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ENCYCLOPEDIC DEFINITIONS: TRACING BALLET FROM THE *ENCYCLOPÉDIE* TO THE *GAZZETTA URBANA VENETA*

Olivia Sabee

On April 19, 1794, Antonio Piazza wrote to his readers in the *Gazzetta Urbana Veneta* that, “In adempimento della pubblica nostra promessa, ecco un erudito ed interessante Articolo *sopra il Ballo*.” [In fulfillment of our public promise, here is an erudite and interesting article *On Dancing*.]¹ Piazza was best-known as a playwright and novelist, but also knew much about reforms that were sweeping the European ballet world; in 1776 he had penned the *Discorso all’orecchio di Monsieur Louis Goudar*, a point-by-point response to adventurer and pamphleteer Ange Goudar’s criticisms of the *ballet d’action*, an emerging genre of ballet that melded danced images with narrative drama.² The following year he included a staged “Dialogue on Dancing” in his novel *L’Attrice*, in which he similarly took up points for and against this new form of narrative ballet.³ Between April and July of 1794, Piazza would publish a series of articles on dance excerpted from Charles-Joseph Panckoucke’s *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782–1832), which in turn had been sourced or adapted from legendary ballet master Jean-Georges Noverre’s *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (1760), librettist and historian Louis de Cahusac’s articles for the *Encyclopédie*, Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch*, and the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*. These selections were identified in Piazza’s work as articles from the “grand’Opera dell’Enciclopedia, magazzino universale di tutte le umane cognizioni” [the great work of the Encyclopedia, universal storehouse of all human knowledge].⁴ In fact, however, only the articles by Cahusac had originally been published in Diderot and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie*. As an ensemble, Piazza’s choice of articles came from

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two dictionaries within Panckoucke's ever-expanding *Encyclopédie méthodique: Arts académiques: Équitation, escrime, danse, et art de nager* (1786) and *Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des Chartres, et Chronologie* (vol. 2, 1788). Tracing their path to publication in the *Gazzetta Urbana* demonstrates one way in which the recycling and recombining of texts ultimately transformed the meaning of these pieces as they had originally been intended.

What did it mean, first, to reprint piecemeal and, second, to translate articles from the *Encyclopédie* and the *Encyclopédie méthodique*? Since to write an encyclopedia is already an exercise in borrowing, how did these later projects differ from the production of the *Encyclopédie*? Lucien Nouis argues that by asking their contributors to put the *Encyclopédie* before potential personal works on the same subjects, Diderot and D'Alembert effectively "absorbed" these authors' names into the "textual ensemble" of their project, treating them as artisans tasked with a joint creation rather than authors engaged in independent but shorter individual works.⁵ Moreover, the *Encyclopédie* derived part of its meaning from the relationship between its articles, a relationship that existed in motion based on the choices made by the reader as they navigated the work through its cross-references, explicit and implicit. Wilda Anderson argues that to solidify these cross-references—to create the rigid structure of a dictionary rather than that of an encyclopedia constantly in motion—"excludes the possibility for the reader to make analogies that would allow him to see the world differently, to displace questions, to judge the world of knowledge from the point of view of the external world."⁶ In pre-ordering knowledge within a dictionary format, she argues, the editors eliminated the possibility for the active reader to create new connections and ideas by mixing articles. Yet Piazza, through his knowledge of the *ballet d'action*, read the *Méthodique* like the *Encyclopédie*, creating connections between different dictionaries.

Through its compartmentalization of individual fields of knowledge, the *Méthodique* had limited the possibilities inherent in the *Encyclopédie* to define ballet simultaneously as literary object, court ritual, performing art, and site of confluence for contemporary preoccupations with the voice and the body. Although the *Arts académiques* dictionary married ballet's poetic construction with its mechanical elements in a way that clearly foreshadowed its modern definition, inextricably dependent on academic dance (what we today in English call ballet technique), the work simultaneously concealed the intricacies of ballet's relationship with French Enlightenment thought. Through reconfiguring gathered texts, Panckoucke's editors transformed their meaning, prescribing disciplinary points of entry for articles that had been written without such entry-points in mind. This approach suits the study of nineteenth-century ballet, but restricts our understanding of the nascent narrative ballet, which, over the period in which the *Encyclopédie* was written, was continuously and actively defining and redefining itself. Finally, the positioning of these French Enlightenment dance texts in Venice requires an examination of the debates around the merits of French and Italian ballet: proponents of the French style claimed Italian virtuosity to be vulgar, while advocates of the athletic or "grotesque" style that permeated Italian ballet generally maintained that French dancing did not resemble dancing at all due to its lack of jumping and slower, sustained qualities.⁷ Grotesque dance, based on a wide range of dance vocabulary, was strongly rooted in the French tradition (and used Italianized French terminology)

but also included jumps of “great height” and other movements on a “grand scale.”⁸ Grottesque dance might be used to represent comic and pastoral themes, but, even beyond these genres, “the grottesco’s technique underlay all of Italian-style ballet.”⁹

Ever since Marie Sallé’s wigless and uncorseted pantomime rendition of Ovid’s *Pygmalion* in 1734, ballet masters had endeavored to create a narrative dance form modeled on performances by ancient Greek and Roman mimes. The most prominent among these reformers was Jean-Georges Noverre, his fame in no small part due to his sizeable literary output, which included five different French editions of his *Letters on Dancing and Ballets* between 1760 and 1807, as well as one German one. Yet Noverre was a polemical figure in part because he claimed to have invented the genre that would come to be known as the *ballet d’action*, or action ballet, and this heated his argument with Italian ballet master Gasparo Angiolini, who insisted the true founder of the genre to have been Angiolini’s own teacher Franz Hilverding. In reality, action ballet proliferated beyond the court theaters in which Noverre and Angiolini worked and across Europe as a whole, with regional preferences shaping distinct styles within a particular geographic area, but still with the same aim of staging a narrative with only dance and gesture.¹⁰ All the same, during the 1770s, a polemic between Noverre and Angiolini had brought the poetic intricacies of the new narrative ballet to the fore, with each ballet master and his proponents claiming their form to be superior. In this context, Piazza’s reprinted articles, I will argue, provide an enduring record of one attempt at ballet’s definition, particularly Venetian in its claim for narrative ballet’s Italian origin and invention alongside the assertion that its French iteration was a superior form.

