

Notes

1 The early dance manuals and the structure of ballet: a basis for Italian, French and English ballet

1 Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro, *Guilielmi Hebraei pisauriensis de pratica seu arte tripudii vulgare opusculum incipit*, 1463, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds it. 973, fo. 19r. (The translation is the author's.)

2 For a detailed discussion of improvisation and ornamentation in the *balli* and *bassadanze*, see Jennifer Nevile, "Disorder in Order: Improvisation in Italian Choreographed Dances of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in Timothy J. McGee (ed.), *Improvisation in the Arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), pp. 145–69.

3 See Anne Daye, "Skill and Invention in the Renaissance Ballroom", *Historical Dance* 2/6 (1988–91), pp. 12–15, for further details on these virtuosic steps.

4 For a detailed discussion of improvisation and ornamentation in sixteenth-century Italian dances, see G. Yvonne Kendall, "Ornamentation and Improvisation in Sixteenth-Century Dance", in McGee, *Improvisation in the Arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, pp. 170–90.

5 Timothy J. McGee, "Dancing Masters and the Medici Court in the Fifteenth Century", *Studi musicali* 17/2 (1988), p. 205.

6 Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 74.

7 Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 11.

8 The anonymous fifteenth-century French *basse danse* treatises were far closer to a collection of choreographies, with very little additional information being included. Dance records from England in this period are scarce. For information on English sources see David Fallows, "The Gresley Dance Collection, c. 1500", *RMA Research Chronicle* 29 (1996), pp. 1–20; and Jennifer Nevile, "Dance in Early Tudor England: An Italian Connection?", *Early Music* 26/2 (1998), pp. 230–44. The sixteenth-century French and Italian dance manuals follow the fifteenth-century Italian model.

9 See chapter 4 in Jennifer Nevile, *The Eloquent Body: Dance and Humanist Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), for a detailed discussion of the four *misure* and how the dance masters married the practical concerns of the dancer to the intellectual ideas about the nature of the cosmos.

10 None of the terms is defined precisely by Domenico, Guglielmo or Cornazano, but it is clear all refer to subtle movements of the dancer's body performed as part of the execution of each step. The meaning of *campeggiare* is not entirely clear, although the word seems to refer to a horizontal shading movement of the body above the foot which makes the step. This horizontal movement is contrasted with *ondeggiare*, a vertical movement like the waves of the sea, with a slow rising of the dancer's body followed by a quicker lowering of the body. (For further discussion of *campeggiare* see Mark Franko, *The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography (c. 1416–1589)* (Birmingham, Ala.: Summa Publications, 1986), pp. 59–61.) In his treatise Domenico likens *maniera* to the movement of a gondola that in its passage across the sea rises slowly and falls quickly (Domenico da Piacenza, *De arte saltandj & choreas ducendj De la arte di ballare et danzare*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds it. 972, fo. 1v). Cornazano also defines *maniera* as a rising and falling movement of the body, encompassing both *ondeggiare* and *campeggiare* (Antonio Cornazano, *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Capponiano, 203, fo. 3v). Guglielmo describes *aiera* as "an act of airy presence and elevated movement, with one's own person showing with agility a sweet and gentle rising movement in the dance" (fo. 10r).

11 The term *fantasmata* referred to the way a step should be phrased. Domenico (fo. 2r) describes how at the end of every step the dancer should freeze briefly for a fraction of a second before commencing the next step, and this should all be done with so little effort that the dancer appears to be like a falcon taking wing. For further discussion of *fantasmata* see Mark Franko, "The Notion of 'Fantasmata' in Fifteenth-Century Italian Dance Treatises", *Dance Research Annual* 16 (1987), pp. 68–86.

- 12 Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 77.
- 13 Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, critical edn and trans. with intro. and notes by Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989), pp. 331–3 and 363.
- 14 See Françoise Carter, “Celestial Dance: A Search for Perfection”, *Dance Research* 5/2 (1987), pp. 3–17, for further discussion on divine dance from Plato to the seventeenth century.
- 15 The translation is Margaret M. McGowan’s from her book, *Ideal Forms in the Age of Ronsard*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 224, from Ronsard’s sonnet “Le soir qu’Amour vous fist en las salle descendre”.
- 16 See Thomas M. Greene, “Labyrinth Dances in the French and English Renaissance”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 54/4.2 (2001), pp. 1403–66. Similarly, the English court masques, on one level, can be viewed as “one vast moving talisman with emblematic figures in diverse colours moving amongst incantatory scenes designed to draw down influences on the British court” (Vaughan Hart, *Art and Magic in the Courts of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 187).
- 17 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Cod. Holm S 253.
- 18 For further information on this manuscript and on other surviving notated dance figures, see Jennifer Nevile, “Dance Patterns of the Early Seventeenth Century: The Stockholm Manuscript and *Le Ballet de Monseigneur de Vendosme*”, *Dance Research* 18/2 (2000), pp. 186–203; and Mark Franko, “Writing Dancing, 1573”, in Ann Dils and Ann Cooper Albright (eds.), *Moving History / Dancing Cultures. A Dance History Reader* (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), pp. 191–201.
- 19 Charles Nicholl, *The Chemical Theatre* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 97.
- 20 Lyndy Abraham, *Marvel and Alchemy* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), p. 26.
- 21 Very similar sentiments were expressed at the end of the sixteenth century by Caroso, who repeats this belief that movements of the body represent inward emotional states (Fabritio Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice, 1600; facs. edn, Bologna: Forni, 1980), p. 1).
- 22 Guglielmo, *De pratica seu arte*, fos. 19r–19v (the translation is the author’s).
- 23 Prudence represented the knowledge of things men and women ought to desire and of things they ought to avoid.
- 24 Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London, 1531), repr. ed. S. E. Lehmborg (London: Dent, 1962), pp. 79–80.

