Chorégraphie, Spring 1996, p. 62.

9. For Menzeli, see Ann Barzel, "Elizabetta Menzeli," *Dance Chronicle*, 19, no. 3 (1996), pp. 277-288; for Lanner, see Ivor Guest, *Ballet in Leicester Square: The Alhambra and the Empire 1860-1915* (London: Dance Books, 1992), pp. 93-96; for Morlacchi, see Barbara Barker, *Ballet or Ballyhoo: The American Careers of Maria Bonfanti, Rita Sangalli and Giuseppina Morlacchi* (New York: Dance Horizons, 1984), pp. 122-167.
10. "The Ballerina's Phallic Pointe," in *Corporealities*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-24.

National Dance in the Romantic Ballet

LISA C. ARKIN AND MARIAN SMITH

Historians have long acknowledged the surging interest in folk culture that exerted a potent effect upon artists and scholars in the nineteenth century as the old influences of classicism and Francophilia finally began to be eclipsed. In such disparate works as Edvard Grieg's *Peer Gynt*, Sir Walter Scott's *Rob Roy*, Smetana's *The Bartered Bride*, and Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales*, one may see a burgeoning pride in the folk culture of one's own region and a fascination with that of others.

Much of this new enthusiasm for indigenous folk cultures was inspired by the writings of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), the highly influential historical philosopher who in the late eighteenth century had posited that the evolving concept of nationhood was dependent upon a sense of shared tradition among a homogeneous assemblage of folk. Central to his way of thinking was the belief that the collective consciousness of a nation resided in its religion, language, and folk traditions, and that to honor these home-bred forms of cultural expression was far more desirable, more natural, and more fundamentally human than to embrace the mechanical, artificial ideology of the so-called Enlightenment. He extolled the sweetness of one's own native soil and the beauty of the primitive folk expression that projected the soul of a people. At the same time he promoted the then-radical notion that no one culture was inherently superior to others, but that the various peoples—each possessing a unique and worthy *Volkgeist* (folk spirit)—should coexist and learn from one another, and, moreover, that such pluralism was a fundamental condition of humanity.[1]

The writings of Herder engendered a new and profound respect for folk culture that permeated European literature, painting, and the performing arts in the nineteenth century. And while the creative impact of folk forms upon writers, artists, and composers of that period has long been an important subject of scholarly investigation, its effect upon ballet has not yet been fully explored. For, though the type of dance referred to variously as "national," "folk," "character," and "ethnic" is acknowledged to have constituted a part of the Romantic ballet, it is still generally treated only as a marginal adjunct in scholarly investigations of the subject, a lesser cousin to classical dance, a folkstyle that provided an occasional means of injecting "local color" but was peripheral to the genuine aesthetic of Romantic ballet.

This viewpoint, we argue, conflicts with the evidence. Indeed, an

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A STUDIES IN DANCE HISTORY BOOK

RETHINKING THE SYLPH

New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet

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Marie Taglioni, in Spanish costume, performing the cachucha in the ballet La Gitana. *This image appeared on the cover of a sheet-music piano arrangement published in New York. Dance Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.*

examination of primary source documents shows that national dance played a far more prominent role in the Romantic ballet than is generally acknowledged today, both in its theory and its practice. And ballet's spectators during the period deemed Romantic (that is, roughly 1830–1850) were actually much more likely to encounter national dance than they were the ethereal *ballets blancs* now so strongly associated with that period. We believe that the presence of national dance in the Romantic ballet was so great, in fact, as to merit a scholarly exploration far wider in scope than an article-length study can possibly hope to cover. Not only is a straightforward factual chronicle of its existence in order (for national dance is known to have flourished in all of Europe's most important opera houses), but so, too, is an investigation of how national dance was related to the broader social, political, and artistic trends of the nineteenth century. For the marginalization of this idiom in much dance historiography has not only left a lacuna in the study of Romantic ballet per se, but also made national dance virtually inaccessible to scholars in other disciplines who could no doubt draw analogies between its contributions to ballet and the manifestations of folk-derived expression in the other arts. Indeed, a fuller treatment of this topic by dance historians will doubtless lead to its integration into the scholarly discourse of nineteenth-century cultural studies in general.[2]

But in the meantime we are faced with a strange conundrum. National dance played an enormous role in ballet and was considered a salient force within it. Yet, despite its very high visibility on the ballet landscape of the nineteenth century, many representations of that landscape have shrunk its proportions considerably. That is, it has suffered something of the same fate as the "juste-milieu" paintings and the *colporteur* literature of the same age, which were extremely well known to the nineteenth century but until fairly recently were marginalized as unworthy of serious consideration.[3]

In the present article, we hope to make a step toward bringing national dance closer toward the mainstream of scholarly research, both in and outside the discipline of dance history. We focus on Paris, a city often

regarded as the cradle of balletic Romanticism, although by no means the only venue that warrants close study in this regard.

Our approach is a varied one. We first discuss the popularity of national dance, both on the stage and on the social-dance floor. We then discuss the nature of the Romantic narrative ballet, and how character dance was situated within it. (Please note that we use the term "national" and "character" dance interchangeably in this article, as writers of the nineteenth century frequently did.)[4] We also delve into the rather difficult matter of "authenticity," weighing the words of ballet theorists and critics of the time in an attempt to discern how folk dances were brought to the stage. Then, after discussing the work of Jules Perrot, we discuss the false dichotomy of character dance versus the *ballet blanc*. Finally, we raise the subject of dance historiography, suggesting that it has been easy to apply twentieth-century performance practice and aesthetic preferences to our assessments of the past, and that this has hindered our attempts to determine what the Romantic ballet looked like in its heyday.

The Popularity of National Dance

Simply put, national dance was performed regularly and frequently in the opera houses of Europe during the Romantic period. It figured prominently within both operas and ballets, and in some theaters was featured in independent danced divertissements as well.[5] Indeed, it must be recalled that audiences were accustomed to great abundance and variety: an evening's entertainment could even consist of a complete opera and a ballet. And national dance was very likely to comprise part of the performance.[6]

Consider the case of the Paris Opéra. From about 1835 until well past mid-century, national dance seems to have occurred in over three-quarters of the performances given there, regularly appearing in both ballets and operas. In May 1841, for example, it was featured in twelve (and possibly more) of the fourteen performances given:

Mon., May 3	*Don Giovanni* (opera, set in Seville) Spanish dance during the ball scene (Act II)
Wed., May 5	*La Favorite* (opera, set in Castile) Spanish dance during the victory celebration (Act II)
Fri., May 7	*Les Huguenots* (opera, set in Paris) Gypsy dance to celebrate the day of rest (Act III)
Sun., May 9	*La Favorite* (opera, set in Castile) Spanish dance during the victory celebration (Act II)
Mon., May 10	*Le Diable amoureux* (ballet, set in Italy and Persia) Saltarella, cachucha, mazurka[7]
	Le Philtre (opera, set in the Basque region) Evidence is unclear.[8]

Wed., May 12	*Guillaume Tell* (opera, set in Switzerland) Tyrolian dance by peasants forced to perform for the tyrant Gesler (Act III)
Fri., May 14	*La Favorite* (opera, set in Castile) Spanish dance during the victory celebration (Act II)
Mon., May 17	*Robert le Diable* (opera, set in Italy) Evidence is unclear. The *pas de cinq* in Act II, performed by five men portraying Sicilian peasants, may have been a *pas de caractère*.[9]
Wed., May 19	*La Favorite* (opera, set in Castile) Spanish dance during the victory celebration (Act II)
Fri., May 21	*La Muette de Portici* (opera, set in Spanish-dominated Naples) Spanish and Neapolitan dances (Acts I and II)
Mon., May 24	*Les Huguenots* (opera, set in Paris) Gypsy dance to celebrate the day of rest (Act III)
Wed., May 26	*La Juive* (opera, set in the city of Constance) No evidence of national dance.
Fri., May 28	*Guillaume Tell* (opera, set in Switzerland) Tyrolian dance by peasants forced to perform for the tyrant Gesler (Act III)
Mon., May 31	*Le Philtre* (opera, set in the Basque region) Evidence is unclear. *Le Diable amoureux* (ballet, set in Italy and Persia) Saltarella, cachucha, mazurka[10]

So character dance was quite a familiar sight on the Opéra's stage. It became so pervasive, in fact, that one eulogist on the occasion of Pierre Gardel's death in 1840 could lament that "the dance [is now] composed of *only* so-called *pas de caractère*."[11] Théophile Gautier even hyperbolically implied that the character *pas* was the only type that a danseur should perform (as opposed to the classical *pas*): "A male dancer performing anything other than *pas de caractère* or pantomime has always seemed to me something of a monstrosity. Until now I have only been able to support men in mazurkas, saltarellas, and cachuchas."[12]

In the offhand comments and customs of ballet's habitués across Europe, too, one may find countless expressions of the notion that character dance was commonly considered a normal part of ballet. In the London publication, *The Natural History of the Ballet Girl*, a description of the daily routine of the typical corps dancer finds her hastily changing her costume in the dressing room "between the *pas de fées* of the opening scene and the villagers' *mazourka* of the closing one."[13] A contingent of male dancers from the Paris Opéra (including Lucien Petipa, the first Albrecht) was invited to take part in a polka competition with several highly skilled members of the social-dance elite (the polka being considered a complex folk-derived dance at the time), and knew the dance so well that they were able to beat their opponents handily.[14] Michel Saint-Léon, in the Württemberg court, taught both classical and character *pas* to the royal princes and princesses.[15] Manufacturers of ballet souvenirs—statuettes and lithographs, for example—sold images of ballerinas both in "classical" and "character" garb. Young ballet students in St. Petersburg were sometimes granted scholarships on the basis of their character dancing.[16] And so on.

It is also crucial to recall that, though the sight of the corps performing character dance was a familiar one—critics often described ensembles of coryphées performing perhaps a mazurka or bolero—the greatest ballerinas and premiers danseurs of the Romantic period performed national dances as well. That is, national dance was not the province of lesser dancers, nor of those whose body types precluded their excelling in the danse d'école style. Nor was it ceded strictly to those (like Fanny Elssler) who found it particularly congenial to their talents. It was an art that the highest-ranking soloists were fully expected to perform, along with mime and classical dance. Lucile Grahn, for example, the first Danish Sylphide and a dancer renowned for her steadiness on pointe and her lightness, made a great impression with her tarantella in the divertissement *Le Pêcheur napolitain*.[17] Carlotta Grisi and Jules Perrot, who together helped create the role of the ethereal Wili Giselle, also performed many a character dance both separately and together, including the zapateado at the close of the Viennese season in 1838 and an "original *Tarantella* directly imported from Naples" (to name only two of their joint triumphs).[18] Lise Noblet, another dancer known for her lightness and the elegance of her poses, also delighted audiences with her Spanish dancing. With her sister Félicité she performed a Spanish dance in *La Muette* and achieved a triumph that Gautier describes as follows:

> The great success of the evening was the Spanish dance by the Mmes. Noblet. Their entrance was eagerly awaited. They appeared in white satin basquines, threaded and bespangled with silver, with roses in their hair, and wearing the high ceremonial combs—in fact, the whole fantastic costume of Dolores Serral. Then, to the strains of a melody that was as naive as all folk tunes are and fragmented into equal divisions by the babble of

Fanny Elssler performing the cracovienne in La Gypsy, *1839. Notice the tiny spur on her left shoe and the martial costume, and in the background a view of Edinburgh and its castle. Dance Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.*

historical commentary

Marie Taglioni, wearing a gypsy costume, in the ballet La Gitana, *1840. Dance Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.*

the castanets, they danced the most daring and brazen *pas* ever to have been seen at the Opéra. It was phenomenal, outrageous, unimaginable, but it was charming. Imagine swaying hips, spines arching back, arms and legs thrown into the air, the most provocatively voluptuous movements, a hot-blooded fury, and a diabolical attack—truly, a dance to awaken the dead....The two sisters were applauded as never before, and...they were called back and made to start the *pas, El Jaleo de Jerez*, all over again.[19]

And Marie Taglioni "enchanted the world" with her Spanish dancing as *La Gitana*, a role which also called for two gypsy dances (one of them danced to music in which bottles, cauldrons, glasses, and saucepans were used as instruments).[20] This ballet, which Taglioni performed dozens of times to great acclaim beginning in 1838, including four seasons in Russia and three in London, generated a Taglioni souvenir iconography second in richness and variety only to that of *La Sylphide*.[21] It also firmly established her reputation as a solid character dancer, a reputation that has been largely forgotten, perhaps because historians have so strongly emphasized her triumphs as the sylph.

Social Dance. Rhapsodic assessments of character-dance performances liberally dot the newspaper review of ballets and operas of the Romantic period, and it is clear that audiences of the day were no less demonstrative when it came to character dance than they were for opera and danse d'école. Sometimes, in fact, character dance struck observers as even more exciting than the other types of opera-house fare. Heinrich Adami suggests as much in his résumé of Fanny Elssler's eight-performance season in Vienna in the summer of 1837:

> In eight performances, Fanny danced the *Cachucha* twenty-two times, yet who can boast that he knows this dance completely or can say that the twenty-second performance was not just as interesting as the first. That this should be so is the finest victory of natural grace over art, just as a rose, though seen a thousand times, is still a rose and the queen of flowers.

> I have been present at many a stormy evening in the theatre, but I have never witnessed such general and unrestrained excitement as at the last appearance, and particularly after the *Cachucha* had been performed a third time.[22]

Yet shouting approval, applauding wildly, demanding encores, and throwing flowers onto the stage (as audiences were wont to do) was not the only way that members of the public could express their enthusiasm for national dance. They could also dance it themselves, fitting foreign dance styles to their own bodies, much as they donned costumes to wear to public balls.

In the 1830s and 1840s, in fact, there was a veritable national-dance craze on Europe's public dance floors. Amateur dancers flocked to dance studios to take lessons in national dancing. They rented and purchased national costumes to wear to public balls.[23] They purchased sheet music for character dance arranged by composers for amateur consumption, and books on the subject of national dance (one of which featured the mazurka, the cracovienne, the polonaise, the tarantella, the anglaise, the bolero, the cosaque, the fandango and the pas russe).[24] They even danced quadrilles—a type of social dance normally constructed of classical steps—that had been stylized according to national tastes.[25] One dancing master, for example, concocted the so-called "Empire Quadrille," in which each section of the dance imitated a different national style. Another adapted the Polish mazurka "after the laws of the French quadrille" so that the "inconveniences" of its complexity and improvisatory nature could be "obviate[d]."[26] His quadrille-mazurka provided a "sample, a foretaste of the mazurka"; "a sort of compromise" between the characteristic freedom of the Polish dance and the French inclination toward the incorporation of classical steps and familiar sets of spatial figures.[27] A Parisian journalist addressed this idea of contrast between traditional social dances and the newly popular national dances, writing in 1833, "the banal and fastidious contredanse will be definitively put to rest [at the Opéra balls]

Carlotta Grisi and Lucien Petipa(?) performing the polka in the ballet Le Diable à Quatre. *The man's costume is in the Cracow style, and features coins on the belt, striped pants, a feather in the cap, and embroidery on the coat. Dance Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.*

to leave room for this variety of dances that are executed in Russia, Italy, and Germany—the polonaise, the fandango, the waltz, the mazurka [that] will become acclimated to Parisian soil."[28] Indeed, one can imagine that these character dances did allow those who danced them a greater range of movement than did the "fastidious contredanse." As another observer put it, social dancers "understood the happy alliance that could be forged between stiff French dance and loose Andalusian dancing."[29]

So powerful was the popularity of national dance in the ballrooms of Paris during this period, in fact, that it attracted the attention of humorists, one of whom wrote a vaudeville (entitled "Les Souvenirs de jeunesse") in which overzealous choristers doing the galop push the main character into a chair and then sing these lyrics:

Rédowons, schotischons,	[Let's redowa and schottish,
Fillettes et garçons,	girls and boys,
mazourkons	Let's mazurka
et polkons	and polka
Aux doux bruit des chansons.[30]	To the sweet sound of songs.]

Another humorist wrote somewhat sarcastically of the national dance craze in the satirical journal *La Musée Philipon*:

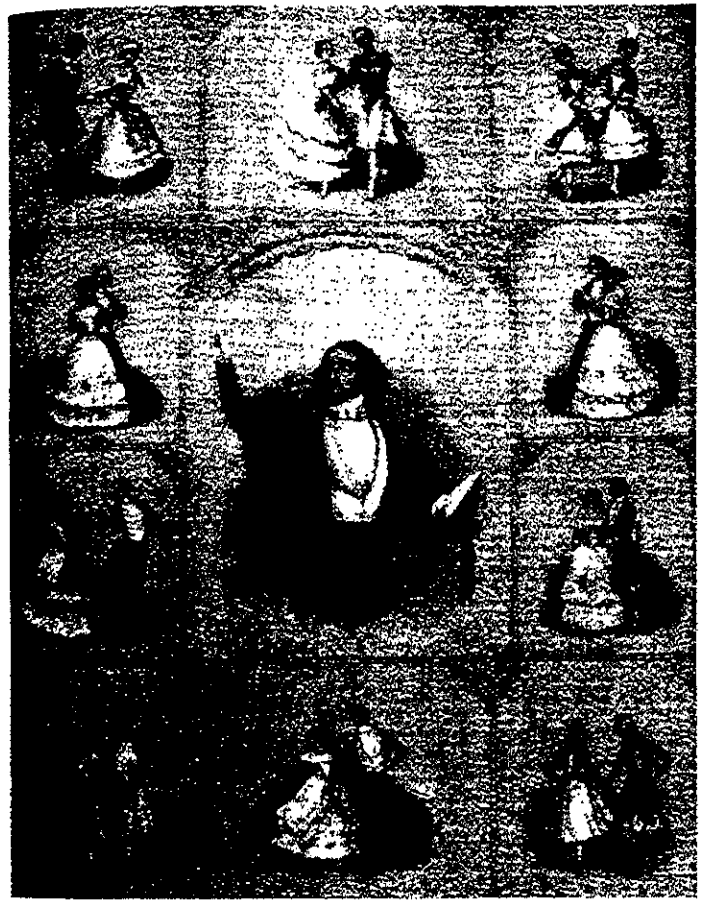
> In 1842 the Grande Chaumière [a public dance studio] shone with an unaccustomed brightness, and was more than ever the meeting place for all true lovers of national dance.... [A] multitude of dances, each one newer than the next, were tried, censured, approved, or prohibited; because needless to say, it is only at the Grande Chaumière that one may find the true traditions of elegance and beautiful manners.

