THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE BEAUCHAMP-FEUILLET NOTATION SYSTEM DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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The theme of this conference being 'continuity and change', I should like to look at one system of dance notation, the Beauchamp-Feuillet system, during the hundred or so years that it was in common use. My interest lies not so much in the question of 'how useful is this system to modern dancers wishing to reconstruct dances of the eighteenth century' but rather in the question of 'how useful was the system to dancing-masters in the eighteenth century?' Was it adequate for recording what they wanted to create in dance? Did they have to adapt it, and if so, how? I hope that this paper will show that while for many forms of what I term presentational dance (that is, dance presented by good, well-trained dancers – amateur or professional – at formal balls, masquerades, command performances at Court, or dance presented on stage)[1] the Beauchamp-Feuillet system seems, so far as we can tell, to have worked quite well, yet even as early as the first decade of the eighteenth century modifications were being introduced, and from the mid-century onwards all sorts of amendments started to appear.

ORIGINS

Louis XIV came of age and took personal control of the governance of France in 1660, and the next two decades marked an era of codification of the arts and sciences as the great French Academies were founded at his instigation. His own dancing-master Pierre Beauchamp, as director of the Royal Academy of Dance[2], was ordered by the king in the 1670s to develop a system of recording dance on paper. Beauchamp was not the only dancing-master to be working on such a project, but he produced the most success-ful of the systems developed at that time[3], and an important reason for its continuing success was that it was published – first by Raoul Auger Feuillet in 1700 and 1701, then translated into English in 1706 and subsequently into other European languages[4]. An-other reason for its success was that from very early on this theoretical treatise was used, and intended to be used, in conjunction with published collections of dance notations which served as practical examples of how the system worked. The survival of over 330 dances in this notation system remains a testimony to its success[5].

PURPOSE OF THE BEAUCHAMP-FEUILLET SYSTEM

The original purpose of Beauchamp's system was to describe systematically (and thereby classify and codify) the existing vocabulary of dance steps[6]. This in turn would allow the dances to be recorded, and learned by others from the notation. It might be imagined that by the time the system was published by Feuillet in 1700, some twenty five years after Beauchamp had begun work on it, it was comprehensive; yet both Feuillet's second edition of 1701 and Weaver's translation of 1706 included steps not found in Feuillet's first edition of 1700, and many of the extant dance notations include steps which don't appear in Feuillet or appear there only in a limited form. Pecour's *Entrée*

Espagnolle is one example of a dance containing both orthodox and modified steps. It was a solo created for Mademoiselle Subligny to perform in Campra's *L'Europe Galante* and the notation was published by Feuillet in 1704[7]. Most of its steps can be found in Feuillet's step tables, but some sequences of steps either modify or conflate the characteristics of several steps in the tables. This happens particularly at the beginning of music sections and whenever a particularly 'Spanish' feel was required – for example in the slow and controlled leg gestures, sudden falls into 4th position, and the contrast of sustained and rapid steps, all of which seem to be characteristic of the extant Spanish entrées (Figure 1).

[Pecour's *Entrée Espagnolle* was then demonstrated]

CONTINUITY

Two effective ways of testing the ability of the Beauchamp-Feuillet system to provide continuity (that is to record a dance in such a way that it is closely recognisable to later generations of dancers) might be, first, by looking at dances which remained popular and were reissued in different notation systems throughout the eighteenth century; and second, by looking at dances for which the notation can be compared with verbal descriptions of the steps.

There is an interesting group of seven couple-dances by Pecour, dating from the early years of the eighteenth century, which were still popular towards the end of the century. The best known of these are *La Mariée*, the loure *Aimable Vainqueur*, and the *Allemande*. They were first published in notation by Feuillet in 1700, 1701, and 1702 respectively; were all three re-notated by Rameau in his new system of 1725, and subsequently re-notated in the Beauchamp-Feuillet system again by Magny in 1765. For all of them the three different notations produce a very similar dance with only minor differences, and thereby reassure us that each is probably a reasonably accurate record of the dances as known then.

Another way of appraising the accuracy of the notation is to compare it with written descriptions of the dance. One such description survives for *Aimable Vainqueur* in Bartolomé Ferriol's treatise of 1745: it is too terse to be of great value, although it does indicate that the same sequences of steps as in the original version occurred in the version it recorded, despite its more ornamented music[8]. Pecour's *Forlana* for two dancers, on the other hand, first published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation in 1700 and re-notated by Rameau in 1725, also exists as a more detailed written description in Dupré's *Méthode* of 1757[9] (Figure 2). The written version compares well with both the 1700 and 1725 notations, although it describes only the steps made by the woman.