2 Ballet de cour

- 1 Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideology of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 1.
- 2 Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de cour sous Henri IV et Louis XIII (de 1581 à 1652)* (Geneva: J. Gay et fils, 1868–70; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968).
- 3 In addition to Lacroix cited above, for a review of ballets and masquerades with indications of the sources which document them see appendix in Margaret M. McGowan, *L’Art du ballet de cour en France 1581–1643* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1965, repr. 1978), pp. 251–309; for the later phase see Philippe Hourcade, *Mascarades et ballets du Grand Siècle, 1643–1715* (Paris: Desjonquières et Centre National de la Danse 2002), pp. 253–336.
- 4 The success of some ballets led to a series of repeats as was the case with the *Ballet de la douairière de Billebahaut*, staged first in 1626 at the Louvre and a few days later by popular demand at the Hôtel de Ville.
- 5 See, for example, the *Ballet de la prospérité des armes de la France* (1641), ordered by Richelieu to celebrate recent French military successes for which he considered himself to be responsible.
- 6 McGowan established a periodisation for the *ballet de cour* that focuses on the themes presented: allegorical and political from 1581 to 1610, melodramatic from 1610 to 1620 and burlesque until 1636. Cf. McGowan, *L’Art du ballet de cour*.
- 7 Susan Foster, *Reading Dancing: Bodies and Subjects in Contemporary American Dance* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 101.
- 8 François De Lauze, *Apologie de la danse et parfaite méthode de l’enseigner tant aux Cavaliers qu’aux dames* (n.p., 1623), pp. 35–6. McGowan (*L’Art du ballet de cour*, p. 33) concludes on that basis that “the ballet had already evolved into a genre in which all amateurs would be excluded”.
- 9 Michel de Pure, *Idée des spectacles anciens et nouveaux* (Paris 1668; facs. edn Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), p. 215.
- 10 Jérôme de la Gorce, “Un aspetto del mestiere teatrale di Torelli: la riutilizzazione delle scenografie dell’ ‘Andromède’ per il ‘Ballet de la nuit’”, in Francesco Milesi (ed.), *Giacomo Torelli. L’invenzione scenica nell’Europa barocca* (Fano: Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Fano, 2000), pp. 235–41.

- 11 Marie Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour au XVII^e siècle* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1987), p. 76. This volume presents a rich iconographic documentation. By the same author, *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV. 1643–1672* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1967; new edition Paris: Centre national de la danse and Picard, 2005).
- 12 Christout, *Le Ballet de cour au XVII^e siècle*, p. 148.
- 13 Henry Prunières in his *Le Ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1914; New York and London: Johnson Reprint, 1970) argue for the Italian origins, with James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau* (New York and London: Norton, 1974; rev. edn 1981); and Barbara Sparti, “Dance and Historiography. Le Balet Comique de la Roynne: an Italian Perspective”, in Ann Buckley and Cynthis Cyrus (eds.), *Festschrift for Ingrid Brainard*, forthcoming (I thank Barbara Sparti for putting at my disposal two diverse versions of the unedited manuscript of her essay).
- 14 The masquerade consists of a parade or a stage action, for the most part improvised, and executed by characters who are dressed up or wearing masks. The dramatic content was limited and rather basic, resting on allegory and myth. Some parts could have been recited and others accompanied by instruments or voices. The main purpose was to create a spectacular impression by using lavish costumes and accessories. *Intermedii* that were placed between the courses of a banquet or the acts of a comedy were normally composed of recited texts and instrumental or vocal music and various types of bodily moves such as dance, pantomime, acrobatics or fighting scenes. The theoreticians of the sixteenth century saw in its theatrical form the functions of the ancient Greek chorus: temporal and technical transitions between acts, a pause for the actors, time to change the scenery, time for the spectators to relax from the dramatic tension of the main work.
- 15 McGowan, *L'Art du ballet de cour*, p. 7.
- 16 De Pure, *Idée des spectacles*; Claude-François Méneſtrier, *Des représentations en musique anciennes et modernes* (Paris: René Guignard, 1681; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1992); Claude-François Méneſtrier, *Des ballets anciens et modernes selon les règles du théâtre* (Paris: René Guignard, 1682; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1972); M. de Saint-Hubert, *La Manière de composer et de faire réussir les ballets* (Paris: Targa, 1641; repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1993).
- 17 De Pure, *Idée des spectacles*, p. 214.
- 18 From the libretto for the ballet cited in McGowan, *L'Art du ballet de cour*, p. 152.
- 19 Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer (ed.), *Les Noces de Pélée et de Thétis. Venise, 1639–Paris, 1654, Actes du colloque international de Chambéry et de Turin, 3–7 novembre 1999* (Bern, New York, Oxford and Vienna: Peter Lang, 2001).
- 20 Franko, *Dance as Text*, p. 21.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 De Pure, *Idée des spectacles*, p. 249.
- 23 Méneſtrier, *Des ballets anciens et modernes*, p. 154.
- 24 See Bibliography for more information.
- 25 For analysis of the Italian antecedents, see Sparti, “Dance and Historiography”. It is worth remembering that in a sort of obsession with research on origins, Italian historiography has for a long time identified Begonzio Botta as the inventor of the ballet on the basis of an equivocal story due to a distorted reading of a fifteenth-century chronicle which refers to the wedding of Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella of Aragon in 1489. In reality, Botta, who was a wealthy landowner, financed and occupied himself with the organisation of that event, which took place in his residence in Tortona. There is no evidence that he was author of the stage actions of a mythological kind, which included dance or mimed parts specially prepared for the occasion. See Eugenia Casini Ropa, “Il banchetto di Bergonzio Botta per le nozze di Isabella d’Aragona e Gian Galeazzo Sforza nel 1489: quando la storiografia si sostituisce alla storia”, in Myriam Chiabò and Federico Doglio (eds.), *Spettacoli conviviali dall’antichità alle corti italiane del ’400* (Viterbo: Tipolitografia Agnescotti, 1983), pp. 291–306. The origin of the historiographical error is probably to be found in Méneſtrier, *Des représentations*, p. 157.
- 26 He has passed into history as the first choreographer of the first ballet. It could be the case that he never composed a single dance. Balthasar de Beaujoyeux, born Baltazarini o Baldassarre (born before 1535 and died about 1587) was of Italian origin but not precisely identified. He went to France in the entourage of the Marechal de Brissac, governor of Piedmont, at the request of Catherine de’ Medici. He was an excellent violinist and integrated himself rapidly at court, frenchifying his name. He rose rapidly from simple *valet de chambre* to become an *officier*. Some scholars think that the real author of the *Balet comique de la Roynne* was the court poet Agrippa d’Aubigny. Carol and Lander MacClintock (eds.), *Le Balet comique de la Roynne 1581* (New York: American Institute of Musicology, Musicological Studies and Documents 25, 1971), p. 12.