ENLIGHTENMENT DANCE REFORMS AND LITERARY CULTURE

In order to understand the significance of both the reconfiguration and compartmentalization of the ballet and dance articles in the *Méthodique* and Piazza’s subsequent reassembly and reprinting of these same articles, it is helpful to examine the relationship between dance reforms and literary culture during this particular moment in the history of aesthetics. In the late eighteenth century, reformers constantly endeavored to define and redefine ballet, much as the term existed in constant movement within the *Encyclopédie*. The Enlightenment ballet reform project, what scholars today widely refer to as the *ballet d’action*, centered around the restructuring of ballet as a narrative art form that used pantomime to tell a story visually.¹¹ Looking to the Ancients, Louis de Cahusac, Jean-Georges Noverre, and other reformers sought to create a spectacle more expressive, because grounded in the physical language of the body, than the text-based theater.¹² Although these ideas came to the fore in the mid eighteenth century, the goal of creating a narrative, painterly style of dance grounded in mimesis was not new, and the success of Noverre’s letters can be credited to widely accepted ideas about “the function of art, the effectiveness of gesture, and especially the need for dance to speak.”¹³ Seventeenth-century ballet theorists Nicolas Saint-Hubert, Michel de Pure, and the Père Ménestrier had been concerned with representation and mimesis, and they described dance’s power to portray subject matter that would in turn allow dance to be accepted as a major art form, rather than “a merely skillful and virtuosic play of movement lacking any significance.”¹⁴ The idea of conveying representa-

tive information through a continuous narrative line came to the fore during the next century.¹⁵ Through this elevation of ballet to narrative, rather than simply representative, art, reformers aspired to differentiate it from athleticism, virtuosity, and comedic mime, and to claim its place within the Republic of Letters.¹⁶

With these goals in mind, Cahusac's articles for the *Encyclopédie* combined a history of ballet with a call for its reform, framing antiquity as the center of both expressive dance's past achievements and the basis for its contemporary experiments. Employing a model centered around the fusion of dance with dramatic action, Cahusac theorized ballet in terms of gesture's communicative power; overall, his writings concerned themselves not with dance technique, but rather with a systemization of poetic rules for ballet as a dramatic construct. Like Diderot's *drame bourgeois* (which Noverre praised highly in his *Lettres*)¹⁷ in which expressive pantomime alternated with narrative, conveyed through dialogue, the *ballet d'action* could be considered another mid-point on the continuum between purely emotive dance and declaimed theater.¹⁸ Similar to pantomime at the heart of the *drame bourgeois*, ballet interested Enlightenment *hommes de lettres* because of its place in debates about the early development of language.¹⁹ Yet while Diderot used the dramatic text as a vehicle to reach back toward the language of the body, exchanging declamation-based theatrical performances with dramatic pantomime, ballet reformers, seeking legitimization, took the reverse even further. Although they told stories using the body, they sought to recreate a textual poetics, adapting an Aristotelian model in order to make it applicable to non-linguistic storytelling and simultaneously (in the case of Noverre) relying on printed programs to convey meaning to audience members.²⁰ While Noverre's *Lettres sur la danse* have become the emblematic text describing these reforms, Cahusac's ballet-related articles for the *Encyclopédie* arguably paint a more global picture of ballet as Enlightenment project through their location embedded within a web of other articles related to poetics, language, and antiquity.

Cahusac's article "Ballet," published in the second volume of the *Encyclopédie* in 1752, constitutes a central element within a constellation of articles that address ballet and dance in relation to other art forms. The article cross-references many articles a reader might typically expect to be associated with ballet: "danse," "opéra," "entrée," and "quadrille," but also "pantomime," one of the tenets of the new dramatic form of ballet based in narrative, and points the reader toward articles on antiquity, communication, poetry, and artistic creation more generally. In the subversive tradition of the *Encyclopédie*, although the ideas Cahusac describes in this article correspond to the *ballet d'action*, these ideas did not conform to the more traditional definition of ballet given at the time. Tellingly, although Cahusac engages in substantial borrowing from past dance treatises, one of the most critical places where he diverges from these earlier texts is in his list of ballet's essential elements, where he completes Ménestrier's list and designates poetry as ballet's fifth and final element.²¹

To fully grasp the relationship between Cahusac's article "Ballet" and poetry, however, the reader was obliged to follow the article's *renvois*, or cross-references, which related Cahusac's project to other contemporary theatrical reforms. D'Alembert explains in the "Discours préliminaire," as does Diderot in the article "Encyclopédie," that the cross-references are not principally meant to link

one article to another in an effort to define one subject using another, but rather to show “la liaison des matieres.”²² These cross-references can be divided into three types: first, those explicitly given in the text (i.e. “Voir GESTE”); second, those that might be inferred given an author’s name or the title of a work; and third, the *renvois de génie*, not explicitly marked in the text but which an enlightened reader should be able to identify for himself.²³ In the article “Ballet,” Cahusac uses each level of the *renvoi* system to embed a description of the multifaceted project of the *ballet d’action* within the *Encyclopédie*, profiting from the ways in which cross-references allow the reader to discover surprising connections as they seek to define a particular object (see fig. 1). Just the explicit cross-references for the article “Ballet” refer to articles in classes of knowledge ranging from “Art” and “Histoire” to “Belles-Lettres” and “Poésie.”²⁴

In the context of the *ballet d’action*, the interconnectedness of these knowledge classes at first seems self-explanatory: ballet was linked closely to literature through dramatic poetry. Yet upon consulting the tree of knowledge that opens the *Encyclopédie*, and which provides broad categories for understanding the world, the reader discovers that these knowledge classes in fact come from each of the three distinct orders of memory, reason, and imagination.²⁵ That the *ballet d’action* was so deeply woven into this hybrid environment serves to underscore its importance within the greater scope of Enlightenment thought and emphasizes the *ballet d’action* as a point of confluence for the debates on bodily expression and theatrical reforms discussed above. Furthermore, the linking of poetics and dance in the *Encyclopédie* allows the modern reader to better understand how reformers envisaged early attempts at *ballet d’action*, especially the key role played by narrative and the genre’s ties to the literary arts.

At the same time, the *renvois* from the article “Ballet” also might also lead the reader to two articles that characterize nineteenth-century ballet, “Danse” and “Chœurs, les chœurs de danse,” or into the past, to “Comédie-ballet,” had the article ever been written. This multiplicity of definitions, entirely dependent on the reader, is what Anderson is suggesting when she explains that, if navigated by Diderot’s ideal reader, the encyclopedia both allows for the creation of new knowledge and serves as a repository of cultural memory.²⁶ The *ballet d’action*, fittingly, was not the only type of balletic performance described in the *Encyclopédie*, as the compendium’s definitions extended both back to the historical past and into the future, where it may well have laid the framework for types of ballet we do not recognize because they were never created. One definition the modern reader will recognize, however, is the one given in the *Arts académiques* dictionary of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, precisely because this is the very definition of the Romantic ballet, in which dance and narrative are equal partners.