The author also lampoons Spanish dance:

> Among the choreographic... creations which distinguish the offerings of last summer, we must especially mention the *pas des taureaux indomptés* [the dance of the untamed bulls]. This way of moving, or rather of hurling oneself around, seems to us to have a particular cachet. [An illustration depicts a man in a tall silk hat, charging like a bull his unsuspecting female dance partner, who is bowing so deeply that she does not see what is in store for her.].... We have it on good authority that the notables of Carnaval are preparing, for the Opéra balls of 1843, new and different *pas de caractère* that will bring about a general revolution in all of Paris and, I do not fear to say, in all of Europe.[31]

Of further significance are the public ball divertissements—that is, the entertainments presented during public balls for the enjoyment of the revelers. Entertainers customarily appeared at some point during the evening and performed in a space cleared for them on the dance floor, as the ball's attendees stood by and watched. When the entertainment ended, the ballroom dancing resumed. Among the many acts hired for the Paris Opéra's carnival season balls were "mirliton" acts and ballet dancers from the Opéra itself—including coryphées performing quadrilles and soloists performing ensemble numbers with titles such as "The Four Seasons."[32] And, after the sensational success of the four Spanish dancers—Dolores Serral, Mariano Camprubí, Manuela Dubinon, and Francisco Font—hired in January 1834 to appear both at the Carnival balls and in the opera *La Muette de Portici*, the Opéra's leading ballerinas were sometimes enlisted to perform character numbers as well. As *Vert-Vert* reported in December 1834:

> the great success obtained at the last Carnival gave rise to the idea of seeking a new success with an array of national dances of the different peoples



The different forms of polka danced in 1844, with a portrait of Cellarius at the center. This anonymous French lithograph published by Lemercier indicates the extraordinary popularity of the polka as a social dance. Gaston Vuillier, La Danse *(Paris: Hachette, 1898), p. 247.*

of Europe, and in some local dances from our southern provinces. Thus we will see the execution, in turn, by the principal ballet dancers of the Opéra, with Mlles Taglioni and Elssler leading, of the *pas styrien*, the mazurka, boleros and fandangos from Andalusia, the tarantellas of Naples, and dances of the Languedoc region—*las Treias* and *lo Chibalet*.[33]

The sensation caused by the Spanish visitors during the 1834 ball season also paved the way for Elssler's success with the cachucha in *Le Diable boiteux* in 1836, and apparently helped propel an existing fondness for national dance into an uproarious popular phenomenon.[34] Indeed, while theater audiences at the Paris Opéra had seen Polish, Italian, Hungarian, and Spanish national dances in pre-Romantic ballets, there can be no doubt that the visiting Spanish dancers who so inflamed Paris in 1834 contributed greatly to the new and growing popularity of national dancing in the mid-1830s.[35]

In any case, the public ball divertissements are significant in any consideration of the reception of national dance for three reasons. First, they show that classical and character *pas* were deemed equally appropriate as popular entertainment for ball guests. Second, they serve as a reminder that social and theatrical dance were closely bound together and that a complete reception history of national dance must accommodate both venues. Third, they demonstrate that the viewing of professional character dancing (sometimes at quite close proximity) was an activity that was quite in keeping with real-life experience for many members of the Parisian public. Thus, staged scenes of national dancers entertaining onstage characters (as in the ball scenes in *Don Giovanni* and *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, for example, and then later in the century in *Swan Lake* and *The Nutcracker*) actually mirrored the events of a real-life public ball. This imparted a certain immediacy and an air of reality to the staged divertissement that is lacking today.[36]

National Dance in the Narrative Ballet

Clearly, national dance was a popular form of entertainment, and it held a prominent place both in public festivities and in staged versions of such festivities. However, it must be noted that national dance was not only a popular form of divertissement but also lent itself to the narrative ballets (often called ballet-pantomimes) that were so popular during this period.

Before we proceed further, a digression on the subject of these ballets is in order. For it is important to reimagine what these works looked like—forgetting for a moment the modernized versions of Romantic ballets on today's stages—in order to understand how national dances fit within them.

First of all, mime and action scenes typically constituted as much as half of an entire ballet: indeed, it was not unheard of for entire scenes of a ballet (sometimes two in a row) to be devoid of dancing.[37] It is more accurate, in fact, to conceive of these ballets as mimed dramas that called for dancing from time to time, which is quite different from today's revivals, in which narrative ballets are presented as danced works with only occasional mime scenes. The proportions of the nineteenth-century productions may be seen readily in annotated répétiteurs (rehearsal scores) of Romantic ballets, which distinguish plainly between mimed and danced segments, and give an excellent indication of how much actual time was devoted to each.[38] The ratio of dance to mime and action scenes in the original *Giselle*, for instance, was roughly equal—fifty-four minutes of mime and action, and sixty minutes of dance (though the dancing has now been supplemented and the nondancing scenes shortened or eliminated to suit modern tastes).[39] And even the most perfunctory perusal of newspaper reviews of ballets from this period shows quite plainly how important a role mime played in these works. For the mime was not only necessary to convey the story; when executed well it accounted for much of the spectator's delight and pleasure in ballet. Of Fanny Elssler in *La Gipsy*, Gautier wrote, she "rises to the most sublime heights of dramatic art; a noble pride in innocence, energy, tears, grief, love, intoxicating joy, she runs through the whole gamut of human emotions."[40] Another observer, describing Pauline Duvernay in *La Révolte au sérail*, wrote that during the military maneuvers of the corps de ballet she performed one of the principal roles "with the wittiest pantomime, the most expressive and passionate gestures, represent[ing] all the incidents of an animated discussion and giv[ing] an idea of the council of war held by the women. A general laugh, and unanimous applause is earned by this gay and comic scene."[41]

The reason, of course, for the far greater prominence of mime and action scenes and the circumscribed role of dance (when compared to today's ballets) was that these Romantic ballets were designed to impart a story to the audience. Ballet was considered first and foremost a dramatic genre, like opera and the spoken play. Castil-Blaze even went so far as to say in 1831 that "most modern ballets are operas or dramas that have been translated into the mimic language."[42] And another observer described ballet as a genre in which "actors neither speak nor sing, but dance and execute a pantomime."[43] Indeed, the emphasis placed upon the plots of these ballets, both in the press and in performance practices, can scarcely be understated.

It was customary, for instance, for the plot of any new ballet to be recounted in detail in newspaper reviews of the premiere and in souvenir books as well.[44] The plot was told in even more detail in printed ballet libretti made available to spectators for purchase. Ballet libretti were generally from fifteen to forty pages long, and they explained the action of a ballet scene by scene, often including actual lines of dialogue—sometimes in quotation marks—to be mimed by the characters. Spectators at the ballet were also accustomed to seeing actual words displayed onstage—on banners and memorial tablets, for instance—helping them follow the plot.[45] It was also customary for the music of each new ballet to be closely coordinated to the pantomime gestures, helping make them as accessible

as possible to the audience. In the opening scene of *Giselle*, for instance, Hilarion pointed to Giselle's cottage as sweet music was played, as if to say "here lives the one I love." With a menacing gesture, he then pointed to his rival Albrecht's cottage as sinister music was played.[46] The effect of these lengthy and frequent mime and action scenes, with music that followed the actors' movements and gestures moment to moment, was probably akin to that of the melodrama of the boulevard theaters.[47]

The evidence also suggests that some of the physical movements called for in the Romantic ballet might seem somewhat stilted and stylized according to today's tastes. Among such movements were the dramatic gestures that were sometimes performed in unison. In the ballet-pantomime *La Gipsy*, for example, thirty-odd Bohemians mimed the words "But who are you?" by "throwing their forearms" (as one unsympathetic critic wrote).[48] And the actors often froze in tableaux or "pictures," sometimes at moments of high drama in the middle of a scene, sometimes just before the fall of the curtain.[49] So typical was this as a curtain-closing device that audiences hardly could do without it. "The ballet," wrote *The Times* about *La Tarentule*,

> should end more effectively; a postilion walks in to tell the doctor that his carriage is ready, and the curtain falls without anything like a *groupe* being formed. This was a kind of damper, the audience scarcely knew whether all was over or not, and for fear of applauding in the wrong place, at first did not applaud at all.[50]

Critical commentary of the period also demonstrates that in ensembles the choreography was often intended to delight the eye more by the design and placement of groupings than by active, kinetic movement. Groups, in fact, are frequently mentioned by critics as one of the key visual features of a ballet. ("You can't describe this ballet," wrote a critic about *La Fille du marbre*, "you must see the groups";[51] another, reviewing *La Fille du Danube*, insisted that there was "not an elegant grouping or elegant tableau" in the entire ballet.)[52] Another important choreographic category, both for soloists and for corps dancers, was the pose, which warranted frequent mention in libretti and reviews. Thus, according to the libretti, the poses of the Wilis in *Giselle* were "voluptuous"; Urielle's in *Le Diable amoureux* were "ravishing," and Miranda's in *La Tentation* were sometimes decent, sometimes voluptuous.[53] And choreographers often sought a kaleidoscopic effect by presenting a series of successive "pictures," such as the bathing scene in *La Révolte au sérail*, described in the libretto as follows:

> Zulma and her friends sport in the water. Slaves burn perfumes; others prepare to dress the king's wives. Zulma emerges first and is enveloped in a light veil behind which she makes her toilet. Soon her companions follow her example and dress in the same manner. Then the women dance and admire themselves in mirrors, forming a succession of the most captivating pictures that center upon the beautiful Zulma.[54]

Ivor Guest describes another example in the first act of *Lalla Rookh*:

> The ambitious nature of the dance was indicated by the titles of these figures: Hermes, The Shell, The Kiosks, The Cage, The Mirror, The Harp, The Framed Picture, The Morning Breeze, The Stars, The Pineapple, The Car of the Rising Sun, The Butterflies, The Sun's Rays, and The Living Statue and its Pedestal. *The Times* declared that the *pas symbolique* was "one of the most elegant scarf dances ever contrived" and showed "what new combinations are possible in a style apparently so hackneyed." No words, in the opinion of the *Morning Post*, could do adequate justice to the groups: "in every movement there was poetry, every group was pictorial, as if it had stepped forth from the canvas of Boucher or the still greater Guido."[55]

Some choreographers went so far as to imitate specific paintings, in the manner of tableaux vivants, such as Perrot's representation of Léopold Robert's celebrated "La Fête de la Madonne" in his ballet *Ondine*.[56] And Gautier declared that a "ballet should be a picture before being a drama," that "the best combination for the production of a fine theme for a ballet [was] a poet explaining his ideas to an artist who expresses them in sketches." Clearly, a strong pictorial sense often lay behind both the design and the appreciation of the Romantic ballet.

Finally, let us turn to the matter of the realism of the physical mise-en-scène. For ballet, like opera and the spoken play, was subject to the new Romantic trend that called for sets, costumes, props, and special effects that were as realistic as possible. (As Gautier said, "we are no longer living in a time when the inscription 'magnificent palace' nailed to a post suffices for the illusion of the spectators.")[57] In the late 1820s the Paris Opéra came to be especially well known for the opulence and detail of its elaborate settings, and its ability to transport the audience to whatever historical period or distant land a libretto might call for.

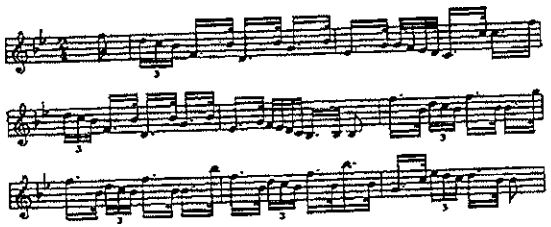
Pierre-Luc Charles Ciceri, for example, in charge of sets at the Opéra, was sent to Switzerland and to Italy so he could have the immediate experience that would make it possible for him to create an aura of authenticity in his stagings of *Guillaume Tell* and *La Muette de Portici*.[58] He even, on occasion, oversaw the recreation of real-life buildings. For instance, an actual cloister—supposedly that of Montfort-l'Amaury—was replicated for the ballet of the nuns in the third act of the opera *Robert le Diable*.[59] And the magnificent waiting room of the royal palace in Stockholm was recreated for the opera *Gustave III*. "All this sumptuous dwelling," wrote one critic, "is transferred to the stage with unbelievable exactness. It is so accurate that the French Ambassador to Sweden who was sitting near us said that for a moment he thought he had returned to his post."[60]

Realism was also the order of the day in the Opéra's costume department, where careful attention was given to making costumes that looked appropriate to the time and place of an opera's or ballet's setting. (Indeed, the costume inventory was cross-listed historically and geographically, and included costumes for a wide variety of regional characters, including

"Bayadères, Basques, Bohemians... Créoles, Chinese... Indian slaves, modern Indians,... Provençaux.")[61] The labors of the period's costumers did not go unnoticed by critics. In the case of *La Juive*, which was set in fifteenth-century Constance, much praise was heaped upon the painstaking attention to detail in the costumes for the Act I procession scene:

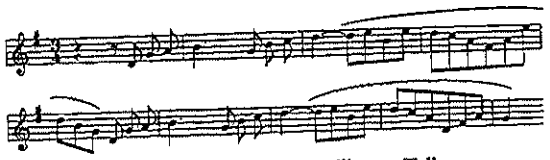
> Nothing is missing in this prodigious resurrection of a distant century. The costumes of the warriors, civilians, and ecclesiastics are not imitated but reproduced to the smallest details. The armor is no longer pasteboard; it is made of real metal. One sees men of iron, men of silver, men of gold! The Emperor Sigismund, for instance, is a glittering ingot from head to foot. The horses, no less historically outfitted than their riders, prance and turn.[62]

Composers, too, did their part to create a sense of place. As one musical lexicographer put it in a definition of ballet music: "As for the dance airs, they must be characteristic and analogous to the place where the action takes place; thus, the dance airs of the Indians, Scots, or Hungarians must have the character of the music of their countries."[63] This prescription was well heeded. The Scottish setting of *La Sylphide*, for instance, was brought to life by this jig by Schneitzhoeffer:



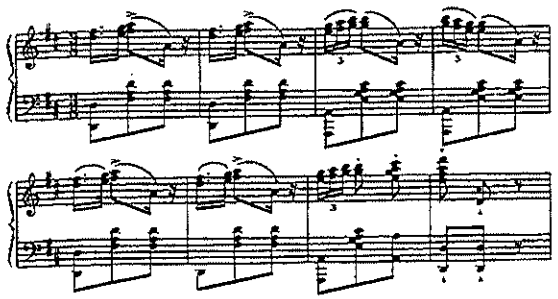
Jig from La Sylphide *(from manuscript conductor's score, A.501, BN-Opéra).*

Rossini's Tyrolian chorus from *Guillaume Tell* (to which Marie Taglioni danced the tyrolienne) imitates the sound of yodeling:



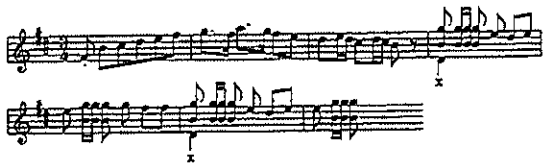
Tyrolian chorus from Guillaume Tell
(from full vocal/orchestral score published by Troupenas, Paris, n.d.).

The mazurkas composed by Adolphe Adam for *Le Diable à quatre*, a ballet set in Poland, follow the custom of accenting the second or third beat of the measure and of resting on the third beat at the ends of phrases; this one, for example, places the accent on the second beat:



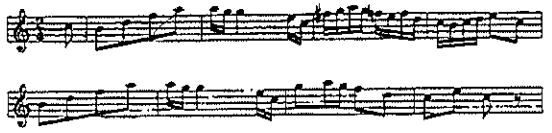
Mazurka from Le Diable à quatre
(piano sheet music arranged by J. Herz and published in Paris, 1845).

For *Le Diable boiteux*, Casimir Gide provided a good deal of Spanish-sounding music, including this piece for the opening ball scene which makes use of Spanish rhythms and imitates the sound of the strumming of the guitar (marked by "x"):



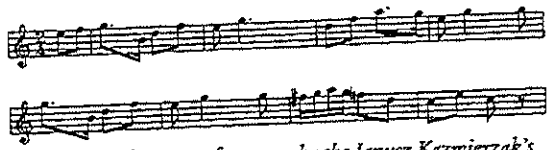
Opening ball scene from Le Diable boiteux
(from manuscript répétiteur score, Mat 19e [314-9], BN-Opéra).

We also know from Michel Saint-Léon's pedagogical manuscripts from the Württemberg court that, at least in his case, appropriate folk music was used for the teaching of character steps. He used this melody for the Cracovia:



Cracovia from Michel Saint-Léon manuscript (Rés. 1137, BN-Opéra).

This is closely related to the melody "Na krakowska nute" that is still danced in Poland today:



Krakowiak from a performance by the Janusz Kazmierzak's Folk Orchestra (mid-1970s).

Of course the efforts to create a convincingly realistic theatrical illusion sometimes fell short. Gautier, for instance, chided the Opéra for using a South American set to depict a North American subject (and for using "rocks that are to be found nowhere in the world and ought not to appear at the Opéra").[65] And Jules Janin suggested that the composer Gallenberg had done a poor job of creating musical verisimilitude in *Brézilia*, opining that though the action was set in the New World, the score sounded like it was from the Other World.[66] But whether in the practice or in the breach, the rule is clear: costume and set designers and composers were expected to make their productions seem plausibly authentic to the spectator.

To summarize: the narrative ballet of the Romantic period emphasized the conveying of a story and featured numerous, lengthy mime scenes to do so. The music followed the miming closely to make it more palpable and also helped set the scene by providing "ethnic" music when necessary. The choreography often included poses and groupings. And the mise-en-scène endeavored to present the locale in which the action took place with as much verisimilitude as possible. So how did national dancing fit into these ballets?

First, national dance was considered a valuable tool for establishing the setting of ballets as well as operas. Character choreography usually did not exist as a thing apart, but worked together with the music and the mise en scène to create a convincing sense of place. Thus, the corps de ballet became a human landscape, a moving backdrop that offered spectators the satisfying illusion that they had actually glimpsed some foreign place. (Critics often remarked upon the success of this approach. The tarantella danced by the corps in *Ondine*, for instance, was praised for being "as spirited and characteristic as if it were danced on the *chiaja* by real *contadini*.")[67]

In the same vein, national dance could help characterize a ballet's protagonists, a contribution of major importance, since these ballets so strongly emphasized the story. And since many of the main figures in these stories had a distinct ethnic heritage—indeed, ballet of this period put a premium on such figures—national dance was an potent dramatic tool as well as a key means of demonstrating the character's identity to an audience. Escudier stresses this double function in a review of Elssler's portrayal of the Calabrian peasant Lauretta, the lead female character in *La Tarentule*: "Mlle Elssler... dances a tarantella that gladdens and excites you. In turn coquettish, fiery, and witty, she portrays with wonderful intelligence that ardent character which is only found on the volcanic soil of Italy."[68]

Likewise, by dancing the mazurka in *Le Diable à quatre*, Carlotta Grisi's young Polish heroine (aptly named Mazourka) not only delighted the audience with the charm of the dance, but also revealed and affirmed her identity to them. Leila, the Egyptian slave girl in *La Péri*, did the same when she performed the "pas d'abeille," or bee dance, which according to Gautier one could see "performed in Cairo in its native purity by almehs."[69] Occasionally, the ballerina even made her first entrance with a national dance, thus immediately conveying to the audience a crucial element of the character she was portraying.[70]

It is true, of course, that character dances were occasionally inserted in operas or ballets without a dramatic rationale. Carlotta Grisi, for example, in the title role of *La Péri*, substituted a Spanish manola for the Egyptian bee dance, arousing the objections of Gautier, who said that "Spanish dance has nothing at all to do with the action or intention of the work."[71] And the Hungarian dance performed on at least one occasion in *Don Giovanni*, an opera set in Seville, drew a sardonic response from Jules Janin:

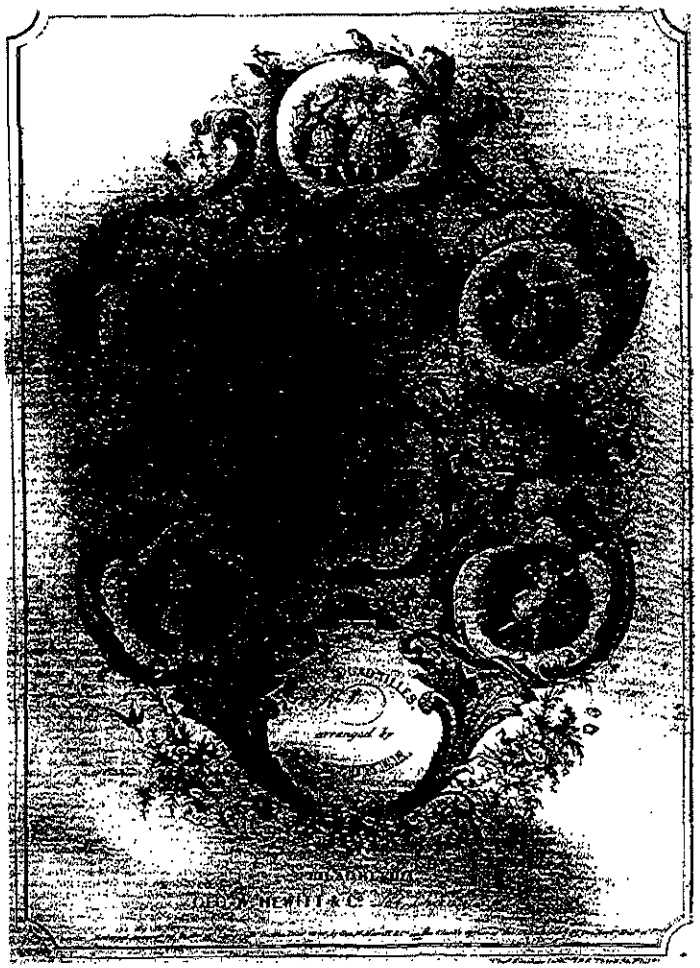
> There were at least a dozen men dressed as Hungarians (yes, Hungarians) who devoted themselves to striking pleasing poses. They came, went, raised their arms, slapped their calves, passed under each other's arms, held each other by the left thumb,... and laughed, with those who had any, showing their teeth.[72]

But if the sheer popularity of character dance sometimes led to its inclusion in operas and ballets in incongruous ways, the libretti did officially call for dances that matched the physical setting of the work in question.[73]

Character dance was also held to be inherently expressive. Some observers even went so far as to imply that national dance had an expressive capacity that the classical *pas* lacked. The author of *Read's Characteristic National Dances*, an "elegantly illustrated" gift book published in London in 1853, hints that national dance could express true feeling better than more "artificial" forms of dance:

> Thus far, the sounds of feet echo the feelings in the heart; when science interferes the muse no longer haunts the wood-beamed kitchen of the farmer's home, or the bounteous revels of the baronial hall. Bedecked in the bright but insubstantial garb of opera display, her artificial grace is, perhaps, no longer the language of a buoyant heart within. Art may lend attractive graces to the form, and study give vast brilliance to the step; but upon the confines of the artificial it is not the province of our little work to trespass.[74]

And though national dances were indeed performed in opera houses, the writer's preference for naturalism over artifice was very much in keeping with the tenets of the new Romantic drama and its rejection of outworn theatrical conventions. Authentic expression, according to this new way



American sheet music cover showing Fanny Elssler in La Tarentule *(center),* La Sylphide, La Gipsy, La Tarentule, La Gitana, *and in a zapateado.*
American Antiquarian Society.

of thinking, could not spring forth from the restrictive forms of eighteenth-century classicism.