- 27 Cf. Diane L. Woodruff, “The ‘Balet Comique’ in the Petit Bourbon: A practical View”, *Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars* (Riverside: University of California, 1986), p. 123.
- 28 Translation in Selma Jeanne Cohen, “Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx, Ballet Comique de la Reine Paris, 1582”, in *Dance as a Theatre Art: Source Readings in Dance History from 1581 to the Present* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 19.
- 29 See Sparti, “Dance and Historiography”.
- 30 Franko, *Dance as Text*, p. 2.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

3 English masques

- 1 Inga-Stina Ewbank, “‘These Pretty Devices’: A Study of Masques in Plays”, in *A Book of Masques*, ed. T. J. B. Spencer and S. Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 405–48.
- 2 William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), iv. i. 138 and stage direction.
- 3 *Henry Purcell’s Operas: The Complete Texts*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 6, 9–10.
- 4 Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancaster [and] Yorke* (London: R. Grafton, 1550), third year of Henry’s reign, sig. ciii^r. See also Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), pp. 130–5.
- 5 John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, corr. repr., 1979), pp. 244–5.
- 6 André Hurault, *Sieur de Maise, A Journal... Anno Domini 1597*, ed. G. B. Harrison and R. A. Jones (London: Nonsuch, 1931), p. 95.
- 7 B. Ravelhofer, “Dancing at the Court of Queen Elizabeth”, in Christa Jansohn (ed.), *Queen Elizabeth I: Past and Present* (Münster: LIT, 2004), pp. 101–15; p. 104. Robert Mullally, “Measure as a Choreographic Term in the Stuart Masque”, *Dance Research* 16/1 (1998), pp. 67–73.
- 8 *A Letter... of the Entertainment... at Killingworth Castl* (London: s.n., 1575), p. 24. Traditionally ascribed to Robert Laneham but apparently produced by the scholar William Patten. See Benjamin Griffin, “The Breaking of the Giants: Historical Drama in Coventry and London”, *ELR* 29/1 (1999), pp. 3–21.
- 9 Cited from Judy Smith and Ian Gatiss, “What Did Prince Henry Do with His Feet on Sunday 19 August 1604?”, *Early Music* 14/2 (1986), pp. 198–207; p. 199; my translation.
- 10 Gatiss and Smith point out that early British Library catalogues mention Italian dance books.

It remains speculation whether (a) these dance books were already available in the early Stuart period, and (b) whether readers really used them as dance manuals rather than bibliophile objects. Late seventeenth-century book lists in the Royal Collection are, for example, MSS Royal App. 73 and 86. Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), ch. 2.

11 Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales: The Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), pp. 92, 95.

12 They have attracted a massive amount of criticism, for instance: Stephen Orgel’s *The Jonsonian Masque* (1967, repr. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981, with new introduction) and *The Illusion of Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); D. Bevington and P. Holbrook (eds.), *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); numerous articles by Martin Butler.

13 Thomas Middleton, *A Courtly Masque: The Device Called The World Tost at Tennis* (London: G. Purslowe, 1620), sig. B^r.

14 For instance, in *Oberon*.

15 Huntington Library, MS HA 10543. Letter to the Earl of Huntingdon, date estimated 1627 by cataloguer and 1633 by John Yoklavich in “The Seven-Thousand-Pound Pastoral”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 28 (1964), pp. 83–7. I am indebted to Eva Griffith for a transcription of this document.

16 Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors* (1929; repr. New York: Greenwood, 1968), p. 270.

17 Walter Salmen, *Der Tanzmeister: Geschichte und Profile eines Berufes vom 14. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1997), pp. 49–52.

18 Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Queens*, in *Court Masques: Jacobean and Cardline Entertainments, 1605–1640*, ed. David Lindley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 43–4, ll. 318–24. A topic explored in Anne Daye’s work.

19 Francis Beaumont, *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray’s Inn*, in *A Book of Masques*, ed. Spencer and Wells, p. 139, ll. 241–8.

20 An exception is *Luminalia* (1638), where aristocrats and professionals performed together in an entry. Interestingly, this masque was commissioned by Henrietta Maria. On Anglo-French relations see also Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque, 1604–1604* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), ch. 6; and