BALLET AND DANCE IN THE *ENCYCLOPÉDIE MÉTHODIQUE*

Charles-Joseph Panckoucke endeavored to improve on Diderot and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* by adding texts on other subjects, but primarily by changing its epistemological structure.²⁷ The *Encyclopédie*, following in the footsteps of Ephraim Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia*, had conceived of “knowledge as

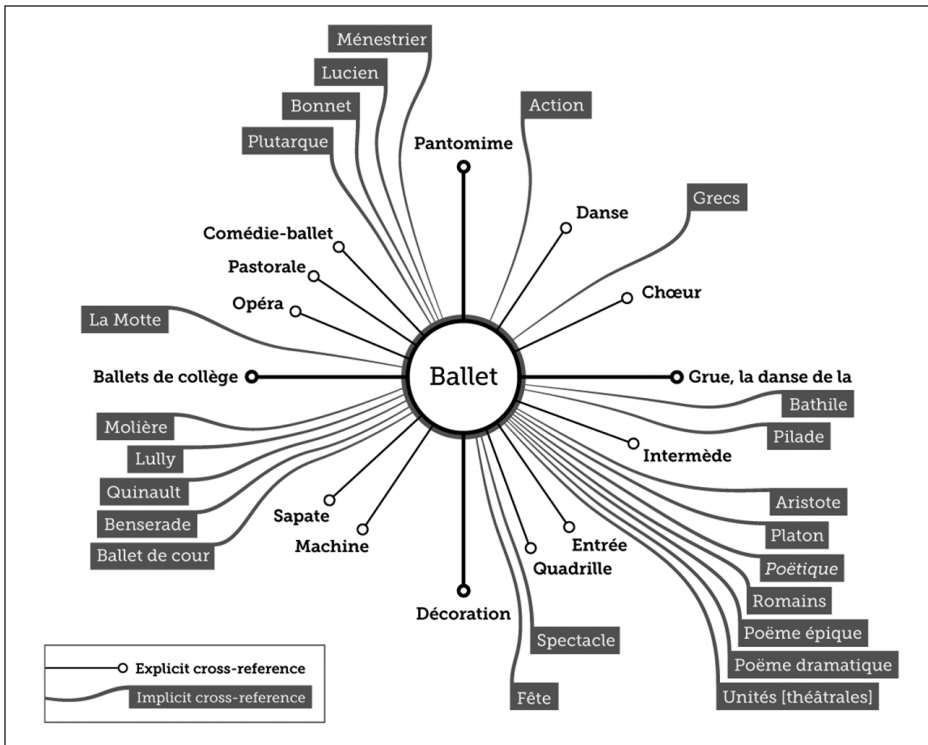


Figure 1. Cross References for the Article “Ballet” in the *Encyclopédie*. Design by Sasha Fornari.

an integrated whole.”²⁸ Under the new format of the *Méthodique*, Panckoucke’s editors divided their material into volumes that represented the major branches of the tree of human knowledge. Instead of arranging articles alphabetically and allowing the reader to choose how to navigate through the volumes using cross-references, the *Méthodique* categorized volumes by subject, from *agriculture* to *théologie*, defining the relationships between various bodies of knowledge and placing them into pre-existing categories. Forced to choose where to situate ballet within these categories, and in a striking departure from the web-like definition of ballet as art of imitation given by the *Encyclopédie*, the *Méthodique* identified ballet as inextricably tied, first and foremost, to dance, rather than to poetics. Yet, Panckoucke’s editors, it seems, were obliged to make difficult choices, the dispersal of ballet- and dance-related articles across five different volumes of the *Méthodique* a testament to the interdisciplinary nature of the subject material at hand.²⁹ These articles appeared in the volumes *Arts académiques. Équitation, escrime, danse, et art de nager* (1786), *Grammaire et littérature* (vol. 3, 1786), *Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des Chartres, et Chronologie* (vol. 2, 1788), *Encyclopédiana* (1791), and *Musique* (vol. 1, 1791), with the two most extensive collections of articles appearing in *Arts académiques* and *Musique*.

In *Musique*, four separate articles all entitled “Ballet” defined the genre through a comparative approach that differentiated ballet, opera-ballet, and ballet-pantomime from one another.³⁰ In some ways, actually, the articles appearing under

the rubric of *Musique*, published after the Revolution, dovetailed more closely with the Enlightenment concept of ballet as danced narrative than those published in 1786 in the dictionary *Arts académiques*. In the *Arts académiques* dictionary, the editors placed “ballet” under the sub-heading “danse,” thus choosing to emphasize ballet’s corporeal elements and the idea of physical mastery—like that displayed in fencing, horsemanship, and swimming—rather than its roots in theatrical culture. Updated versions of Cahusac’s core ballet-related *Encyclopédie* articles (from *La danse ancienne et moderne, ou traité historique de la danse* [1754]) appeared here alongside excerpts from Noverre’s *Lettres sur la danse* and dancing master Pierre Rameau’s *Le Maître à danser* (1725), plus Encyclopedist Louis-Jacques Goussier’s article “Chorégraphie.”³¹ In this manner, the editors created a single definition of ballet (although one that was both more narrow and more modern than the *Encyclopédie*’s definitions, via its strong emphasis on classical dance technique) that did not require readers to cross-reference other articles across the encyclopedia.

The article “Ballet” in the *Arts académiques* dictionary was composed of much of the first three books of the second volume of Cahusac’s treatise *La danse ancienne et moderne*, in which the author lays out a history of ballet in western Europe.³² From here, the article segues into Noverre’s letters, reprinting the first eight, plus letters XIV and XV (summaries of libretti) with the addition of subheadings that create stylistic unity throughout the article.³³ Although both theorists are mentioned in the “Avertissement,” Cahusac’s name is not cited in reference to this particular article. Noverre’s, however, is noted in the subheading “Description de quelques ballets de M. Noverre faite par lui-même” [Description of several of his ballets by M. Noverre himself].³⁴ Additionally, the editors’ insertion of subheadings to replace the numbering for Noverre’s letters gives the illusion of continuous authorship of the entire article.