Indeed, the connection between the rise of character dance in the narrative ballet and the loosening of old classical strictures in spoken drama during this period is one that is well worth noting. Just as playwrights were beginning to forsake the rules of verse drama and put everyday

words into the mouths of its characters (a process that sent shock waves through the old guard of Paris and led to near-riots at the Comédie Française), so did choreographers welcome the opportunity to present ballet characters who expressed themselves in ways that looked more natural and made them seem more like real human beings.[75] August Bournonville may have been referring to this idea when he extolled the virtues of national dance (or "native dance," as he called it) as an expressive tool in the Romantic ballet:

> Forty to fifty years ago [the true French school] was divided into fixed classes: *sérieuse, demi-caractère,* and *comique,* and the dancers were content to excel in one particular genre.... Now, however, it is the music that determines character; the *style de perruque* has given way to the Romantic,... and though bravura dancing, like bravura singing, is in eternal conflict with the dramatic element, *the latter has won an important victory by the acceptance of native dances as an integral part of the art.*[76]

The matter of contrast between mimed and danced scenes in the Romantic ballet, finally, must also be considered in any attempt to discern how national dance fits into such works. For any sort of *pas,* whether it was in classical or character style, surely drew special attention to itself simply by the fact that it provided such a distinct and obvious contrast to the mime scenes. That is, any given *pas* was probably more striking to the eye than it would have been if performed in a work that was danced throughout.

This is not to say that mime necessarily occupied a rung of lesser prestige in the Romantic ballet than dance (as it does today), nor that it was considered intrinsically dull (quite the contrary!), but rather that the contrast between the danced and mimed scenes could have been deployed as a powerful narrative tool. It seems likely, in fact, that the ebb and flow between the dancing and miming may have been akin to that between the aria and the *scena* (the dramatic scene consisting largely of recitative) in opera, and that skillful choreographers, like skillful opera composers and librettists, could make the most of the dramatic possibilities that this built-in contrast between kinesis and stasis supplied.[77]

By the same token, the varying voltages of the *pas* that were choreographed for any given narrative ballet also supplied interesting contrasts, making it possible for any particularly energetic *pas* to stand out. So, national *pas,* which were often characterized by driving rhythms, speedy footwork, and partnering that privileged rapid turns over stately arabesques, sustained poses, and adagio movements, in some cases probably struck spectators as especially kinetic, adding, as Gautier once expostulated in a fit of pique, "spice to the deadly boring framework of ballet."[78] And though it would be quite wrong to suggest that character dance was, across the board, more energetic than the danse d'école, one must nonetheless bear in mind that certain of the Romantic ballet's relatively static qualities (its pictorial emphasis and use of the frozen tableau,

for example) could make any sort of allegro dancing stand out. And in many cases the allegro *pas* that made the strongest impression were national dance ones.

The deep sense of contrast that the spectators may have perceived between classical and character dancing in the 1830s—a time during which Gardel's choreographies were still well known—is expressed by Gautier, who (especially when intoxicated with Hispanophilia) was capable of making broad comparisons detrimental to classical dance:

> A woman who appears... to pose before your opera glasses in the glare of eighty footlights with no other purpose than to display her shoulders, bosom, arms, and legs in a series of attitudes that show them off to best advantage seems amazingly impudent if she is not as beautiful as [the Graces].... Dolores [Serral] and [Mariano] Camprubí have nothing in common with our own dancers. They have a passion, a vitality, and an attack of which you can have no idea.... There is nothing mechanical in their dancing, nothing that appears copied or smacks of the classroom.[79]

And in 1839, recalling Serral's debut in Paris, he wrote:

> We explained how superior were her suppleness, vivacity, and Andalusian passion to the geometrical poses and the right-angled *écarts* of the French school. At that time people of taste found [her] dancing... bizarre, alien, incompatible with the traditions of good schooling and the rules of good taste. The very mention of the word *cachucha* made wigs stand on end and set the *pochettes* [pocket violins] of ballet masters screeching.[80]

And, as hyperbolic as these comments are, they convey the sense of stark contrast between old and new that many balletgoers undoubtedly experienced at this time of transition between the "style de perruque," in which the principal characters performed in the noble style, and the new, more expressive Romantic ballet, in which they were likely to perform national dance.

"Authenticity": Theory and Practice

Like Herder, many ballet theoreticians of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries expressed a keen interest in the authentic, "true," and "natural" folk expressions of various nations. For example, Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, in a treatise published in 1772, provides "A Summary Account Of various kinds of Dancers in different Parts of the World," including Spanish, French, Flemish, Italian, Tyrolian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Chinese, Turkish, and Mexican dancers. In this section, he also states that the expressive arts embody the "genius" of a nation and should render their subject matter in as convincing a manner as possible:

> Where dances are well composed, they may give a picture, to the life, of the manners and genius of each nation an each age, in conformity to the subject respectively chosen. But then the truth of the costume, and of natural and historical representation must be strictly preserved. Objects must be neither exagerated [sic] beyond probability, nor diminished so as not to please or affect.[81]

Gennaro Magri, in his 1779 *Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing*, likewise insists that an authentic rendering of a nation's expressive arts requires knowledge of its distinct cultural attributes. He suggests further that the application of this knowledge was required of the professional dancer. The *ballerino*, he writes, should study

> geography in order to know the rites, climates, places, customs, abuses, Islands, seas, Cities of different Nations, especially those of African, Asiatic, and American ones, not known to us, so as to stage properly and express the character in a natural way, if wishing to put one of these Nation's dances into a spectacle. These are all necessary things, without which one cannot succeed as a first-rate ballerino.[82]

Carlo Blasis also wrote about the expression of national identity through dance. Indeed, as his long career progressed, the passages on character dance in his various treatises became lengthier. In the earliest, *Traité élémentaire, théorétique et pratique de l'art et la danse*, published in Milan in 1820, Blasis devoted less than one page to the subject, suggesting in the chapter on "Dancers: Serious, Demi-Caractère and Comic" that

> All dancers of the comic roles should study characteristic steps. They must devote themselves to a correct representation of national idiosyncrasies and imbue each step and pose with the style and spirit of the peoples whose dance they are performing. The best known character dances are the Provençal, the Bolero, the Tarantella, and the Russian, Scottish, German, Tyrolian, Cossack, etc. national dances.[83]

However, with the breakdown of the traditional genres of dancers in the 1820s, national dances came to be adopted into the repertory of principal dancers and featured with increasing frequency in ballets and operas. This heightened interest in character dance is reflected in Blasis's next treatise, *The Code of Terpsichore* (London, 1828), in which he devotes a major portion (twenty pages) of the opening section to character dancing, especially dances of the Spanish type. He justified his attention to the subject with this comment: "As an investigation and minute description of these [Spanish] dances seems requisite with the nature and subject of the present work, I feel myself called upon to present them to my readers. They will behold in these pastimes—these imitative exercises of the Spaniards—depicted a transcript of their character and their taste."[84]

Blasis continued to expand his treatment of national dances. Nearly twenty years later, in *Notes Upon Dancing* (London, 1847), he devoted thirty-two pages to the subject, discussing the history, style, expressive qualities, music, and steps of over fifteen national dances, as well as an etymology of some of their titles. He also calls national dance "a principle [sic] charm of the Ballet," and admonishes professional dancers to "study characteristic steps and render themselves servile imitators... of dancing

peculiar to different countries, giving their attitudes and movements the true national stamp of the dances they are performing."[85]

In what seems to have been his last theoretical treatise, *Tantsy voobshche, baletnye znamenitosti i natsional'nye tantsy* (Dances in General, Ballet Celebrities, and National Dances), published in Moscow in 1864 and little known outside of Russia, Blasis devotes seventy pages to national dances in the chapter "The Theater (Stage Presentations)." He covers more than fifty-two dances, stressing the importance of accuracy in bringing such dances to the stage:

> The mechanism by which dances are created is a result of the very essence and nature of the human being. And, thus, the musician and choreographer must study the vast array of national music and dances and through their work must make visible those mutual relationships that exist between songs and dances. And, on the other hand, they must also point out the differences between nations, judging by their dance and music cultures.[86]

There is also evidence that Blasis intended to write a book devoted entirely to national dance. The book was advertised as follows in *Notes Upon Dancing*:

> NATIONAL DANCES
>
> Prospectus already printed—National Dances still in use in various countries. Containing a description of the steps, attitudes, costumes, peculiar characteristics, with original music, of the principal National or popular dances, as practised by various classes of society. This description will be accompanied by artistical and philosophical remarks upon the beauties peculiar to each species of dancing, shewing that the true spirit and plan of construction is closely connected with, and derived from, the tastes and habits of the different countries where they were invented.[87]

This advertisement goes on to say that Blasis planned to describe over one hundred and twenty-three dances in what he called "the first [work] of the kind that has appeared." Although there is no record of the volume being published, the obvious attention given to national dances by this foremost classical theoretician is nonetheless striking.

Equally notable is the way his discussions of national dance resonate with Herderian thought. Like Herder, Blasis writes explicitly of how the distinctive traits of a particular nation are communicated through the expressive mode (which for Herder is spoken language and for Blasis the language of movement):

> *Herder*: Each nation speaks in the manner it thinks and thinks in the manner it speaks.[88]
>
> *Blasis*: Each nation has its own dances and the dance characterizes that nation.[89]

Too, both men see pluralism as the basis of the human condition and assert that a people's physical surroundings inform its expressive culture:

> *Herder*: Each nation must be considered on its own merits, with regards to its situation and its own distinctive features; arbitrary selection or rejection of this or that characteristic, of this or that custom, do not render its history.[90]
>
> Climate, water, air, food and drink, they all affect language.... Viewed in this way, language is indeed a magnificent treasure store.[91]
>
> *Blasis*: The physical strength, agility, and flexibility of every nation is in close accord with the climate. That is why gestures and unpleasant movements that may be acceptable to one nation are completely unacceptable to others. Taking into account the differences in gesture, dances should be as various as nations.[92]

Both Herder and Blasis view language and dance (respectively) as developing from a people's deepest experiences and, thus, serving as an embodiment of its soul:

> *Herder*: What is the whole structure of language but a mode of development of man's spirit, the history of his discoveries?[93]
>
> *Blasis*: The mechanism of making dances arises from the very essence and nature of the human being.... Dances could be defined as the true picture of man's condition.[94]

Putting Theory into Practice. How did this theoretical fascination with the diverse cultural expression of nations manifest itself in the practical realm? For Herder, it meant learning languages and oral traditions, something that he clearly felt passionate about, as his comments about Greek indicate:

> I wish I could... get to Greece... to learn to speak like a born Greek. How many thousand small distinctions there are in constructions, tenses, particles, pronunciation, which one hears only through the living speech!... Oh, if I could read Homer as I do Klopstock! If I would not have to scan him mechanically, what a different poet he would be for me! If I knew how to scan him for passion and spontaneous nature, how much more would I hear then! What intensification, what suspensions, what tremulousness, what agitation, etc.![95]

Herder was indeed recognized for his ability to assimilate foreign literature and to appreciate it "from the inside out," as it were. As George Bancroft has written, Herder "knew how to enter upon the study of a foreign work as if he had been of the country and time for which it was originally designed, and he was able to transfer into his own language the lighter graces, no less than the severe lessons of foreign poets."[96]

Blasis, too, took it upon himself to make a study of foreign culture, asserting that he had "studied the character, customs and habits of various nations, succeed[ing]... in the composition of national dances, [by] strictly preserv[ing], defin[ing] and illustrat[ing] all native peculiarities."[97] Doing so was not merely a matter of learning how to apply various types

of stylistic varnish; it was—as studying languages was for Herder—a means of tapping into the essential qualities of various nations.

To what extent did choreographers and dancers follow Blasis's advice during the Romantic period? What care was taken to heed the words of the theoreticians and "devote themselves," as Blasis put it, "to a correct representation of national idiosyncrasies"?[98] We do know that some of the greatest artists of the Romantic ballet sought out instruction from native dancers. Marie Taglioni learned her mazurka from a well-known dancer in Warsaw and had an authentic mazurka costume made in Cracow. (Eugène Desmares reported in a letter that "Marie learned the mazurka here, not the one that you know a little, which is not exact. It's a delicious *pas* that she keeps for her friends; she had a national costume made for herself in Cracow, which is the city where the mazurka is danced the best.")[99] And after she was criticized in St. Petersburg for her performance of a Russian-style *pas de caractère*, she worked with a Russian dancer before attempting such a number again. Her biographer Léandre Vaillat describes her subsequent success:

> A great artist always tries to learn lessons. With the meticulousness that had characterized everything about her dancing career, Taglioni prepared. At her father's benefit performance,...she reappeared in the divertissement in *La Gitana*, dressed this time as a true Russian. The public was surprised to see her again with all the gestures and character of a Russian dancer. The incomparable Mons. August, a veteran of the corps de ballet, served as her partner. Despite his advanced age, he had some truly beautiful moments. He had given his young comrade advice from which she had justly profited. She danced this time in Russian style, and all hearts beat with joy.[100]

Perhaps having learned from Taglioni's misadventure, Fanny Elssler also studied with a Russian teacher, Nikita Peshkov, before dancing a national *pas* during her engagement in Russia in January 1851. Wearing a sarafan and kokoshnik, she impressed the critic of the *Moskovskie vedomosti* with her convincing rendition of Russian style: "[t]o understand even the slightest nuances of the national character that are expressed in our dance and to master them can be done only by an artist of genius such as Fanny Elssler. Her shoulders spoke; she glided like a swan...and in every way resembled a real Russian maiden."[101] Elssler also took care to learn her czardas in Pest itself.[102]

August Bournonville, too, directly benefited from his work with native dancers. Performing under the tutelage of Camprubí and Serral in Denmark in 1840, he marveled that "before my imagination there now appeared a whole new world of character dances which I had indeed suspected but had not fully understood."[103] And Marius Petipa, when commissioned to choreograph a Caucasian lezghinka for the opera *Russlan and Ludmilla*, brought in four Caucasians from the Russian army to

instruct him in this unusual dance before making any attempt to stage it. He also turned to native sources when asked to provide a dance for the opera *Carmen*: "I became familiar with Spanish dances first hand, at the source," he wrote in his memoirs. Thus, "I inserted [a] genuine, original fandango in the opera *Carmen*....[I]t was not my invention, but the national dance that I had learned when I was in Madrid."[104]

It is also possible that professional ballet dancers gained knowledge of native folk dance by attending performances in popular theaters and other venues. Fanny Elssler, for instance, is known to have seen a troupe of *devadasis* from a Vishnu shrine near Pondicherry at the Théâtre des Variétés in 1838.[105] Gautier, too, went to see the troupe and predicted that "[i]nevitably, the very un-Indian bayadère of the Opéra will merge with the *devadasi* of Pondicherry."[106] Much research remains to be done on the impact of native dancers who toured European cities and performed in popular theaters, ballrooms, fairgrounds, and other venues. But it seems plausible that their dancing helped critics and spectators establish a standard of "authenticity" by which they judged the character *pas* performed by professional ballet dancers. In any case, one may see in the following two critiques by Gautier that reviewers did raise the question of authenticity, tending to object when a dancer was believed to lack the flavor and stylization of the original:

> All the movements of the arms and legs are irreproachable, but the backs and the hips are a little lacking in suppleness. The proud, arched bearing of the Andalusian has not quite been caught. The feet and the hands are Spanish, but the torso is still too French. All southern peoples dance with their bodies as much as their legs, and so it is necessary to give the torso more suppleness and mobility to achieve a perfect imitation....Mme A[lexis] Dupont does not always know how to temper her frenzy. The manner in which she shakes her head is too abrupt, like the frisking of a lamb, and more suitable to a Styrian dance.[107]

> In the second act, Mlle Plunkett danced with some partner or other a very lively and exaggerated sort of bolero....By performing many frenetic and fantastic things that the dancers of Seville, Granada, and Cadiz would never have permitted themselves to attempt, she displayed qualities of flexibility and suppleness which, had they been more controlled, could have created a greater impression.[108]

The Process of Choreographing Character Dance. While it is true that many artists of the Romantic ballet availed themselves of opportunities to observe and study authentic forms of national dance, it would be naive to suggest that choreographers of the period made a regular practice of transferring the folk dances of the countryside to the professional stage without modification. So the question inevitably arises: to what degree did choreographers of Romantic ballet truly strive to preserve the original vocabulary and characteristic style of folk dances? It seems highly likely that original folk dances were distilled to a certain repertory of steps, poses, and gestures that were recognizably associated with a particular

culture—with technical virtuosity and the choreographer's own artistry being then added to the mix. Blasis suggests as much in *The Code of Terpsichore* when he admonishes dancers to study the "characteristic steps,... attitudes, and movements"[109] of various national dancers and ballet masters to "remark the customs and manners peculiar to different countries, even to their particular features, and whatever other mark of distinction is remarkable between them."[110]

A certain repertory of markers, then, was sufficient to function emblematically, reinforcing the spectators' sense that they were somehow gaining access to the essence of a culture or nation. And the high significative value attached to these markers was bolstered by the well-entrenched Herderian notion that folk arts were a pure form of expression, springing from "the very essence and nature of the human being."[111] Thus, a character *pas* created by a choreographer but replete with distinctive markers characteristic of a certain style of folk dance would have offered the viewer, in Blasis's words, "a kind of picture or transcript of the taste, feeling and character" of a particular nation.[112] So, character dance was not truly expected to reproduce authentic folk dance in the modern-day ethnographic sense, but instead was distilled, its salient features thereby thrown into high relief and presented to the audience in a way that gave the impression of a well-wrought verisimilitude.