- Marie-Claude Canova-Green, *La Politique-spectacle au grand siècle: les rapports franco-anglais* (Paris: Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature, 1993).
- 21 Martin Butler, “‘We Are One Mans All’: Jonson’s *The Gipsies Metamorphosed*”, *Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991), pp. 253–73. For masques away from Whitehall see also James Knowles, “The ‘Running Masque’ Recovered: A Masque for the Marquess of Buckingham (c. 1619–20)”, *English Manuscript Studies* 8 (2000), pp. 79–135; Timothy Raylor, *The Essex House Masque of 1621* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2000).
- 22 Margaret M. McGowan, “Ballets for the Bourgeois”, *Dance Research* 19/2 (2001), pp. 106–26.
- 23 William Whiteway’s diary, February 1634, in C. E. McGee, “‘Strangest Consequence from Remotest Cause’: The Second Performance of *The Triumph of Peace*”, *MRDE* 5 (1991), pp. 309–42; p. 320.
- 24 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, p. 95, ll. 264, 272–3.
- 25 Jennifer Nevile’s “Dance and the Garden: Moving and Static Choreography in Renaissance Europe”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 52/3 (1999), pp. 805–36; p. 819.
- 26 John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey (London: Longman, 2nd edn, 1997), p. 185, stage direction, p. 189, l. 171, p. 229, l. 959.
- 27 See Anne Daye, “‘Youthful Revels, Masks, and Courtly Sights’: An Introductory Study of the Revels Within the Stuart Masque”, *Historical Dance* 3/4 (1996), pp. 5–22.
- 28 Jean E. Knowlton, “Some Dances of the Stuart Masque Identified and Analyzed”, 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1966, vol. 1, ch. 2.
- 29 John Ward, “Newly Devis’d Measures for Jacobean Masques”, *Acta Musicologica* 60/2 (1988), pp. 111–42, and “Apropos ‘The olde Measures’”, *Records of Early English Drama* 18/2 (1993), pp. 2–21.
- 30 Dudley Carleton on *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604). *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain*, ed. Maurice Lee (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), p. 56.
- 31 Marshall McLuhan, “Roles, Masks, and Performances”, *New Literary History* 2/3 (1971), pp. 517–31; p. 518.
- 32 François de Lauze, *Apologie de la danse* (n.p., 1623; facs. edn Geneva: Minkoff, 1977), and J. Wildeblood’s edition of the same (London: Muller, 1952). Barthélemy de Montagut, *Louange de la danse*, a manuscript treatise plagiarised from an early version of *Apologie*, ed. B. Ravelhofer (Cambridge: RTM, 2000).
- 33 BL MS Harl. 1026, fo. 7^r, c.1633–1635 (date according to HMC/NRA database, February 2003).
- 34 For instance, BL MSS Add. 41996, Lansd. 1115; Oxford Bodl. MSS Douce 280, Rawl. D 864, Rawl. poet. 108; London Royal College of Music, MS 1119. Also BL MS Sloane 3858 – “Chorea”.
- 35 Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C 799. All citations from the excellent *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, ed. Michael Brennan (London: Haykluyt Society, 1999), pp. 88–99; p. 96.
- 36 Bargrave, *Diary*, p. 97. Bargrave’s idiosyncratic vocabulary includes more theatrical terminology than Playford’s first edition. In this it is reminiscent of another mid-to late seventeenth-century country dance source, the “Lovelace” or “Pattricke Manuscript”. On the latter, see Carol Marsh, “The Lovelace Manuscript: A Preliminary Study”, in Uwe Schlottermüller and Maria Richter (eds.) *Morgenröte des Barock: Tanz im 17. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: fa-gis-is, 2004), pp. 81–90, and a full transcription by Carol Marsh and John Ward, *Harvard Library Bulletin* (forthcoming).
- 37 *A Book of Masques*, ed. Spencer and Wells, p. 382, l. 43.
- 38 For cast lists and bills see Eleanore Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage* (1929; London: Allen & Unwin, 1969). Andrew R. Walking, “Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court: John Crowne’s *Calisto*”, *Early Music* 24/1 (1996), pp. 27–62.
- 39 Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 367.
- 40 Michel de Pure, *Idee des spectacles anciens et nouveaux* (Paris 1668; facs. edn Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), pp. 248–9, my translation.
- 41 John Crown, *Calisto* (London: Th. Newcomb, 1675), “To the Reader”, sig. a^r.
- 42 Walking, “Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court”, p. 51.
- 43 Thomas Carew, *Coelum Britannicum*, in *Court Masques*, p. 192, ll. 1023–5.
- 44 *Calisto*, Act V, p. 79. – I would like to thank Lisa Vargo for her comments on this chapter.

4 The baroque body

- 1 See Susan Leigh Foster, *Dance and Narrative: Ballet’s Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

2 Alfred Heuss, “Eine Vorführung altfranzösischer Tänze”, *Gesellschaft* (1910), year 2, part 12, pp. 386–9.

3 See Patrizia Veroli, “The Mirror and the Hieroglyph: Alexander Sacharoff and Dance Modernism”, in Frank-Manuel Peter and Rainer Stamm (eds.), *Die Sacharoffs. Two Dancers within the Blaue Reiter Circle* (Cologne: Wienand Verlag, 2002), pp. 169–217.

4 Georges Detaille and Gérard Mulys, *Les Ballets de Monte-Carlo, 1911–1944* (Paris: Arc-en-ciel, 1954), pp. 104–7. Tim Scholl argues for “a reasonably authentic homage to the court of Louis XIV” in Petipa’s *Sleeping Beauty* (1890). The retrospectivism of the Russian ballet spilled over into Diaghilev’s repertoire. See Tim Scholl, *From Petipa to Balanchine: Classical Revival and the Modernization of Ballet* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

5 See Charles M. Joseph, “The Making of *Agon*”, in Lynn Garafola with Eric Foner (eds.), *Dance for a City: Fifty Years of the New York City Ballet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 99–118.

6 See Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Chorégraphie ou l’art de décrire la danse* (Paris: Feuillet & Bruncl, 1700); and Pierre Rameau, *Le Maître à danser* (Paris: Jean Villette, 1725). For an interesting discussion of Feuillet notation, see Jean Noel Laurenti, “Feuillet’s Thinking”, Laurence Louppe (ed.), in *Traces of Dance: Drawing and Notations of Choreographers* (Paris: Editions Dis Voir, n.d.). For a discussion of alternative seventeenth-century notational systems, see Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Carol G. Marsh, *Musical Theatre at the Court of Louis XIV: Le Mariage de la Grosse Cathos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

7 See Wendy Hilton, *Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style, 1690–1725* (Princeton: Princeton Book Company Publishers, 1981). Also important for the interpretation and production of baroque dance were Melusine Wood, Belinda Quirey and Shirley Wynne.

8 Despite her involvement with and significance to performance, Francine Lancelot was primarily involved in a research project, the capstone of which was the publication of *La Belle Danse: catalogue raisonné fait en l’an 1995* (Paris: Van Dieren, 1996).

9 See Linda Tomko, “Reconstruction”, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

10 Dene Barnett, “The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century”, in *Theatre Research International* (1977). Three articles appeared in this series; one devoted to

the hands, one the arms and the last to the ensemble.

11 See “Repeatability, Reconstruction and Beyond”, in *Theatre Journal* 41/1 (March 1989), pp. 56–74. (“Reproduction, reconstruction et par-delà”, *Degrés* 63 (Fall 1990), pp. 1–18). For the musical context of this debate, see Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

12 Marie Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV, 1643–1762: Mises en scène* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1967); Margaret M. McGowan, *L’Art du ballet de cour en France 1581–1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1978); Rudolf zur Lippe, *Naturbeherrschung am Menschen* (Frankfurt/M: Syndikat Reprise, 1979); Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), also translated into French as *La Danse comme texte: ideologies du corps baroque* (Paris: Editions Kargo, 2005).