Cahusac’s original *renvois* for the article “Ballet” were scattered throughout the *Méthodique*, appearing in over ten different dictionaries (see fig. 2).³⁵ Many of the most relevant articles were placed within the dictionary *Grammaire et Littérature*, but others were categorized under subjects as seemingly far-flung as *Logique, Métaphysique, et Morale*. Other articles did not appear at all. Finally, newly added articles treating areas adjacent to Cahusac’s original subjects were buried within the article “Courante,” which spanned nineteen pages and included Cahusac and Rousseau’s article “Courante, (Musiq. & Danse),” the entire fourth book of *La danse ancienne et moderne*, which expanded on Cahusac’s articles for the *Encyclopédie*, and Noverre’s letters X, XI, and XII.³⁶ “Courante, (Musiq. & Danse)” opens with a description of the courante, a dance which had historically been used to begin a ball, and explains that emphasizing both the recent replacement of the courante with the minuet and the fact that the courante gives the dancer the physical facility to perform other dances even if the courante itself is no longer in style (CAA, 397). Cahusac’s single-authored segment begins abruptly after the inserted subheading “Suite de pas & de sauts faits en cadence” with the unrelated opening “Touts [sic] les arts en général ont pour objet l’imitation de la nature” (CAA, 397). The segment that follows provides a brief and surprising overview of the *ballet d’action*—if only the reader knew to locate it within this seemingly unrelated article. Finally, Noverre’s letters detail the qualities necessary in a dancer, ranging from expressivity to properly proportioned legs (CAA, 408).

Cross-reference	Volume of the <i>Méthodique</i>
Action	<i>Beaux Arts</i> (vol. 1), <i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 1)
Aristote	<i>Médecine</i> (vol. 3), <i>Philosophie ancienne et moderne</i> (vol. 1, “Aristotélisme”), <i>Physique</i> (vol. 1)
Ballet de cour	
Ballets de collège	
Bathile	<i>Histoire</i> (vol. 2)
Benserade	<i>Encyclopédiana</i>
Bonnet	
Chœur	<i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 1), <i>Théologie</i> (vol. 1)
Comédie-ballet	<i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 1)
Danse	<i>Arts Académiques</i> *
Décoration	
Entrée	<i>Musique</i> (vol. 2)
Fête	<i>Histoire</i> (vol. 2), <i>Théologie</i> (vol. 2)
Grecs	<i>Antiquités</i> (vol. 3)
Grue, danse de la	<i>Antiquités</i> (vol. 3)
Intermède	<i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 2), <i>Musique</i> (vol. 1)
La Motte	<i>Encyclopédiana</i>
Lucien	<i>Histoire</i> (vol. 3)
Lully	<i>Encyclopédiana</i>
Machine	<i>Architecture</i> (vol. 2)
Ménéstrier	
Molière	<i>Encyclopédiana</i> , <i>Histoire</i> (vol. 3)
Opéra	<i>Musique</i> (vol. 2)
Pantomime	<i>Antiquités</i> (vol. 4), <i>Beaux Arts</i> (vol. 1), <i>Encyclopédiana</i> (“Pantomimes”), <i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 2)
Pastorale	<i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 3), <i>Musique</i> (vol. 1)
Pilade	<i>Antiquités</i> (vol. 5)†
Platon	<i>Histoire</i> (vol. 4), <i>Philosophie ancienne et moderne</i> (vol.3; “Platonisme”)
Plutarque	<i>Encyclopédiana</i>
Poème dramatique	<i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 3)
Poème épique	<i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 3)
Poétique	
Quadrille	<i>Histoire</i> (vol. 4)
Quinault	<i>Encyclopédiana</i> , <i>Histoire</i> (vol. 4)
Romains	<i>Géographie ancienne</i> (vol. 2), <i>Histoire</i> (vol. 4; “Romain Empire”), <i>Physique</i> (vol. 4)
Sapate	
Spectacle	<i>Logique, Métaphysique, et Morale</i> (vol. 4)
Unités [théâtrales]	<i>Grammaire et Littérature</i> (vol. 3)

* No article “Danse” appears within the *Arts académiques* dictionary

† Does not refer to Pylades the dancer-mime.

Figure 2. Cross References from the Article “Ballet” in the *Encyclopédie* and analogous articles in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*.

These nested articles, had they been divided, would actually have provided some of the necessary *renvois* for the article “Ballet,” but the volume’s editors neither separated them, nor adapted their lengthy titles to the dictionary format. This article’s lack of thematic coherence is difficult to reconcile with the rest of the “Danse” portion of the *Arts académiques* dictionary. As a whole, however, this volume of the *Méthodique*, published in 1786, painted a forward-looking fixed image of ballet at the turn of the nineteenth century. By dismantling the web-like cross-reference structure that had surrounded the article “Ballet” in the *Encyclopédie*

and tightening ties between ballet and athleticism, the editors created a definition of ballet that lacked the interdisciplinarity, cultural memory, and multiplicity of vision that had characterized its definition in the *Encyclopédie*.

For these reasons, the picture of ballet the *Arts académiques* dictionary painted looks relatively modern. To combine a strong emphasis on dance technique and training, the purview of the Académie royale de danse, with poetics and aesthetics represented a major paradigm shift in the culture of ballet and dance. In other words, in this definition, ballet's ties with narrative, via poetry, were taken for granted. Having already made the case for ballet as a high art form anchored in the traditions of drama and painting, ballet masters turned more fully to its unique possibilities for narrative expression through the body, theorizing dance on its own terms and relying less on other already accepted forms of imitative art. This emphasis on the specific qualities of dance as an art form dovetail with Noverre's later writings, which in turn heralded changing trends such as the integration of the consideration of narrative with further interest in anatomy, the particularities of dance technique, and the corps de ballet.³⁷ Indeed, at the turn of the nineteenth century, ballet masters sought to tie dance more tightly to action (rather than allowing dance and action to alternate in the operatic style of recitative and aria) through the creation of ballets in which dance took a natural part.³⁸ Pierre Gardel, for example, who returned to his position as ballet master at the Opéra de Paris after the Revolution, "was often praised for the clarity with which the action [in his ballets] developed, and the relevance of the dancing to it."³⁹ In its organization, then, this volume of the *Méthodique* reflects impending changes in the way ballet would be defined and understood.