Yet, while he insisted upon noting "mark[s] of distinction," Blasis also found it reasonable to generalize about the *resemblances* that could be "traced between the manners of certain nations."[113] He categorized manners according to the broad geographic regions of the North and South, positing that the opposing temperaments of these two regions informed their dancing with certain fundamental distinguishing traits. He wrote in 1847 that:

> those graceful, attractive, picturesque and poetic dances of the Southern climates, in which the heart indulges without reserve in its emotions, and the various movements are dictated by a glowing imagination.... [T]he dances of the Northern countries, where reserve, mixed with elegance and energy, and a kind of restrained gaiety, clearly indicate the character of the people with whom such dances are most in use.[114]

Thus, unsophisticated as this may seem to us today, Blasis associated temperament with place and painted the distinctions between regions with very broad strokes. A similar approach was taken by Bournonville, though he held that there existed three (not two) categories of temperament, and he attempted to trace each category historically and geographically. Bournonville wrote in 1848:

> The native or so-called national dances with which we are familiar may be divided into three types: the chaste, the voluptuous, and the martial. Among the first ought to be classed the earlier Italian, Spanish, and French dances which, like the Nordic, were performed to the accompaniment of romances, heroic poems, and elegies. They moved quite slowly and demanded great dignity on the part of both the man and woman. These dances were those of civilized nations.... I would call them *classical*.
>
> The second kind stems from Hindustan, where female dancers are raised in temples. They are called *Devadasis* (in Portuguese *balladeiras*; in French *bayadères*); from them come the Egyptian *almées*, the Moorish and later Spanish and Italian dances whose central motif is the ecstasy of love and whose performance is, for the most part, left to women. This is the *Indian* genre.
>
> Lastly, those dances wherein the masculine grace and strength are particularly displayed, and where the female dancer is more subordinate, have their origins in northern Asia and known throughout Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, to Germany and the entire north, by the names of polska and waltz.... These are the *Slavic* dances.[115]

For both Blasis and Bournonville, it seems that this approach was a way of organizing, of setting up a general paradigmatic structure within which the specific markers could be situated. Furthermore, it appears that a partnership was held to exist between the movement marker and its corresponding temperament, and that together the two elements shaped a national style. This, we suggest, constitutes the styling that is the hallmark of the character dancer. Temperament is regarded as an essential quality, a natural identifying expression. For example, the quality of "voluptuousness" when applied to a dance step (for example, a pas de basque) served to signify a distinctive place and people. And "voluptuousness" was first understood as a depiction of regional temperament and its associated dance styles, and secondarily may also have been appreciated for its sensual effect. Consider, for example, Gautier's impression of the "purity" of Dolores Serral's voluptuousness: "Her talent has a character all its own. In the most exaggerated *écarts* of this unrestrained and animated dance she is never immodest. She is full of passion and voluptuousness, but true voluptuousness is always chaste."[116]

Fanny Cerrito performing the lituana, 1840. Dance Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

Bournonville's delineation of these broad categories is borne out with striking vividness in extant eyewitness accounts of ethnic-derived dancing from the Romantic period—as performed both by native dancers and by academically-trained ballet dancers. In the following descriptions, in fact, one may not only gain a clear idea of what

these markers looked like; one may also see that the stylistic affinities between the individual national dances in each of the three categories as posited by Bournonville—the martial, the voluptuous, and the chaste—were clearly perceived by the spectators.

"THE MARTIAL TYPE"

Polish Dances

Mazurka: "The Heel-strokes, which are interspersed with the various steps of the mazurka, and which are even amongst the necessary accompaniments of the dance, must be given in time and with a certain energy.... I have remarked that the Poles make an inclination of the head on the first step, and reraise it on the second with a sort of decision full of grace.... The mazurka is composed, at once, of impulse, majesty, unreservedness, and allurement. It has something of the proud and the warlike" (Cellarius).[117]

"It would be difficult indeed to accurately describe the characteristics of this dance; in fact to fully appreciate its beauties one must have seen it executed again and again by accomplished dancers. The Mazurka is a combination of exalted pride and martial boldness, knightly gallantry and the most graceful devotedness.... The music of the Mazurka is in either 3/4 or 3/8 measure, of which the second syllable is accented, as shown by a point or an accent placed above it; by the regular accent of the first syllable is also observed.... Here [in the striking steps] also the syllable is audible, and although this attribute is agreeable to the dancers, and quite in harmony with the character of the Mazurka (especially if the dancer wears spurs)" (Zorn).[118]

Mazur,[119] as performed by eight native Polish dancers in St. Petersburg, 1851: "[O]n stage rushed four nimble couples of dancers.... The mazur started, passionate and full of enthusiasm, a fiery mazur adorned with all of its various figures and poetic poses, full of grace or ravishment, sometimes on the edge of true bravery and even debauchery. The skillful danseurs cleverly stamped their feet, and the pretty ladies passed among them full of enthusiasm. Wonderful! Extremely beautiful!" (*Sankpeterburgskie vedomosti*).[120]

Cracovienne, as performed by Fanny Elssler in *La Gipsy*, Paris, 28 January 1839: "[T]he Pas de la Cracovienne affords her [Elssler] a triumph which will make the ballet's fortune. She dances in the most coquettish and roguish costume that could be imagined: an officer's tunic sparkling with buttons and a *vivandière's* skirt, boots with steel spurs, and a black necktie framing a delightful chin—the whole crowned with a triumphant, sprightly little plume, the prettiest you ever saw. It is impossible to describe this dance: it is rhythmic precision mingled with a charming ease, a muscular and bounding agility which cannot be imagined; the metallic clicking of the spurs, a kind of castanets on the heels, emphasises each step and gives the dance a quality of joyous vivacity which is quite irresistible. This *pas* is encored every evening" (Gautier).[121]

Varsovienne, as performed by Fanny Cerrito and Mlle Camille at Cerrito's benefit, London, 21 July 1842: "[A] pretty bit of eccentricity.... Cerrito infuses such a spirit into these characteristic pas, they seem such natural outbursts of delight that nothing can be more fascinating. On she went bounding along, admirably supported by the clever little Camille, and accompanied by the plaudits of the audience, which were renewed as the two danseuses advanced along the lamps, saluting them in military fashion" (*The Times*).[122]

Other Slavic and Germanic Dances

Hongroise, as performed by the Danseuses Viennoises, 1845: "[T]he *hongroise* [was] interpolated into the ball scene of the second act.... Half the troupe, dressed in male costume, served as partners to the others. You cannot imagine the rapidity and daring of these little Hungarians, the majesty with which they clicked the silver spurs on boots... the determination with which they slapped their thighs... decorated with rich trimmings, and the swagger with which they wore the Uhlan bonnets on the sides of their heads. You know full well that a feeling for tempo, an energetic and free rhythm, and a calculated allure are indispensable qualities for these national and popular dances. Every beat must be stressed with heel taps or the clatter of spurs, so that the slightest error would be noticed at once" (Gautier).[123]

Lituana, as performed by Fanny Cerrito in a divertissement at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, 2 May 1840: "[O]ne of those eccentric, wild, playful, semi-masculine pas, in which the danseuse sports a military hat and boots, and goes through soldier-like gestures... [performed] with extraordinary rapidity... [and]... all the dash and sportive prettiness which constitutes the charm of the dances of this kind" (a London critic).[124]

Styrienne, as performed by Fanny Cerrito and Auguste Albert in a divertissement at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, 12 August 1841: "[Q]uite a unique dance: the lady appears altogether at the mercy of the gentleman who sometimes twirls her round like a teetotum, sometimes pushes her uncourteously from him.... An inferior dancer could have made nothing of it, but Cerrito entered fully into its humour" (a London critic).[125]

"THE VOLUPTUOUS TYPE"

Spanish Dances

General: "They dance with their whole body, they arch their backs, bend sideways, and twist their torsos with the suppleness of an almeh or a grass snake. In *poses renversées* the dancer's shoulders almost touch the ground; her arms, dreamy and passive, have a flexibility and a limpness like that of a loosened scarf.... [T]his voluptuous languor is succeeded by leaps of a young jaguar.... Spanish male dancers... always appear to be passionately in love.... [T]hey possess a certain ferocious grace, a particular allure, insolently holding their bodies back, which is theirs alone" (Gautier).[126]

"She [Dolores Serral] is full of passion and voluptuousness.... She weaves her arms as though swooning from love, and bends back her head.... Her body curves with a nervous shiver... then she sinks down, brushing the floor with her arms while still playing the castanets, only to

Fanny Elssler and James Sylvain in a "Pas Styrien." American Antiquarian Society.

spring up, quick and alert as a bird, darting a sparkling laugh at her partner" (Gautier).[127]

Cachucha: "[T]he Cachucha is a national dance of a primitive character.... It is a charming poem written in the twisting of the hips, sidelong expressions, a foot advanced and then withdrawn, all joyfully accompanied by the chatter of castanets and having more to say on its own than many volumes of erotic verse.

There is one position that is ravishingly graceful. It is the moment when the dancer, half-kneeling, with back proudly arched, head thrown back, a large red rose unfolding in her beautiful half-loosened black hair, arms dreamily extended and only gently shaking the castanets, smiles over her shoulder at the lover who is approaching to steal a kiss.... He is supple, precise, sinuous and lively as a young jaguar" (Gautier).[128]

Cachucha, as performed by Fanny Elssler in *Le Diable boiteux*, Paris, 1 June 1836: "Those swayings of the hips... those provocative gestures... and, above all, Elssler's sensuous grace, lascivious abandon, and plastic beauty were greatly appreciated by the opera-glasses of the stalls and boxes" (de Boigne).[129]

Double Cachucha, as performed by Fanny Cerrito and Jules Perrot, in a divertissement at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, 14 July 1842: "[N]ever in our remembrance is there a pas de caractère so beautiful as the *Double Cachucha* danced by her [Cerrito] and Perrot.... [W]hen the cachucha really does begin, it is an inspiration; she is a creature of fire. It is in the Spanish spirit of defiance that she and Perrot dance *at* each other. The fury, as it were, of this part of the dance is beautifully relieved by those exquisite attitudes, where Cerrito falls on one knee and leans back with languishing expression, while Perrot stands over her" (*The Times*).[130]

Italian Dances

Tarantella: "It is gay and somewhat voluptuous displaying in its music, steps, attitudes, the taste and temperament of those who invented it. Love and pleasure are conspicuous throughout every movement. Each gesture and motion are full of seductive grace... the woman tries, by the life and rapidity of her motions to excite the love of her partner, who, in turn endeavors to win her favour by his agility and his elegance, and tender gestures. The two dancers now unite, then separate, return, fly into each other's arms, again bound away, and by means of a great variety of gesticulations, they exhibit alternatingly love, hatred, indifference, disdain, coquetry and inconstancy....Sometimes they hold hands, or the man kneels whilst the woman dances around him; he then rises, when she starts away, and he eagerly pursues" (Blasis).[131]

Sicilienne, as performed by Fanny Cerrito and Arthur Saint-Léon in London, 1845: "*Pas* more felicitous, more beautiful, more admirably suited to their charming inventor were never devised....[A]ll that pursuit and flying, that coquetting and tantalizing in which Cerrito *is* inimitable.... The drop upon Saint-Léon's arm as for a pose, and then the hopping in of the two together, preserving the attitude, produced a most novel effect... genuine merriment and... perfect naturalness" (*The Times*).[132]

"Indian"/"Moorish"/"Egyptian"

Indian: "The special class of Indian woman... are supposed to sing and dance in front of shrines... [an] Oriental pantomime. While they are getting ready to dance, their looks, postures, and figures tell the public 'Come, the fire of passion is already burning in my blood'" (Blasis).[133]

Pas de Chibouque, as performed by Fanny Cerrito in *Lallah Rookh*, London, 11 June 1846: "Cerrito dances such a variety of steps and baffles all description—now

TOP: *Sofia Fuoco in a tarantella, Raffaele Carrieri,* La Danza in Italia, 1500-1900 *(Milan: Domus, 1946), p. 56.*

BOTTOM: *Fanny Cerrito in the ballet* La Fille de marbre. *Dance Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.*

executing exquisitely small twinkling steps, at the next moment bounding like an antelope. There was in this dance the characteristic movement, as well as measure, of the dances of the East—of that Eastern world which, through the Moors, conveyed the premature form of the bolero, cachucha, guaracha, etc., to Spain" (*Morning Post*).[134]

Le Parfum et les Echarpes (Perfume and Scarves), as performed in the work *Le Saïs*, at the Théâtre de la Renaissance: "Four almées...throw scarves in the air while opening their arms to make a grand crown. They repeat [this] three times...do a *saut de basque* dragging the foot on the floor, bending at the hip *au dedans...pas de bourrée dessous-dessus*...while changing the épaulement, [then do] a waltz turn while carrying the hands behind the head....Repeat three times" (H. Justament).[135]

"THE CHASTE TYPE"

Fewer examples of this type of dancing are to be found in newspaper reviews during the Romantic period, since this category is by definition pre-Romantic (or indeed, far older, as Bournonville seems to imply). But one can at least discern from these reviews that representations of classical Greek figures onstage did seem to subscribe to this type as Bournonville describes it. Furthermore, it is clear that a certain dignity and nobility were imputed to the minuet, and that its overall effect, too, seems to be in line with Bournonville's "chaste" category.

Minuet, as performed by Fanny Elssler in *La Gipsy*, 1839: "[T]he minuet [is] danced by the heroine....Few things have been seen more fearful than the cold and measured grace of Mdlle. Fanny Elssler in this juncture, than the manner in which every step was watched, every gesture allowed its right time, so that neither flurry nor faltering might be detected" (Henry Chorley).[136]

Minuet, performed in *La Péri*, Paris, 1843: "As for the French woman [dancing a minuet], all varnished with bad make-up, all curled, all covered with powder in the style of a field marshall's wife: 'By Allah!' said Achmet, 'I am tired of Louis the XV...this imprisoning rouge, this powder suffocates you'" (*Le Journal des Débats*).[137]

Minuet, as performed by Fanny Cerrito and Lucile Grahn in *Un Bal sous Louis XIV*, London, 1845: "[The] demure posturings [of the minuet were executed] with becoming reserve and formality" (*Morning Post*).[138]

Ancient/Classical: "The chief *pas* was a *Diane Chasseresse*....The slow movement is very beautiful, its chief characteristic being given by the series of classical attitudes into which the dancer falls. The gracefulness with which Fleury poised on one toe, bent forward with extended bow, and in that attitude slowly revolved, was very striking" (*The Times*).[139]

Iconography of the period also provides valuable affirmation that characteristic positioning of the torso, arms, head, and feet served to "mark" national origin. Consider the stylistic similarities between the

cracovienne and the lituana, both Slavic dances: one hand positioned at the waist or hip, the opposite arm curved above the shoulder, and the extended foot that created rhythmic patterns when "'spotted' lightly" against the floor.[140] These same stylizations are also called for in Michel Saint-Léon's notations of the krakovia and the mazurka, in which the arms assume the Slavic stylization of one arm at the hip and the feet alternatingly "beat" ("frappe") a rhythmic pattern.[141]

These samples of nineteenth-century prose accounts and pictures, of course, provide only a small glimpse into the vocabulary of markers that helped define particular national dance types to the audience. But they do indicate that there existed a palpable set of signs that audiences could "read"—heel clicking, hands positioned on the waist, and head-tossing in the Slavic types; turning and partnering in the Germanic types; hopping and fast footwork in the Italian types; bending, twisting, and kneeling in the Spanish types. Thus, much as the spectators understood the significative value of pantomime gestures (which could indicate such concepts as "marriage," "death," "pretty," and "night") and musical types (jigs for Scotland, yodeling music for Switzerland, cymbals for Turkey, etc.), they also became accustomed to national movement idioms. And they could rely on all three sets of signals to help make sense of the action and the characters of the somewhat complex narrative ballets of the Romantic period.

Unfortunately, however, while it is clear that choreographers relied upon these vocabularies of steps and gestures, there is a regrettable lack of documentation of how they actually brought this material to the stage. Indeed, the frustrating silence of the sources when it comes to specific information about Romantic-era choreography poses quite a daunting problem to all historians of the period, whether they are seeking insight into classical or character *pas*.[142] But it does seems safe to assert that the Romantic choreographer was faced with the challenge of remaining true both to the "authentic" signature of the national dance and to his or her creative impulse at the same time.[143] As Bournonville wrote of his own experience in composing Spanish *pas*:

> I was not blind to the pretty and romantic qualities to be found in the Spanish character. But here, as in everything else, it was a matter of determining what had a right to be put on stage, of making the proper choice of material, then finding the most suitable way of using it. I wished to show, without depriving the picture of its national physiognomy, one could idealize it and draw it into the dramatic sphere.[144]

Critics sometimes even referred specifically to the successful combining of a well-known style with a fresh new idea. Gautier, for instance, notes that in a tarantella choreographed by Saint-Léon, "[t]here is a moment that is delightfully graceful and original, when he [Saint-Léon] places his foot against hers [Fanny Cerrito's] and they move together as one, as though joined at the toes."[145] But until more choreographic and

anecdotal evidence is unearthed, we must remain largely ignorant of precisely how various choreographers went about the task of creating national *pas*, how they negotiated between their own original ideas and the standard movement vocabularies of the various styles.

Jules Perrot

In the case of Jules Perrot, the dearth of choreographic evidence is particularly frustrating. For many nineteenth-century critics clearly admired him not only for his gift for using dance as a means to advance the drama in narrative ballets, but also for his notable character dance choreography. And it seems that he combined these two talents in an intriguing way. Though, again, the lack of choreographic evidence prevents us from offering an in-depth discussion of his choreography, we believe it would be remiss of us not to mention him. For descriptions of his ballets do allow us a glimpse into the process by which at least one artist combined folk-derived material and his own creative ideas in a dramatically affecting way.[146]

Three threads seemed to run through Perrot's career that are of particular importance to the history of character dance. First, critics clearly regarded him as a great innovator whose choreography epitomized a new approach to ballet. "The old historical ballet of action seems to have forever departed," wrote the *Morning Post* in 1847 in a review of Perrot's *Les Eléments*. "In lieu of the fabled gods of the Pantheon we have the imaginings of Victor Hugo and Henri Heine choreographed; where strode stalwart zephyrs, we now have the elements symbolized, if not etherealized....The aged deem this rebellion; the youthful, revolution."[147] Second, as Gautier pointed out, he drew successfully from both classical and character idioms.[148] And while he was justly celebrated for his classical choreography, it is noteworthy that the vast majority of his ballets called for national dance.[149] Third, Perrot conceived of new ways to use national dance as a means of helping advance the story in narrative ballets, perhaps integrating it more fully into the action than some of his peers. In *Ondine*, as Guest explains, he

> made the most imaginative use of Italian material. His tarantella was an impressive set-piece for the corps de ballet, but its interruption for the evening prayer was a masterly stroke which doubled the effect of the reprise that followed, while, later in the ballet his adaptation of a saltarello to convey Ondine's faltering strength was a prime example of the use of dance to advance the narrative.[150]

Perrot also seems to have had the capacity to tap into the deep and inherently expressive force of folk dance in a way that worked well on the stage. In *Eoline*, for example, which was set in Silesia (now a region of western Poland), Perrot brought the driving, captivating impetus of the Polish mazurka to his sensational *mazurka d'extase*, where Eoline is drawn under the spell of the evil Rübezahl. "You can sense the supernatural force that dominates the will, overcomes the resistance, fascinates like a snake, and draws its victim to the abyss," wrote Gautier in a review of the St. Petersburg production of the ballet:

> Hypnotized by his glance, Eoline rises to her feet and begins to dance with him. She is like a dove...feathers ruffled, wings aquiver, terrified yet fascinated. It is obvious that Eoline has no love for Rübezahl, yet this magical dance benumbs and intoxicates her. An insidious languor softens her movements, her head droops, her eyes become misty, and her lips part in a smile as her breathing quickens. Half fainting, she falls into Rübezahl's arms.[151]

The critic for the London *Times* was equally impressed by this mazurka, which "exhibited mental qualities worthy of the greatest names of the profession....It is the best thing of the sort that has been done since the *Valse de Fascination* in *Alma*, and is marked by greater profundity of thought than that."[152] Indeed, this is one of several national *pas* choreographed by Perrot in which the character performing it underwent an important psychological or emotional transformation during the course of the dance itself.

One testament to the great merit of Perrot's character dance choreography is that Marius Petipa "borrowed" it. A well-documented instance of this occurred in 1861, when he interpolated Perrot's "La Cosmopolitana" into *Le Marché des Innocents*, a minor work restaged by Petipa for his wife's benefit performance at the Paris Opéra.[153] A long, complex number, "La Cosmopolitana" had been choreographed by Perrot in 1853 for the ballet *Gazelda*. According to Ivor Guest, the *pas* was "intended to convey the nomadic nature of gypsy life by introducing a succession of national dances—Moorish, Tyrolese, Spanish and English."[154] To Petipa's surprise, Perrot withheld permission for the dance to be performed. Although Petipa gave him full credit on the program, Perrot filed suit against him for breach of copyright. The judge ruled in favor of Perrot, stating that "a *pas* from a ballet composed of national dances from different countries, but combined in such a way as to form a particular and distinct composition, constitutes an intellectual work that is protected by the law of literary and artistic property."[155] Thus, the judge explicitly acknowledged that a choreographic composition based on national dance material could be deemed a unique artistic property.