13 Giovanni Careri, *Gestes d’amour et de guerre. La Jérusalem délivrée, images et affects (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Editions EHESS, 2005).

14 William Forsythe discussed baroque dance with German dance scholar Rudolf zur Lippe before creating *Artifact* (personal communication, October 2000).

15 Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, English trans. and foreword Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

16 Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, English trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994).

17 Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975); Jean-Marie Apostolides, *Le Roi-machine. Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Editions de minuit, 1981).

18 For an overview of these affinities, see Omar Calabrese, *Neo-Baroque: A Sign of the Times*, trans. Charles Lambert (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

19 Mark Franko, “Majestic Drag: Monarchical Performativity and the King’s Body Theatrical”, in *Drama Review* 47/2 (T178) (Summer 2003), pp. 71–87. See also, Mark Franko, “Figural Inversions of Louis XIV’s Dancing Body”, in Mark Franko and Annette Richards (eds.), *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance Across the Disciplines* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan

- University Press University Press of New England, 2000), pp. 35–51.
- 20 See Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero (eds.) *Premodern Sexualities* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996).
- 21 Morris spoke of the relation of his ballet to the AIDS crisis of the 1980s at a talk he gave at Barnard College, New York City, on 11 October 2004.
- 22 Oskar Schlemmer, *The Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1972), p. 196.
- 23 Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de cour sous Henri IV et Louis XIII (de 1581 à 1652)* (1868–70; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968); and Victor Fournel, *Les Contemporains de Molière, recueil de comédies rares ou peu connues, jouées de 1650 à 1680* (Paris: 1866).
- 24 Collection housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.
- 25 See Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988).
- 26 For a corrective to the neglect of this repertory, see Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- 27 See Margaret M. McGowan, *The Court Ballet of Louis XIII: A Collection of Working Designs for Costumes 1615–33* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.).

5 Choreography and narrative: the ballet d'action of the eighteenth century

- 1 Louis de Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne ou Traité historique de la Danse* (Paris: Jean Neaulme, 1754), vol. III, p. 118.
- 2 Jean-Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (Lyons: Delaroché, 1760).
- 3 John Weaver, *Essay towards a History of Dancing* (London: J. Tonson 1712).
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 167.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
- 9 John Weaver, *The Love of Mars and Venus* (London: W. Mears, J. Browne, 1717), p. 1.
- 10 Mark Franko, *Dance as Text. Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), p. 33.
- 11 Feuillet, *Chorégraphie ou L'art de décrire la danse* (Paris: Feuillet & Brunel 1700).
- 12 Cahusac, *Danse*, vol. III, p. 125.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- 14 Noverre, *Lettres*, p. 84.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 262.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 262.

- 17 Malpied, *Traité sur l'art de la danse* (Paris: Bouin, 1770), p. 84.
- 18 Cf. Gennaro Magri, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing*, trans Mary Skeaping (London: Dance Books, 1988), chs. 13–58; originally *Trattato teorico-prattico di ballo* (Naples: Vincenzo Orsino, 1779).
- 19 Cf. George Touchard-Lafosse, *Chroniques secrètes et galantes de l'Opéra*, 4 vols., (Paris: Schneider, 1846); Emile Campardon, *L'Académie Royale de Musique au XVIII siècle* (Paris: Berger-Levrault & cie, 1884); François Henri Joseph Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie Impériale de Musique. Histoire littéraire, musicale, chorégraphique, pittoresque, morale, critique et galante de ce théâtre de 1645 à 1855*, 2 vols. (Paris: Castil-Blaze, 1855).
- 20 Noverre, *Lettres*, p. 53.

6 The rise of ballet technique and training: the professionalisation of an art form

- 1 Debra Craine and Judith Mackrell, *Oxford Dictionary of Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 40.
- 2 Rose A. Pruiksma, “Generational Conflict and the Foundation of the Académie Royale de Danse: A Reexamination”, *Dance Chronicle* 26/2 (2003), p. 169.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 182. Pruiksma postulates that the original membership of the academy may have included a woman, as the list includes a Molière La Jeune, who might well be Marie Blanche Mollier, daughter of a court musician and dancer, Louis Mollier.
- 4 Régine Astier, “Académie Royale de Danse”, in Selma Jeanne Cohen et al. (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), vol. 1, p. 3.
- 5 Astier, “Académie Royale de Danse”. See also, Régine Astier, “In Search of L'Académie Royale de Danse”, *York Dance Review* 7 (1978), pp. 2–14.
- 6 Régine Astier, “Pierre Beauchamps”, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, vol. 1, p. 397.
- 7 Astier, “Académie Royale de Danse”, p. 3.
- 8 See Pierre Rameau, *Le Maître à danser* (Paris: Jean Villette, 1725), p. 9. A contemporary English translation was published by John Essex as *The Dancing-Master* (London: J. Essex and J. Brotherton, 1728) and will be cited hereafter in translated material from Rameau.
- 9 Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Chorégraphie ou l'art de décrire la danse* (Paris: Feuillet & Brunel, 1700).
- 10 They included fifteen theatrical dances composed by Feuillet and nine ballroom dances composed by Guillaume-Louis Pécour, a leading ballet master of the time.