In addition to multi-authored articles that melded theoretical ideas with more practical ones, the dictionary's structure too blended theory with practice. Alongside Noverre and Cahusac's writing on dance's poetics, readers could find technically-minded articles on dance steps from "balancé" (a swinging step counted in three) to "tombé" (a step that moves from one leg to the other, rising on the first leg to sink onto the second) to "gargouillade" (a jump in which each leg circles in the air before landing and often used in Enlightenment texts as a symbol of virtuosity). Finally, this volume of the *Méthodique* does not include a definition for "Danse" at all. Presumably, this is unnecessary, for the volume's section "Danse" as a whole ought to provide one. Yet this requires an assumption not made by Diderot and D'Alembert: that ballet is a form contained within the rubric "Danse." This assumption fundamentally changes the way a reader might interpret the definitions given therein. The production of the *Méthodique* required that its editors make decisions regarding which disciplinary dictionary each subject best fit within. Ballet was not a large enough category to warrant a subfield within a dictionary; dance and music both were. Yet the fact that the original ballet-related articles—ranging in subject from Ancient Greek dances to dramatic poetry to gesture—were subsequently dispersed so far and wide throughout the *Méthodique* is a key to ballet's symbolic importance in the *Encyclopédie* and in Enlightenment thought more generally, where ballet served as a focal point within wide-ranging and prominent debates about language, expression, and the body.

THE *ENCYCLOPÉDIE* IN VENICE

The *Encyclopédie méthodique* occupies an interesting place in the history of Venice and the Veneto. Literary scholar Clorinda Donato and historian Paolo Preto have documented the editorial history of the *Encyclopédie méthodique de Padoue*, which was published in French by the Seminary of Padua from 1784 to 1817 and dedicated to republic of Venice.⁴⁰ Giovanni Coi, the Seminary's rector, made the decision to publish the edition in French, simultaneously producing a French language dictionary and a grammar book.⁴¹ As Donato has shown, certain articles, including the geographical article "Italie," were revised for publication in the Padua edition of the *Méthodique*. The dance section of the *Arts académiques* dictionary, on the other hand, was subject to no revisions of consequence. Neither—returning to the Italian translation of Noverre's *Lettres sur la danse* that opened this essay—were the selections chosen for publication in Antonio Piazza's *Gazzetta Urbana Veneta*.

The choice to present these articles in translation is consequential. Although Coi had elected to publish the Padua edition of the *Méthodique* in French, his decision was fervently debated prior to publication. Meanwhile, a group of his compilers simultaneously set to work on a four volume Italian translation of the geography articles, published in 1797 under the title *Dizionario di geografia moderna composto per l'Enciclopedia metodica*.⁴² Although no such attempt seems to have been made for the *Arts académiques*, an earlier Venetian compilation and translation of the *Encyclopédie*, Francesco Grisellini's *Dizionario delle arti e de' mestieri* had already made some of these articles available to non-Francophone Venetian readers. The second volume of the work, published in 1768, contained translated and edited portions of Cahusac's articles "Ballet," "Danse," "Danse sacrée," and "Danse théâtrale," Goussier's article "Chorégraphie," and Jaucourt's article "Danseurs de corde," as well as copies of the plates that depicted *chorégraphie*, or dance notation.⁴³ As Preto notes, however, the publication of the *Méthodique* represented only a small part of the *Encyclopédie*'s pervasive presence in Venetian culture during this period.⁴⁴ Yet, he specifies, those Venetian readers for whom the cost of an *Encyclopédie* would have been out of reach were still able to read articles published in periodicals and anthologies.⁴⁵ The act of translation, when it occurred, also rendered these articles accessible to readers beyond "Europe's Francophone elites."⁴⁶

Piazza's *Gazzetta Urbana Veneta* was one publication in which *Encyclopédie* articles in Italian translation proliferated. Piazza, a literary man with a multi-faceted career encompassing journalism, playwriting, and fiction, had taken over the *Gazzetta* from Pietro Chiari in 1787 and would remain at its helm until 1798. Chiari, who like Piazza had enjoyed a career mixing journalism and novelistic writing, relied on the news as fodder for his fiction, thus intertwining these two aspects of his literary output. In Venice, Ann Hallamore Caesar explains, "the behind-the-scenes world of theatre itself, already exposed through journalism, was then recycled to become the stuff of fiction."⁴⁷ Both Chiari and Piazza, she continues, depicted the theatrical world in their novels, featuring plays, opera, and dance among their subjects; they likewise relied on gossip and "thinly-concealed references" to sell more books.⁴⁸ During Piazza's time as editor of the *Gazzetta*, theater

news and theatrical concerns—ranging from gossip and hearsay to the aesthetic writings reprinted from the *Encyclopédie méthodique*—represented a substantial portion of the subject matter covered by the paper. But, while the theatrical world was prominent (and the articles under discussion here appeared on the *Gazzetta*'s front page), it was by no means the paper's only subject. Piazza wrote about the weather and provided news from other Italian cities. He also printed encyclopedia articles treating a wide variety of subjects, sometimes individually, other times as part of a series. It was in this context that the dance articles from the *Encyclopédie méthodique* appeared, linking the theatrical subject matter that formed the core of the *Gazzetta*'s identity with wider Venetian publishing trends.

Piazza identified these dance articles as excerpts from the *Encyclopédie*, and did not specify that they were drawn from the *Méthodique*. Like Grisellini, he situated his selections—specifically, their Frenchness—for his readers, inserting an editorial note after his printing of Noverre's Fourth Letter:

Si avverte che questi articoli son presi dal trattato di M. Rameau, da quello di M. de Cahusac, e dalle Lettere di M. Noverre, ed è questo che parla ne' pezzi ove accennasi per autore un professore di Balli. S'intenderà ch'egli ha in mira la correzione ed il miglioramento dell'arte sua nella Francia, e che parla degli abusi introdottisi in essa nel suo paese. Che direbbe poi l'Italia se al confronto inalzasse un lamento sull'oggetto medesimo di Noverre? Tutto è relativo. Nello stesso tempo che questo gran Professore di Ballo così scriveva, da noi s'ammirava il gusto, la precisione, l'eleganza, l'espressione della danza francese, e si biasimava al paragone la nostra. Questo vuol dire che se quella era lontana dalla perfezione, la nostra era lontanissima. Per altro è da riflettere che i Balli tragici erano introdotti in Italia quando Noverre proponevali in Francia, ma se ne vide mai uno, che per l'invenzione e per l'esecuzione fosse tale quale lo voleva un sì riputato Maestro? I più belli di tal genere furono quelli ch'egli stesso aveva composti, e che vedere ci fece il rinomato scolare M. Picq.