Elsewhere in Dupré's *Méthode* is a dance which is interesting for a quite different reason. This is the written description and corresponding Beauchamp-Feuillet notation of an apparently new dance by Dupré himself, *Entrée de L'Amiral de France en 1756*[10]. What neither format states is where Dupré got the idea from, for a new dance dating from 1756 it certainly is *not*: the music is different, but the dance steps are a blatant copy of the manuscript notation of Feuillet's *Entree de Matelot* of *c*.1706–10[11]. All Dupré did was to change the sissonnes for entrechats or chassés, and find a different tune. One aspect of continuity that we don't always consider...
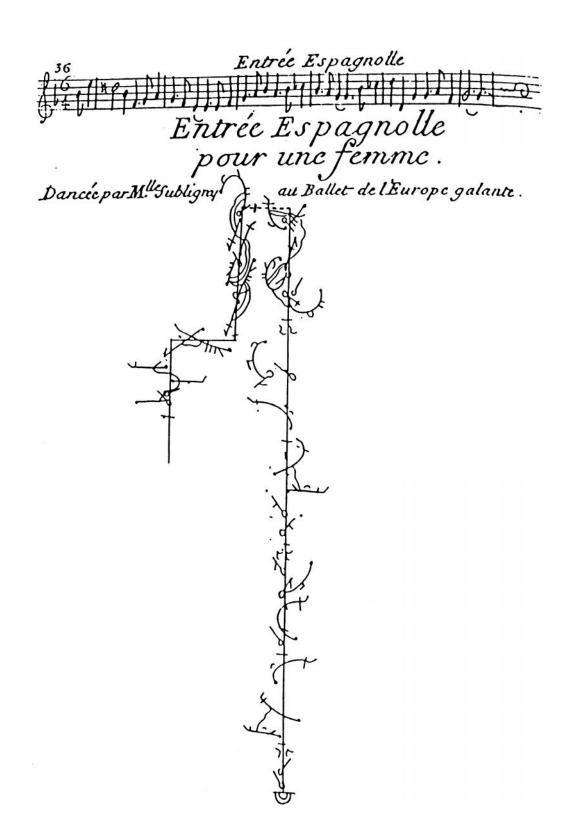
Figure 1. Pecour's *Entrée Espagnolle pour femme*, published 1704: the opening section showing sustained and rapid step sequences typical of this type of dance.

(a)

La forlanne 34

la Forlana

(b)

Recüeïl de Danses. 31

deux pas de menuet en arrière ; le quatriéme glissé en arrière pour la révérence.
Les deux autres dansent de même à même-temps.

LA FORLANA,
Danse à deux Personnes de diffé-
rent genre.

Par le Sieur PECOUR, Pensionnaire des menus plaisirs du Roi, & Com-positeur des Balets de l'Académie Royale de Musique de Paris.

L'air est un mouvement à $\frac{6}{4}$ contenant 48 mesures pour toute la Danse.

En Fille.

ON fait la révérence comme pour le Menuet, & on se remet à sa place : on attend que les violons recommencent l'air pour partir en