- 11 Ivor Guest, *Le Ballet de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Théâtre National de l'Opéra/Flammarion, 1976), p. 19.
- 12 Quoted in Ivor Guest, *The Ballet of the Enlightenment* (London: Dance Books 1996), p. 23.
- 13 Johann Pasch, *Beschreibung wahrer Tanz-Kunst* (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Michahelles and Johann Adolph 1707), p. 369. I am grateful to Edmund Fairfax for this citation.
- 14 Cited in Régine Astier, "Marie Sallé", in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, vol. v, p. 503.
- 15 Régine Astier, "La Vie quotidienne des danseurs sous l'Ancien Régime", *Les Gôuts reunis*, 3rd series/1 (1982), p. 35.
- 16 Rameau/Essex, *The Dancing Master*, p. 125.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 18 Joan Wildeblood, *The Polite World* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1973), p. 94.
- 19 Jean-Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, sur les ballets et les arts* (St Petersburg 1803), transl. Cyril W. Beaumont as *Letters on Dancing and on Ballets* (New York: Dance Horizons 1968), p. 117.
- 20 Giambattista Dufort, *Trattato del ballo nobile* (Naples: Felice Mosca 1728), pp. 4–5.
- 21 C. Sol, *Méthode très facile et fort nécessaire, pour montrer à la jeunesse de l'un et l'autre sexe la manière de bien danser* (La Haye: l'Auteur 1725), p. 52.
- 22 Rameau/Essex, *The Dancing Master*, p. 11.
- 23 Sol, *Méthode*, p. 18.
- 24 Gennaro Magri, *Trattato teorico-prattico di ballo* (Naples: Vincenzo Orsino 1779), vol. II, pp. 10–11. Hereafter, translated material from Magri will be from the English translation by Mary Skeaping, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise on Dancing* (London: Dance Books, 1988).
- 25 Noverre/Beaumont, *Letters on Dancing*, p. 119.
- 26 Magri/Skeaping, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise*, p. 75.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 28 Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore*, trans. R. Barton (London: printed for James Bullock 1828), p. 102.
- 29 Noverre/Beaumont, *Letters on Dancing*, p. 19.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 31 Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (London: The author, 1762), p. 236.
- 32 G. Léopold Adice, *Théorie de la gymnastique de la danse théâtrale* (Paris: Chais 1859), p. 80. A portion of his book dealing with the ballet class is translated by Leonore Loft in Selma Jeanne Cohen, *Dance as a Theatre Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 76.
- 33 Magri/Skeaping, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise*, pp. 48–9, 143.
- 34 Noverre/Beaumont, *Letters on Dancing*, p. 18.
- 35 Magri/Skeaping, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise*, p. 61.
- 36 Cited in Edmund Fairfax, *The Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2003), p. 19.
- 37 Magri/Skeaping, *Theoretical and Practical Treatise*, p. 128.
- 38 Cited in Guest, *The Ballet of the Enlightenment*, pp. 205–6.
- 39 Quoted in Régine Astier, "Marie Camargo", in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, vol. II, p. 27.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 41 Ivor Guest, *Ballet under Napoleon* (Alton: Dance Books, 2002), p. 9.
- 42 Fairfax, *Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet*, p. 276.
- 43 John Chapman, "Auguste Vestris", in *International Dictionary of Ballet*, ed. Martha Bremser (London: St James Press, 1993), vol. II, p. 1485.
- 44 Guest, *The Ballet of the Enlightenment*, p. 24.
- 45 John V. Chapman, "The Paris Opera Ballet School, 1798–1827", *Dance Chronicle* 12/2 (1989), pp. 196–220.
- 46 Carlo Blasis, *Notes Upon Dancing, Historical and Practical*, transl. R. Barton (London: M. Delaporte, 1847), pp. 56–61.
- 47 Carlo Blasis, *Traité élémentaire, théorique et pratique de l'art de la danse* (Milan: Joseph Beati et Antoine Tenenti, 1820), trans. Mary Stewart Evans as *An Elementary Treatise upon the Theory and Practice of the Art of Dancing* (New York: Dover 1968), p. 5.
- 48 Blasis, *Notes*, p. 62.

7 The making of history: John Weaver and the Enlightenment

- 1 Quoted in Richard Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver. An Account of his Life, Writings and Theatrical Productions, with an Annotated Reprint of his Complete Publications* (London: Dance Books 1985), p. 50.
- 2 Richard Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 3 John Weaver, *An Essay Towards an History of Dancing* (London: Printed for Jack Tonson, 1712), reproduced in Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, p. 395.
- 4 Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver* p. 405.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 *Ibid.* p. 469.

- 7 Carol Lee, *Ballet in Western Culture: A History of its Origins and Evolution* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. 368.
- 8 *Poems by Soame Jenyns, containing Art of dancing, To Lord Lovelace, Essay on virtue, Written in Locke, Epitaph on Doctor Johnson; to which is prefixed a sketch of the author's life* (Manchester 1797). Canto 2, p. 8
- 9 John Essex, *The dancing-master: or, The art of dancing explained. Wherein the manner of performing all steps in ball dancing is made easy by a new and familiar method. In two parts . . . The whole containing sixty figures drawn from the life, and curiously engraved on copper plates. Done from the French of Monsieur Rameau* (London: Printed and sold by him, and J. Brotherton, 1728), p. x.
- 10 Quoted in Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, p. 107; Charles Burney, *Choreography, The Cyclopaedia*, ed. Abraham Rees (1819), vol. vii.
- 11 Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, p. 142.
- 12 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 49.
- 13 Considered one of the greatest British playwrights of comedy.
- 14 Quoted in Hugh Arthur Scott, "London's earliest public concerts", *Musical Quarterly* 22 (1936), p. 454.
- 15 Roger North, *Memoirs of Musick being some Historio-criticall Collections of that Subject* (1728), ed. Edward F. Rimbault (London, 1846), p. 111.
- 16 George Savile Marquis of Halifax, *Advice to a Daughter, Chiefly with Regard to Religion* (Aberdeen: printed for and by Francis Douglass and William Murray, 1688; 7th edn 1701), p. 141.
- 17 Petition to the Vice-Chamberlain.
- 18 Weaver, *Essay Towards the History of Dancing*, p. 658.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 612.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 614.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 666.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 436.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972; 1997), p. 172 n. 1.
- 28 Anthony Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Soliloquy: Or, Advice to an author* (London: Printed for John Morphew, 1710), p. 65.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 Weaver, *Essay Towards the History of Dancing*, p. 403.
- 32 Weaver, *A Small Treatise of time and Cadence in Dancing*, reproduced in Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, p. 365.
- 33 William Wycherly, *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, www3.shropshire-cc.gov.uk/etexts/E000294.htm.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Act II, scene ii.
- 35 Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses on Art* (delivered between 1769 and 1776), www.authorama.com/book/seven-discourses-on-art.html.