[We caution that these articles are taken from M. Rameau's treatise, from that of M. de Cahusac, and the Letters of M. Noverre, and it is the latter who is speaking in the parts which appear to have been written by a dancing master. It is clear that Noverre has targeted the correction and improvement of his art in France, and that he speaks of the abuses introduced into it in his country. What would Italy say if the comparison was raised on the same subject as Noverre but from the Italian point of view? Everything is relative. At the same time that this great Professor of Dance was writing thus, at home we admired the taste, accuracy, elegance, and expression of French dance, and ours was faulted by comparison. That means that if French dance was far from perfect, our own was yet further away. On the other hand, it is worth reflection that tragic ballets were introduced in Italy when Noverre was proposing them in France, but I've never seen one that was what the reputed master wanted in its invention and execution. The most beautiful of this type were those Noverre himself composed, and those of his famous pupil M. Picq.]⁴⁹

Piazza refers here to the longstanding debate about whether French or Italian ballet is superior, disclosing his own perspective, which is particularly Venetian in its concession to both sides of the debate: Noverre, he indicates, did not create tragic

ballet to predate Italian tragic ballet. Noverre's creations, however, are superior to those of Italian invention.⁵⁰ Yet, despite this viewpoint, Piazza emphasizes the role of the Ancients, downplayed by Noverre in the *Lettres*, and thus dance's Italian origins, through his selection of Cahusac's articles on dances of Antiquity.⁵¹ At the same time, Piazza's compilation included some of Noverre's less conciliatory remarks about Italian athletic dancing. Musing on the lack of narrative ballets (presumably in France), he complains, "per un tristo effetto della consuetudine o dell'ignoranza, vi son pochi balli ragionati; si balla per ballare; si pensa che il tutto consista nell'azione delle gambe, ne'gran salti." [whether owing to an unfortunate custom, or from ignorance, there are few rational ballets; dancing is introduced for the mere sake of dancing; and it would seem that everything consisted in the movement of the legs, in high jumps.]⁵² Noverre does not directly mention Italian dance in any of the selections printed by Piazza, but anti-Italian undertones would have been perceptible to readers via his remarks about virtuosity.⁵³

At the same time, presenting Noverre's early writings within a collection of work on dance in general, rather than on ballet in particular, altered their meaning. By printing the letters following Cahusac and Winkelmann's writing on dances of antiquity, Piazza broadened their context to emphasize *ballet d'action's* roots in the dances and pantomimes of the Ancients. He also lessened the emphasis on ballet as a theatrical genre by choosing to include articles on a range of dances with a variety of purposes (e.g. "Balli dell' Imeneo"/"Danse de l'Hymen," "Danza Nuziale"/"Danse nuptiale," "Danza dell'Archimio ne' funerali de' Romani"/"Danse de l'Archimime"). In this manner, Piazza melded the theatrical and even discursive values behind ballet with the corporeal side of dance via the practices of the Ancients rather than doing so via academic dance, as Panckoucke's editors had done in the *Arts académiques*.

On this latter point, it is difficult to know whether Piazza expressly omitted articles related to academic dance or if this omission was simply happenstance. Although Piazza remarks that Noverre authored those articles that seem to have been written by a ballet master, he does not print any of Cahusac or Rameau's articles from the *Méthodique*, despite having noted these authors' names. It seems therefore that he is either only speculating about Noverre's authorship or that this series of articles was cut short before its completion. From this perspective, it is unlikely that he purposefully made the choice to include only Noverre's articles from the *Arts académiques*, especially given his level of knowledge about ballet in the Noverrian style. Yet even by printing the articles side by side with Cahusac's articles on the dances of antiquity, Piazza made the choice to diminish the emphasis on a French pantomime-focused view of ballet.

THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF BORROWINGS AND COMPILATIONS

What did it mean to excerpt and rearrange articles from the *Encyclopédie*? How was this act different from extracting articles from the *Méthodique*? The *Encyclopédie* was already a compilation and enlargement of an existing text, even if it vastly exceeded the scope of Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*.⁵⁴ The *Méthodique* similarly dwarfed the *Encyclopédie*, growing "to such colossal proportions that it made its

gigantic predecessors look small.”⁵⁵ Yet the practice of borrowing—if not copying the idea of the work entirely—was so pervasive that any examination of encyclopedic compilation should be considered within the general context of Enlightenment borrowings. As Anne Sechin argues regarding Diderot’s novel *Jacques le fataliste*,

the attitude pervasive of this novel promotes borrowing from what is perceived as an almost universal public domain and where texts, discourses, and stories are intended to be circulated, transformed, and retold. The constantly shifting meaning of a text is brought to the fore along with the various changes it must undergo through its successive interpretations.⁵⁶

The transformation of the ballet and dance articles from the *Encyclopédie* to the *Méthodique* is a scenario similar to the one Sechin describes above. Like the case of *Jacques le fataliste*, Panckoucke’s compartmentalization of ballet under the subject heading “Danse” transformed the earlier texts it contained by placing them into a new context. Their new configuration effectively dismantled the cross-reference structure that had previously demonstrated Enlightenment ballet’s interdisciplinary scope.

Putting this transformation into context, the disciplinary compartmentalization of dance within the *Arts académiques* volume of the *Méthodique* mirrored the transformation in how ballet and dance were conceived by their creators during this period. As I mention above, late Enlightenment dance texts including Noverre’s *Lettres sur les arts imitateurs en général, et sur la danse en particulier* (1807), reveal a growing preoccupation with ballet’s “mechanical” elements, in contrast to earlier work that focused on ballet’s poetics.⁵⁷ Yet the appearance of dance-related materials in five different subject volumes tells a second story. Despite dance no longer needing to rely on other disciplines to prove its legitimacy, it remained firmly embedded within other domains, especially, to select the most obvious example, opera. Therefore, despite the existence of a segment of a volume devoted to dance itself, dance necessarily appeared throughout the *Méthodique*.

Piazza’s project, on the other hand, endeavored to solidify another, earlier definition of dance. By linking dance practices of the Ancients to ballet-pantomime, Piazza presented himself as a partisan of the early Noverrian style of action ballet as elaborated in the first edition of Noverre’s *Lettres*. By selecting this specific group of articles, Piazza reestablished *ballet d’action*’s ties to antiquity, which had been deemphasized in the *Arts académiques* dictionary. Through these choices he solidified one of the possible definitions of ballet given by Diderot and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* while simultaneously making a claim for ballet’s Italian origins.

NOTES

1. *Gazzetta Urbana Veneta*, 19 April 1794, 249.

2. According to Edward Nye, “Piazza confuses Ange with his grammarian younger brother, Louis, whose *Grammatica Francese* was widely used in Italy.” See Edward Nye, *Mime, Music, and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: the Ballet d’Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011), 98–99n.

3. See Antonio Piazza, *L’Attrice [Il teatro, ovvero fatti di una veneziana che lo fanno conoscere]*, ed. Roberta Turchi (Naples: Archivio del Romanzo, Guida Editore, 1984), 190–94.