32 Recüeïl de Danses.

cadence par un contretemps en avant du pied droit ; un coupé du pied droit en tournant un quart de tour à droit, le deuxiéme bat derrière ; un contre-temps en arrière, le deuxiéme assem-blé ; un plié & sauté sur les deux pieds ; un coupé du pied droit à côté, le deuxiéme croisé par der-rière en montant ; deux autres cou-pés croisés par devant ; un pas de Ri-gaudon & un plié & sauté sur les deux pieds ; deux fleurets en avant, en tournant un peu sur la gauche en descendant ; un pas de Gaillarde en tournant demi tour à droit, faisant face au Cavalier ; une Sissonne de côté du pied gauche ; autre Sissonne du pied gauche en avant ; un fleuret en avant ; un pas de Gaillarde de côté à gauche ; un fleuret en avant en tournant un quart de tour & redes-cendant un peu ; deux fleurets battus, dessous, le deuxiéme emboëté der-rière & le troisiéme marche en avant ; deux jettés en avant ; un fleuret en
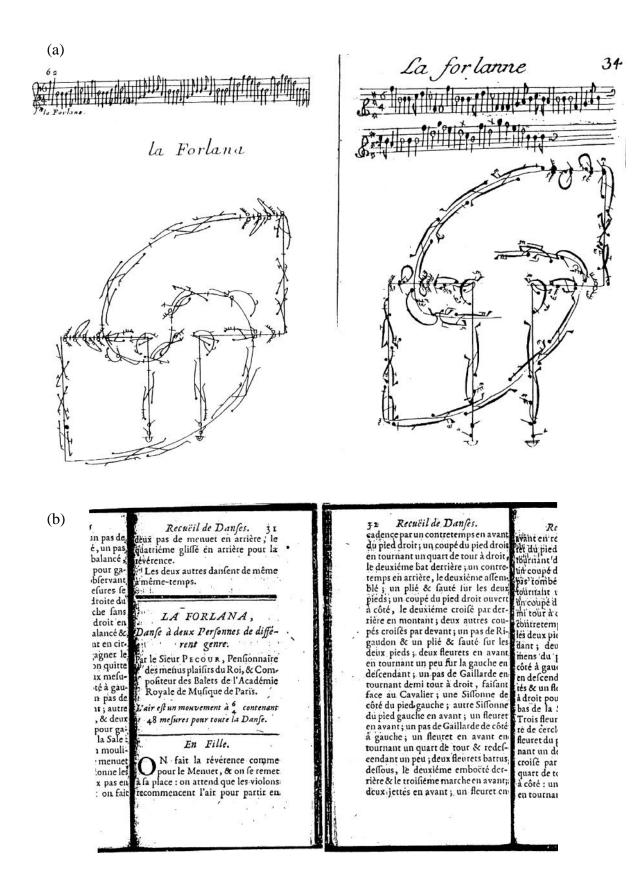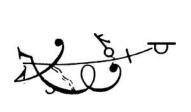
Figure 2. Pecour's *Forlana*, published in notation by (a) Feuillet in 1700, (b) Rameau in 1725, and then (c) described in words by Dupré in 1757: the opening section.

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CHALLENGES TO THE BEAUCHAMP-FEUILLET SYSTEM

It looks as if Feuillet introduced some small changes to the system between publishing his treatise *Chorégraphie* in 1700 and again in 1701, perhaps to include steps he'd forgotten to put into the tables of the 1700 edition, or to add steps that he might have omitted deliberately in 1700 while still pondering how best to notate them (for example the contretemps de menuet)[12].

In his translation of 1706 (*Orchesography*, plate 42) Weaver added a few apparently new steps which he attributed to one dance by Mr Isaac and to "no other dances whatsoever", but this was clearly a ploy to boost sales of Isaac's dances and his own translation of Feuillet, for most of the alleged new steps are to be found in French notations of a few years earlier[13].

Some very interesting modifications of the Beauchamp-Feuillet system appear in dances notated by Beauchamp's pupil Siris for an English market from 1706 onwards. These raise the tantalising question of whether they were really Siris's own modifications or whether they are an echo of the older, purely Beauchamp, system which Siris had learned in the 1680s and which Feuillet may have altered by 1700: for example Siris's habit of notating bends and rises on the supporting leg[14] when the working leg is off the ground, for example:–

| pas coupé with ronde de jambe (*Br. Audenarde*) | temps de courante with one-eighth turn (*Br. Audenarde*) | raised leg carried back, then forward on bend and rise (*La Camilla*) |

Feuillet's step tables notate pas coupé and temps de courante with the bend and rise signs on the working foot rather than as shown here in the *Brawl of Audenarde*; the leg gestures (as here and later in a jumped version) in *La Camilla* do not appear in Feuillet's tables at all (although it could, I suppose, be regarded as an embellished demi-coupé in which the bend and rise occur before the weight is transferred, or, less eccentrically, as a form of temps de courante).

A more serious challenge however was to come a generation later, in Pierre Rameau's new notation system[15]. He proposed radical changes, in particular replacing barlines with marks *de mesure* to clarify the timing of the preliminary bend of any step which anticipates the first downbeat of the bar (the Beauchamp-Feuillet system conventionally notates it after the barline but musically this is too late); marks *de mesure* also encourage the dancer to take in whole phrases of step sequences rather than chopping them up into separate bars and losing the flow of the phrasing. Other changes by Rameau depict the lifting of the working foot prior to any movement (Beauchamp-Feuillet takes that for

granted, so that the first thing one sees in the notation is the movement itself), and – like Siris – notating relevant bends and rises on the supporting leg if the other is off the ground.

