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The disappearing danseur

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Abstract: The notion of studying the nineteenth-century danseur is problematic because of an anti-male strain in dance historiography that has led some to suggest that he virtually disappeared from the stage. André Levinson is largely responsible for the danseur's poor reputation: he minimised the narrative aspect of nineteenth-century ballet and declared in 1929 that the ballerina Marie Taglioni had 'evicted' men from the stage. Levinson also canonised *La Sylphide* (1832), a ballet that he, like his nineteenth-century predecessors Théophile Gautier and Jules Janin, gendered as feminine. He promulgated the term 'ballet blanc', a feminising but misleading term now in common use and rarely interrogated. And yet men danced on the stage throughout the nineteenth century. In the case of the Paris Opéra, men contributed to ballet as principal dancers, soloists and in the *corps de ballet*. A brief study of *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, a ballet contemporaneous with *La Sylphide*, shows a rich set of male roles calling on men's skill as mimes and dancers in various styles. Further studies of the long-maligned nineteenth-century danseur are needed.

Jules Janin did not care much for the art of Jules Perrot, a dancer at the Paris Opéra in the 1830s:

> Monsieur Perrot is a man of great lightness, it is true; but that is all. . . . A man has no right to dance, no right to round a leg or an arm, or smile while doing an entrechat. The male animal is too . . . ugly. His habits are too disgusting, his neck too thick, skin too tough, hands too red, legs too lanky, and feet too flat to practice the same trade as the likes of Mlle Taglioni, Mlle Dupont, Mlle Noblet, Mlle Julia, and so many others who have a pretty face, a charming neck, flawless white hands, a very fine leg, a bosom that thrills, an eye that shines, a warm pink mouth, and a white dress that floats in the breeze. This must be said again and again to all the gentlemen who dance, light or not.[1]

In this passage Janin forcefully expresses a binary opposition familiar to readers of dance history: danseuses of the period, particularly those in ethereal white tutus, were appealing; danseurs were not.

Janin's unkind generalisations are typical of a significant strain of newspaper criticism during what is widely recognised today as ballet's 'golden age' in Paris, the years roughly coinciding with the July Monarchy (1830–48). Janin's illustrious counterpart at *La Presse*, Théophile Gautier, for example, was of the same mind. Neither critic could resist ridiculing the entire male sex even when admitting to a particular danseur's merits. Here are some samples of their invective, which in its mildest form still damns with faint praise:

I am grateful to Ivor Guest, Anne Dhu McLucas, Lori Kruckenberg and Marc Vanscheeuwijck for their suggestions, and to Olga Aynvarg for translating Slonimskii's *'Sil'fida' balet*.

[1] Jules Janin in the *Journal des Débats*, 29 April 1833, translated and quoted in John Chapman, 'Jules Janin: Romantic Critic', in *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed. Lynn Garafola (Middletown, CT, 1997), 197–241, here 218–19.

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Under no conditions do I recognise a man's right to dance in public.[2]

As for M. Petipa, he did not worry the audience at all, being not too repulsive for a man.[3]

a man, a frightful man, as ugly as you and I, a wretched fellow who leaps about without knowing why, a creature specially made to carry a musket and a sword and to wear a uniform. That this fellow should dance as a woman does – impossible![4]

Perrot . . . has nothing of that feeble and inane manner that usually makes male dancers so unbearable.[5]

I do not like male dancing at all. A male dancer performing anything other than *pas de caractère* or pantomime has always seemed to me something of a monstrosity. Until now [on seeing Jules Perrot in *Zingaro*] I have only been able to bear men in *mazurkas*, *saltarellos*, and *cachuchas*. With the exception of Mabille and Petipa, the male dancers of the Opéra only reinforce my view that women alone should be admitted into the ballet company.[6]

Just as damning as these critics' frequent insults was their even more frequent silence on the subject of men, for they lavished far more attention on the danseuse. Under the customary format for reviews of premières – which constituted the majority of ballet reviews – most column inches were expended recounting the plot, a form of popular literature akin to the serial novels that also appeared *en feuilleton*.[7] Only in the preamble, in asides during the course of the narrative, or at the very end, was the reader likely to find any eyewitness descriptions. And it was the danseuse and not the danseur who attracted the critic's attention if performers were discussed at all.

In this article I will discuss some reasons for these critics' harsh treatment of the male dancer. I will argue that their insults, together with their highly favourable assessment of *La Sylphide*, lit the path for early twentieth-century critic André Levinson, who, for reasons of his own, created a story about the disappearance of men from nineteenth-century ballet and the concomitant ascendance of Marie Taglioni. I will examine Levinson's story and argue that it has been influential on more recent writings, distorting and obscuring our view of the danseur in July Monarchy Paris. I will then attempt a brief but sympathetic portrait of the danseur at the Opéra – a site long considered vital to ballet's 'golden age' – explaining what

[2] Janin, *Journal des Débats*, 27 June 1832.
[3] Théophile Gautier, *La Presse*, 1 July 1839, in *Gautier on Dance*, ed. Ivor Guest (London, 1986), 70–1.
[4] Janin, *Journal des Débats*, 2 March 1840, in Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* (London, 1980), 21.
[5] Gautier, *La Presse*, 2 March 1840, in *Gautier on Dance*, 89.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Gautier recounts particularly well the plots he conceived himself for the ballets *Giselle* and *La Péri*; see *La Presse*, 28 June 1841 and 25 July 1843, in *Gautier on Dance*, 94–102, 112–21. For sarcastic takes on the practice, see Hector Berlioz, review of *La Chatte Metamorphosée en femme*, in the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 22 October 1837, translated and discussed in Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of 'Giselle'* (Princeton, 2000), 117–18; and Janin, review of *Les Mohicans*, in *Journal des Débats*, 10 July 1837, in Chapman, 'Jules Janin: Romantic Critic', 227–9.

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he was doing and why it mattered. In particular, I will contrast *La Sylphide* with another successful ballet of the time, *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, which displays a surprisingly wide array of roles for male dancers. By way of conclusion I will suggest a few possible directions for future research on male dancers in nineteenth-century ballet.

Why the derision?

What set of circumstances made it possible for Janin and Gautier among others to declare open season on the male? Since it was rarely the merit of the danseur's actual performance but more often his maleness, his style and his very presence that so offended, one must look beyond any genuine male repulsiveness or technical ineptitude to discover why they treated him so roughly.

First, Gautier and Janin were radical proponents of a new, ethereal style of dancing first made famous by Marie Taglioni. They deemed men unsuited for it and were quick to associate the danseur more than the danseuse with the old *noble* style, a style originating in the court of Louis XIV and known for its precision, multiple leg-beats, slow deliberate preparations, solemn elegance, graceful arabesques, and majestic unfoldings of the arms and legs. As Gautier wore the Romantic *gilet rouge* in the battle of *Hernani* in 1830, so did he fight passionately for the cause of the new aesthetic in ballet. Janin, for his part, was the first explicitly to apply the aesthetic of *l'art pour l'art* to ballet. Both critics looked askance at the old style: 'Abandon . . . once and for all', Janin pleaded in one of his many diatribes against it, 'the *danse noble*, the *ballet d'action*, the role of *grands danseurs*, the great desperate passions, the choreographic tragedies, the little Corneilles of the ballet'.[8] Gautier and Janin championed ballet as a medium ideally suited for stimulating the imagination by presenting evocative images: 'Why deprive ballet of its most glorious prerogatives – disorder, dream, and the absence of common sense?'.[9] For them, only women's moving bodies could serve as an instrument of poetic expression. Thus, as these critics promoted with great zeal and skill the feminised and poetic possibilities of dance, they mercilessly derided the long-established *danse noble* and its male exponents. The gendered opposites were sometimes presented unsubtly, to say the least:

> Taglioni is the dance of antiquity, modest and gentle, a dance that causes all other poetry to be forgotten and eliminates the need for all other poetry. . . . Before her no one danced in France. Dance in France was a continual torture, a ceaseless assault on ceaseless difficulties, a perpetual tournament of the leg and the face. . . . The *danseur noble*, when he is about to dance, usually rushes from the wing. He is hidden there, under a flowering apple tree when it is a country scene; behind Nero's column . . . if it is a heroic scene. . . . He

[8] Janin, *Journal des Débats*, 14 December 1835. For a discussion of the old and new ballet and Janin's position in the debate, see Chapman, 'Jules Janin: Romantic Critic'. According to Jean-Georges Noverre's definition in his famous *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (1760), the *ballet d'action* presented a dramatic action or story through dance and mime and was intended to be morally uplifting.

[9] Janin, *Journal des Débats*, 27 June 1832, in Chapman, 'Jules Janin: Romantic Critic', 204.