The "Ballet Blanc" and National Dance

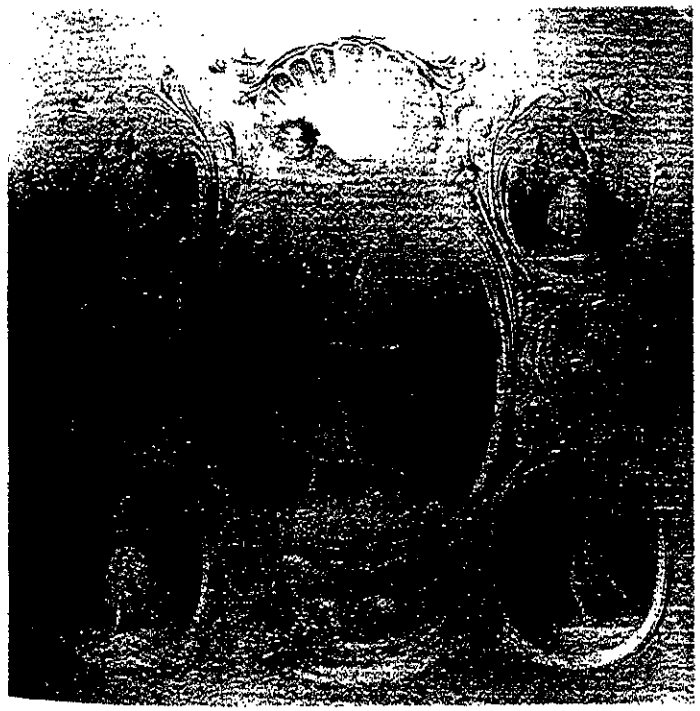
Gautier's famous distinction between Marie Taglioni as a Christian dancer and Fanny Elssler as a pagan one has left an indelible mark on ballet historiography, encouraging the idea that the *ballet blanc* belonged to a different species of ballet than works featuring national dancing; that the palpable contrast between the styles of these ballerinas might somehow be

viewed as a paradigm for two types of Romantic ballet—a white variety, and a more colorful, earthy sort.[156] But, in fact, the two were not mutually exclusive. Indeed, there seem to have been few, if any, "white ballets" that remained "white" throughout. And the sort of ethereal dancing we associate with "white" ballets such as *La Sylphide* and *Giselle* was often performed in tandem with national dancing. Thus, in *La Sylphide* the highland corps danced Scottish jigs, and a corps of sylphs performed classical *pas*. In the title role of *Ondine* Fanny Cerrito danced a moonlit *pas de l'ombre* in one scene and a lusty tarantella in the next. In Act III of *Pâquerette* she appeared "in a haze of white gauze, shimmering with golden spangles"; in Act IV, "she wore a smart Hungarian jacket [that] cl[ung] tightly to her trim figure, and boots with resonant heels [that] imprison[ed] her pretty feet."[157] Marie Taglioni, in *La Fille de Danube* (the ballet Janin called "the very poetic sequel to *La Sylphide* [except] that the supernatural resides no longer in the ether but in the depths of the waters")[158] danced beneath the surface of the Danube (as an undine), then returned to land with a mazurka, possibly in the costume made for her in Poland in 1838.[159]

In some houses, a *ballet blanc* might be followed by a work in character style: Cerrito, for instance, at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels in 1844 played the title role in *La Sylphide*, then launched into a performance of *La Gitana*. (One critic praised her for appearing truly to have become a sylphide in the first ballet, and for displaying in the second a "provocative pride... more in the spirit of Spanish dancing" than Elssler's "coquettish[ness] and captivating... softer manner.")[160] Two weeks later at the same house she danced *Giselle* and followed it with a *cachucha*—garnering thunderous applause for both.[161] And Carlotta Grisi, at a London benefit performance in 1842, performed the second act of *Giselle*, followed by the rousing tarantella from *Le Pêcheur napolitain*.[162]

This leads to the subject of *Giselle*, today the most famous and widely performed of all the ballets created during the period under scrutiny here. Though *Giselle* is not generally regarded as a ballet that reflects the Romantic taste for national dancing, a closer examination of the documents generated at the time of its first production reveals that it originally did so. Recall that much was made in the press of its German setting and that the names "Gisela" (gallicized as "Giselle") and "Albrecht" would have struck Parisian audiences as decidedly German. Like Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz*, which had premiered at the Opéra only three weeks before, *Giselle* did much to satisfy the appetite for German folklore whetted in 1833 by the publication in France of Heine's *On Germany* (or *De l'Allemagne*), with its tales of "delicious apparitions... encountered in the Harz mountains and on the banks of the Ilse, in a mist softened by German moonlight" that Gautier later acknowledged were his inspiration for the ballet's libretto.[163] Adolphe Adam admirably performed his duty of providing music "characteristic and analogous to the place where the action takes place,"[164] including two excellent waltzes for the heroine, the waltz being a dance very strongly associated at the time with German-speaking peoples. (Any German character appearing in a ballet divertissement, in fact, was likely to perform a waltz, just as French characters in such divertissements tended to dance a minuet. For example, when four European women are introduced into the harem in Act I of *La Péri*, the Scot dances a jig, the German a waltz, the Frenchwoman a minuet, and the Spaniard a bolero.)[165] This may seem odd, since the ethnic connotations of the waltz have all but disappeared in the twentieth century. Yet European audiences of the Romantic period would have instantly recognized its "German-ness." This is why Adam gave Giselle a waltz as her entrance music and why he wrote the now-famous "Giselle Waltz" for the scene later in Act I in which Giselle leads her fellow peasants in a dance. Of this waltz, Adam said rather proudly, that it had "all the German color indicated by the locality,"[166] an idea echoed by critics. Escudier, for example, called it "an enchanting waltz, in the Germanic spirit of the

American sheet music cover depicting Fanny Elssler in her "favorite dances." The center oval shows her in La Tarentule, *the corner ovals (starting at the upper right and moving clockwise), in the cracovienne from* La Gipsy, *in* La Sylphide, La Tarentule, *and* La Gitana. *American Antiquarian Society.*

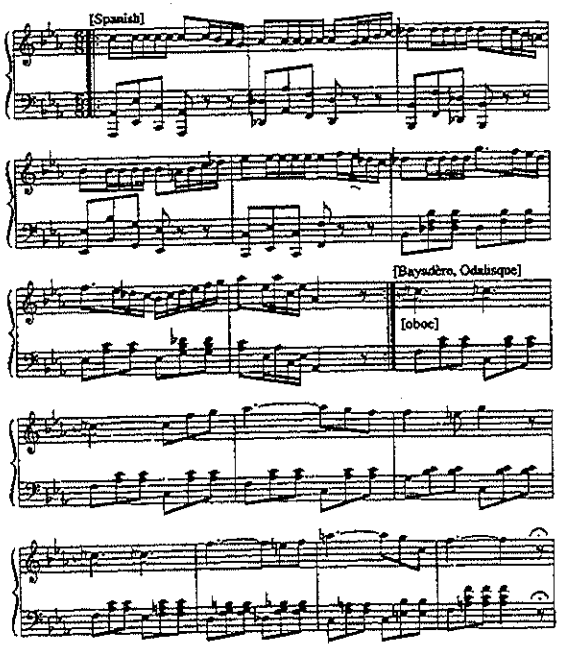


subject."[167] It was also said that Adam's score demonstrated the "grace, the suavity, and the vaporous poetry of the Germanic deities that inspired the composer."[168]

Nineteenth-century audiences, moreover, would have recognized the ethnic references in the brief snippets of Spanish and "Eastern"-sounding music that Adam wove into what he called the "fantastic ball" scene of Act II, presumably to accompany the foreign Wilis as they executed what Adam called "the figures of their native dance."[169] Gautier described these foreigners in his libretto:

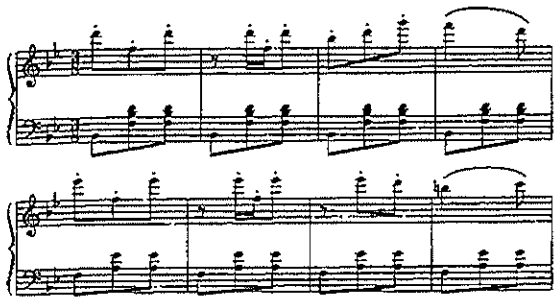
> Several Wilis present themselves, alternately, to their sovereign. There is Moyna, the *odalisque*, executing an oriental dance; next Zulma, the bayadère, displaying her Indian poses; then two Frenchwomen, dancing a kind of fantastic menuet; then some German women, waltzing among themselves. Finally they are joined by the whole band of Wilis.[170]

When one listens to the music closely, one can plainly hear an eight-measure phrase of Spanish-sounding music, followed by music (beginning with an oboe playing in a minor key) surely intended for the odalisque and the bayadère.[171]

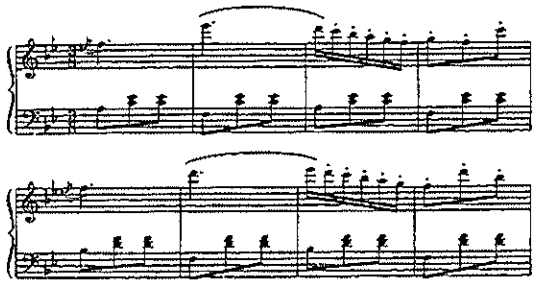


Spanish and Bayadère/Odalisque music from the "Wili's Fantastic Ball" scene in Giselle *(reduced from manuscript conductor's score, A.533, BN-Opéra).*

And shortly thereafter one can hear music that might be interpreted as the minuet and waltz danced (respectively) by the French and German Wilis.[172]



German music from the "Wili's Fantastic Ball" scene in Giselle.



French "Minuet" from the "Wili's Fantastic Ball" scene in Giselle.

(It is something of a tour de force that Adam managed to work all of these ethnic connotations into the framework of a waltz—Spanish rhythms, an oboe playing in a minor key to suggest the "East," the "oompah" effects of a German waltz, and a more delicate and slightly more fussy melody in what I am suggesting is the "minuet." Note, too, that of these four melodies, only the German one recurs. This of course is in keeping with the setting of the ballet.)

The presence of the Spanish music can surely be attributed to the fact that Gautier had told Adam of his earlier idea of including a Wili in Spanish dress who arrives "with the rattling of *castañets* and a swarming of white butterflies." (Adam even wrote the words "groupe général de Wilis—papillons" in the score at the beginning of the scene in which the Wilis arrived.) Recall Gautier's initial inspiration for the second act of *Giselle*:

> At a certain time of year, in a forest glade, the Wilis gather on the banks of a pond where large water-lilies spread their leaves on the viscous waters which have opened up to receive the drowned dancers. Moonbeams shine *between the black cut-up hearts which seem to float like dead loves.* Midnight sounds, and from every point on the horizon, led by will o' the wisps, come the ghosts of girls who died dancing. First, with the rattling of *castañets* and a swarming of white butterflies, wearing a large comb cut *in the latest style like the interior of a Gothic cathedral, silhouetted against* the moon, comes a cachucha dancer from Seville, a gitana, twisting her hips and wearing a skirt which is tight with flounces of cabalistic signs; a Hungarian dancer in a fur bonnet, making the spurs on her boots, like teeth, chatter *in the cold; a bibiaderi in a costume like* that of Amani, a bodice with a sheath of sandalwood, gold lamé pants, a belt and necklace of mirror-bright metal plates... bizarre jewels, rings in her nose, bells around her ankles; and then the last, showing herself timidly, a small student from the Opéra in practice clothes, with a handkerchief around her neck, her hands in a little furry muff. All these costumes, exotic and otherwise, are discolored and they take on a sort of spectral uniformity. This solemn assembly takes place and ends with the scene in which the dead girl leaves her tomb and seems to come back to life in the embrace of her lover who believes he can feel her heart beating alongside his.[173]

Though Gautier's original idea of putting the Wilis in character costumes was discarded, the evidence of the music and the libretto strongly suggests that a handful of solo Wilis—the odalisque Wili, the bayadère Wili, and the German and French Wilis who *were* included in the final version of the libretto—did perform a few measures of character steps during this

A hand-painted lithograph of Giselle, *Act II. The figure on the right has long wavy hair and is wearing a costume that seems intended to look Indian. Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.*

fantastic ball scene, and perhaps a Spanish Wili did so as well; her presence is certainly suggested by the music.

Further evidence that some of the Wilis were presented as "character" Wilis may be found in a nineteenth-century French lithograph depicting an Indian Wili. Unlike her sister Wili (on the left), the Indian Wili's hair is long and wavy, and instead of being fastened up in a bun, it falls to her shoulders. She wears a cloth draped diagonally across her torso in the manner of a sari, and in the hand-colored copy of the lithograph, she is even given dark skin.[174] This is not to say, of course, that the lithograph depicts the costumes of the Wilis accurately. In fact, the costume and production lists compiled at the Opéra at the time of *Giselle's* premiere give no indication that the Wilis were not costumed identically.[175] Yet, the mere fact that a nineteenth-century depiction of *Giselle* could include a character Wili at all bolsters the more substantial evidence of the libretto and score that some of the Wilis were presented to the audience in a way that visually and aurally suggested particular ethnicities. In any case, these three sources—libretto, score, and lithograph—by imputing ethnic characteristics to the Wilis, Romantic ballet's quintessential shades, contradict the notion that national dance and the *ballet blanc* were conceived in the nineteenth century as existing in opposition to one another.

Historiography

Many twentieth-century historians have given short shrift to character dance in the Romantic ballet. Here, for example, is a twentieth-century definition of "Romantic ballet" that leaves out character dance entirely:

> *[R]omantic ballet,* term used for the type of ballet introduced during the Romantic period. It represented a fundamentally different approach from anything that had gone before. The idea of representing a dream world and fairy tales brought about the development of new techniques, especially for the ballerina, who rose on her toes for the first time in an attempt to represent ethereality and "other-worldliness." Music and decor were carefully planned to portray character and atmosphere, and the standard white costume was adopted for the ballerina. There was a temporary decline in the importance of the male dancer. The poet Théophile Gautier (1811–1872) gave considerable impetus to the movement in his writings and with his work on the libretto of the most famous romantic ballet of all, *Giselle* (1841), which successfully fused all the romantic elements.[176]

And here is a late twentieth-century definition of character dance that indicates its present lowly status:

> *Character Dance.* General term for all kinds of theatrical dance outside the bounds of the classic-academic dance, deriving from traditional, national, or folklore sources—also the dance of the artisans and guilds, the comic dance and the dance which is representative of a certain type of character. Dancers who are not tall enough, or in technical respects are not ideally gifted for the academic dance often prefer the character dance.[177]

Both of these definitions would undoubtedly come as a great surprise to the nineteenth-century ballet spectator, who was likely to be acquainted with a good many works that had nothing to do with the dream world and to know quite well that the greatest ballet dancers of the day were equally at home in "classic-academic" style and in character dance.

Yet, when considered in the light of *today*'s performance practice, both definitions seem quite reasonable. This is because the hierarchy implied in the definition of character dancing—a hierarchy that clearly prioritizes the danse d'école over character dance—does exist today in many quarters. In fact, few of today's classically trained dancers study or perform character dancing as extensively as did their nineteenth-century counterparts. Moreover, the two ballets from the Romantic period most widely performed today—*Giselle* and *La Sylphide*—do seem to fit the much-proclaimed model of the "other-worldly" quite well (at first glance, at least).

Today's performance practice, however, can be deceptive in terms of offering a reliable model for the past. Indeed, in the last fifty years, there has been a pendulum swing away from narrative toward pure-dance forms of ballet. This has affected today's Romantic repertory—both the way it is constituted and the way it is performed. And this, in turn, has affected the historiography of nineteenth-century ballet.

For some twentieth-century critics, "pure dance" has taken something akin to a moral precedence over narrative and any sort of dance that expresses or portrays something outside itself. André Levinson, perhaps the most influential twentieth-century critic in this regard, insisted that in *La Sylphide*:

> the dance, instead of being subservient to expressive gestures, itself became the interpreter of the emotions and their symbolic equivalent. . . . In a constant approach to a geometric purity of design, making a pattern in space of straight lines and sweeping perfect curves, idealizing the dancer's body and dematerializing her costume, the *ballet blanc* is able to transmute the formal poses of the slow dance movement—the *Arabesques* of the *Adagio*—as well as those aerial parabolas outlined by seemingly imponderable bodies (technically known as the *grands temps d'élévation*) into a mysterious and poetic language.[178]

Indeed, Levinson posits that it was through Marie Taglioni and *La Sylphide* that dance was finally able to come "into its own again" roughly a half-century after Noverre had contributed to its becoming (in Levinson's words) "simply...a means to an end; [and]...no longer an end in itself. Its independence, its intrinsic aesthetic value had been sacrificed to the expression of character and sentiment."[179] Levinson also suggests that ethnic-derived dances, too, are subject to the principle that confers a higher aesthetic value upon abstract dance. For such ethnic-derived dances, he implies, are unsophisticated and artless unless they are "completely transformed by style": only an inclination "toward abstraction" can elevate them.[180]

Though Levinson's view of the ipso facto superiority of the abstract ballet is not universally held today, it has nonetheless exerted a powerful influence in our century, creating a climate supportive of the pure-dance aesthetic. In any case, there is no doubt that Romantic ballets such as *Esmeralda*, *Le Diable à quatre*, *La Gitana*, and *Le Diable boiteux*—works that relied chiefly upon character idioms to tell their story—would make little artistic sense to audiences reared on modern versions of *La Sylphide* and *Giselle*. Moreover, it would seem that definitions such as those quoted above that equate the Romantic ballet with white tutus and ethereal dream worlds are based on the tiny fraction of works that have survived in today's repertory rather than on the wide variety of ballets actually performed during the Romantic period.

Moreover, even ballets that trace their descent to the Romantic period give only a very imperfect idea of how they were danced in the Romantic period. Today's *Giselle*, for instance, differs markedly from its 1841 original: the proportion of dancing is far higher than in the original production, as is the amount of pointework; the mime and action scenes are fewer and shorter, and the roles for nondancing characters have been much reduced. The second act, in fact, has become much more of a "white" act dominated by the Wilis and Albrecht, by dint of the elimination in most productions of the mime and action scenes involving Wilfrid, Bathilde, and various peasants, huntsmen, and nobles. Moreover, the semiotic significance of the ethnic and mime music has been so effaced that it now goes unheard by choreographers, performers, and audiences. So, *Giselle*, which in 1841 gave roughly equal attention to dance and mime/action scenes while making considerable use of character dance, has become much more abstract, less focused on narrative, less grounded in the details and techniques of storytelling, and more a vehicle for pure dance (particularly in the second act). Thus, it has found great success over a hundred-and-fifty-year period, but only by being reinvented to accommodate new tastes. And its updated version much more aptly reflects these latter-day tastes than the aesthetics of the period in which *Giselle* was conceived.[181]

Conclusion

There is ample and compelling evidence that national dance was perceived as a powerful imaginative force in ballet during the Romantic period, and that dancers, choreographers, and audiences welcomed it, quite simply, as an intrinsic part of the art of ballet. We believe that a recognition of this state of affairs must inform the ongoing work of those writing the history of Western theatrical dance.

Important steps have already been taken to fill in some of the gaps left in the historiography of Romantic ballet by the long neglect of character dance. Deborah Jowitt, in her book *Time and the Dancing Image*, has drawn attention to the women who inhabited ballet's "fictional East."[182]

Janina Pudełek has studied the ways in which Polish folk dances played an active role in the productions of the Warsaw Ballet.[183] In 1939, three teachers from the Leningrad Ballet School, including Alexander Shiriaev, who had worked closely with Petipa in the 1890s and early 1900s, published a treatise documenting the history of national dance and codifying character dance technique.[184] Knud Arne Jürgensen has reconstructed the cracovienne, one of the most popular solos of the Romantic era, from Bournonville's original choreographic record.[185] Joellen A. Meglin has specifically addressed of the ways in which Spanish character dancing projected a kind of apparent sexuality that was used as a foil in the ballet *Le Diable boiteux* to underscore French middle-class values.[186] Lynn Garafola has shone a retrospective light upon character and folk-derived dance by analyzing its renewal in Fokine's *genre nouveau*.[187] And Ivor Guest, in his invaluable chronicles of the Romantic ballet and its most famous artists, has provided readers with a vast wealth of material about the performance and reception of character dance, attesting to its popularity and pervasive presence in the era.