Rameau however was naive in thinking that he could take on Feuillet and the Academicians – he was literally warned off by them for destroying established practices and had to agree to stop publishing any dances in his own notation system[16]. It would however have been interesting to see, had he ever published any theatre dances, whether he had also devised new ways of recording theatrical dance steps or indeed had created any completely new steps and movements.

For the greatest challenge to the Beauchamp-Feuillet system in its own day was posed by its limited ability to cope with four problems: (i) notating group dances, (ii) notating arm movements and gestures, (iii) notating new steps in the serious genres of dance, and (iv) notating unusual steps associated with the theatrical genres of grotesque and comic dance.
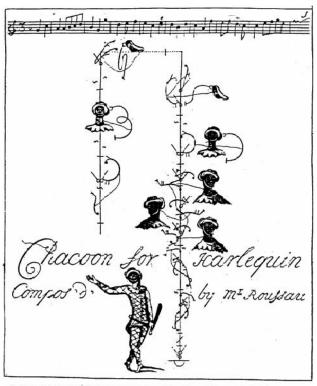
(i) Notating group dances

The Beauchamp-Feuillet system is not a successful method for notating group dances: even in the simplified system which Feuillet published for contredanses in 1706[17] which shows only floortracks and unusual or cadential steps, dances for large groups could look daunting in notation (a good example is Preist's *Minuet* for twelve ladies, published by Pemberton in 1711). Perhaps it is no accident that most of the extant Beauchamp-Feuillet theatre notations are for solo or couple dances, although recent work by Becky Harris-Warrick is beginning to question whether some of the French theatrical solos might in fact be just one person's part in a longer group dance rather than a self-contained solo[18]. In social dance, the written descriptions found in Playford country dances and the ingenious diagrams of cotillon figures found in Magri and others, all indicate that there were more effective ways of recording the floortracks of repetitive group dances than Beauchamp-Feuillet notation.

(ii) Notating arm movements and mimetic gestures

The notation of arm movements had been included as a very brief section in Feuillet's *Chorégraphie* but it was not developed much further in print, Feuillet himself merely saying that arm movements were a matter of individual taste. Rameau and Tomlinson attempted to explain arm movements, in words and pictures, in their own treatises[19] but much ambiguity remained.

Mime and gesture in presentational dance and some contredanses was represented sometimes in the early eighteenth century by a combination of written descriptions, thumbnail sketches, or stylised symbols added to the notation (Figures 3, 4). Several mime gestures are also listed in Feuillet's *Recueil de Contredanse* of 1706, translated by Essex in 1711.
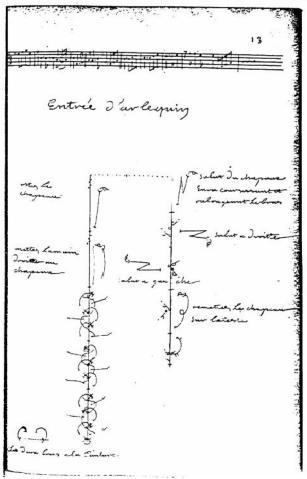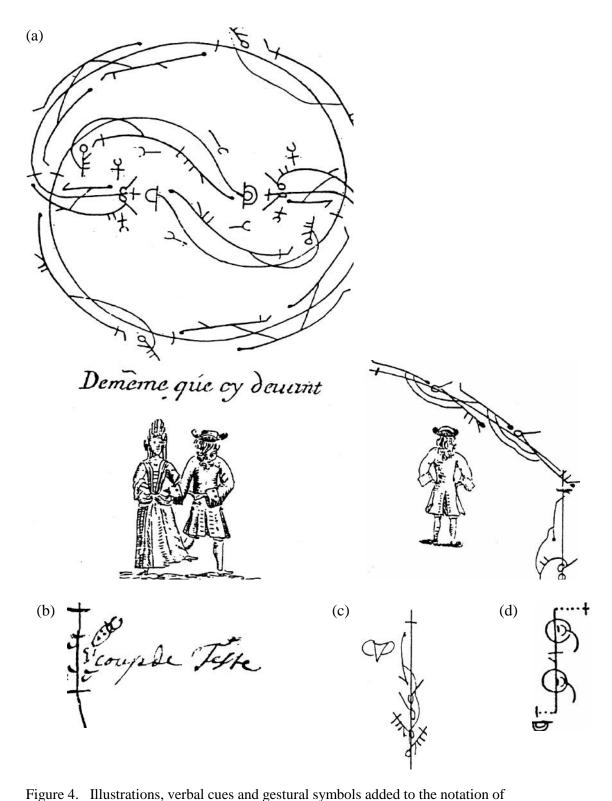
Figure 3. Pictorial and verbal instructions added to notated entrées for a harlequin by F. le Roussau and by Feuillet (London, British Library K.1.i.13; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms fr.14884).