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progresses to the front of the stage. As soon as he arrives, in order to puff up his veins, he stiffens his leg and thigh, and his calf, if he has one, and his two little arms; he sucks in his chest as much as possible, and pants; his face is very red; then he aimlessly beats his legs; he goes to the right, and to the left; to the front with one leg; to the front with the other. He jumps! He jumps! He turns! He turns! Then, after several minutes of this, he returns to the back of the stage, lifts his arms to the right, and poses with his leg to the left; or by a refinement of good taste, he lifts his arms to the left and poses with his legs to the right. The aim of all this is to say to the audience 'applaud me'. The audience does not disappoint him. It applauds with enthusiasm. This is the full secret of the *danse noble*! People say, 'He is so noble! He is so noble! What deportment! What looks! What deportment!' It is truer to say, 'He is so stiff!'[10]

In a recent study Ramsay Burt has forcefully broached 'the trouble with the male dancer' of the nineteenth century, suggesting several reasons for it, including squeamishness about sexuality (though, as Burt points out, ballet's overt association with male homosexuality is not known to have been made before the twentieth century). As the Opéra became famous for the pleasurable viewing of females by males – the exploits of the Jockey Club are well known in this regard – the very presence of males on stage may have caused heterosexual male viewers, a significant constituency of the Opéra, to wonder anxiously if enjoying the spectacle meant enjoying men.[11]

Burt also suggests that Gautier, Janin and others like them may have been rankled by a grossly miscalculated attempt at representing class on the ballet stage, at least so far as men were concerned. He cites Janin's complaints about the failure of *danse noble* to represent the new bourgeois man:

> That this bewhiskered individual who is a pillar of the community, an elector, a municipal councillor, a man whose business is to make and above all unmake laws, should come before us in a tunic of sky blue satin, his head covered with a hat with a waving plume amorously caressing his cheek, a frightful danseuse of the male sex, come to pirouette in the best place while the pretty ballet girls stand respectfully at a distance – this was surely impossible and intolerable, and we have done well to remove such great artists from our pleasures.[12]

When Janin wrote these words it had only been two generations since the demise of the Versailles court and its choreographic approach to daily life, where male courtiers had learned to fence, bow, promenade and dance ballet, and had deployed these skills equally as a means of gaining prestige.[13] But if the male dancing body and its carefully wrought gestures and movements had once been signs of political potency, for some they were now too reminiscent of the old aristocracy.

[10] Janin, *Journal des Débats*, 24 August 1832, in Chapman, 213.

[11] Ramsay Burt, *The Male Dancer: Bodies, Spectacle, Sexualities* (London, 1995), 24–8. See also Burt, 'The Trouble with the Male Dancer', *Moving History/Dancing Cultures*, ed. Ann Dils and Ann Cooper Albright (Hanover, NH, 2001), 44–55.

[12] Janin, *Journal des Débats*, 2 March 1840, in Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 21; also quoted in Burt, *The Male Dancer*, 25. Susan Leigh Foster sees this description as casting the male dancer as 'embarrassingly effeminate'; see Foster, *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1996), 219–20.

[13] Norman Bryson, 'Dance History and Cultural Studies', unpublished paper presented at the conference 'Choreographing History', University of California, Riverside, February 1992.

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Burt further notes that the overt virtuosity that had entered male dancing during the Napoleonic era – most notably in the person of Auguste Vestris – was coming under suspicion, perhaps also for reasons of class, since vigorous activity was more obviously associated with the lower classes.[14] Certainly our two critics from time to time described the physicality of the male disgustedly. Gautier, for example, disliked the sight of 'a man showing off his red neck, great muscular arms, and parish beadle legs, and the whole of his heavy frame shuddering with leaps and pirouettes'.[15] In any case, as male refinement offended, so did vigour and physicality. The danseur's supposed sexuality and class seemed wrong and made his detractors extremely uncomfortable, particularly when he danced in the *noble* style.

Continuing disrespect

Many ballerinas rose to fame in this era, but the one who originated the new ethereal dancing, Marie Taglioni, and the first full-length ballet created to showcase this style, *La Sylphide*, occupy a special place in the gendered binary construct in which males were linked with outworn Classicism and females with Romanticism. Thus *La Sylphide* deserves a central place in consideration of anti-male criticism of the era.

The centrepiece of *La Sylphide* reception was Gautier's now-famous 1844 review of Taglioni's revival of her role as the sylph after a long sojourn in Russia. In this review, written twelve years after *La Sylphide*'s première, Gautier declares the ballet revolutionary. Cast in feminine terms (note his mention of pink tights and transparent skirts), his words exaggerate, quite poetically, *La Sylphide*'s impact on the history of ballet:

> This ballet opened the door to a whole new era in choreography, and through it Romanticism entered the realm of Terpsichore. After *La Sylphide*, *Les Filets de Vulcain* and *Flore et Zéphyre* [mythological ballets] were no longer possible. The Opéra was given over to gnomes, undines, salamanders, elfs, nixes, wilis, peris, all those strange, mysterious creatures who lend themselves so wonderfully to the fantasies of the ballet master. The twelve mansions of marble and gold of the Olympians were relegated to the dust of the scenery shop, and artists were commissioned to produce only romantic forests and valleys lit by that pretty German moon of Heinrich Heine's ballads. Pink tights remained pink, for there can be no choreography without tights, and all that was changed was the satin ballet slipper for the Greek cothurna. This new style brought in its wake a great abuse of white gauze, tulle and tarlatan, and colors that dissolved into mist by means of transparent skirts. White became almost the only color used.[16]

[14] Burt cites J. S. Bratton's idea that the hornpipe, when performed as a potentially threatening British working-class entertainment, offended the middle class by displaying physical prowess. Burt also suggests that critics' almost prudish revulsion at the danseur's physicality be likened to the middle-class distaste for the strong-smelling animal-based perfumes used by the older aristocracy and regarded as 'a sign of their decadence, degeneracy and lack of hygiene'; Burt, *The Male Dancer*, 26–7. For more, see Alain Corbin, *The Fragrant and the Foul: Odour and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, MA, 1986).

[15] Gautier, *La Presse*, 7 May 1838, in *Gautier on Dance*, 35. A month after publishing this, Gautier made a point of restricting his criticism to *danseurs nobles*.

[16] Gautier, *La Presse*, 1 July 1844, in *Gautier on Dance*, 142.

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That *La Sylphide* wrought profound changes in choreography, plot and even costume is beyond doubt. Nor could anyone deny that Marie Taglioni, as the sylph, revolutionised dance technique. By developing her upper-body strength and pointe dancing, she was able to elevate herself in a fashion that made her seem lighter than air, spiritual, ethereal. However, Gautier never meant his words about the sudden takeover of ballet by Romantic ballerinas in filmy costumes to be taken literally. He knew full well, like readers of *La Presse*, that the mythological *Les Filets de Vulcain* had remained in the Opéra's repertory for several years after *La Sylphide*'s première and that brightly lit scenes involving mortal characters in colourful costumes – both men and women – far outnumbered the moonlit ethereal scenes in ballets at the time. Indeed, he had made room for such scenes in his own ballet libretti and created parts for male dancers.

If regular readers of Gautier's writings were able to take this concept of a Romantic feminisation of ballet with a grain of salt, many subsequent readers of the passage were not. Gautier's bit of impassioned on-the-spot history writing surfaces often, explicitly or implicitly, in twentieth-century accounts of Parisian ballet of the 1830s and 1840s, usually without any acknowledgement of the strong anti-classical sentiment behind it or of Gautier's use of gendered opposites. To cite one example, an article of 1964 by Lillian Moore, written on the occasion of *La Sylphide*'s introduction into the repertory of American Ballet Theatre, echoes Gauthier's famous paragraph and leaves a distinctly feminine impression of the era: '*La Sylphide* changed the course of ballet. It introduced a whole new world of sylphs, dryads, water nymphs, wood sprites, swan maidens and other mysterious, ethereal creatures in diaphanous veils and filmy white skirts – the world which is still, to most people, the true realm of the ballet'.[17]

A few historians actually exceed Janin's and Gautier's claims. Among them is Alexander Bland, who in *The Dancer's World* (1963) reproduces their ideas about the exclusive appropriateness of the danseuse for Romantic ballet and implies, further, that men were little involved in ballet during the period in question:

> Men are by nature more active than women, and from earliest time dancing was a male prerogative. Even today popular dancing, from the Congo to the Cotswolds, from the Trepack to the Twist, is a man's affair. It is due to historical chance that in ballet women have been more prominent. Ballet grew up with a rush at the height of the nineteenth-century Romantic movement, with its emphasis on unearthly mystery, sentiment and moonlit unreality – qualities most fit for female expression. In this century the balance has slowly been righted.[18]

In an important study of travesty dancers Lynn Garafola also suggests that men receded from the stage:

[17] Lillian Moore, '*La Sylphide*, Epitome of the Romantic Ballet', *Dance Magazine* (March 1965), 42. See also Léandre Vaillat, *Histoire de la Danse* (Paris, 1942), 63. Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 10, and Yuri Slonimskii, *'Sil'fida' balet* (Leningrad, 1927), 42–3, have noted that this statement is an exaggeration.

[18] Alexander Bland, *The Dancer's World* (London, 1963), n.p.

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Beginning with Romanticism, a twenty-year golden age stretching from the July Revolution to about 1850, the *danseuse en travesti* usurped the position of the male *danseur* in the *corps de ballet* and as a partner to the ballerina . . . the disappearance of the male dancer coincided with the triumph of Romanticism and marketplace economics.[19]

Garafola adds that 'the ban on male talent was not, strictly speaking, absolute', noting that men continued to play character parts even after mid-century, like Coppélius in *Coppélia* (1870). Nonetheless, if not read carefully, this passage could give the impression that the danseur virtually vanished from the stage during the period under scrutiny.