4. *Gazzetta Urbana Veneta*, 19 April 1794, 249. The entry “Rope-Dancer, Schoenobates,” in Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia* was a literal translation of “Danseur de corde” in the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*,

the article from which “Ballerini da corda” was translated. See “Rope-Dancer, Schoenobates,” in *Cyclopaedia, or, An universal dictionary of arts and sciences*, 2 vols., ed. Ephraim Chambers (London: Printed for J. and J. Knapton, 1728), 1:163–64 and “Danseur de corde,” *Dictionnaire universel françois et latin . . .*, 5 vols. (Paris, Trévoux: n.p., 1721), 2:497.

5. Lucien Nouis, “The *Encyclopédie* et le Nom d’Auteur,” *Romanic Review* 103, nos. 3/4 (2012), 335.

6. Wilda Anderson, “Encyclopedic Topologies,” *Modern Language Notes* 101, no. 4 (1986), 924. On encyclopedic order and description, see also “Diderot’s Word Machine,” in Joanna Stalnaker, *The Unfinished Enlightenment: Description in the Age of the Encyclopedia* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2010), 99–123.

7. On the perceptions of French action ballet in Naples, see Ferdinando Galiani, *Lettere de l’abbé Galiani à Madame d’Epinay*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charpentier, 1882) (24 July 1773), 2:73; [Ange Goudar], *OEuvres mêlées de Madame Sara Goudar, Anglaise. Tome Second. Remarques Sur la Musique Italienne & sur la Danse, à Milord Pembroke* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1777), 85; and Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: T. Becket and Co. Strand, 1773), 83, 354.

8. Gennaro Magri, *Theoretical and practical treatise on dancing*, trans. Mary Skeaping with Irmgard Berry (London: Dance Books, 1988), 165, 76.

9. Rebecca Harris-Warrick, “Introduction,” in *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth Century Stage: Gennaro Magri and His World*, ed. Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Bruce Alan Brown (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 9.

10. See Marian Hannah Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet* (London, Pitman House: 1974; New York, Dance Horizons, 1975), 83, 138–49, 170–80 and Ellen Lockhart, *Animation, Plasticity, and Music in Italy, 1770–1830* (Oakland: Univ. of California Press, 2017), 29–32.

11. See Olivia Sabee, “Théophile Gautier’s *Ballet d’Action*: Rewriting Dance History through Criticism,” *Dance Chronicle* 39, no. 2 (2016), 154.

12. See Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001), 57–85; Jennifer Homans, *Apollo’s Angels: A History of Ballet* (New York: Random House, 2010), 49–97; and Nye, *Mime, Music, and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage*, 38–61. As has been frequently pointed out in recent years, these experiments were not limited to France. See also Rita Zambon, “Dal ballo pantomimo al coreodramma,” in *Storia della danza italiana: dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, ed. José Sasportes (Turin: EDT, 2011), 119–82; Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, “Opera seria, Dramma Giocoso, and the Challenge of Pantomime Ballet, 1720–1795,” in *Opera on stage*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2002), 192–251; and Arianna Fabbriatore, *La Querelle des Pantomimes: Danse, culture et société dans l’Europe des Lumières* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 25–28.

13. Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language*, 60.

14. Frédéric Pouillaude, *Unworking Choreography: The Notion of the Work in Dance*, trans. Anna Pakes (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2017), 108.

15. *Ibid.*, 109.

16. Fabbriatore, *La Querelle des Pantomimes*, 24.

17. Jean Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (Lyon: Delaroche, 1760), 468–69.

18. See Denis Diderot, “Entretiens sur ‘le Fils naturel,’” in *Œuvres complètes*, 25 vols., ed. H. Dieckmann and J. Varloot (Paris: Hermann, 1975), 10:101.

19. See Nye, *Mime, Music, and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage*, 9–34.

20. Printed ballet scenarios were widely debated in France and Italy, with Noverre being in favor of printed programs and Angiolini against their use. See Gasparo Angiolini, “Lettere a Monsieur Noverre sopra i balli pantomimi,” and “Riflessioni sopra l’uso dei programmi nei balli pantomimi,” in *Il ballo pantomimo: lettere, saggi e libelli sulla danza (1773–1785)*, ed. Carmela Lombardi (Turin: G.B. Paravia Scriptorium, 1998), 62, 118–24; Nye, *Mime, Music, and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage*, 208–28; and Fabbriatore, *La Querelle des Pantomimes*, 145–73.

21. Cahusac, "Ballet," *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, 18 vols., eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Autumn 2017 Edition), Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe (eds), <http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/>, 2:44. See Ménestrier, *Des ballets anciens et modernes*, 55–56. On Cahusac's borrowings, see "Récapitulatif des emprunts du *Traité* aux ouvrages de Ménestrier et Bonnet," in Cahusac, *La danse ancienne et moderne*, 293–95.

22. Jean le Rond D'Alembert, "Discours préliminaire des éditeurs," *Encyclopédie*, 1:xviii.

23. D'Alembert, "Discours préliminaire des éditeurs," *Encyclopédie*, 1:xix–xx; Denis Diderot, "Encyclopédie (*Philosoph.*)," *Encyclopédie*, 5:641–42. For a detailed study of the *renvois*, see Gilles Blanchard and Mark Olsen, "Le système de renvois dans l'*Encyclopédie*: Une cartographie des structures de connaissances au XVIIIe siècle," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 31–32 (2002): 45–70. Blanchard and Olsen emphasize the idea of the *Encyclopédie* as a whole (48). The articles on ballet and dance attest to this in so far as the reader must consult the full ensemble of articles in order to arrive at a complete definition.

24. Cahusac, "Ballet," *Encyclopédie*, 2:42–46.

25. "Système figuré des connoissances humaines," *Encyclopédie*. See also John Lough, *The 'Encyclopédie'* (London: Longman, 1971), 63–65.

26. Anderson, "Encyclopedic Topologies," 925.

27. Kathleen Hardesty Doig, *From Encyclopédie to Encyclopédie méthodique: revision and expansion* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013), 11.

28. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 196.

29. Hardesty Doig notes that many subjects proved difficult to divide across dictionaries, giving the grain trade and "plants used in compounding drugs" as examples: both subjects would have required treatment in at least three different dictionaries within the *Méthodique*. (Hardesty Doig, *From Encyclopédie to Encyclopédie méthodique*, 5.)

30. The editors of the volume included articles by Rousseau (taken from his *Dictionnaire de musique*), Framery (based on an entry from Rousseau's dictionary), Ginguené, and Cahusac (from the *Encyclopédie*). Cahusac's *Encyclopédie* article was reprinted with some deletions but with the original cross-references intact. Although Ginguené does not comment substantially on the other articles, his original article provides a retrospective framework in which to read the works taken from other publications. Ginguené's work is primarily concerned with ballet in relationship to music. See [Nicolas-Étienne] Framery and [Pierre-Louis] Ginguené, *Encyclopédie méthodique. Musique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Panckoucke, 1791), 1:105–15.