(a)

Demème que cy deuant

(b) coup de Teste

(c)

(d)

Figure 4. Illustrations, verbal cues and gestural symbols added to the notation of
(a) Pecour's *Allemande* (to show allemande handhold and position during chassés),
(b) De la Montagne's *Chaconne darlequin*
(c) Feuillet's *Entrée de paysant* (to show hands behind back or on waist), and
(d) Pecour's *Entrée de deux bacchante* (to show striking tambourines or cymbals)
(Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra Rés. 841; *ibid.* Rés.817/5; *ibid.* Rés.817/7;
London, British Library K.8.k.11)

(iii)   Notating new steps in serious genres of dance

There seem to have been very few genuinely new steps recorded during the first half of the eighteenth century. Feuillet's treatise of 1700 included tables of 530 steps, slightly expanded in 1701 and again in Weaver's and Siris's translations of 1706. The existing dance notations suggest that dancing-masters seemed in general to regard these tables as a useful framework for their own creative skills, which lay in the tasteful and ingenious combination, modification, or embellishment of those steps, rather than in creating completely new ones. However, there is a thin dividing line between an orthodox step which is so heavily embellished or modified as to become unrecognisable, and a completely new step.

For example, the different *pas de Monsieur Marcel* (Figure 5) for use in the ballroom minuet are, as described by Jasson and notated by Magny and Malpied, each a series of balances taken either on a vertical plane instead of a horizontal plane, or with repeated rises on one foot rather than transferring the weight from foot to foot as in the traditional pas balancé. But they were regarded as new steps and Marcel named as their 'inventor'[20].

(iv) Notating new or unusual steps in the grotesque and comic genres of dance

Feuillet never published a notation system specifically for this sort of theatrical dance – the nearest he came in *Chorégraphie* was to provide notation signs for 'false' (or turned-in) positions of the feet, and for various stamps, swivels and slides. Some of these were used alongside orthodox notation symbols to record character dance steps – for example in the wellknown Harlequin entrées, or in various French peasant dances which survive – and provide at least some clue to what they might have looked like when performed.

We have very little idea of precisely what steps or choreographic forms were used for purely grotesque dances on the English stage – in Purcell's semi-operas, for example, or in the magical effects scenes of later pantomime. We have slightly more idea of what might have been seen in France, from such sources as Favier's choreography of 1688[21], or from some of the Beauchamp-Feuillet notations of comic and character dances mentioned above. But much was probably never written down. As the eighteenth century progressed and more and more pantomimic ballets were seen on stage, in productions which moved further and further away from the conventions and aesthetic of the early eighteenth century, the problem grew. Magri resorted to verbal description for theatrical dance steps, but another solution was found in France by the ballet-master Auguste Ferrère (who also came to London during the 1750s and 1780s–90s), who in 1782 copied out several of his own and his father's stage choreographies in a remarkable manuscript entitled *Partition et Chorographie*[22]. Carol Marsh, who is gradually editing this manuscript and has worked with several early dance specialists on the reconstruction of its dances, describes it as 'cluttered', which is quite an understatement for its extremely untidy and in places near-illegible state. It records the choreographies of eight separate works dating from 1751 onwards and ranging from single dances to complete ballets. Some have storylines, some just create moods and situations. They are described in a combination of modified Beauchamp-Feuillet notation, written stage directions (eg "she smashes the portrait over his head") and notated gestures with head, hands, and assorted props (hat, basket, prisoner's chains, etc.).

One of its ballets, called *Les Boucherons et Les Sabotiers* ("Lumberjacks and Cloggers"), was first performed in Paris in 1751. There is no plot, and the ballet consists of a series of scenes or encounters between woodcutters and village women, an old peasant woman gathering woodchips, and so on. The cast of fourteen included one couple who performed a Grand Pas de Deux consisting of a duet which uses clogging (or at least hard-shoe dance) steps and a lot of rhythmic stamping possibly with down-and-up arm movements reminiscent of morris dancing; followed by a female solo, a male solo, and ending with a short but exuberant duet: one can see here quite clearly the later classical ballet formula of pas de deux, solo, solo, coda (except that here the woman's solo precedes the man's more virtuosic solo; it is the other way round in classical ballet suites).