Such accounts have helped construct a familiar narrative about nineteenth-century ballet which unfolds as follows: after *La Sylphide*'s première in 1832 the typical ballet featured moonlight and white diaphanous costumes; more to the point for this article, such ballets, feminine as they were, pushed the male dancer virtually out of the picture for the rest of the century, except in Denmark.[20] The implicit corollary is that the danseur need not be reclaimed from the shadows into which he receded as the ballerina took over the limelight. There exists a wide lacuna in present-day knowledge about the danseur in the age of Taglioni and a set of built-in reasons to keep ignoring him: he was incompetent, ridiculous, unsettling to watch and on his way out anyway.

Yet even though the danseur's visibility, numbers and prestige sank below the danseuse's during this era, he nonetheless warrants our scrutiny. Like his female counterparts, he laboured, rehearsed, performed, perspired and contributed to the success of 'golden-era' ballet. He did not disappear from the stage, even though Gautier, Janin and other critics seem to have wished he did. He was still there; he was still acting and dancing. A fuller portrait of him could deepen our understanding of the stage in the nineteenth century. Simply put, there is much more to say about him than that he was eclipsed.

Of course, the danseur has not been overlooked by everyone. Most notably, Ivor Guest's detailed and scrupulously researched histories of ballet in London and Paris, his dancer biographies (of Fanny Cerrito, Carlotta Grisi, Fanny Elssler, Jules Perrot) and his compilations (of Gautier's ballet reviews and Arthur Saint-Léon's letters) offer the reader a fuller and richer sense of the year-to-year unfolding of ballet history and the danseur's part in it than the above storyline. Sandra Noll Hammond's studies of ballet pedagogy reveal specific information about his technique and provide insight into the passing down of traditions and styles. John Chapman lists the types of non-sylph roles that existed and devotes attention to male roles. Giannandrea Poesio protests the heavy Franco-centrism of ballet historiography and points out that, despite reports to the contrary, the Italian male

[19] Lynn Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet', *Dance Research*, 17–18 (1985–86), 35–40.

[20] On the strong presence of males in Danish ballet under the guidance of August Bournonville, see, for example, Erik Aschengreen, 'Bournonville and Male Dancing: An Inheritance and a Challenge', in *The Royal Danish Ballet and Bournonville* (Copenhagen, 1979), 24–7.

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remained vital throughout the period in question along with his Danish counterparts. Studies of Polish, Roman and English ballet, while not specifically focused on the male dancer, confirm that he was alive and well outside the French capital. Ramsay Burt, the first to undertake a full-length critical study of representations of masculinity in twentieth-century dance, notes the prejudice that arose against male dancers in the nineteenth century and seeks its origins, as I have indicated above.[21]

Yet the danseur's place in the historiography of the nineteenth century remains far more paltry than even his reduced role and dwindling prestige warrant. Further evidence of this neglect are the gaps in much traditional historiography, in which, as noted above, Gautier's ideas seem to prevail over the source-based scholarship of Guest and others, and the fact that most specialised scholarship on the 1830s and 1840s focuses far more on the female than the male.[22] Such studies are valuable; indeed, there remains plenty of work to do on the subject of the danseuse.[23] However, the scholar intent on exploring in depth the danseur of 'golden-era' ballet has yet to appear. Nor has the chilling effect on the danseur of his early detractors in the press, nor the gendered *Sylphide*-centrism of twentieth-century scholarship, been fully addressed in writings about men.[24] In the remainder of this article I hope to reveal the potent effects of these nineteenth-century ideas and to clear a space for a fuller, less polemical approach to the danseur's place in nineteenth-century ballet.

[21] Sandra Noll Hammond, 'Clues to Ballet's Technical History from an Early Nineteenth-Century Ballet Lesson', *Dance Research*, 3 (1984), 53–66; Hammond, 'A Nineteenth-Century Dancing Master at the Court of Württemberg: the Dance Notebooks of Michel St. Léon', *Dance Research*, 15 (1992), 291–315; Hammond, 'Ballet's Technical Heritage: The Grammaire of Léopold Adice', *Dance Research*, 13 (1995), 33–58; John Chapman, 'An Unromantic View of Nineteenth-Century Romanticism', *York Dance Review*, 7 (1978), 28–40; Giannandrea Poesio, 'Blasis, the Italian *Ballo*, and the Male Sylph', in *Rethinking the Sylph*, 131–42; Janina Pudelek, 'Ballet Dancers at Warsaw's Wielki Theater', *Rethinking the Sylph*, 143–64; Claudia Celi, 'The Arrival of the Great Wonder of Ballet', *Rethinking the Sylph*, 165–80; and Jane Pritchard, 'Collaborative Creations for the Alhambra and the Empire', *Dance Chronicle*, 24 (2001), 55–82.

[22] To name a few such studies: Louise Robin-Challan's on the social conditions of the danseuse at the Opéra in the 1830s and 1840s, Susan Manning's on the carry-over between backstage fact and onstage fiction in female roles at the Opéra, Lynn Garafola's on the rise of the female travesty dancer, Felicia McCarren's on the pathologising of the emerging agency of female performers, Susan Leigh Foster's on the ballerina as phallus. See Louise Robin-Challan, 'Danse et Danseuses à l'Opéra de Paris, 1830–1850' (Thèse de 3ème Cycle, Université de Paris VII, 1988); Robin-Challan, 'Social Conditions of Ballet Dancers at the Paris Opera in the 19th Century', *Choreography and Dance*, 2 (1992), 17–28; Susan Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), 33–4; Manning, 'Borrowing from Feminist Theory', in *Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars: Retooling the Discipline: Research and Teaching Strategies for the 21st Century*, ed. Linda Tomko (Riverside, CA, 1994), 331–4; Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer'; Felicia McCarren, *Dance Pathologies: Performance, Poetics, Medicine* (Stanford, 1998); and Susan Leigh Foster, 'The Ballerina's Phallic Pointe', in *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power*, ed. Foster (London, 1996), 1–24. The last study is not restricted to ballets of the 1830s and 1840s, but offers a critique of classical ballet choreography in general.

[23] Sarah Davies Cordova is currently writing a book on danseuses of the *corps de ballet* of this period.

[24] The need for an antidote to the disproportionate dominance of *La Sylphide* was expressed plainly in the title of Garafola's edited volume *Rethinking the Sylph*.

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Levinson's *Sylphide*

After *La Sylphide* fell from the Opéra's repertory in the second half of the nineteenth century, it receded from historical accounts too, and for many decades the 1832 première of *La Sylphide* was not considered a watershed event. Nor did the diaphanous white tutus, moonlight and fantastic creatures of Gautier's famous declaration hold a sure place in the record. Indeed, neither *La Sylphide* nor Taglioni were historiographical fixtures.

The usual practice was to name dancers and ballets and offer brief descriptions; men were nearly always left out of accounts, with the occasional exception of Jules Perrot, Antonio Guerra and a few others. Taglioni and *La Sylphide* could be included, but their mention was by no means obligatory. In Albert Czerwinski's 1879 *Brevier der Tanzkunst*, for example, *La Sylphide* goes unmentioned, though Taglioni does appear.[25] She is omitted, however, from a list of important ballerinas that includes Elssler, Cerrito, Grisi and Grahn in Henri de Soria's *Histoire pittoresque de la danse* (1897).[26] In Félicien de Ménil's *Histoire de la danse* (1905) *La Sylphide* is cited as the ballet for which the short skirt was adopted and Taglioni's natural dancing is attested to, but far greater emphasis is placed on Fanny Elssler (who is depicted dancing the cachucha) and Carlotta Grisi.[27] Raoul Charbonnel in *La Danse* (1899) lists *L'Orgie*, the nuns' ballet in *Robert le diable*, and *La Tentation* as typical ballets of the era; neither *La Sylphide* nor Taglioni is mentioned.

No wonder Yuri Slonimskii could complain in his 1927 monograph on *La Sylphide* that the ballet had not attracted proper attention.[28] However, it was the eloquent, erudite and unequivocal writings of Slonimskii's countryman Andrei Yakovlevich Levinson (1887–1933), known after his emigration to Paris after the Revolution as André Levinson, that assured the ballet and the creator of its title role their canonical status. Slonimskii had deemed *La Sylphide* worthy of recognition as the first truly Romantic ballet, but found it in the final analysis inferior to *Giselle*, which he considered a more mature and effective rendering of the same ideas.[29] Levinson, on the other hand, exalted *La Sylphide* above all other ballets of its era, according it a place of heroism in the struggle between realism and abstraction, which for him constituted the fundamental dialectic of ballet history.

In his now-famous essay 'The Idea of the Dance: From Aristotle to Mallarmé' (1927), Levinson situates *La Sylphide* at the centre of this struggle and casts Taglioni as 'the supreme incarnation . . . of the great romantic renaissance of 1830 . . . in which dance came into its own again' after being long subsumed to Aristotelian sophistry in the form of *danse noble*:

> In *La Sylphide*, the dance, instead of being subservient to expressive gestures, itself became the interpreter of the emotions and their symbolic equivalent. The classical step, which even

[25] Albert Czerwinski, *Brevier der Tanzkunst: Die Tänze bei den Kulturvölkern von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1879), 204–8.
[26] Henri de Soria, *Histoire pittoresque de la danse* (Paris, 1897), 242.
[27] Félicien de Ménil, *Histoire de la danse à travers les ages* (Paris, 1905), 312–15, 318.
[28] Slonimskii, *'Sil'fida' balet*, 3.
[29] Slonimskii, 56.