8 Jean-Georges Noverre: dance and reform

- 1 Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755).
- 2 Cf. Horst Koegler, "The Northern Heirs of Noverre", *Dance and Dancers* (London, 1987), p. 24.
- 3 Deryck Lynham, *The Chevalier Noverre: Father of Modern Ballet*. (London: Dance Books, 1972), p. 117.
- 4 Lillian Moore, "Noverre, First of the Moderns", *Dance Magazine* 9(1952), p. 44.
- 5 Artur Michel, "Le Ballet d'action avant Noverre", *Archives Internationales de Dance*, pt. 2 (Octobre 1935), p. 116.
- 6 Cf. Denis Diderot, *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot*, 20 vols., ed. J. Assézat and M. Tourneux (Paris: Garnier frères, 1875–7), vol. vii, p. 157.
- 7 Cf. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse, Oeuvres complètes* (Geneva: Editions Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1964), vol. II, pp. 287–9.
- 8 *International Encyclopaedia of Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 174.
- 9 Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), *Correspondance, Oeuvres complètes*, 50 vols., ed. L. Moland (Paris: Garnier, 1877–85), vol. LIII, p. 76.
- 10 Voltaire, *Correspondance*, vol. LIV, pp. 18–85.
- 11 Noverre, *Lettres sur La danse* (Paris: Editions Lieutier, 1952), 92. This edition is based on that of St Petersburg, 1807). Subsequent references in the text are to the English translation, *Letters on Dancing and on Ballets*, trans. Cyril Beaumont (New York: Dance Horizons, 1968).

9 The French Revolution and its spectacles

- 1 See Ivor Guest, *Ballet under Napoleon* (Alton: Dance Books, 2002), p. 20: "Aristocratic appropriation of the court ballet's sensuous techniques likely reinforced the overall image of royal authority, but it also established a fascination with bodily display and attraction that would catalyze the art forms associated with 'aristocracy' in the following decades."

- 2 Cf. Sarah Cohen, *Art, Dance and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 3 Cf. Inge Baxmann, *Die Feste der Französischen Revolution. Inszenierung von Gesellschaft als Natur* (Weinheim/Basel: Beltz, 1989).
- 4 Boullée, cited in Fritz Wagner, *Isaac Newton im Zwielicht zwischen Mythos und Forschung*. (Freiburg/München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1976), p. 127.
- 5 Abbé Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?* (Paris: Flammarion, 1989), pp. 173–4. *What is the Third Estate?* Trans. M. Blondel, ed. S. E. Finer (London and Dunmow: Pall Mall Press, 1963), p. 162.
- 6 Jacques Grenier, *Opinion sur la question de savoir si l'on doit supprimer de la formule du serment civique les mots de haine à l'anarchie*. Paris, an VII, cited in Mona Ozouf, *La Fête Révolutionnaire* (Paris: Gallimard 1976), p. 339.
- 7 See Guest, *Ballet under Napoleon*, pp. 17–18.
- 8 S. Thomas, *Nancy avant et après 1830*, cited in Ozouf, *La Fête Révolutionnaire*, p. 135.
- 9 *Plan de la Fête de l'Être Suprême*, qui sera célébrée à Tours, le 20 Prairial en exécution du Décret du 18 Floréal, l'an second de la République, une et indivisible. Bibliolegue Nationale Paris, p. 8/9.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 11 *Recueil de chants philosophiques, civiques et moraux, à l'usage des Fêtes Nationales et Décadaires*. Paris An VII, p. 58.

10 Romantic ballet in France: 1830–1850

- 1 Gas lighting to illuminate the stage was introduced in 1822 while the dimming of house lights occurred in 1831.
- 2 Susan Leigh Foster, “The Ballerina’s Phallic Pointe”, in Susan Leigh Foster (ed.), *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 5. For the tie with sexuality, see Felicia McCarren, *Dance Pathologies: Performance, Poetics, Medicine* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).
- 3 Later in the late 1840s and 1850s, Arthur Saint-Léon returned to Filippo Taglioni’s practice and devised the plot, the choreography and often partnered the leading dancer, sometimes even playing the telling tune on his violin on stage.
- 4 See Sally Banes’s section “The Marriage plot” in her introduction and the chapter “The Romantic Ballet: *La Sylphide*, *Giselle*, *Coppélia*”, in *Dancing Women: Female Bodies on Stage* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 5–7 and 12–42, where she argues against reading the ballets as simple depictions

supporting bourgeois and patriarchal marriage practices.

- 5 René Girard’s concept of mimetic desire, or triangular desire, captures aptly the romantic love element of the ballets’ plots. He argues that the desire, which a subject, a man, has for an object (a woman, for example) has more to do with the prestige associated with the person who possesses or is about to desire the same object than with the object’s intrinsic worth. Simultaneously the person is not passive. He too is invested in the object’s worth and thus seeks to awaken desire in the subject. As they copy one another, the triangulation of the mimetic desire turns them into rivals. See in particular his *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).
- 6 For the circulation of répétiteurs, see Marian Smith, “The Earliest *Giselle*? A Preliminary Report on a St Petersburg Manuscript”, *Dance Chronicle: Studies in Dance and the Related Arts* 23/1 (2000), pp. 29–48.
- 7 More exact dates would be 1831 to 1847, marked by the premiere of the opera *Robert le diable* with its “*Ballet des nonnes*” and finishing with *Ozai* (26 April) and *La Fille de marbre* (20 October).
- 8 The various transformations *Giselle* has undergone in its history has pulled it towards more class- or race-conscious readings. Others have looked at *Giselle*’s madness in terms of drug addiction.
- 9 I am indebted to Marion Kant’s essay “*Giselle – la jolie morte*”, which traces and contextualises through a reading of *Giselle* the transformations the wili has undergone, and Christianity’s manipulation of dancing, in *Musik und Gesellschaft*, ed. Verband der Komponisten und Musikwissenschaftler der DDR (Berlin: Henschelverlag), no. 3 (1988).
- 10 For travesty dancing, see Lynn Garafola, “The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth Century Ballet”, *Dance Research Journal* 17/2 (Fall–Spring 1985–6), pp. 35–40. Examples of ballets with dancers *en travesti* include: *Le Diable boiteux*, *Le Diable amoureux*, and *Paquita* with its squadron of hussars.
- 11 Few women worked as teachers or choreographers at the Paris Opéra until the 1860s. Thérèse Elssler stands out for her choreographic work on her sister Fanny Elssler. Her ballet, *La Volière ou les oiseaux de Boccace* (1838), set in the Caribbean on a plantation, from which all men have been banished, configured gender differently and asserted women’s emotional growth. Fanny Elssler (or her sister) choreographed a ballet entitled *La*

Salamandrine, which was first produced at Covent Garden on 22 May 1847 (see the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra's libretto (Liv m. 149)), some 113 years after Marie Sallé's staging and performance of *Pygmalion*. Marie Taglioni would return later to teach and she choreographed and produced the ballet *Le Papillon* at the Paris Opéra in 1860. Other female teachers, such as Madame Dominique, developed a loyal following of students during the latter part of the century.