The ballet contains many unorthodox and eccentric steps, complex beats and turns, mime and gesture. The Beauchamp-Feuillet system was unable to cope with them all, so Ferrère added his own symbols to record what he wanted. Unfortunately it is not always clear what some of his symbols mean – in particular the arm movements are a puzzle, as much of the notation is ambiguous, and a lot of work remains to be done to interpret them. The woman's solo, for example (fig.6), contains symbols which probably mean

(a) wave the hat about above the head (or possibly in front of the body)

(b) transfer (or even throw?) the hat from one hand to the other

(c) turn the head to the left/right

(d) from its context and use here, this could mean either lifting or kicking the leg straight out with the foot flexed, or lifting the leg with a bent knee, or something we haven't even thought of yet.

In connection with example (d) in particular, an important question to be addressed is whether Ferrère's step symbols are consistent in what they represent: unless we are misinterpreting them completely a few of them seem to change their meaning in different parts of the manuscript.

For several of the dances notation is abandoned and Ferrère resorts to verbal directions: even in this solo there are two bars which are merely labelled *contrepas*, the precise meaning of which is far from clear[23].

[The woman's solo from *Les Boucherons et Les Sabotiers* was then demonstrate

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plier les genoux, enfuite les étendre en éle-
vant fur les pointes ; les deuxième & troi-
fiéme mouvemens, ne plier que le coude-
pied, & à chaque fois relever fur les pointes ;
le quatriéme plier les genoux, enfuite les
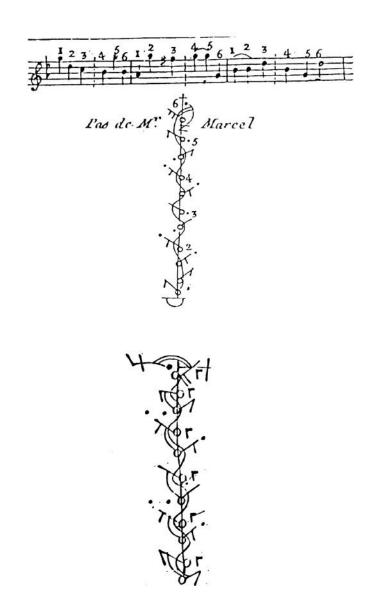étendre le pied droit en l'air : ce pas vaut
une mefure de menuet.

le même , dont le
dernier mouvement
eft fauté.

Pas de Mr. Marcel

Figure 5. *Pas de Marcel* as notated in Magny, Malpied and Malpied's notation of Gardel's
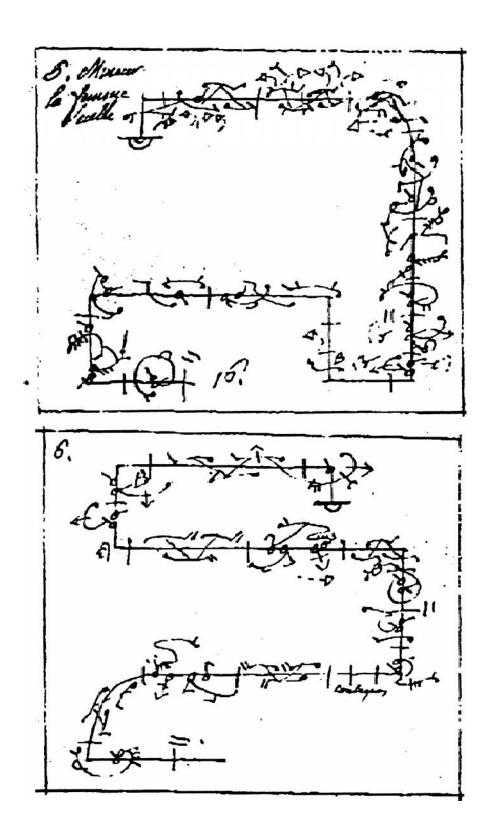*Menuet de la Cour* [see n.20].