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Noverre had called the mechanical and material part of the dance, the severe discipline of stylized movement, which he termed 'sterile academic routine', in short the dancer's technique came to express the highest things of the soul. In a constant approach to 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. Those words from *Faust*, 'Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis' seem particularly applicable to this highly spiritualized art.[30]

Just as Gautier and Janin had early in their careers in Paris found themselves at the cusp of a new type of ballet, so Levinson found swirling about him a spirited argument about 'old' and 'new' ballet as he came of age in Russia.[31] In the two debates the three critics took the same side: they favoured the Platonising view, opposing ballets in which – as they saw it – dance existed only to recount stories necessitating excessive pantomime, that is, to serve the other arts in an ancillary way.

But if in the 1830s supporters of ballets like *La Sylphide* were considered Classicism's radical opponents, by Levinson's day they were its conservative defenders. In the early twentieth century the 'old' ballet of the nineteenth century was coming under attack by reformers both outside the imperial ballet, including adherents of Isadora Duncan and of Emile Jacques-Dalcroze's Eurythmics, and in it, like Michel Fokine. Fokine made no secret of his conviction that 'the older ballet turned its back on life and on all the other arts and shut itself up in a narrow circle of traditions'.[32] No wonder many of his radical choreographies for the Ballets Russes in Europe were deeply offensive to Levinson.[33]

From his earliest days as a critic, Levinson aligned himself firmly with opponents of the new, defending Classicism against the reformers' antidotes, which he dryly called 'cures by antiquity, painting, music, rationalism, psychology, naturalness'.[34] His determination to defend ballet against realism – against, for example, 'Fokine's unnecessary, superficial, and jejune attempt to dramatize ballet'[35] – reflected his larger belief in the primacy of 'pure' over 'expressive' dance (terms comparable to 'absolute' and 'programme music' in debates over symphonic music) and in the autonomous value of dance and its capacity to reach an audience without being called on to depict particular emotions, subjects or characters.

[30] André Levinson, 'The Idea of the Dance: From Aristotle to Mallarmé', *Theatre Arts Monthly* (August 1927), originally published in English and reprinted in *André Levinson on Dance: Writings from Paris in the Twenties*, ed. Joan Acocella and Lynn Garafola (Hanover, NH, 1991), 80.

[31] On the debate in the Russian press beginning in 1928, see Tim Scholl, '*Sleeping Beauty': A Legend in Progress* (New Haven, 2004), 74–6.

[32] Michel Fokine, letter to *The Times*, 6 July 1914, reprinted in *What is Dance? Readings in Theory and Criticism*, ed. Roger Copeland and Marshall Cohen (New York, 1983), 257–61.

[33] In this paragraph and the next I rely on the illuminating introductory essay by Acocella and Garafola to *André Levinson on Dance*, 1–26.

[34] Levinson, *Ballet Old and New*, trans. Susan Cook Summer (New York, 1982), 77–8.

[35] Levinson, 45.

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It is worth examining Levinson's arguments in detail, since it was he who elevated Taglioni above other performers of the era, male and female, and cast her in the role of Platonic saviour and feminiser of ballet. Thus she and *La Sylphide* re-emerged from obscurity in retrospect, and a ballerina and a ballet not always mentioned in previous accounts of nineteenth-century French ballet came to occupy a hallowed place in the canon. Levinson's influential position has skewed our view of the period in question, obscuring among other things the history of the danseur. Why, and how, did Levinson do what he did?

In their introduction to a volume of Levinson's essays, Joan Acocella and Lynn Garafola have suggested that the critic's nostalgia and esteem for the Maryinsky ballet of his youth, deepened by his own sense of loss on being driven out of Russia, and fear that its great ballets would be lost forever led him to take up as a personal crusade the rescue of what he saw as the Platonic ideals of Marius Petipa, the Maryinsky's long-time choreographer. This same deep drive, I would suggest, led him to perceive Taglioni and *La Sylphide* as he did. *La Sylphide* and its epoch-changing redemptive effects – which Levinson feared would be squandered and despoiled by the 'new ballet' – tower above everything in his *Marie Taglioni*, the remarkable biography published two years after 'The Idea of the Dance' and translated into English by Cyril Beaumont a year later, in which Levinson articulates several basic concepts which have since become axiomatic, including the notion that the male dancer was eclipsed by the female dancer in the nineteenth century. A *tour de force* of advocacy, steeped in erudition and spoken in the voice of a poet, the volume beatifies the ballerina (if not the human being) who created the role of the sylph. It does so by declaring her transcendent purity and eliminating the competition: not only Taglioni's rival danseuses and danseurs, but also the other characters she created and played. Three of Levinson's nine chapters include the term 'sylph' in the title: 'The Sylphide', 'Sylphidiana' and 'The Anatomy of the Sylphide'. None of Taglioni's other roles is so honoured.

Let us examine how Levinson makes his case. First, hinting that Taglioni had a lifelong dedication to Platonic ideals, he asserts that even in her early days at the Opéra she '[o]bstinately . . . keeps to pure dancing; she appears only in impersonal and, so to speak, abstract parts, independent of the dramatic action', for example, a naiad in *La Belle au bois dormant*.[36] Next he declares her inseparable from the role of the sylph, her own identity obliterated: 'She is mingled with the image of the Sylphide which becomes her ''astral body'' '. Further, he dismisses Taglioni's other roles: 'She will create many other parts. But none of these successive characters will supplant that supreme incarnation of her being.' After devoting a chapter to elevating Taglioni above Fanny Elssler (whose popularity was as great as his heroine's, and whose dancing was often characterised as sensual, colourful and of the earth), he finally dispatches Taglioni's female peers in a single sentence:

[36] Levinson, *Marie Taglioni* (Paris, 1929), 26; in English *Marie Taglioni*, trans. Cyril Beaumont (London, 1930), 32. Levinson overlooks the contractual requirements of debutantes to fill such peripheral parts before taking on principal roles.

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Nothing in the years which followed detracted from the recognized supremacy of Taglioni, neither Fanny Elssler's abortive attack, nor the 'Cerritomania' with which the second Fanny inflamed the dandies of 'Fop's alley' . . . nor the welcome accorded to the Dane, Lucile Grahn, who like Adèle Dumilâtre, belonged to the same 'ideal school' as Taglioni's.

Levinson also deftly dismisses Gautier's criticisms of Taglioni in 1838, deeming them a symptom of personal weakness – though he retains his affection for 'good Théo', 'old Théo' and 'the poet of *Albertus*', on whose pro-*Sylphide* writings Levinson depends and whose avuncular presence is felt throughout the book:

From 1838, Théophile Gautier declares that Mlle. Taglioni, exhausted by endless travel, is no longer what she was; she has lost much of her lightness and elevation. 'The princes and kings of the north', slyly insinuates old Théo, 'in their imprudent and pitiless admiration have over-applauded her . . . they have made so many showers of flowers and diamonds fall upon her that they have weighed down her tireless feet . . .'. And he emphasizes this theme and compares Marie of the graces to a bird with wet wings. Why does the critic set upon the Sylphide? We already know the reason for it. He sacrifices her to Fanny Elssler. . . . Undoubtedly, Gautier was the most honest man in the world; but his change of opinion in regard to Taglioni is the outcome of the sentimental weaknesses of a great and fickle heart.[37]

Levinson's dependence upon Gautier is nowhere more evident than in a famous passage in which he sums up his arguments about Taglioni by recalling the elder writer's 'moonlight/sylphs/pink tights/white gauze' imagery as well as its feminine tint and idea of *La Sylphide* as revolutionary:

This part is the apex of her career; it obliterates the trial sketches which were only preludes to this high attainment. Henceforth, dancer and character are indivisible. To speak of the Sylphide is to name Taglioni. At the Opéra she had been a sublime intruder, foreign to the atmosphere of the place; a gothic madonna set on an Empire style pedestal. With *La Sylphide* a new spirit invades the scene, glides over the stage, soars towards the 'flies'. No revolution in the order of ideas could have been more complete. Fairy-tale takes the place of mythology, and the *ballet blanc* supplants the anacreontic interlude. Dancing becomes a transcendental language, charged with spirituality and mystery: a celestial calligraphy, it admits nothing profane.[38]

However, perhaps influenced by Stéphane Mallarmé's Symbolist writings on dance, he eschews Gautier's materiality (tights, shoes, gauze, skirts) and invokes the idea of dance as a transcendental language.[39]

Crucially, Levinson uses the term 'ballet blanc', a fixture in today's vocabulary, one that seems to be of twentieth-century coinage, even of Levinson's own.[40]

[37] Levinson, *Marie Taglioni*, 52, 52, 97, 90; trans. Beaumont, 51, 51, 81, 77. As Acocella and Garafola have pointed out (*Levinson on Dance*, 20), the critic's extensive quotations of Gautier along with his essay in *La Revue musicale*, 'Théophile Gautier et le ballet romantique', proved influential for ballet and its historiography in the twentieth century.

[38] Levinson, *Marie Taglioni*, 39–40; trans. Beaumont, 42. See also Slonimskii, *'Sil'fida' balet*, 45.