31. "Avertissement," in *Encyclopédie méthodique. Arts académiques. Équitation, escrime, danse, et art de nager*, ed. Panckoucke (Paris: Panckoucke, 1786), n.p. (The editor does not mention the Goussier in the editorial introduction). Other articles from the *Encyclopédie* include "Balancé" (316–17), the first section of "Courante" (397), "Gargouillade" (417–18), "Glissé" (418), "Jetté" and "Jettés en chasse" (418), "Menuet" (418–19), and "Tombé" (424). Regarding the choice to print articles from Cahusac's *La danse ancienne et moderne*, the treatise was a later expansion and clarification of the articles. See Nathalie Lecomte, Laura Naudeix, and Jean-Noël Laurenti, "Présentation," in Louis de Cahusac, *La danse ancienne et moderne, ou traité historique de la danse*, eds. Nathalie Lecomte, Laura Naudeix, and Jean-Noël Laurenti (Paris: Desjonquères, 2004), 12.

32. This article reprints Cahusac's *Second Partie, Livre Premier*, and *Livre Deuxième* parts I–III (135–65). From here, it skips to the *Livre Troisième*, which is printed in its entirety (179–220). Pages given refer to Cahusac, *La danse ancienne et moderne*, eds. Lecomte, Naudeix, and Laurenti.

33. The text follows the 1783 edition. See Jean-Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets, seconde édition* (London, Paris: Vve Dessain Junior, 1783). I would like to thank Marie-Françoise Bouchon for bringing this to my attention.

34. "Ballet," in *Encyclopédie méthodique. Arts académiques*, 362.

35. See, most notably, Friedrich Melchior Grimm, "Poème lyrique," in *Encyclopédie méthodique: Grammaire et Littérature*, 3 vols. (Paris: Panckoucke; Liège: Plomteux, 1786) 3:94–112. Cahusac's related articles on dances of the Ancients appeared in dictionary *Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des Chartres, et Chronologie*. See *Encyclopédie méthodique, Antiquités, Mythologie, Diplomatique des Chartres, et Chronologie*, 5 vols. (Paris: Panckoucke; Liège: Plomteux, 1788), 2:299–303.

36. See "Courante," *Encyclopédie méthodique, Arts académiques*, 397–416, henceforth cited parenthetically in the text as "CAA."

37. See Jean-Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur les arts imitateurs en général, et sur la danse en particulier*, 2 vols. (Paris: Léopold Collin; The Hague: Immerzeel, 1807), 1:169–88; 1:349–57.

38. On alternation between narrative and dance in action ballet, see Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm, "Poème lyrique," *Encyclopédie*, 12:835. Although ballet masters sought more opportunities to more logically link dance with narrative (e.g. dancers as characters, etc.), dancers continued to use mime to show dialogue. See Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), 99–101.

39. John Chapman, "Forgotten Giant: Pierre Gardel," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 5, no. 1 (1987), 9.

40. Clorinda Donato, "Writing the Italian Nation in French: Cultural Politics in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique de Padoue*," *New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century* 10 (2013), 16–17; Paolo Preto, "L'Encyclopédie nel Veneto e a Padova," in *Un affare di dinaro, di diligenza, di scienza: L'edizione padovana dell'Encyclopédie méthodique (1784–1817)*, ed. Pietro Gnan (Padua: Biblioteca Universitaria, 2005), 13–14. English writers such as Samuel Johnson and Alexander Pope repudiated dedications as a means of soliciting financial support. (See Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. The Science of Freedom* [New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1969; 1977], 64–65). The *Encyclopédie méthodique*, a capitalist enterprise if an unmanageable one, bore no dedication. It is beyond the scope of this essay to unpack why this pirated edition might have been dedicated to the *Serenissima* except to speculate that the pirated edition was simply another capitalist venture well indebted to the eclectic Venetian publishing market. (See Linda L. Carroll, "Venetian Literature and Publishing," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler [Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013], 645).

41. Donato, "Writing the Italian Nation in French," 20.

42. *Ibid.*, 24.

43. See Francesco Grisellini, *Dizionario delle arti e de' mestieri*, 18 vols., (Venice: M. Fenzo, 1768), 2:87–125.

44. Paolo Preto, "L'Encyclopédie nel Veneto," in *Storia della cultura veneta* 5, no. 1 "Il Settecento," eds. Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1985), 27.

45. *Ibid.*, 13–14.

46. Fania Oz-Salzberger, "The Enlightenment in Translation: Regional and European Aspects," *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 13, no. 3 (2006), 395.

47. Ann Hallamore Caesar, "Theatre and the Rise of the Italian Novel: Venice 1753–84," *Italian Studies* 67, no. 1 (2012), 39.

48. *Ibid.*, 42.

49. *Gazzetta Urbana Veneta*, 4 June 1794, 355–56. I would like to thank Teodoro Katinis for his assistance with the translation of this quotation.

50. See Laura Carones, "Noverre and Angiolini: Polemical Letters," in *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 5, no. 1 (1987), 42–54 and Carmela Lombardi, ed., *Il ballo pantomimo: lettere, saggi e libelli sulla danza (1773–1785)* (Turin: G.B. Paravia), 1998.

51. On the role of the Ancients in Noverre, see Fabbricatore, *La Querelle des Pantomimes*, 27.

52. *Gazzetta Urbana Veneta*, 31 May 1794, 347; Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, 22–23.

53. Grotesque dance penetrated Italian ballets of all styles simply because it was so pervasive within the Italian training system. See Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Eighteenth-Century Italian Theatrical Ballet: The Triumph of the *Grotteschi*," in *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth Century Stage: Gennaro Magri and His World*, eds. Rebecca Harris Warrick and Bruce Alan Brown (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 20.

54. Cahusac's articles "Ballet" and "Dance" bear no resemblance to their earlier counterparts in the *Cyclopaedia*.

55. Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1979), 520.

56. Anne Sechin, "On Plagiarism, Originality, Textual Ownership, and Textual Responsibility: The Case of *Jacques le fataliste*," in *Originality and Intellectual Property in the French and English Enlightenment*, ed. Reginald McGinnis (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), 108.

57. Noverre's later writings focused on the corps de ballet's potential not in narrative but regarding the movement of many bodies in unison: "I would say that a large corps de ballet is the image of a carefully trained infantry company." See Noverre, *Lettres sur les arts imitateurs*, 1:351.