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Figure 6. Woman's solo from the Grand Pas de Deux in Auguste Ferrère's *Les Boucherons et les Sabotiers* (1751, notated in 1782). (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra MSS 68).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Beauchamp-Feuillet system, for all its shortcomings, seems to have provided dancing-masters of the early eighteenth century with a fairly wide range of steps and movements to combine and develop into dances for both social and theatrical purposes. Whether the dancing-masters felt constrained in what they could create by having to use (or at least publish in) a particular notation system, or whether the notators themselves distorted what was created in order to record it on paper, are major questions which we may not be able ever to resolve fully, although there are indications that at least some dances were affected by such constraints[24]; and it is also possible that one reason why certain types of dance (for example grotesque dance within opera or pantomime) was rarely written down in the early eighteenth century was that the dancing-masters did not always work within the conventional aesthetic of the day. Otherwise, it may be that it was the passage of time and the development of a different style of dance for stage ballets during the mid-eighteenth century that encouraged changes in the way that some dances were notated – but if Ferrère is at all typical of his generation of choreographers, it is revealing that he still chose to adapt the Beauchamp-Feuillet system rather than create an entirely new system, as St Léon and others were to do a generation later.

NOTES

1. The expression 'presentational dance' is my attempt to move away from the traditional concepts of 'court' and 'theatre' which are proving less and less meaningful for late seventeenth and early eighteenth century France and England, and indeed meant different things to each of those countries at the time. To some extent I find the terms 'la belle dance' and 'la danse noble' similarly misleading, for 'presentational dance' could include all genres of dance – comic as well as serious, social *danses à deux* as well as theatrical *entrées* and entr'acte dances. What they all had in common was the concept of presentation to an audience, by dancers with recognised training and expertise.

2. He later became composer of the King's ballets and dancing-master to the Royal Academy of Music: Regine Kunzle Astier, Pierre Beauchamp, the illustrious unknown choreographer. *Dance Scope*, 1974/5, **9**(1),36.

3. The other systems were by Lorin, Favier and De la Haise : Ken Pierce, Dance notation systems in late 17th-century France. *Early Music*, 1998, **26**(2),287–299. I should also like to record here my grateful thanks to Ken Pierce for sharing with me his insights into dance analysis and notation systems, which have helped influence my own thoughts on the subject.

4. Judith Schwartz & Christena Schlundt, *French court dance and dance music: a guide to primary source writings 1643–1789*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1987, pp 23, 28–31, 53–54, 68–69.

5. Described in Meredith Little & Carol Marsh, *La danse noble: an inventory of dances and sources*. New York: Broude Bros, 1992; and in Francine Lancelot, *La belle dance, catalogue raisonné*. Paris: Van Dieren, 1996.

6. Pierce discusses the problems of knowing precisely what Lorin meant by his named steps and whether Feuillet's names can be applied to Favier's notated steps (see n.3 above); see also Eugenia Kougioumtzoglou Roucher, *Aux origines de la danse classique. Le vocabulaire de la 'Belle Dance' 1661–1701*. PhD diss., Université de Lille III, 1990, on the classification of dance steps.

7. Feuillet, *Recueil de dances contenant...des meillieures entrées de ballet de M^r. Pecour* (Paris, 1704) p.36: facsimile reprint Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972.

8. Bartholomé Ferriol Y Boxeraus, *Reglas utiles para los aficionadas a danzar*. Copoa, 1745, pp 232–241. But see the Kinski manuscript in Oporto for a much more ornamented version of the dance in 1751: Lancelot, *op. cit.*, p.371.

9. Dupré, *Méthode pour apprendre de soi-même la chorégraphie*. Le Mans, 1757, pp 31–34.

10. *Ibid.*, pp 65–70 and four-plate foldout notation.

11. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Rés 817/18.

12. Ken Pierce, Dance vocabulary in the early 18th century as seen through Feuillet's step tables. In: *Proceedings, Society of Dance History Scholars*, New York, 1997, 227–236 and particularly p.231.

13. For example, contretemps with a bound in Feuillet's *Rigaudon de la Paix*, *Entrée a Deux* and *Entrée pour Homme*, all published in 1700; contretemps with a slide in Feuillet's *Entrée d'Apollon*, published 1700; a variant of sissonne with a contretemps in Feuillet's *Canarie a deux*, also published 1700.

14. It is noticeable that Siris only uses these conventions in his own dances; in his translation of Feuillet's treatise (P. Siris, *Art of dancing*. London, 1706) and notations of Pecour's dances he follows Feuillet's conventions strictly.