[39] See in particular Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Ballets', in *Mallarmé: Selected Prose Poems, Essays, and Letters*, trans. Bradford Cook (Baltimore, 1956), reprinted in *What is Dance?* 111–15.

[40] Stravinsky uses the term in a Levinsonian way in his discussion of the ballet *Apollo*: 'I chose as the theme *Apollo Musagetes*. . . . When, in my admiration for the beauty of line in classical

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Levinson thus relies not only on dismissing other roles and ballerinas (and Gautier's materiality), but also on a simple, effective term for the spiritual, mysterious, feminine ballet he so values. The critic offers no such all-encompassing or evocative term for the scenes meant to contrast with the *blanc* world and likely to include character dance, local colour and performers – male and female – in coloured costumes ('ballets de couleur' would have been a possibility).[41] And yet ballets of *La Sylphide*'s type explored the contrast between the earth and the spirit world; it was in this contrast that much of their fascination lay.[42] Giving a precise name to one type of scene misleadingly privileges it; and it has led to a widespread but erroneous belief in the existence of numerous self-standing *ballet blancs*, even that entire acts (like Act II of *Giselle*) are *blanc*.[43] The idea of creating ballets that are white in their entirety did not emerge until the early twentieth century. Famous examples include *Les Sylphides* (1907) and *La Mort du cygne* (1907), both of which pointedly recall famous nineteenth-century ballets without making reference to the *ballets de couleur* therein.[44] Levinson surely did not mean to create false impressions about *ballet blanc*, but his partisan stance and minimisation of Taglioni's roles make other elements of nineteenth-century ballet easy to forget. Gautier's 'white gauze' declaration, combined with Levinson's writings on *La Sylphide* and his use of the term *ballet blanc*, have left a powerful impression.

Although by the late twentieth century some dance historians, notably Garafola, had begun to object to the disproportionate attention paid the Sylph, Levinson's paternity of pro-Sylphide historiography has never been acknowledged, nor has *La Sylphide*'s place in the canon been questioned. Levinson's powerful advocacy of Taglioni as the Sylph ensured not only the unshakeable historical prestige of the ballerina and the role but also, I would argue, today's general ignorance of Taglioni's other roles and the breadth of her capabilities. More germane to the present study, the danseur fares even worse in Levinson's biography.

In a short but devastating epilogue, Levinson offers a blunt expression of the ideas underlying much subsequent twentieth-century dance scholarship. Taglioni, 'in causing the *eternal feminine* to triumph, evicted male dancing. The eclipse was

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dancing, I dreamed of a ballet of this kind, I had specially in my thoughts what is known as the "white ballet", in which to my mind the very essence of this art reveals itself in all its purity. I found that the absence of many-colored effects and of all superfluities produced a wonderful freshness. This inspired me to write music of an analogous character'; Igor Stravinsky, *Autobiography* (New York, 1936), 211–12.

41 Character dance, often called 'national dance' in this period, is balleticised folk dance and was immensely popular and an integral part of ballet in the nineteenth century. With Lisa C. Arkin I make a case for character dance and for Taglioni's non-sylph roles in 'National Dance in the Romantic Ballet', in *Rethinking the Sylph*, 11–68, 245–52. For more refined definitions of the term and character-dance training, see 14–15, 33–4.

42 I owe this insight to Ivor Guest.

43 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet* defines *ballet blanc* as 'a ballet in the classical style in which the danseuses wear the white tulle skirts introduced by Taglioni in *La Sylphide* in 1832. Typical examples are the second act of *Giselle* and *Les Sylphides*'; Horst Koegler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet*, 2nd edn (London, 1982), 33.

44 One could argue that the earliest version of *Les Sylphides* – 'Chopiniana', the title still used by the Kirov Ballet – honours its model by including character dance.

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complete.'[45] Levinson's case for the 'eviction' of men consists of three observations and three quotations presented in a single paragraph, the penultimate one of the book. The observations are that the number of male dancers in the *corps de ballet* was reduced in 1832; the danseur Antonio Guerra was hissed at the Opéra because audiences were unaccustomed to men; and male characters were portrayed by women in the *Grand Pas des Gitanes* in *Paquita* in 1846. Here are the quotations:

Arthur Saint-Léon: 'The danseur has fallen into decline.'

Charles de Boigne: 'It may be said that today [1856] the male dancer no longer exists. A few years have sufficed to turn them into fossils . . . male dancers fill the posts of teachers, mimes or *maîtres de ballet*.'[46]

Jules Janin: 'We have suppressed male dancers.'

The paragraph provides convincing evidence of the danseur's occultation. However, it hardly constitutes a detailed study of the male's varying fortunes in Taglioni's day and beyond. Nor does it attempt to illuminate the place of the male at the Opéra during Taglioni's time, nor compare the degraded conditions of both male and female dancers after mid-century. Of course, it was not intended to do these things. It was meant to dismiss males from the reader's picture of nineteenth-century ballet without probing any more deeply than a few hundred words' worth of tendentious observations could.

As a gauge of the enduring influence of Levinson's narrative, it is worth considering the Opéra's current production of *La Sylphide*, choreographed by Pierre Lacotte after Filippo Taglioni. A popular and successful version of the ballet, it is sometimes considered a historically informed reconstruction even though it eliminates many of the narrative and characteristic details that existed in the first *Sylphide*.[47] The witches' scary pets, played by extras and students – a monkey, a donkey, an eagle, an owl, a parrot, a bear, a pig, bats and cats – have vanished. So have the danseurs who performed a Scottish jig during the wedding festivities.[48] Lacotte's witches, who are fewer in number, dance more and mime less. In the Levinsonian manner, Lacotte's *Sylphide* downplays the non-sylph characters and creates an overall dreamy, ethereal impression even in scenes from which sylphs are

[45] Levinson, *Marie Taglioni*, 136; trans. Beaumont, 110.

[46] 1856 was the year of the première of *Le Corsaire*, a ballet in which a male played the title role.

[47] An Opéra press release states that 'having recovered the true version of *La Sylphide* after several years of research in private collections, [Lacotte] has reconstituted this ballet with rigorously authentic sets and costumes'; Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris, Dossier d'œuvre *La Sylphide*. The significant differences between the early *La Sylphide* and Lacotte's version can be discerned by comparing details of Lacotte's production with those described in the 1832 orchestral score of the ballet, production notes and the first published libretto. Further details about the early *La Syphide* may be found in a well-annotated rehearsal score, probably created in 1835 for the Théâtre de la Monnaie and now in the private collection of the late Alexander Bennett. The Opéra répétiteur score is also annotated, though not so fully (Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris, Mat 19 [302 25]). The score was composed by Jean-Madeleine Schneitzhoeffer.

[48] See *La Presse*, 1 June 1844.

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absent (even Effie, the material, mortal Scotswoman who delights in receiving wedding gifts and winds up marrying Gurn, is depicted as a Romantic, dreamy character).[49] Most striking is the famous opening sequence in which the sleeping James is awakened by the Sylphide, who surprises him with a kiss, eludes his grasp and disappears up the chimney. In Lacotte's version the Sylph spends much longer dancing than she did in the first production. James is kept unconscious far past the moment when he originally woke up and the Sylph dances to music composed for James's eager pursuit of her. He remains asleep in the chair, immobile and insignificant.

In sum, the danseur of the 1830s and 1840s, the 'golden age' of ballet, is caught up in a complicated historiographical mess. During his own day he was regularly derided for various reasons by, among others, two rhetorically brilliant, highly partisan writers who openly insulted males on a fairly regular basis. In the early twentieth century he was dealt another blow by Levinson who, for reasons of his own, championed Taglioni above her peers, both male and female. Finally, Levinson's reputation and powerful prose led many twentieth-century ballet historians to follow his lead.

The scope of this study prevents me from fully extricating the danseur from this mess, but I can at least conclude by sketching a picture of his activities in what many still call the age of Taglioni. Since the Opéra is a house thought to have been evacuated by danseurs (or at least where danseurs tend now to be remembered for their shortcomings), it is a good place for thinking about the male's role in this period. Relying on the evidence of libretti as well as favourable reviews less often quoted than the derisive ones, I will offer a discussion of the sorts of roles men played, then compare *La Sylphide* to *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, a ballet popular in the 1840s that featured many male roles. The sources show that men played a crucial part in ballet in 1830s and 1840s France and, moreover, that the danseurs' activities consisted of many things other than *noble* dancing.

The danseur: Stories, characters, styles

No study of the danseur in Parisian ballet is possible without the clear-eyed recognition that ballets told stories, a fundamental feature relegated by Levinson to the far reaches of his peripheral vision and chafed at from time to time by Gautier. These stories usually centred on the fortunes of a young couple. They involved many characters, including parental figures, rivals in love, servants and superiors and a host of minor figures, such as members of royal courts and shipmates. In a few cases, ballet characters had supernatural powers. Telling ballets' stories necessitated many danseurs of varying ranks and possessed of a wide range of skills.

[49] I base my comments on the first filmed version of Lacotte's production, with Ghislaine Thesmar, Michaël Denard and the Paris Opéra Ballet (VHS Kultur V1126, 1971); see in particular Effie's entrance scene. In the recent DVD with Ermanno Florio, Aurelie Dupont and the Paris Opéra Ballet (TDK DVUS-BLSYL, 2004), Effie is a livelier character. The production of *La Sylphide* (*Sylfiden*) in the repertory of the Royal Danish Ballet includes more mime and character dance and is considered to reflect nineteenth-century performance practice traditions more closely (VHS Kultur D2856, 1988).

