist of a single and simple gesture, but it is a union of several poses, being an accompaniment of the arms, the legs, the head, the eyes, which must express in which emotional state the person is found.”

In an effort to physically understand the difference between gesture and attitude as both these men describe the terms, one discovers the fourth important lesson from Austin’s book:

4. Gesture has a complex relationship to attitude and they both depend upon one another as the body transforms to another attitude through a series of gestures.

It is the artful dynamic manipulation of motion from gesture resolving in attitude that ties dance to oratory as earlier described by Ménestrier.

5. Finally, the duration of declamatory gesture can be related to the phrasing of the dance steps.

Again, in Austin’s notated *The Miser*, the actor shifts his weight forward and backward in the sphere as the drama of the poetry is emphasized, much as the dancer will advance or retreat in the space, in measured phrases, as the choreography unfolds. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into a full discussion of dance as *mute rhetoric*. However, Patricia Ranum in her article for *Early Music Magazine* (February 1986) offers convincing evidence outlining the links between French poetry, music and dance. She says:

“Pomey’s precious document … provides sufficient information to permit some study of the dance as a unitary experience, that is, a study not only of the notes and lyrics, but of gesture as well, in the light of the rhetorical theory of the period. The analysis of all these dimensions is inspired by numerous statements in rhetoric handbooks of the period, which likens dance steps to the individual syllables of a song, the complete lyrics of that song to an oration, and the actor’s expressive gestures to the orator’s figures of speech.”

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24Ibid., 497.
26Father François Pomey, *Dictionnaire royal*, Lyon, 1671.
IX. CONCLUSION

Exploring the concrete evidence of the dance notations and treatises published in the period; understanding the different genres of dance and their use in staged works; and gaining a physical knowledge of the acting technique and its application to dance, all aid toward illuminating the nature of eighteenth century ballets. The conventions of choreography and dance performance at the time of Rameau were highly sophisticated structures in tune with the other arts and can be understood at an elemental level in our laboratory of dance analysis. But like an element, the discovery of its nature is most exciting and meaningful when viewed in the larger context. And as in any science, there are yet other avenues waiting to be explored by the next generation of dance history scholars. The process of reviving a dance from notation must be recognized as a full cultural exercise. No matter what the time period, the same points of departure discussed in this paper may be applied to reconstructing dances in various styles.

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