15. Pierre Rameau, *Abbregé de la Nouvelle Methode*. Paris, 1725.

16. *Mercure de France*, September 1732, quoted in Little & Marsh, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

17. Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Receuil de contredances*. Paris, 1706.

18. Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Recovering the Lullian divertissement. In: *Proceedings of the conference 'Dance to Honour Kings'*, King's College London, 1996, London: Institute of Advanced Musicological Studies, 1998 (forthcoming).

19. Pierre Rameau, *Le maître à danser*. Paris, 1725, part 2; Kellom Tomlinson, *The art of dancing*. London, 1735, part 2 ch.14.

20. Gallini described Marcel as he "who danced the minuet to its utter perfection": Regine Astier, François Marcel and the art of teaching dance in the eighteenth century. In: *Dance Research* 1984, **2** (2), 13. Two of his specialist steps for the minuet were described by Monsieur Jasson as follows [my translation]: "*Les pas de Marcel*. These are named after the dancing-master who invented them. There are two sorts. The first is made in this way: the right foot finds itself in 3rd position in front of the left foot at the end of the first sideways [minuet] step to the right; move [the right foot] smoothly to 2nd position on a slight bend, and push up with the knee well stretched [ie onto a straight leg], weight over the right hip, while the left ankle is raised and the knee stretched. In this position make three bends and rises on the right leg without moving the left but just letting the heel rise and fall in 2nd position. The second and third movements are made faster and without a pause. Transfer to the left foot...and make three movements as before with the right ankle. The second pas de Monsieur

Marcel is made instead of the first [minuet] step to the left: right foot in 3rd position in front of the left foot...bend in 5th position and shade the left shoulder as you rise, weight over the right hip. From here pass the left heel from 3rd position behind to 3rd in front without lifting the ball of the foot from the floor – these movements are all made in the knees and ankle. As soon as the left foot reaches 3rd position in front, and without a pause, it moves smoothly to 2nd position on a bend and two steps follow: one with the right foot [closing] to 5th position behind, the other with the left foot to 2nd position. Continue the second [minuet] step sideways to the left as usual". Jasson goes on to explain when in the minuet these steps might be used, sparingly and never when giving hands to one's partner: Jasson, *Traîté Abregé de la Danse* (Angers, 1763) pp 49–52. The notations of Magny and Malpied indicate yet a third (and perhaps fourth, if one of Malpied's very strange notations is correct) variation on these steps, by combining bends, rises and springs in 5th position, a sequence which was hinted at back in 1725 in Rameau's *Abbregé* (p.57). For the fully developed form see Claude Magny, *Principes de chorégraphie* (Paris, 1765) p.118; Malpied, *Traîté sur l'art de la danse* (2nd ed., Paris, *c*.1785) p.147; and Malpied's notation of Gardel's *Menuet de la Cour* (Paris *c*.1781) plate 4. I am grateful to Ivor and Ann Hutchinson Guest for bringing the *Menuet de la Cour* notation to my attention.

21. Rebecca Harris-Warrick & Carol Marsh, *Musical theatre at the court of Louis XIV: Le mariage de la grosse Cathos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), particularly ch.6.

22. *Partition et chorographie ornée des figures et habillements des balets donnée par Auguste Frederick Joseph Ferrère. A Valenciennes en 1782* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, MSS 68): the opening page is reproduced in Marian Hannah Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet*. London:Pitman, 1974, p.182. I am grateful to Carol Marsh for allowing me to use some of the reconstructions of Ferrère dances which Moira Goff and I made for her, in this paper; we are aware however that there is still much work to be done, and that other dancers may well find different interpretations of the same notations.

23. I have no idea what *contrepas* means in this context: elsewhere in the Ferrère manuscript (in duets where only one dancer's steps are notated in passages of mirror symmetry) it probably means 'partner does the same steps on the other foot'. This particular example from *Les Boucherons et Les Sabotiers* however is a solo: since it is a triple metre dance in 2-bar units and has a sideways *pas de menuet* near the beginning, I interpreted *contrepas* in this instance as variations on three steps across two bars of music (in parody of the use of hemiola found in many French menuets), but I suspect that something much more complicated was intended originally.

24. Pierce, *op. cit.* (see above, n.12), 230. There are also indications in a few of Le Rousseau's notations of L'Abbé's theatre dances that he was having difficulty in recording some steps exactly as he saw or remembered them, and this may have resulted in alterations to the original form.