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Breadth of range was indeed a fact of life for the highest-ranking danseurs who played leading roles in these dramas. Like their female counterparts, they were not only ballet dancers, but also mimes and character dancers. Joseph Mazilier (1797–1868), for example, first made a name for himself at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin in the late 1820s, where he imitated the great comic dancer Charles Mazurier 'like a monkey', performed male heroic leads in ballet-pantomimes (including Armand the choreographer in *Les Artistes*) and brought the house down with his mazurka in the melodrama *Les Prisonniers de guerre*.[50] He was engaged by the Opéra in 1830 and over the course of a long career deployed his broad range of skills, appearing in opera divertissements (for instance, *Gustave III* and *Les Huguenots*) and creating major roles in ballets, including all the male Romantic leads between 1831 and 1841. The vastly different characters he played give some insight into the extent of his range. They include the dreamy Scottish farmer James in *La Sylphide* (who chooses the Sylph over his mortal fiancée but then falls prey to a witch who brings about his woodland lover's demise); the fugitive Roundhead Stenio in *La Gipsy* (who joins a band of gypsies, falls in love with a young Scottish woman they had kidnapped years earlier and is ultimately stabbed to death by the jealous gypsy queen); the adventurous Sicilian naval officer Octavio in *L'Ile des pirates* (who infiltrates a pirate gang on an island to do battle with its chief for the hand of a woman they both desire); and the young Calabrian villager Luidgi [*sic*] in *La Tarentule* (who impresses his future in-laws by rescuing a lady from brigands but is then bitten by a tarantula on the eve of his wedding and is nearly compelled to forfeit his fiancée to the doctor who saves his life). One of Mazilier's last roles, the tippling Polish basket-maker Mazourki in *Le Diable à quatre* of 1845, one of the twenty-one works the danseur choreographed for the Opéra between 1839 and 1858, finds him at the mercy of an overbearing Countess who, through magical body-switching, suddenly replaces his more docile wife.[51]

Like Mazilier, Lucien Petipa (1815-98) danced a wide variety of roles during his many years as a leading danseur. The elder brother of Marius Petipa (whose illustrious career as a choreographer in Russia is well known), Lucien was trained by his father Jean-Antoine Petipa, ballet master at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels. He appeared on stage at the Monnaie as a child and as principal dancer in The Hague and Bordeaux before arriving at the Opéra in 1839. Among the many male Romantic leads he created were the Silesian nobleman Albrecht in *Giselle*; the sultan of a seraglio Achmet (who in an opium dream falls in love with the Péri queen); Telemachus, the son of Ulysses in *Eucharis* (who is shipwrecked off the shore of Calypso's island and falls in love with her handmaiden); the French officer Lucien in *Paquita* (who is engaged to the Governor's daughter but is nearly killed by hired gypsy assassins and is ultimately saved by the title character); and the English Prince Charles in *Betty* (whose taste for entertainment in low haunts is cured through a series of connivances and misadventures). He was known as a 'very

[50] See Léonard de Géréon (a.k.a. Eugene Ronteix), *La Rampe et les coulisses: Esquisses biographiques des directeurs, acteurs et actrices de tous les théâtres* (Paris, 1832), 32. The analogy calls to mind Mazurier's portrayal of the monkey hero in *Jocko, ou Le Singe du Brézil*.

[51] Mazilier's choreography included both ballets and divertissements in operas.

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intelligent mime [who] always holds the stage and never overlooks the smallest detail' as well as a graceful, passionate and warm dancer, possessed of 'an ardent and chivalrous grace'. Gautier – his anti-male writings notwithstanding – called him the tenor of the dance.[52]

Indeed, if one were to place the 'tenor' Petipa on the continuum of the old genres (*noble*, *demi-caractère* and *comique* – the distinctions were far from forgotten during the period under study), he would appear closer to the *noble* end than Mazilier. Horst Koegler has referred to him as one of the best *danseurs nobles* of his time.[53] Yet at the same time he was an excellent character dancer whose skill at the polka, a complex and technically challenging dance, was demonstrated in both *Le Diable à quatre*, in which he played one of the top male roles, and a celebrated competition in which a contingent of Opéra danseurs were challenged by highly skilled members of the social-dance elite and beat them roundly.[54]

The two danseurs most frequently seen in Romantic leads, then, played the same kinds of roles – indeed some of the same roles – and were capable of miming and dancing in both the classical and the character style (i.e., balleticised folk-dance style), yet at the same time had reputations as specialists.[55] In the middle ranks of the Opéra, too, danseurs performed in different styles and traditions. Jean Baptiste Barrez (1795–1868) and Georges Elie (1800–83), for example, 'those two excellent comic mimes' according to Gautier,[56] played a variety of character roles over the years, some of them broadly comic and grotesque, many of them calling for substantial stage time. Elie, for example, played Zug in *Nathalie, ou La Laitière suisse* (1832), where the main action was 'interspersed with the comical despair of that excellent mime [Elie] whose mournfully skinny legs repel all the girls to whom he pays court with inexhaustible patience';[57] and Jonathas the dancing master in *Les Mohicans* (1837), on whose cowardice rested the 'whole of the comic effect of the piece … Elie, who is cast in this role, played it with a witty feeling for the fantastic'.[58] A testament to Elie's strong character acting may be found in the fact that he was sometimes cast in roles requiring a change of identity, such as Mentor in *Eucharis*, who in the end reveals himself as Minerva, and the blind fiddler in *Le Diable à quatre*, who turns into a magician and causes a countess to switch places with a peasant woman.

Gautier describes two performances given by Barrez in passages far lengthier than he usually granted to danseurs, particularly those indulging in overt displays of

[52] Note that Gautier wrote the libretti for *Giselle* and *La Péri*. Gautier, *La Presse*, 25 July 1843 and 15 October 1849, in *Gautier on Dance*, 121, 219. Gautier points out that Perrot was reduced to the status of a comic opera bass in *La Filleule des fées*, the ballet in which Petipa as the 'tenor' won his bride at the end.

[53] Koegler, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet*, 323.

[54] See Philip J. S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England* (London, 1960), 83.

[55] Jules Perrot, the greatest danseur of the age, had hoped for a long career at the Opéra, but his talents as both dancer and choreographer were for the most part exploited at other houses.

[56] Gautier, *La Presse*, 27 August 1839, *Gautier on Dance*, 77.

[57] Gautier, *La Presse*, 16 October 1837, *Gautier on Dance*, 21.

[58] Gautier, *La Presse*, 11 July 1837, *Gautier on Dance*, 13.

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noble dancing. First, Barrez's rendering, with Elie, of Cervantes' two most famous characters in a short-lived revival of the forty-year-old *Les Noces de Gamache* in 1841:

Could you wish for a more delightful Don Quixote than Elie? What a tall, thin, emaciated fellow he is! How gaunt his features, burned by the double tan of insanity and the sun of the Sierra Morena! What a heroic nose, what a knightly moustache! . . . This perfect Don Quixote is followed by a no less perfect Sancho Panza. No doubt you have seen the engraving of Decamps' drawing showing the hero of La Mancha preceded by his faithful squire. Barrez, the Asmodeus of *Le Diable boiteux*, the Dr. Oméopatico of *La Tarentule* and the Governor of *Le Diable amoureux*, has brought that engraving to life. . . . Barrez conveys the character's naive greediness, voracious impudence and skill at robbing foodstores in a manner that would have aroused the envy of Duburau [the famous mime of the Boulevard theatres], that tall white ghost who is always so half-starved. How well he mimicked, *non passibus aequis*, the great strides of his master, and what a majestic figure he cut on his donkey! . . . We ought to have begun by mentioning the ladies – Maria, who plays the role of Quitterie, Mlle Blangy and the beautiful Dumilâtre – but the fantastic figures of Elie and Barrez caught our eye first of all.[59]

In bringing to life Barrez's love-struck performance in *Manon Lescaut* – in a *pas* he describes as 'a perfect evocation of rococo, Watteau and Pompadour . . . a fireplace top in action, a living fan' – Gautier provides us with an insight into the danseur's use of facial expression and dance steps:

Imagine amusing old Barrez dressed as a pilgrim embarking for Cythera with crook and haversack, all the trappings of a shepherd of the Lignon, and holding in his hand . . . a posy that he has not the courage to place in the bodice of his shepherdess. . . . He starts forward, then draws back, expressing his passion by tremendous *entrechats*, rolling his eyes and breathing deep sighs as he offers his posy, but all to no avail. . . . Luckily love comes to his aid in the form of the god Cupid himself – in pink silk breeches with diamond-studded garters, . . . a golden quiver, and a little three-cornered hat. . . . From his quiver he daintily draws a very sharp arrow and pierces the heart of the shepherdess through and through, permitting the lovelorn Thyrsis to place the posy in her corsage and steal a kiss. This scene is acted by Barrez with infinite wit and an excellent sense of comedy.[60]

Such strong character roles were not limited to ballets. Minor character roles for ballet soloists were occasionally called for in opera, like the emperor Sigismond in Act I of *La Juive*, played enthusiastically by Germain Quériau (1815–?) and described in Charles de Boigne's memoir:

Have you seen a figurant, the coryphée charged with the silent role of the emperor Sigismond? . . . In his modest sphere, Quériau has been the most conscientious and fanatical servant ever to work at the Opéra. So sincere is Quériau's identification with the role of the Emperor that he seems truly to believe himself to *be* emperor.[61]

[59] Gautier, *La Presse*, 23 January 1841, *Gautier on Dance*, 91–2. Guest points out that '*non passibus aequis*', 'with ill-matched steps', comes from a description in Virgil's *Aeneid* (II.724) of a small boy walking beside his father.