Yet the image of the sylph as the Romantic era's "most popular figure" stubbornly persists, as does the idea that representing "a dream world and fairy tales" was the overriding force behind the Romantic ballet.[188] (One writer has even gone so far as to say that "Elssler cannot be counted, strictly speaking, as a pure Romantic ballerina," whereas Taglioni does qualify because "[she] can hardly be imagined except as poised ethereally in a swirl of Victorian tutus.")[189] And few of the great artists of the Romantic ballet are remembered for their dancing or choreography in the character idiom, save Fanny Elssler. In a recently published reference work on ballet, in fact, the entry on Perrot makes no mention of character or national dance, and could easily leave the uninformed reader with the impression that all of his dancing and choreography was in the classical style.[190]

Thus, we face the dual challenge of more fully integrating existing scholarship that touches upon national dance into broad historical surveys of Western theatrical dance, and at the same time carrying out new primary research on the topic as well. The areas of inquiry that suggest themselves, indeed, are many and various. One path to pursue is the matter of ballet's place within colonial politics, considering on a case by case basis how ballets with national dance, or even individual dances, could be used to advance a given colonial or anticolonial agenda or fuel existing antagonisms between European powers. (How, for instance, did balletic images of French and English colonial subjects—Egyptians, Indians, and Algerians, for instance—mirror official government policy toward these peoples?[191] Did ballet, like opera, serve to fan the flames of rebellion in the Italian peninsula during the tumultuous years of the Risorgimento?)[192] Another approach would be to scrutinize the relationship between classical and character styles, and attempt to discern how they may have influenced one another. (Anecdotal evidence suggests that folk dances were

"balleticized"; could the danse d'école have remained utterly unaffected by the various approaches to nationally-styled épaulement and port de bras that dancers and choreographers knew so well?)[193] A related question concerns the effects of character training on performance. Though a definitive answer would be hard to come by, it would be intriguing to investigate whether training in character styles had any impact on a dancer's performance in noncharacter roles. This idea was raised by Alan Jones in a *New York Times* story in 1983: "The self-assurance, pride, and daring that come with character training are often reflected in the quality of a dancer's other roles. Mr. [Mikhail] Baryshnikov says: 'Many of the best classical dancers, from Alexandra Danilova and Felia Doubrovska to Rudolf Nureyev, had character training. They get to cheat, play with the audience, because they are so sure of what they are doing.'"[194]

Another profitable endeavor would be to examine the use of character dance in the pre-Romantic ballet and to learn more about the various reasons (aside from Elssler's cachucha) for the burgeoning popularity of character dance in the 1830s.[195] Another would be to follow the composer's paths, assessing musical techniques of depicting various national types as they evolved in the ballet scores of the nineteenth century. Yet another would be to focus on the oeuvre of several popular nineteenth-century choreographers—Perrot, Saint-Léon, Joseph Mazilier, Petipa, Lev Ivanov—comparing (to the extent that the evidence permits) their approaches to character dance and their ways of integrating it with classical dance within a single dramatic work. Petipa's achievements, perhaps, are of particular interest today, not only because a number of his ballets remain extant but also because he has been credited with revealing "pure choreographic meaning"[196] and with contributing to the twentieth-century revival of the pure-dance aesthetic.[197] How did these achievements intersect with his achievements as a character dancer and choreographer? Did Petipa himself conceive of classical revivalism and character dance as wholly unrelated? As Oleg Petrov has pointed out, "In putting classical dance first Petipa did not turn away from the ballet theater's other means of expression—character dance and mime."[198] If he foretold the abstract works of Balanchine, he was also a man of his own time steeped in the tradition of character dance and keenly aware of its dramatic power. An integrated study of his work, following the paths of classical and character styles as well as endeavoring to understand the overlap of the two, will contribute greatly to our understanding of Petipa's genius, the Imperial Russian tradition, and its legacy in our century.[199]

In fact, a twentieth-century performance history of character dance in Russian ballets of the late nineteenth century would make a fascinating study in itself, for the material has been subjected to such widely varying interpretations. Compare, for example, two variant (and equally interesting) versions of the Spanish pas de quatre in *Swan Lake*, as performed in the past few decades by the Bolshoi Ballet. In one version, two couples (making frequent eye contact and dancing in close proximity to one

another) make deep backward extensions of the spine and perform zapateado as well as other rapid allegro footwork.[200] The other version is radically different. It features only one dancer, a woman, who wears pointe shoes instead of character shoes. Her spine remains straight throughout, never arching backward, and instead of remaining close to the floor she leaps frequently into the air and takes several poses on pointe.[201] What forces—political, aesthetic, or otherwise—dictate such varying interpretations? How are shifting tastes in the twentieth century reflected in such choreography? Might the balleticization of the second version of this pas de quatre be read as a form of abstraction congruent with Levinson's sentiments that folk-derived dances can only be elevated by an inclination "toward abstraction"?[202]

A careful assessment of the place of character dance within the dramaturgy of nineteenth-century ballet is perhaps one of the most important scholarly undertakings that awaits us. The fact that nearly all the character dance audiences see today in the nineteenth-century ballets *Swan Lake*—*The Nutcracker*, the diversion for the guests in the ball scene of seems irrelevant to the drama because it is relegated to "entertainment" scenes—the celebration on Clara's behalf in the Kingdom of the Sweets in has made it easy to forget that character dance could be deployed in ways that served a variety of functions.[203] One such function (as noted above) was to help characterize a ballet's principal figures. Another, as Baryshnikov has pointed out, was to "build the dramatic excitement of the ballet."[204] Another related function was to introduce contrast—not only at the most obvious level but also to convey deeper meaning and to fulfill a larger structural purpose. For instance, as Alan Jones has pointed out, the Hindu dance in *La Bayadère* was a means not only of showing various caste types to the audience, but also of establishing symmetry, while addressing in an abstract way the fundamental conflict of the plot:

> The Hindu dance is perhaps unmatched among Petipa's creations for its wild, bacchanalian abandon.... The omission of the Hindu Dance defeats Petipa's stated desire to represent in the betrothal divertissement all of India's castes as he imagined them. More crucial, the omission weakens the suggestion of profane sensuality in the union of Solor and Gamzatti and the contrasting effect that this act was intended to give to the serene classicism of the "Kingdom of the Shades" scene that follows.[205]

Even the impact of the famous "Kingdom of the Shades" scene, then, is diluted if its counterpart is withdrawn. The Hindu Dance is not simply decorative, but stands as a crucial component within a well-conceived configuration of events and images, invented by a choreographer lauded for his keen sense of structural design.

Clearly, there is no lack of territory to cover in the study of the history of character dance in ballet and the aesthetic theories that have attended it. The practical challenges, of course, are not to be underestimated. The task of compiling factual information about character dance, for instance, will require following Ivor Guest's example of combing through newspaper reviews, libretti, costume drawings, scores, letters, office correspondence, and the personal papers of composers, dancers, and choreographers, and doing so in dozens of archives. Too, the language gap between Russia and the West must be bridged so that we may better integrate Russian scholarship with that written in the West. Yet by overcoming these challenges, and broadening the scope of historical inquiry to include character dance on a more systematic basis, we will achieve a fuller and more balanced understanding of the creative forces that shaped the Romantic ballet. At the same time, we will become better able to situate the art of theatrical dance within the broader social, political, and artistic movements in nineteenth-century Europe.

We are indebted to Ivor Guest, without whose scholarship this article could never have been written. We also wish to thank him for so generously sharing with Marian Smith one of his research files. Original research for this article was carried out under University of Oregon Summer Research Grants awarded individually to Lisa C. Arkin and Marian Smith.

Notes

1. See, for instance, Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Selected Early Works 1764–1767*, ed. Ernest A. Menze and Karl Menges, trans. Ernest A. Menze with Michael Palma (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), and Frederick M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).
2. We borrow the term "folk-derived" from Lynn Garafola, specifically her discussion of Fokine's *genre nouveau*. See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 9–14.
3. See John Chapman, "An Unromantic View of Nineteenth-Century Romanticism," *York Dance Review*, no. 7 (1978), pp. 28–40, and James Smith Allen, *Popular French Romanticism* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981), pp. 2–3.
4. Thus, we restrict the use of the latter term to its narrowest sense, meaning "folk," "national," or "ethnic." The term "character dance" is more inclusive than "national dance" because it can also include rustic dance, dances by older characters, and dances that show a character's occupation (e.g., dances of shoemakers, bakers, sailors). Our use of the term "character dance" or "*pas de caractère*" in this article, however, is restricted to national dance unless otherwise indicated.
5. Among the theaters that regularly featured independent character divertissements were Her Majesty's Theatre in London, the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, and La Fenice in Venice. Divertissements *within* operas or ballet-pantomimes were sets of dances that took place during respites from the forward motion of the plot. The dramatic rationale for divertissements included wedding celebrations, masked balls, and harvest festivals.
6. See Marian Smith, "'Poésie lyrique' and 'Chorégraphie' at the Opéra in the July Monarchy," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4, no. 1 (1992), pp. 1–19.

7. It is unclear, from the libretto, which of these dances occurred in which acts (except for the bayadère dance, which took place in Act III). These dances are, however, mentioned by critics. See Cyril W. Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets* (London: Putnam, 1937), pp. 205–215, and Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 2nd ed. rev. (London: Dance Books, 1980), pp. 192–195.
8. According to the costume lists (AJ13/214 and AJ13/215, Archives Nationales), dancers were featured in this opera. But no choreographer is listed in the libretto, and it is unclear what dances—if any—they performed.
9. *Robert le Diable*, libretto, "nouvelle edition" (Paris, 1834).
10. Calendar de l'Opéra, BN-Opéra Réserve.
11. The emphasis is ours. "[W]hen time has rolled on and the good things of the past acquire a new interest the best ballets of Gardel will be revived and people will be amazed at the imagination, taste, delicacy, skill, and versatility of their choreographer. Then the dance will no longer be composed of only so-called *pas de caractère*, performed exclusively by women in accordance with the ridiculous idea of excluding male dancers, as though one sex alone could anywhere claim a monopoly of this pleasure" (*Courrier des Théâtres*, 10 and 14 Nov. 1840, quoted in Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 94). It was common for corps dancers, half of them dressed as males, to perform character dances.
12. *La Presse*, 2 Mar. 1840, quoted in Iver Guest, *Jules Perrot: Master of the Romantic Ballet* (New York: Dance Horizons, 1984), p. 57.
13. Albert Smith, *The Natural History of the Ballet Girl* (London: D. Bogue, 1847; rpt. London: Dance Books, 1972), p. 96.
14. "A great number of artists, painters, sculptors and men of letters, *les gentlemen riders les plus chocnosophes*, and a host of pretty women were present at this solemnity, at which M. Cellarius and M. Eugene Coralli were to meet face to face and polka to polka." See Philip J.S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960), p. 83.
15. *Cahier des exercises de 1829*, *Cahier d'Exercises Pour L. L. A. A. Royalles les Princesses de Württemberg 1830*, and *2me Cahier Exercises de 1830* (also containing material entitled "Exercises de 1831"), Rés. 1137, BN-Opéra. For a discussion of these manuscripts, see Sandra N. Hammond, "A Nineteenth-Century Dancing Master at the Court of Württemberg: The Dance Notebooks of Michel St. Léon," *Dance Chronicle*, 15, no. 3 (1992), pp. 291–312. We would like to thank Sandra Hammond for her discussions of these manuscripts with us.
16. Anna Petrovna Natarova, "From the Recollections of the Artiste A.P. Natarova," in *A Century of Russian Ballet: Documents and Eyewitness Accounts, 1810–1910*, ed. and trans. Roland John Wiley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 137.
17. This divertissement was performed in April 1845 in London.
18. See Guest, *Jules Perrot*, pp. 35, 47, 51. *Zingaro* was composed by Uranio Fortuna for the Théâtre de la Renaissance, Paris.
19. *La Presse*, 2 Oct. 1837, in *Gautier on Dance*, ed. and trans. Ivor Guest (London: Dance Books, 1986), pp. 17–18. The Spanish dancing in this opera had been one of its more popular features since its premiere in 1828, but it seems likely that the Spanish dance performed at this revival was new. Lise Noblet, one of the most famous ballerinas in Europe, danced at the Opéra from 1818 to 1841. Her sister, Mme. Alexis Dupont (*née* Félicité Noblet), danced at the Opéra from 1826 to 1841. See Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 57.
20. N. P. Willis, *Famous Persons and Famous Places* (London, 1854), quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 112. See also Léandre Vaillat, *La Taglioni, ou la Vie d'une danseuse* (Paris: A. Michel, [1942]), p. 405. *La Gitana*, choreographed by Filippo Taglioni for Marie Taglioni, was first performed at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, 23 Nov./5 Dec. 1838.
21. Edwin Binney III, *Longing for the Ideal: Images of Marie Taglioni in the Romantic Ballet* (Cambridge: Harvard Theatre Collection, 1984), p. 29.
22. Quoted in Ivor Guest, *Fanny Elssler* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), pp. 80–81.
23. "Un vilain masqué," *Physiologie de l'Opéra, du Carnaval, du Cancan et de la cachucha* (Paris, 1842), p. 52. People could dress as Armenians, Turks, Tyrolians, and hussards, for instance. The powdered wig was also considered a good complement to any costume. See also Victor Sorel, "Costumes des bals parisiens 1837 à 1850" (Paris, n.d.).
24. This book is mentioned in Mons. Albert, *L'Art de danser à la ville et à la cour. Un nouvelle Méthode des vrais principes de la danse française et étrangère* (Paris, 1834).
25. See, for example, Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore* (London, 1828), pp. 495–502. See also E. A. Théleur, *Letters on Dancing* (London, 1831; rpt. *Studies in Dance History*, 2, no. 1 [1990]), p. 100.
26. Henri Cellarius, *La Danse des Salons* (Paris, 1847), p. 68. This was translated and published in London in 1847 as *Fashionable Dancing*.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
28. *La Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 28 Dec. 1833, and *Le Ménestrel*, 28 Dec. 1833, quoted in François Gasnault, *Guinguettes et Lorettes: Bals publics et danse sociale à Paris entre 1830 et 1870* (Paris: Aubier, 1986), pp. 74–75.
29. *Histoire chronologique, philosophique et morale du Cancan*, in *La Musée Philipon* (n.d.), AID 3460, BN-Opéra.
30. GD 8°/39782, BN-Arsenal.
31. Interestingly enough, this writer attributes the rise of the national dance craze to the cholera epidemic: "[Because of the cholera epidemic] Parisians felt the need to distract themselves by any means possible... [and] sought to find pleasure and novelty from dancing. This tendency was singularly favored by the appearance at the Opéra of Spanish dancers who introduced the French public to all the charms and abandon of the cachucha.... The student understood the happy alliance that could be forged between stiff French dance and loose Andalusian dancing. A choreographic conservatory [the Grande Chaumière] was soon established at the Boulevard Montparnasse" (*Histoire chronologique, philosophique et morale du Cancan*, *op. cit.*). The Grande Chaumière's address was No. 13 Boulevard Montparnasse. Lessons in national dancing constituted an important part of its offerings, and other types of dancing were taught there as well.
32. AJ13/182, Archives Nationales. "Mirlitons"—shepherds and shepherdesses—are listed among the acts hired for the Opéra balls. There is no information about the identities of these performers.
33. *Vert-Vert*, 24 Dec. 1834.

34. Among the pieces in which Spanish dance had appeared were *Le Sicilien* (1827) and *La Muette de Portici* (1828). Also, premiers danseurs from the Paris Opéra, such as the great Louis Duport, were reported to have performed Spanish divertissements as early as 1812. See Jan Cieplinski, *A History of Polish Ballet, 1518–1945* trans. Anna Ema Lesiecka (London: Veritas Foundation Publication Centre, 1983), p. 32.
35. See Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, chs. 1 and 2; Knud Arne Jürgensen, *The Bournonville Heritage* (London: Dance Books, 1990), p. 57; and Marian Hannah Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet* (London: Pitman Publishers, 1974).
36. Among the many examples of staged works that included ball scenes in which onstage revelers could observe danced entertainments were *Le Diable amoureux*, *Gustave III*, *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, *Don Giovanni*, *Le Diable à quatre*, *Ozaï*, and *Paquita*. Other types of festive occasions, too, sometimes lent themselves well to the conceit of having dancers provide entertainment to other characters on stage. In *Eoline*, for example, a noble party is entertained by miners performing the silésienne to celebrate a wedding.
37. See, for example, Gautier's comments on *La Gipsy* in *La Presse*, 4 Feb. 1839, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 65.
38. These scores offer detailed instructions for the mime scenes and simply label the danced segments as such (using interchangeably the words "divertissement," "pas," or "ballet"). The existence of such scores was brought to the attention of Marian Smith by David Day, who is currently cataloguing the collection of the Brussels municipal archives. We owe him many thanks for allowing her to view these rare and fascinating scores before their being made available to the public. There also exists, in the Theater Museum, St. Petersburg, a Parisian annotated répétiteur of *Giselle* that appears to describe the first production of this ballet.
39. This calculation was made by reading the annotated *Giselle* score referred to in the previous note and using the timings of Richard Bonynge's performance of *Giselle* (Decca, 1987, released on CD by London as 433-007-2). See also Marian Smith, "The First Production of *Giselle*: A Preliminary Report on a Parisian Manuscript" (*Dance Chronicle*, forthcoming).
40. *La Presse*, 4 Feb. 1839, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 203.
41. Véron, quoted in Victor de Bled, *Le Ballet de l'Opéra* (Paris, n.d.), p. 303.
42. *Le Journal des Débats*, 20 July 1831.
43. Peter Lichtenthal, *Dictionnaire de Musique*, rev. ed., trans. Dominique Mondo (Paris, 1839), p. 114. This was first published in Milan as *Dizionario e Bibliografia della Musica* in 1826.
44. This was often true even for ballets that were "translations" of operas or plays, though critics at times did declare that a description of the plot was unnecessary since it was already familiar to the reader.
45. To name two examples among many: in *La Révolte au sérail*, a pivotal development in the plot is explained by means of a large parchment unfurled by one of the king's officers (Act II, Scene 5) on which can be read, "à la demande du vaillant Ismaïl, le Roi rend la liberté à toutes ses femmes. . . . Zulma seule restera captive" (*La Révolte au sérail*, libretto [Paris, 1833]). In *L'Orgie* (Act II, Scene 1), a placard with the words "Fête patronale du village" is affixed to a stake (*L'Orgie*, libretto [Paris, 1831]).

46. *Giselle* répétiteur. The music remains the same in this scene but the gestures are no longer carried out.
47. On the melodrama, see Emilio Sala, *L'opera senza canto. Il mélo romantico e l'invenzione della colonna sonora* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995).
48. *La France musicale*, 3 Feb. 1839. A comparison of the blocking and movements of opera and ballet characters is given in Marian Smith, "Staging Practices at the Paris Opéra: The Operatic Livrets de mise en scène and the Ballet-Pantomime," *La Realizzazione Scenica dello Spettacolo Verdiano*, ed. Pierluigi Petrobelli (in press).
49. These tableaux were sometimes characterized in libretti and (in the case of opera) staging manuals as "lugubrious tableau," "religious tableau," "sad tableau," and the like. On the dramatic technique of "shock" (*éclat*) and the tableau, see Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 126.
50. *The Times*, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 155.
51. Review of *La Fille du marbre*, *La France Musicale*, 24 Oct. 1847.
52. Review of *La Fille du Danube*, *La Presse*, 26 Sept. 1836.
53. *Giselle*, libretto (Paris, 1841); *Le Diable amoureux*, libretto (Paris, 1840); *La Tentation*, libretto (Paris, 1832). See also Gautier's description of Indian dancers "stopping abruptly in their tracks," *La Presse*, 20 Aug. 1838, in *Gautier on Dance*, pp. 39–46. Note further that in the *Giselle* libretto, the Wili Zulmé is described as a Bayadère who "displays Indian poses."
54. *La Révolte au sérail*, libretto (Paris, 1833), in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 94. This ballet, with music by Théodore Labarre and choreography by Filippo Taglioni, was first performed at the Paris Opéra on 4 December 1833.
55. Guest, *Fanny Cerrito: The Life of a Romantic Ballerina* (London: Dance Books, 1974), p. 104. This ballet, with music by Cesare Pugni and choreography by Perrot, was first performed at Her Majesty's Theatre on 11 June 1846.
56. Note also that critics often likened sets to paintings, and dancers to statues. To name three examples among many: Ciceri's sets for *Manon Lescaut* (1830) are called "exact reproductions of Boucher and Watteau" (*Le Constitutionnel*, 5 May 1830, quoted in Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 97); Fanny Elssler is likened to a "figure by Bendemann, the painter of *Jeremiah*" (*La Presse*, 2 Oct. 1837, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 19); the Festival of the Piedigrotta in *Stella* "immediately recalls an old painting of a Neapolitan Fair" (*Journal des Théâtres*, 27 Feb. 1850, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 336).
57. Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France* (Paris, 1858), 2, p. 67, quoted in William Crosten, *French Grand Opera: An Art and a Business* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1948), p. 68.
58. M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "Grand opéra," in *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 2, p. 514. As Bartlet points out, Ciceri also studied first-hand how La Scala had staged a volcanic eruption in its version of Pacini's *L'ultimo giorno di Pompei*. Ciceri served as *peintre en chef* from 1816 until 1848, sharing the title with Ignazio Degotti from 1816 to 1822, and with Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre from February 1820 until 1822. Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des Théâtres Parisiens au XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989), p. 317.
59. See Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, p. 52.