[60] Gautier, *La Presse*, 30 January 1840, *Gautier on Dance*, 82–3.

[61] Charles de Boigne, *Petits Mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris, 1857), 81–3. In a few cases silent mime roles were assumed by dancers of the highest rank: see Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of 'Giselle'*, Chapter 5.

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Among Quériau's many other roles were an officer in *La Fille du Danube*, Mohamet in *La Révolte des femmes*, Albrecht's father in *Giselle* and a sailor in *Ozaï*. They were far less prominent than the roles given to Elie and Barrez and others of their rank, but they were still necessary for the drama.

Such character parts, it must be emphasised, were often given a great deal of stage time and were in many cases vital to the unfolding of the plot (the original incarnation of Hilarion, Albrecht's rival in *Giselle*, comes to mind). Excellent portrayals of such roles were praised by even the most cynical critics and appreciated by audiences. Today such roles are often deleted or minimised and allocated to performers considered past their prime or of lesser ability. However, in the 1830s and 1840s they were highly regarded and regularly written into ballet libretti.[62]

Men of the *corps de ballet* also remained an active force at the Opéra throughout the period, though more in opera than in ballet.[63] Table 1 gives a list of parts for male and female *corps* dancers and of travesty roles. Because of the taste for foreign settings at the Opéra, *corps* dancers were expected to perform character dance – like the *tyrolienne* in *Guillaume Tell* and the tarantella in *La Tarentule* – which was as crucial for localising effect as the scenery, props and costumes. Although their numbers waned with the years and travesty parts for *corps* women increased, men of the *corps* were still busy and versatile. One Monsieur Scio, for example – to take a danseur at random – was given a wide variety of roles and often played more than one part in an evening (for example, a peasant in *Le Freyschutz* and a vine-gatherer in *Giselle* on Wednesday 28 June 1843 and a reveller in the ball scene and a cross-bowman in *La Jolie Fille de Gand* two nights later).[64] Table 2 gives a partial list of his roles.

La Jolie Fille de Gand and *La Sylphide*

La Jolie Fille de Gand, a ballet created in 1842, ten years after *La Sylphide*, and which remained in the repertory until 1848, deserves brief scrutiny here as a ballet that exploited the full range of the danseur. Its libretto was fashioned by Vernoy de Saint-Georges after a successful melodrama at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin and its choreography was by François Decombe, known as 'Albert' (1787–1865),

[62] Frederick Ashton's wicked stepsister in his production of *Cinderella* (1948), a role crucial to the plot and beloved of audiences and critics, is an analogue to the leading character roles in Parisian ballets of the 1830s and 1840s.

[63] On the stronger male presence in opera, see Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of 'Giselle'*, Chapter 3.

[64] It must also be pointed out that, while solo female travesty dancers were featured in some divertissements and their number increased in the *corps* (particularly those in the roles of male pages, of whom four seems to have been the standard number for many years), no leading male roles were taken by women at the Opéra during this period. Thérèse Elssler, Fanny Elssler's taller sister, whose appearances at the Opéra were guaranteed as a condition of Fanny's contract, achieved popularity in *pas de deux* with her sister in divertissements and played female dramatic roles as well (for example, she portrayed the gypsy queen Mab in *La Gipsy* and the sister of characters played by Fanny in *L'Ile des pirates* and *La Volière*). On the female travesty dancer, see Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet', and Maribeth Clark, 'Bodies at the Opéra: Art and the Hermaphrodite in the Dance Criticism of Théophile Gautier', in *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848*, ed. Roger Parker and Mary Ann Smart (Oxford, 2001), 244–7.

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Table 1. Parts for *corps de ballet* dancers in selected operas and ballet-pantomimes at the Paris Opéra, 1830–50

This information is based on libretti published at the time of the ballets' and operas' premières. *Corps* dancers sometimes played multiple roles in a single work; the number of parts therefore sometimes exceeds the number of dancers. The table does not include the extras and students who frequently performed, nor the solo parts taken by high-ranking dancers in entertainments falling within the action. * indicates children.

Title, date of première, Genre (composer, choreographer) Characters	Parts for males	Parts for females
Le Dieu et la bayadère, 1830 2-act opera (Auber, F. Taglioni) males: soldiers, musicians females: bayadères	16	28
La Sylphide, 1832 2-act ballet (Schneitzhoeffer, F. Taglioni) males: Scottish villagers females: Scottish villagers, witches, sylphides travesty roles: 4 males play female witches	22	56
Don Juan, 1834 5-act opera (Mozart, Coralli) *Corps* and chorus parts include Spanish ladies and knights, Moorish knights, female slaves, black people, pages, people, villagers, monks, policemen, servants, young women and children in Don Juan's household and women in white who appear after the Don is dragged to hell	30	53
Brézilia, 1835 1-act ballet-pantomime (Gallenberg, F. Taglioni) females: entourages of the queen	0	36
Le Diable boiteux, 1836 3-act ballet-pantomime (Gide, Coralli) males: revellers at a ball, scullions, tradesmen, lords, domestics, goblins, call-boy, hair stylist, ballet master, répétiteur, inspector, musicians, players, gypsies, Basques, nobles, boléro dancers, Galicians, Castilians, Catalans, Andalusians, smugglers, merchants females: revellers at a ball, bacchantes, sylphides, ballerinas in class, players, gypsies, Basques, noblewomen, boléro dancers, Galicians, Castilians, Catalans, Andalusians, smugglers travesty roles: 4 females play pages with rooster heads	128 21*	120 21*
La Esmeralda, 1836 opera (Bertin, no choreographer listed) males: beggars, black people, maskers, confessor, beadle, clerks females: beggars, unspecified *corps* parts	41 13*	50 14*
La Chatte metamorphosée en femme, 1837 3-act ballet (Montfort, Coralli) males: men of the people, warriors, lance carriers, standard-bearers, officers of the court females: women of the people, ladies in waiting, Chinese ladies travesty roles: 18 females play male pages (some of these may be children)	40	59
Benvenuto Cellini, 1838 2-act opera (Berlioz, no choreographer listed) males: parade, saltambiques, henchmen, lords, assassins females: parade, women of the people travesty roles: 4 females play male pages	36 10*	44 24*

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Table 1. *Continued*

Title, date of première, Genre (composer, choreographer) Characters	Parts for males	Parts for females
Le Diable amoureux, 1840 3-act ballet-pantomime (Benoist/Réber, Mazilier) males: fishermen, peasants, demons, eunuchs, pirates, merchants females: peasants, demons, bayadères, odalisques	125	140
Giselle, 1841 2-act ballet-pantomime (Adam, Coralli) males: vine-gatherers, musicians, lords, hunters females: vine-gatherers, ladies, wilis travesty roles: 4 females play male pages	35 6*	73 18*
La Jolie Fille de Gand, 1842 3-act ballet-pantomime (Saint-Georges, Albert) males: bourgeois men, farmers, garçons d'auberge, a charlatan, a trompette, charlatan's valet, crossbow men, lords, revellers at a travesty ball, a dwarf, gypsies, peasants females: female merchants, shop assistants, fiancées, bourgeois women, a servant, peasants, revellers at a travesty ball, a dwarf, nymphs, bacchantes, Venetian ladies, gypsies, peasants travesty roles: 7 women play male pages; 4 females play black men	106 18*	130 38*
Dom Sébastien, 1843 5-act opera (Donizetti, Albert) males: Portuguese nobles, king's officers, sailors, Arabs, inquisitors females: Arabs, Algerians, Portuguese slaves travesty roles: 11 females play male pages	52 6*	51 0
Eucharis, 1844 2-act ballet-pantomime (Deldevez, Coralli) males: fauns, boys, satyrs females: graces, dryads, bacchantes	12 6*	58 0
L'Etoile de Séville, 1845 4-act opera (Balfe, Coralli) males: knights, mayors, domestics females: ladies travesty roles: 18 females play male pages	46 6*	76 6*
Betty, 1846 2-act ballet-pantomime (Thomas, Mazilier) males: sailors, deckhands females: women of the people travesty roles: 10 females play male sailors	27 5*	60 0
David, 1846 3-act opera (Mermet, Coralli) no characters described; pas de deux, pas de cinq	0	11
Jérusalem, 1847 4-act opera (Verdi, Mabille) males: knights, followers of the legat, pilgrims, Arabs, guards, executioner females: Arabs travesty roles: 4 females play male pages	38	43

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Table 2. Some *corps de ballet* parts danced by Monsieur Scio