60. *Le Temps*, 4 Mar. 1833, quoted in Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, p. 64.
61. AJ13/215, Archives Nationales.
62. *Le Courrier Français*, 27 Feb. 1835, quoted in Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, p. 65. Extant sketches of flags, armor and other props, as well as costumes, attest to the designers' diligence. See D.216, *La Juive*, BN-Opéra.
63. Lichtenthal, *Dictionnaire*, 1, pp. 115–116. Newspaper reviews, too, occasionally refer to both types. "The dramatic part was treated very well by [Halévy]... the dance airs are pretty" (*La Revue Musicale*, review of *Manon Lescaut*, 1830, pp. 11–15).
64. This *krakowiak* was transcribed from a performance by the Janusz Kazmierzak's Folk Orchestra from Lodz on the recording entitled *Tance Ludowe Z Polski* (Folk Dances from Poland), vol. 2, "presented by Ada and Jas Dziewanowski." This *krakowiak* is identified on the recording as a national Polish dance, not a regional one. Another close variant of this melody may be found in measures 142 ff. of "La Cracovienne," in Jürgensen, *The Bournonville Heritage*, p. 64.
65. *La Presse*, 11 July 1837, in *Gautier on Dance*, pp. 10–11.
66. *Le Journal des Débats*, 13 Apr. 1835.
67. *Morning Post*, 14 Aug. 1843 and 23 June 1843, quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 102.
68. *La France Musicale*, 30 June 1839.
69. *La Presse*, 25 July 1843, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 119.
70. The gypsy Esmeralda, for instance, enters dancing, "bound[ing] on... stage with the tambourine" (*The Times*, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 299).
71. *La Revue et Gazette de Théâtres*, 13 Apr. 1845; *La Presse* 31 Mar. 1845, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 162. See also Deborah Jowitt, *Time and the Dancing Image* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 64–65. Jowitt posits that Carlotta Grisi objected to the bee dance because of its immoral nature.
72. *Le Journal des Débats*, 17 Mar. 1834.
73. In many cases, character-variety divertissements were performed, but were carefully rationalized as an entertainment for onstage characters, and thus did not violate the strictures of realism. Typical examples may be found in *Ozaï* (in which the "four parts of the world" perform as the "musicians play the national airs of each country" at the French ball in Act II) and in *La Péri* (in which native dances of the Scottish, French, Spanish, and German women are performed for the pleasure of Achmet in Act I). A more famous character-variety divertissement is that staged in *The Nutcracker* to celebrate Clara's heroism. See the original libretto in Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 333–337.
74. This book contains detailed color lithographs of twelve national dances in national costumes and characteristic poses, accompanied by descriptions of character, geography, and history and a folktale from that country. See *Read's Characteristic National Dances* (London: Read Publishing Company, 1853).
75. See Marvin Carlson, "Hernani's revolt from the tradition of French stage composition," *Theatre Survey*, 13, no. 1 (1972), pp. 1–27. It is surely no coincidence that Théophile Gautier, who proved to be one of the greatest champions of character dance in ballet, also led the charge of the new Romantic forces at the Comédie-Française.

76. Our emphasis. August Bournonville, *My Theatre Life*, trans. Patricia N. McAndrew, foreword Erik Bruhn, introd. Svend Kragh-Jacobsen (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), p. 9.
77. On compositional conventions in nineteenth-century Italian opera and the ways they determined the structure of the libretto, see these very important essays: Philip Gossett, "Verdi, Ghislanzoni, and *Aida*: The Uses of Convention," *Critical Inquiry*, 1 (1974), pp. 291–334, and Harold Powers, "'La solita forma' and 'The Uses of Convention,'" *Acta musicologica*, 59 (1987), pp. 65–90.
78. Gautier, *La Charte de 1830*, 18 Apr. 1837, in "Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing," ed. and trans. Ivor Guest, *Dance Chronicle*, 10, no. 1 (1987), p. 19.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
80. *La Presse*, 28 July 1839, *ibid.*, p. 31.
81. Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (London, 1772), p. 135.
82. Gennaro Magri, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing*, trans. Mary Skeaping (London: Dance Books, 1988), p. 55. This was originally published in Naples in 1779.
83. Blasis, *Traité élémentaire, théorétique et pratique de l'art de la danse*, trans. by Mary Stewart Evans (New York: Kamin Publishers, 1953), p. 64.
84. Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore* (New York: Dance Horizons, [1976]), p. 32.
85. Blasis, *Notes Upon Dancing* (London: M. Delaporte, 1847), p. 144, and *The Code of Terpsichore*, pp. 91–92.
86. This treatise is not listed in the entry on Blasis *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 76–77. Many thanks to Roland John Wiley for bringing this treatise to our attention and for generously supplying us with a photocopy of it; thanks also to Elena Bogdonovich for the translations from the Russian.
87. Blasis, *Notes Upon Dancing*, p. 143.
88. Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, 33 vols. (Berlin: B. Suphan, 1877–1913), 2, p. 18, and 1, p. 420; translation in Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, p. 56.
89. Carlo Blasis, *Tantsy voobshche, baletnye znamenitosti i natsional'nye tantsy* (*Dances in General, Ballet Celebrities, and National Dances* (Moscow, 1864), p. 142.
90. Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, 18, p. 248; translation in Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, p. 61.
91. *Ibid.*, 5, pp. 125–136; translation in Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, p. 57.
92. Blasis, *Tantsy voobshche*, p. 142.
93. Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, 5, pp. 51–90; translation in *J.G. Herder on Social and Political Culture*, ed., trans., and introd. F.M. Barnard (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 142.
94. Blasis, *Tantsy voobshche*, pp. 142–143.
95. Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, 4, pp. 354–364 and 401–445; translation in Barnard, *J.G. Herder on Social and Political Culture*, p. 107.

96. Quoted in Robert T. Clark, Jr., *Herder: His Life and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. xi.
97. Blasis, *Notes Upon Dancing*, p. 114.
98. Blasis, *Traité élémentaire*, p. 64.
99. Vaillat, *Taglioni*, pp. 394–395, 398.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 407.
101. Quoted in Guest, *Elssler*, p. 245.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
103. Bournonville, *My Theatre Life*, p. 84.
104. Marius Petipa, *Russian Ballet Master: The Memoirs of Marius Petipa*, ed. Lillian Moore, trans. Helen Whittaker (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), pp. 70–71, 15.
105. *La Presse*, 27 Aug. 1838, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 50. The troupe of *devadasis* was engaged in Paris by the impresario E.C. Tardival.
106. *La Presse*, 20 Aug. 1838, *ibid.*, p. 39.
107. *La Presse*, 28 July 1839, in "Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing," p. 36.
108. *La Presse*, 31 Mar. 1845, in *Gautier on Dance*, pp. 161–162.
109. Blasis, *Code of Terpsichore*, pp. 91–92.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
111. Blasis, *Tantsy voobshche*, p. 142.
112. Blasis, *Code of Terpsichore*, p. 32.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
114. Blasis, *Notes on Dancing*, p. 143.
115. Bournonville, *My Theatre Life*, pp. 8–9.
116. *La Presse*, 2 Oct. 1837, in "Gautier on Spanish Dancing," p. 22.
117. Cellarius, *Fashionable Dancing*, pp. 55, 61.
118. Friedrich Albert Zorn, *Grammar of the Art of Dancing* (Boston, 1905; rpt. Dance Horizons, 1976), pp. 253–257. According to the author's statement in the preface, this volume was written around 1885 and based on "fifty years of experience" (p. xi).
119. Janina Pudelek and Joanna Sibilska write that they "prefer the original Polish form 'mazur' to the more common Western 'mazurka' or 'little mazur.'" See Janina Pudelek with Joanna Sibilska, "The Polish Dancers Visit St. Petersburg, 1851: A Detective Story," *Dance Chronicle*, 19, no. 2 (1996), p. 171.
120. LM., "Petersburgskaia letopis," *Sankpeterburgskie vedomosti*, 6/18 Feb. 1851, quoted *ibid.*, p. 178.
121. Gautier, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, pp. 202–203.
122. *The Times*, quoted in Guest, *Cerrito*, p. 45.
123. *La Presse*, 20 Jan. 1845, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 156.
124. Quoted in Guest, *Cerrito*, p. 24.
125. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 36.
126. *Voyage en Espagne*, ch. 12, in "Gautier on Spanish Dance," p. 7.
127. *La Presse*, 2 Oct. 1837, *ibid.*, p. 22.
128. Gautier, *La Charte de 1830*, 18 Apr. 1837, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 7.
129. Charles de Boigne, *Petits Mémoires de l'Opéra* (1857), quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 147.
130. Original emphasis. *The Times*, quoted in Guest, *Cerrito*, pp. 44–45.
131. Blasis, *Notes Upon Dancing*, pp. 34–35.
132. Quoted in Guest, *Cerrito*, p. 96.

133. Blasis, *Tantsy voobshche*, p. 175.
134. *Morning Post*, 11 June 1846, quoted in Guest, *Cerrito*, p. 105.
135. H. Justament, "Ballets pantomime de M. H. Justament," manuscript, C.891 (1–9), BN-Opéra. Many thanks to Carol Marsh for alerting us to the existence of this manuscript.
136. Henry Chorley, *Thirty Years of Musical Recollections* (London: H. F. Chorley, 1862), 1, pp. 66–67, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 204.
137. *Le Journal des Débats*, 19 July 1843.
138. Quoted in Guest, *Cerrito*, p. 96.
139. *The Times*, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 193.
140. Jurgensen, *The Bournonville Heritage*, p. 57.
141. Saint-Léon, *Cahier des exercises*, ff 28v–29v and ff 25v–27v.
142. An important exception is the cracovienne. See Jürgensen, *The Bournonville Heritage*, pp. 57–66, and Jürgensen, "Reconstructing *La Cracovienne*," *Dance Chronicle*, 6, no. 3 (1983), pp. 228–266. Note also that Sandra Noll Hammond has brought to light a great deal of crucial detailed information about ballet classes, giving us an excellent idea of the technical level of the nineteenth-century dancer. See for instance, Hammond, "Ballet's Technical Heritage: The *Grammaire* of Léopold Adice," *Dance Research*, 13, no. 1 (1995), pp. 33–58.
143. Note that it was not only the important male choreographers and dancers of the day who created character *pas*, but some of the leading female dancers as well. Fanny Elssler, for instance, arranged her own cachucha in *Le Diable boiteux*, and Fanny Cerrito composed a number of character dances including tarantellas, a varsovienne, a sicilienne, and the *pas espagnol d'Andalousie* in *Alma*.
144. Bournonville, *My Theatre Life*, p. 176
145. *La Presse*, 25 Feb. 1850, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 224. The critic for *Journal des Théâtres* also wrote of Saint-Léon's ability to blend character and classical styles: "Saint-Léon is a great fancifier who does not wish to follow well-trodden paths; he creates a style and seems to blend all that the dances of Europe possess in the way of piquant originality and dainty coquetry, while conforming to the traditions of the French School. There are suggestions of Spain, Sicily, Calabria, and Moscow in his compositions, of which he alone has the secret; rejuvenated memories brought to perfection which, in truth, are inventions" (27 Feb. 1850, quoted Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 410).
146. We are indebted to Ivor Guest's analysis of Perrot's choreography in *Jules Perrot: Master of the Romantic Ballet*.
147. Quoted in Guest, *Cerrito*, pp. 114–115.
148. Writes Ivor Guest: His "mastery as a choreographer was many-sided....[H]is palette contained a rich variety of dance material from the formal enchaînements in the classical technique to national dances" (*Perrot*, p. 105).
149. Among Perrot's ballets and divertissements featuring national dance numbers were *Die neapolitanischen fischer* (1838), *Alma* (1842), *Ondine* (1843), *La Esmeralda* (1844), *Eoline* (1845), *Kaya* (1845), *Catarina* (1846), *Lallah Rookh* (1846), and *Faust* (1848).
150. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 105.
151. *Journal de St. Pétersbourg*, 11/23 Nov. 1858, quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 312.

152. *The Times*, 10 Mar. 1845, quoted in Beaumont, *Complete Book*, pp. 303–304.
153. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 320. See also Petipa, *Russian Ballet Master*, pp. 39–41.
154. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 271.
155. Trib. Civ. Seine, 11.7.62, aff Petipa. Pataille 73,234, quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 323.
156. See *La Presse*, 24 Sept., 1838, in *Gautier on Dance*, pp. 47–55.
157. *La Presse*, 20 Jan. 1851, in *Gautier on Dance*, 225–226.
158. See Cyril W. Beaumont, *Marie Taglioni* (1930; rpt. London: Dance Books, 1977), p. 57.
159. The evidence that she danced the mazurka in *La Fille de Danube* is in the score (Mat 19 [294 (22)], BN-Opéra). It is unclear whether she included this mazurka from the time of the work's premiere in 1836, or if she added it after studying the mazurka in Poland in 1838.
160. This performance took place on 1 April 1844. See Guest, *Cerrito*, pp. 77–78.
161. This performance took place on 16 April 1844. See *ibid.*, p. 78.
162. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 83.
163. Gautier, *Histoire de l'Art Dramatique* (Paris, 1858), 2, p. 133, quoted in Cyril W. Beaumont, *The Ballet Called Giselle* (London: C.W. Beaumont, 1944), p. 18. *De l'Allemagne* was published in *Europe Littéraire* in 1833 and appeared the same year in German as *Zur Geschichte der neueren schönen Literatur in Deutschland*. It was published in book form in 1835.
164. Lichtenthal, *Dictionnaire*, 1, pp. 115–116.
165. *La Péri*, libretto (Paris, 1843).
166. Adolphe Adam, letter to Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges, in Serge Lifar, *Giselle: Apothéose du Ballet Romantique* (Paris, 1942; rpt. Paris: Editions d'Aujourd'hui, 1982), app.
167. *La France Musicale*, 4 July 1841.
168. *La France Musicale*, 17 Aug. 1845.
169. *Giselle*, libretto (Paris, 1841).
170. *Giselle*, libretto (Paris, 1841).
171. The Spanish segment is sixteen bars long if the repeats are taken.
172. In the "Second Night" of Heine's *Les Nuits florentines*, the storyteller recalls his obsession with a beautiful woman he had seen dancing on Waterloo Bridge: "Was it some national dance from the South of France of Spain? These were recalled by the violence with which the dancer threw her body to and fro, and the abandon with which she tossed back her head like a bold bacchante.... Her dancing had a spontaneous and intoxicating quality, something darkly inevitable or fatalistic, for she danced like Fate itself" (quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 66).
173. Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, pp. 137–138. A group of Indian dancers, including Amani-Ammalle, made a great impression on Gautier when they performed in Paris in 1838. See his articles in *La Presse*, 20 and 27 Aug. 1838, in *Gautier on Dance*, pp. 39–50.
174. An unpainted version of this picture is reproduced in Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, fig. 66.
175. See AJ13/510, Archives Nationales. These memoranda indicate that the Wilis costumes were the same, though Myrthe's wings were sky blue and Giselle's were white.
176. Ferdinand Reyna, *Concise Encyclopedia of Ballet*, trans. André Gâteau (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1974), p. 193.

177. Horst Koegler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). Quoting Ninette de Valois, Koegler goes on to define the demi-caractère dancer as being distinguished by "great academic virtuosity, as opposed to the grace and lyrical qualities of the purest classical [dancer]—e.g. 'The Blue Bird.'"
178. André Levinson, "The Idea of the Dance: From Aristotle to Mallarmé," in *André Levinson on Dance: Writings from Paris in the Twenties*, ed. and introd. Joan Acocella and Lynn Garafola (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1991), p. 80. See also Stanley J. Rabinowitz, "Against the Grain: Akim Volynskii and the Russian Ballet," *Dance Research*, 14, no. 1 (1996), pp. 3–41.
179. Levinson, "The Idea of the Dance," in *André Levinson on Dance*, p. 79.
180. Levinson, "Argentina," *ibid.*, p. 97.
181. The *La Sylphide* created in Paris in 1832 has also undergone radical transformations. The version usually performed today is based on Bournonville's version of the Parisian original (using the score by Løvenskjold instead of that by Schneitzhoeffer). The version staged by Pierre Lacotte using Schneitzhoeffer's music, too, departs from the original in significant ways, as an examination of the manuscript scores demonstrates.
182. See Deborah Jowitt, "Heroism in the Harem" in *Time and the Dancing Image*, pp. 49–66. See also John Chapman's valuable "An Unromantic View of Nineteenth-Century Romanticism," *op. cit.* Chapman's study does not pertain to national dance per se but does call into question several received notions about the historiography of the Romantic ballet.
183. Janina Pudełek, "The Warsaw Ballet under the Directorship of Maurice Pion and Filippo Taglioni, 1832–1853," *Dance Chronicle*, 11, no. 2 (1988), pp. 219–273.
184. Andrei Lopoukov, Alexander Shirayev, and Alexander Bocharov, *Character Dance*, trans. Joan Lawson (London: Dance Books, 1986). This book was first published in Leningrad in 1939.
185. Jürgensen, *The Bournonville Heritage*, pp. 57–66.
186. Joellen A. Meglin, "*Le Diable Boiteux*: French Society Behind a Spanish Façade," *Dance Chronicle*, 17, no. 3 (1994), pp. 263–302.
187. Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, pp. 9–14.
188. See Roger Copeland and Marshall Cohen, *What is Dance?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 18, and Reyna, *Concise Encyclopedia of Ballet*, p. 193.
189. Alexander Bland, *A History of Ballet and Dance* (New York: Praeger, 1976), pp. 56, 61.
190. "Jules Perrot," *International Dictionary of Ballet*, ed. Martha Bremser (Detroit: St. James Press, 1993), pp. 1106–1108.
191. On the topic of the representation of people of color in French ballet, see Joellen Meglin's forthcoming study; her paper on the subject, "Beauties and Benefactresses, Barbarians and Buffoons: Representations of Blacks in French Ballet 1779–1806," was presented at the 1996 conference of the Society of Dance History Scholars held in Minneapolis. On the subject of exoticism and the appropriation of Spanish dance in French Romantic ballet see Lisa C. Arkin, "The Context of Exoticism in Fanny Elssler's Cachucha," *Dance Chronicle*, 17, no. 3 (1994), pp. 303–325; on Orientalism in opera, see

Ralph Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 3, no. 3 (1991), pp. 261–302.

192. For instance, what was the climate at La Fenice in Austrian-dominated Venice when *La Vivandiera ed il Postiglione*—which featured an interpolated sicilienne performed by Fanny Cerrito and Saint-Léon—elicited patriotic demonstrations and was banned by the police in January 1848? (See Guest, *Cerrito*, pp. 123–124.) How was Perrot's use of a saltarella as a diversion allowing Abruzzian bandits to outwit uniformed soldiers in *Catarina* (1846) understood by English audiences who, on the whole, favored Italian resistance to Austrian and French rule over Italy? (See Guest, *Perrot*, pp. 159–164.)
193. Marina Keet has suggested that the arm movements of traditional Spanish dance may have contributed to classical port de bras. Marina Keet, "Ballet's Debt to Spanish Dance: Some Regional Dances of Spain," *Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars* (1991), p. 105, and Marina Keet, personal communication with present authors, 7 July 1996.
194. Alan Jones, "Character Dance Returns with Panache," *The New York Times*, 19 June 1983, sec. H, p. 20.
195. See Jürgensen, *The Bournonville Heritage*, p. 57.
196. Oleg Petrov, "Russian Ballet and its Place in Russian Artistic Culture in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Age of Petipa," trans. Tim Scholl, *Dance Chronicle*, 15, no. 1 (1993), p. 54.
197. Acocella and Garafola, "Introduction," *André Levinson on Dance*, pp. 1–2. See also Tim Scholl, *From Petipa to Balanchine: Classical Revival and the Modernization of Ballet* (London: Routledge, 1994).
198. Petrov, "Russian Ballet," p. 47.
199. Elizabeth Souritz, in a comparative study of Petipa's Moscow and St. Petersburg productions of *Don Quixote*, notes that the Moscow version called for far more character dance than the St. Petersburg one. Her analysis (when it is published in its final form) will provide valuable information about the exigencies affecting Petipa's use of character dance at various times in his career. See the summary of her "Marius Petipa's Don Quixote," in *Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars* (1991), p. 250.
200. Video recording of *Swan Lake*, performed by the Bolshoi Ballet, distributed by Kultur (1988). The film on which this video recording is based was produced in 1957; the stage production, however, dated to 1937 and retained Alexander Gorsky's 1920 choreography for Acts I and III.
201. Video recording of *Swan Lake*, performed by the Bolshoi Ballet, distributed by Kultur (1984). This production was first staged by Yuri Grigorovich in 1969.
202. Levinson, "Argentina," in *André Levinson on Dance*, p. 97.
203. Comparisons of the dramaturgy of nineteenth-century ballet and opera would no doubt prove enlightening. Important studies of the dramaturgy of Italian opera include Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *Analyzing Opera: Wagner and Verdi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) and Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Music in the Theater* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
204. Jones, "Character Dance," p. 20.
205. *Ibid.*, p. 21. See also Carl Dahlhaus's discussion of visual dramaturgy in *Nineteenth Century Music*, pp. 124–131.

Feminism or Fetishism?
La Révolte des femmes *and Women's Liberation in France in the 1830s*

JOELLEN A. MEGLIN

La Révolte des femmes (The Revolt of the Women) or *La Révolte au sérail* (The Revolt of the Harem), as it is better known today, has been called one of the few feminist ballets of the nineteenth century.[1] Choreographed by Filippo Taglioni as a vehicle for his daughter Marie, the work premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1833, only a year after the creation of *La Sylphide*. Just how feminist was *La Révolte au sérail*? One way to answer this question is to consult the feminisms of the day. In Paris in the early 1830s the Saint-Simonians, utopian socialists, offered a new vision of social regeneration in which woman was to figure prominently. From this movement, founded by a group of disciples of Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon, and led by Prosper Enfantin, emerged an autonomous women's movement that truly addressed the condition of women. By comparing the libretto of *Révolte* with written documents and accounts by historians of this early movement to champion the cause of women, it is possible to locate the ballet within the feminist *mentalités* of its day.[2] A close reading of the libretto of *Révolte* shows that, while its rhetoric bore superficial resemblances to the rhetoric of contemporary feminisms, the reason for introducing the woman question seems to have been to make the ballet topical, titillating, and good theater, rather than to make a statement of political conscience.

Nonetheless, there are some intriguing similarities between this balletic fiction and the historical facts of women's liberation. In the libretto, for instance, the women of the court (ladies of the harem) band together with the women of the people to protest the tyranny of men. As Zulma leads her harem rebels to freedom, they encounter a group of working women. "Come," she cries to them, "come join us! It is the cause of women that we defend—your cause. It is time to free yourselves from the despotism of men."[3] Exactly how these subtle ideas were communicated in pantomime is difficult to imagine. But that may have been beside the point; the rhetoric resembles an appeal for association in the first issue of the *Tribune des femmes*, a journal created in 1832 by young proletarian women connected to the Saint-Simonian movement:[4] "Let us no longer form two camps, one of women of the popular classes and another of women of the privileged classes. Let our common interest bind us together."[5] And indeed, this philosophy lent itself well to dramatic and scenic effect. The last tableau of the ballet's second act found the women of the harem and "their new allies" fleeing across the river in boats, while the King, his

Benefit performance for the Viennese Dancers
15 February 1845, Paris Opéra
National dance(s): hornpipe, Swiss dance, tarantella, Tyrolian dance, cracovienne, linzer tanz, Polish dance, polka, Hungarian dance, jaleo de Jérez[29]
Dancer(s): Viennese Dancers
NOTE: The Viennese Dancers were a children's ballet company managed by Josephine Weiss, the ballet mistress of the Josephstadt Theater, Vienna. The troupe danced in Paris, London, the United States, and Canada, appearing to great acclaim at the Opéra in January-March 1845.

Notes

13. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 352.
14. Eugène Desmares, quoted in Léandre Vaillat, *La Taglioni, ou la Vie d'une danseuse* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1942), p. 412.
15. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 147.
16. Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 167.
17. Ivor Guest, *Fanny Elssler* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), pp. 116-117.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
19. Ivor Guest, *The Life of a Romantic Ballerina: Fanny Cerrito* (London: Dance Books, 1974), p. 24.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
22. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 87; see also Guest, *Cerrito*, p. 44.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
25. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 110.
26. This term means "ending tidbit."
27. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 117. This was performed on the same night as *Esmeralda*.
28. *Spectator*, 13 Apr. 1844, quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 127.
29. Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 240.

Examples of Ballets with National Dancing

Although, today, the minuet and waltz have largely lost their national connotations, in the first half of the nineteenth century the minuet was strongly associated with France and the waltz with the German-speaking countries.

An asterisk connotes a ballet-pantomime in which at least one of the principal characters performed national dance.

Les Pages du Duc de Vendôme
Premiere: 18 October 1820, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Aumer
Music: Adalbert Gyrowetz
National dance(s): Spanish dance

La Fête hongroise (divertissement)
Premiere: 15 June 1821, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Aumer
Music: Adalbert Gyrowetz
National dance(s): Hungarian, Cossack, and others

Le Page inconstant
Premiere: 18 December 1823, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Aumer (after Jean Dauberval)
Music: François Antoine Habeneck (after Adalbert Gyrowetz)
National dance(s): farandole[30]

Le Sicilien
Premiere: 11 June 1827, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Anatole Petit
Music: Fernando Sor, Jean-Madeleine Schneitzhoeffer
National dance(s): allemande, tarantella, Spanish dance[31]

Masaniello
Premiere: 24 March 1829, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: André Deshayes
Music: Daniel-François-Esprit Auber
National dance(s): Spanish dances[32]

L'Orgie
Premiere: 8 July 1831, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Coralli
Music: Michele Carafa
National dance(s): bolero, fandangos, sarabande[33]

La Sylphide
Premiere: 12 March 1832, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Filippo Taglioni
Music: Jean-Madeleine Schneitzhoeffer
National dance(s): Scottish jig, anglais[34]

Beniowsky
Premiere: 5 May 1836, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: André Deshayes
Music: Nicholas Charles Bochsa
National dance(s): cachucha, mazurka
NOTE: The cachucha may have been added at the time of the ballet's revival (16 March 1837).[35]

**Le Diable boiteux*
Premiere: 1 June 1836, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Coralli
Music: Casimir Gide
National dance(s): cachucha
Dancer(s): Fanny Elssler[36]

**La Fille du Danube*
Premiere: 21 September 1836, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Filippo Taglioni
Music: Adolphe Adam
National dance(s): mazurka
Dancer(s): Marie Taglioni[37]

**La Gitana*
Premiere: 23 November/5 December 1838, Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg
Choreography: Filippo Taglioni
National dance(s): mazurka, cachucha, Spanish, gypsy, and Styrian dances
Dancer(s): Marie Taglioni[38]

**La Tarentule*
Premiere: 24 June 1839, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Coralli
Music: Casimir Gide
National dance(s): tarantella
Dancer(s): Fanny Elssler
NOTE: In this dance Elssler also played the castanets.[39]

**La Gipsy*
Premiere: 28 January 1839, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Joseph Mazilier
Music: François Benoist, Ambroise Thomas, Marco Aurelio Marliani
National dance(s): gypsy dance, cracovienne, allemande[40]
Dancer(s): Fanny Elssler (gypsy dance, cracovienne)[41]

**Le Diable amoureux*
Premiere: 23 September 1840, Paris Opéra

Choreography: Joseph Mazilier
Music: François Benoist, Henri Reber
National dance(s): cachucha, mazurka, bayadère dance
Dancer(s): Nathalie Fitzjames, Auguste Mabille (mazurka)
NOTE: The *pas de bayadère* was said to resemble a saltarello.[42] The mazurka, which was memoralized in a statuette, was danced as a pas de deux.[43] The libretto called for eight "Nègres," eight bayadères, and twenty odalisques.

**Ondine, ou la Naïade*
Premiere: 22 June 1843, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: Jules Perrot, Fanny Cerrito
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): tarantella
NOTE: This was performed both as a pas de deux and by the ensemble.[44]

**Giselle*
Premiere: 28 June 1841, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Coralli, Jules Perrot
Music: Adolphe Adam
National dance(s): waltz
NOTE: There may have been additional character dancing by the Wilis (Spanish, odalisque, bayadère, German, French).[45]

**La Jolie Fille de Gand*
Premiere: 22 June 1842, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Albert (François Descombe)
Music: Adolphe Adam
National dance(s): cracovienne, gypsy dance, "Quadrille of the Four Parts of the World"[46]
NOTE: The "Quadrille of the Four Parts of the World" included dances from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. An allemande and a Hungarian dance, both performed by the Viennese Dancers, were interpolated into the Kermess scene and the ball scene, respectively, on 15 January 1845.[47]

**La Péri*
Premiere: 17 July 1843, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Coralli
Music: Friedrich Bergmüller
National dance(s): *pas de l'abeille*, bolero, waltz, minuet, jig
NOTE: The *pas de l'abeille*, or bee dance, was an Egyptian-style dance. The other dances were performed respectively by the Spanish, German, French, and Scottish members of Achmet's harem.[48] Both Adeline Plunkett and Carlotta Grisi substituted a manola for the *pas de l'abeille*.[49]

**La Esmeralda*
Premiere: 9 March 1844, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: Jules Perrot
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): truandaise
NOTE: A dance "of the bolero class," the truandaise was intended to show Esmeralda's artlessness.[50]

**La Vivandière*
Premiere: 23 May 1844, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: Arthur Saint-Léon
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): mazurka, redowa, polka
NOTE: Reviewing a performance of the ballet in 1848, Théophile Gautier wrote: "The [wedding]...is celebrated with that assortment of *pas—cabrioles*, *mazurkas* and *redowas*—that are to the climax of a ballet what Bengal fire [fireworks] is to the climax of a pantomime."[51]

**Eoline*
Premiere: 8 March 1845, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: Jules Perrot
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): Silesian waltz, *mazurka d'extase*

**Kaya ou l'Amour voyageur*
Premiere: 17 April 1845, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: Jules Perrot, Lucile Grahn
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): Norwegian dance
NOTE: Pugni incorporated Norwegian folk melodies into the score.

**Le Diable à quatre*
Premiere: 11 August 1845, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Joseph Mazilier
Music: Adolphe Adam
National dance(s): mazurka, polka

**Caterina, ou la Fille du Bandit*
Premiere: 3 March 1846, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: Jules Perrot
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): romanesque, saltarello[52]

**Paquita*
Premiere: 1 April 1846, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Joseph Mazilier
Music: Ernest Deldevez
National dance(s): gypsy and Spanish dances, tambourine dance, cloak dance, fan dance, hussar dance
NOTE: The cloak dance was a sort of cachucha danced by couples with half the women in male attire brandishing red cloaks. In the fan dance the women played castanets with one hand while holding a fan in the other.[53]

**Lalla Rookh*
Premiere: 11 June 1846, Her Majesty's Theatre
Choreography: Jules Perrot
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): chibouk
NOTE: "There was in this dance," wrote the reviewer for *The Morning Post*, "the characteristic movement, as well as measure, of the dances of the East—of the Eastern world, which through the Moors conveyed the premature form of the bolero, cachucha, guaracha, etc. to Spain."[54]

**Ozaï*
Premiere: 26 April 1847, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Jean Coralli
Music: Casimir Gide
National dance(s): South Seas "native dances" with "artificial wings" and "bamboos,"[55] "Quadrille of the Four Parts of the World," "Quadrille of Europeans," American, Tahitian, and Provençal dances,[56] dances for almées
NOTE: During the "Four Parts of the World," national airs of each country were played.[57]

**La Fille de marbre*
Premiere: 20 October 1847, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Arthur Saint-Léon
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): aldeana, bolero, cachucha, "Quadrille of the Four Parts of the World"
Dancer(s): Fanny Cerrito (aldeana, bolero, cachucha)[58]
NOTE: The "Four Parts of the World" was performed by an ensemble of sixteen.

**Pâquerette*
Premiere: 15 January 1851, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Arthur Saint-Léon
Music: François Benoist

Vert-Vert
Premiere: 24 November 1851, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Joseph Mazilier
Music: Ernest Deldevez, Jean-Baptiste Tolbecque
National dance(s): Spanish dance, Chinese dance, Hungarian waltz

War of the Women
Premiere: 23 November 1852, Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg
Choreography: Jules Perrot
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): Slavonian dance, mazurka

**Gazelda*
Premiere: 24 February 1853, Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg
Choreography: Jules Perrot
Music: Cesare Pugni
National dance(s): gypsy dance, bolero, zinganka, "Cosmopolitana"
NOTE: In the zinganka, commented a Russian reviewer, Perrot "skilfully introduced steps from Russian folk dances."[59] The "Cosmopolitana" was a suite of dances "intended to convey the nomadic nature of gypsy life by introducing a succession of national dances—Moorish, Tyrolese, Spanish and English."[60]

**Jovita, ou les Boucaniers*
Premiere: 11 November 1853, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Joseph Mazilier
Music: Théodore Labarre
National dance(s): gypsy dance, dances from Europe and the Americas[61]
NOTE: Creole, Mexican, or black slaves as well as Europeans performed their native dances.

Le Corsaire
Premiere: 23 January 1856, Paris Opéra
Choreography: Joseph Mazilier
Music: Adolphe Adam
National dance(s): character dances
NOTE: These dances may have been performed by the slaves—Moldavian, Italian, French, English, and Spanish—listed in the libretto.

Notes

30. The farandole is an old folk dance from Provence. Today, it is danced as a simple serpentine line dance; however, in the early nineteenth century, it may have had a more distinct Provençal step vocabulary.
31. *Le Sicilien*, libretto (Paris, 1827).
32. Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in England*, p. 50.
33. *L'Orgie*, libretto (Paris, 1831); *Le Journal des Débats*, 20 July 1831.
34. *La Sylphide*, score, A.501, BN-Opéra. Gautier refers to the "slipshod execution" of the Scottish jig in a performance of *La Sylphide* on 1 June 1844 (*La Presse*, 3 June 1844, in *Gautier on Dance*, ed. and trans. Ivor Guest [London: Dance Books, 1986], p. 132.
35. See Cyril W. Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballet* (London: Putnam, 1937), p. 148.
36. For a description, see Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, pp. 152-153.
37. Mat 19[294-22], BN-Opéra. This score indicates that the mazurka was danced by Taglioni.
38. Edwin Binney III, *Longing for the Ideal: Images of Marie Taglioni in the Romantic Ballet*

(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Theatre Collection, 1984), pp. 29-32; Beaumont, *Complete Book*, pp. 129-136; Vaillat, *La Taglioni*, pp. 404-405.
39. *La Tarentule*, libretto (Paris, 1839).
40. *La Gipsy*, score, A.522, BN-Opéra.
41. Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 174. Mazilier's first dance was called "a saltarella after the Scottish fashion."
42. *La Sylphide*, 26 Sept. 1840, quoted *ibid.*, pp. 193-194.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
44. Guest, *Perrot*, p. 102.
45. *Giselle*, libretto (Paris, 1842); *Giselle*, autograph score, Rés MS 2639, BN-Opéra.
46. Beaumont, *Complete Book*, p. 191; *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, libretto (Paris, 1842).
47. Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 239.
48. Gautier, who wrote the libretto for *La Péri*, also included Georgian, Greek, Arab, and Jewish women in Achmet's harem. See his article in *La Presse*, 25 July 1843, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 114.
49. See Gautier's review in *La Presse*, 31 Mar. 1845, in *Gautier on Dance*, pp. 161-162.
50. *Court Journal*, 16 Mar. 1844, quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 118.
51. *La Presse*, 23 Oct. 1848, in *Gautier on Dance*, p. 205.
52. Pugni called this dance a saltarella or a tarantella (Guest, *Perrot*, p. 162). Guest notes that Pugni's waltz in 5/4 was arranged for amateur performance as "La Perrotiana" and dedicated to the ballroom teacher Henri Cellarius.
53. Beaumont, *Complete Book*, pp. 229-230; Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 253; *Paquita*, libretto (Paris, 1846).
54. *The Morning Post*, 11 June 1846, quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 171.
55. Beaumont, *Complete Book*, pp. 175-176. The bamboo dance may have been related to the Tinikling, a Philippine folk dance in which the performers move over bamboo sticks held close to the ground and clapped together rhythmically.
56. *Ozaï*, libretto (Paris, 1847).
57. *Ibid.*
58. Gautier, *La Presse*, 25 Oct. 1847, in *Gautier on Dance*, pp. 185-188.
59. *Sankpeterburgskie vedomosti*, 26 Feb./10 Mar. 1853, quoted in Guest, *Perrot*, p. 271.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Beaumont, *Complete Book*, pp. 249-252.

Ballets Performed in Rome from 1845 to 1855 at the Teatro di Apollo and Teatro Argentina

CLAUDIA CELI

The following chronology derives from several sources. Since the theatrical season began the day after Christmas, ballets given during the last week of the "old" year are listed together with those produced during the new calendar year.

1845

TEATRO DI APOLLO

Ezzelino sotto le mura di Bassano (Ezzelino Under the Walls of Bassano)
Choreography: Filippo Termanini
Principal dancers: Filippo Termanini, Orsolina Catte

La vendetta d'amore (Love's Revenge)
Choreography: Filippo Izzo(?)

La vincita al lotto (Win at the Lottery)
Choreography: Arthur Saint-Léon
Principal dancers: Fanny Cerrito, Arthur Saint-Léon

La festa in maschera ossia l'ospedale dei pazzi (The Masquerade, or The Hospital for Madmen)
Choreography: Filippo Izzo(?)
Principal dancers: Fanny Cerrito, Arthur Saint-Léon

Almà ossia la figlia del fuoco (Alma, or The Daughter of Fire)
Choreography: Fanny Cerrito and Filippo Izzo (after André Deshayes)
Music: Enrico Rolland(?)
Principal dancers: Fanny Cerrito, Arthur Saint-Léon, Filippo Termanini, Domenico Segarelli

La Manola (pas de deux)
Choreography: Fanny Cerrito and Arthur Saint-Léon
Principal dancers: Fanny Cerrito, Arthur Saint-Léon

1845

TEATRO ARGENTINA

Adelaide di Francia (Adelaide of France)
Choreography: Antonio Coppini (after Louis Henry[?])
Music: Cesare Pugni(?)
Principal dancers: Adelaide Cherrier, Domenico Matis, Raffaella Santalicante Prisco, Alessandro Bustini, Antonio Coppini

Gisella o le Villi (Giselle, or The Wilis)
Choreography: Domenico Ronzani (after Antonio Cortesi[?])
Music: Adolphe Adam(?), Giovanni Bajetti(?)
Principal dancers: Domenico Matis, Fanny Elssler, Raffaella Santalicante Prisco, Adelaide Cherrier, Domenico Ronzani

Esmeralda
Choreography: Domenico Ronzani (after Jules Perrot)
Music: Cesare Pugni(?)
Principal dancers: Fanny Elssler, Alessandro Bustini, Domenico Ronzani, Domenico Matis, Antonio Coppini

Il figlio fuggitivo (The Runaway Son)
Choreography: Antonio Coppini
Principal dancers: Antonio Coppini, Raffaella Santalicante Prisco, Gaetano Prisco

Le illusioni di un pittore (The Illusions of a Painter)
Choreography: Domenico Ronzani(?) (after Jules Perrot)
Principal dancer: Fanny Elssler