1831	*L'Orgie* (ballet), drinker and dancer
1832	*La Tentation* (ballet opera), shepherd, member of the 3rd squadron of demons
1833	*Ali Baba* (opera), slave
1833	*La Révolte des femmes* (ballet), man of the people
1834	*Don Juan* (opera), *3ème corps de ballet*
1836	*Le Diable boiteux* (ballet), smuggler
1837	*La Chatte metamorphosée en femme* (ballet), standard bearer
1837	*Les Mohicans* (ballet), English soldier
1838	*Guido et Ginevra* (opera), soldier of fortune
1838	*Benvenuto Cellini* (opera), *corps de ballet*
1839	*Le Lac des fées* (opera), faun
1841	*Giselle* (ballet), vine-gatherer
1841	*Le Freyschutz* (opera), peasant
1841	*La Reine de Chypre* (opera), vassal
1842	*La Jolie Fille de Gand* (ballet), reveller in ball scene, crossbow man
1844	*Lady Henriette* (ballet), soldier, inmate at Bedlam
1844	*Le Lazzarone* (opera), *corps de ballet*
1844	*Marie Stuart* (opera), Levite
1846	*L'Ame en peine* (opera), peasant
1846	*Robert Bruce* (opera), highland chief
1847	*Ozaï* (ballet), sailor

the last man at the Opéra to hold the official title of *danseur noble*. Albert's celebrated performing career at the Opéra spanned the period 1808–31 and included such title roles as the king in *Alfred le grand* and the god of war in *Mars et Vénus ou Les Filets de Vulcain*. After leaving the stage, he remained a successful and highly respected teacher. Along with Mazilier, Barrez and Jean Coralli (1779–1854), he taught the Opéra's company classes in the 1840s and, after the old manner, provided the violin accompaniment himself (Elie also taught at the Opéra in the 1840s).

For *La Jolie Fille de Gand* Albert came out of retirement to play the arrogant Marquis de San Lucar, a role first intended for the young Petipa, but one played with great success by the choreographer himself, whose well-cultivated capacity to communicate *hauteur* surely enabled him to seem 'elegant, noble, with a haughty and refined allure, and [to ruin] himself like a true nobleman'.[65] Petipa instead played Benedict, the frustrated fiancé of Beatrix (Carlotta Grisi), who finds herself unready to marry and spends the second and nearly all of the third act as the Marquis's mistress, living in his Venetian palace but eventually forlorn because of his courting of the prima ballerina of La Fenice (Louise Fitzjames). Elie, known for his comic roles, 'showed that he is equally suited to serious parts' by playing Bustamente, a friend of the Marquis who wins Beatrix in a wager and dies in a furious swordfight shortly after trying to claim his prize.[66]

[65] Gautier, *La Presse*, 2 July 1842, *Gautier on Dance*, 110–11. Petipa took over the part when Albert retired again the following year.

[66] Gautier particularly liked this scene: 'This duel is one of the best produced and most energetic ever to have been seen on the stage. The duellists rush upon one another with indescribable fury, in spite of the efforts of the terrified Beatrix to separate them. Finally, with a skillful thrust, San Lucar [Albert] strikes Bustamente's [Elie's] sword from his hand. Bustamente retreats toward the window, and from there into the Grand Canal'; Gautier, *La Presse*, 2 July 1842, *Gautier on Dance*, 110–11.

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Barrez played the comical dancing master Zéphyros of the first act, who in the second act has become the manager of La Fenice and in the third returns to Ghent in rags. Louis Montjoie (1790–1865), a long-time soloist at the Opéra who ceded many of his roles to Quériau when he retired later in 1842, played Beatrix's father Césarius, a wealthy goldsmith of Ghent, who travels with Benedict to Venice and publicly humiliates his wayward daughter immediately after her coronation as queen of the ball. Minor *personnages* were taken by Eugène Coralli (Count Léonardo), François Simon (a farmer and a gypsy), L. Petit (a notary) and Bégrand (a provost). Unnamed solo roles were also played by (among others) Léopold Adice and Hippolyte Barrez (Jean-Baptiste's son), who performed a three-legged *pas comique* to entertain the revellers at the Venetian ball, and the high-ranking soloist Auguste Mabille, who with Sophie Dumilâtre danced a Cracovienne and mazurka for the pleasure of the same crowd, both attired in costumes of blue velvet edged with swansdown. (Most of the action, it turns out, is only a dream; Beatrix is chastened for her reluctance to marry Bénédict and happily submits to him in the end.)

In *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, then, one finds five major male roles covering a broad spectrum of types – a villain, a young lover, two serious supporting characters and one comic one – and four minor ones as well as a major *pas de deux* in the Polish style calling for a top-ranking male soloist. The men playing the major roles at the première varied considerably in age (Albert was about fifty-five years old, Petipa twenty-seven, Elie forty-two, Barrez forty-seven, Montjoie fifty-two, and Mabille, who performed the Polish dances, twenty-seven) and brought to the stage a vast range of experience and tradition.[67] The nine male *personnages* exceeded by far the mere two of *La Sylphide*: a love-struck Scottish farmer and his hayseed rival Gurn. Indeed, the average for the era was about five women and five men. In its sheer numbers and types of male roles, *La Jolie Fille de Gand* can be taken as a counter-balancing example to *La Sylphide*.[68] Although it did not survive into the next century, it flourished in the period. The fact that the Opéra's administrators invested so heavily in such a *ballet d'action* (a term still used in those days to describe ballets emphasising dramatic action), with its colourful bright displays, constitutes strong proof that *La Sylphide*, as popular as it was in its own day and as enduring as it has been, was not the only sort of ballet that succeeded.[69]

It would of course be unwise to situate these two ballets in entirely different worlds, for to do so would be to promote the dichotomy, proposed by Gautier and elaborated upon by Levinson, of the *ballet d'action* as the vanquished and the Romantic, ethereal ballet as the victor – a dichotomy that has long since reached a point of diminishing historiographical returns. A more instructive approach would

[67] I have calculated these ages by subtracting the birth year of each man from the première year of *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, 1842.

[68] *La Sylphide* featured eight women and two men in named roles; *La Jolie Fille de Gand* featured six women and nine men in named roles.

[69] *La Jolie Fille de Gand* was the most expensive ballet produced at the Opéra up to that date, requiring 562 costumes and seven different sets, including a goldsmith shop, a lush floral park at night lit with coloured lamps, and a sumptuous Venetian ballroom ablaze with light. For information on the costumes, see the documents in the Archives nationales, Paris, AJ^{13} 183 and 215.

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be to note that ballets of the two types coexisted on the Opéra stage and in fact had much in common. For example, the title role of both ballets was created by a female star renowned for her lightness and ethereality: Carlotta Grisi, who was also the first *Giselle* and was even compared favourably to Taglioni. Ballerinas capable of dancing in the new style, then, could and did perform important mortal roles. Both ballets also relied on mime scenes, character dance and men. And both called for many characters, drawn from the same set of traditions and types.

It would be melodramatic to suggest that James's extra-long slumber at the opening of Lacotte's *Sylphide*, which I discussed above, is emblematic of the danseur's current-day image problem. Yet the contrast between the inert twentieth-century James and the more active one created by Mazilier, or between James and the roster of men who created roles in *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, serves as a reminder of the promise of further studies about danseurs at the Opéra in the nineteenth century and beyond. A wide array of topics and approaches suggests itself. Would it be possible, for example, to construct a genealogy of danseurs and their pupils, as a way of exploring how stylistic traditions were handed down through the generations? So many men at the Opéra in the 1830s and 1840s performed during the last official years of the three genres (*noble*, *demi-caractère*, *comique*) or studied with danseurs who did; how did this affect transmission of style and technique, performance practice and reception? We know, for example, that Barrez, the comic specialist, taught the Petipa brothers and that his female students included Mlle Maria, Lola Montez, Lucile Grahn, Grisi and Adeline Plunkett. What might be revealed by tracing a particular strain – for example, the *comique* style as performed by Barrez and Elie – through the century?[70] How did the French style interact with the styles of other places in Europe – particularly the Italian peninsula, known for its strong mime tradition, the athleticism of its male dancers and the sometimes combative rivalry of its proponents with their French counterparts? For how long did the breadth of skills of the male dancer remain intact? How did low-level male performers fare behind at the scenes at the Opéra, in the atmosphere of institutionalised heterosexual male voyeurism? Did they, like some danseuses, hold extra jobs in order to earn a living? What connections were there between male styles of dramatic acting and dramatic dancing? Jules Perrot's *Faust* of 1848, for example, is known to have been inspired by the famous actor Frédérick Lemaître's portrayal of Mephistopheles, which the dancer observed when the two of them shared the stage at the Porte Saint-Martin. How did the danseur's roles in Paris during this 'golden age', two of which Gautier characterised as a 'comic bass' and 'tenor', compare with those in the operas performed in Paris during the same period? For how long did ballets require distinctly different male role types and when did the 'non-tenor' types lose their stage time?

By examining further the conditions of the danseur's work and the ways in which his styles of dancing and acting were perpetuated, altered, or winnowed out, we will enrich our view of ballet history and stage history in general. First, however, we

[70] We know that Gautier saw Jean Coralli as a perfect successor to Elie; see Gautier, *La Presse*, 20 January 1851, *Gautier on Dance*, 225–7.

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must be willing to complicate our view of nineteenth-century ballet by holding in the same embrace not only *La Sylphide*, Taglioni and their passionate followers, but also the danseurs on which the ballets of Taglioni's time depended.

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