12 For romanticism's use of the fantastic and the question of marriage see Scott M. Sprenger, "Figures du fantastique: la logique du mariage raté chez Gautier et chez Zola", *Bulletin de la Société Théophile Gautier* 21 (1999), pp. 191–207; esp. p. 192.

13 Susan Leigh Foster elaborates the recurrence of this story in *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996).

14 For a similar argument regarding the novelistic characters, see Jann Matlock, "Novels of Testimony and the 'Invention' of the Modern French Novel", *Cambridge Companion to the French Novel from 1800 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 10–35; p. 33.

15 The origin of this appellation is disputed, but Théophile Gautier used it consistently to refer to the dancers of the Paris Opéra who performed walk-on roles or as part of the corps de ballet ("Le Rat", *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: L. Curmer, 1841–2), vol. III, pp. 249–56). Honoré de Balzac also uses the term.

11 **Deadly sylphs and decent mermaids: the women in the Danish romantic world of August Bournonville**

1 Bournonville was ballet master at the Royal Danish Ballet 1830–77, except for his time as ballet master in Vienna, Austria 1855–6 and as director in Stockholm, Sweden 1861–4.

2 *Hvor danser Den Kgl. Ballet hen?* pp. 52 and 55. www.schoenbergske.dk.

3 Cf. Chapter 10 by Sarah Davis Cordova "Romantic ballet in France: 1830–1850".

4 Examples of the Bournonville style and its basic exercises can be seen on the video *Bournonville Ballet Technique: Fifty Enchaînements annotated by Hans Beck* (London: Dance Books 1993), featuring Rose Gad and Johan Kobborg, directed by Vivi Flindt and published along with the book *Bournonville Ballet Technique: Fifty Enchaînements* by Vivi Flindt and Knud Arne Jürgensen (London:

Dance Books, 1992). Besides that, the Royal Danish Ballet has published *The Bournonville Schools* – the DVD, coached by Frank Andersen, Anne Marie Vessel Schlüter, Eva Kloborg, Flemming Ryberg and Dinna Bjørn. Director: Ulrik Wivel, 2005.

5 According to the Danish ballet critic Erik Aschengreen, Bournonville's illegitimate child had always been known about within a small circle of people, but only in 1997 did it become public knowledge when Danish ballet historian Knud Arne Jürgensen included the daughter in his article on "The Ballet Tradition" (1997), also in his Bournonville biography for the catalogue for the exhibition *Europæeren Bournonville* (Bournonville the European), vol. 1, p. 20 at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, 2000.

6 The most famous painting is that by the Danish painter Carl Bloch from 1876 where the seventy-one-year-old Bournonville is portrayed with five different medals. He received the royal honour of being knighted Ridder af Dannebrogordenen 1848. Cf. *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1979).

7 *Den nøgne Guldalder* (The Nude Golden Age), exhibition catalogue by Annette Johansen, Emma Salling, Marianne Saabye (Copenhagen: The Hirschsprung Collection 1994), p. 164 (with English summary and translation).

8 Women were not seriously invited to share these intellectual discussions in the circles around Brandes and they were not accepted as students at the University of Copenhagen until 1875.

9 *Mit Theaterliv* was published in five volumes: vol. I in 1847 (and 1848), vol. II in 1865 and the others in 1877–8 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel). Niels Birger Wamberg created a new edition, linguistically revised, for the centenary celebration of Bournonville's death: *Mit Teaterliv* (Copenhagen: Thaning & Appel, 1979). On the same occasion, Patricia McAndrew translated this gigantic work into English, with a foreword by ballet dancer Erik Bruhn and an introduction by ballet critic Svend Kragh-Jacobsen: *My Theatre Life* (London: A. & C. Black, 1979).

10 "Choreografisk Troesbekjendelse" (Choreographic Credo) was published in his *My Theatre Life*, vol. II, ch. I. It was reprinted in Erik Aschengreen's *Balletens Digter. 3 Bournonville essays* (Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1977) (Danish only). Translations taken from Patricia McAndrew, see n. 9.

11 In *Napoli*, the change of dress for Teresina takes place so quickly that the surprised sigh of the audience has become part of the transformation. The secret consists of two

dresses on top of each other – and a decisive, masculine hand from underneath.

12 Elsa Marianne von Rosen and Allan Fridericia: *Napoli*, Gothenburg Ballet, 1971. The same production was later staged for the Kirov Ballet in St Petersburg and the Royal Swedish Ballet in Stockholm. Tim Rushton, *Napoli – den nye by* (Napoli – The New Town), New Danish Dance Theatre, Copenhagen, 2003. www.nddt.dk. Thomas Lund and Johan Holten, *En anden akt* (Another Act), Copenhagen International Ballet, Bellevue Teatret, Copenhagen, 2004. www.sommerballet.dk. Dinna Bjørn and Frank Andersen, *Napoli*, stagings for the Royal Danish Ballet in 1992, 1998, 2005 and for the Finnish National Ballet in 2005.

13 In Bournonville's time, *Abdallah* was performed between 1855 and 1858. Then it was practically forgotten until ballet director Bruce Marks and his wife, Toni Lander, bought Bournonville's handwritten libretto at an auction in New York in 1970. In 1985, they reconstructed the ballet, together with Danish Bournonville teacher Flemming Ryberg. At that time, Toni Lander had accepted the position as ballet director of the Royal Danish Ballet and she had planned to bring *Abdallah* to Copenhagen with her. Tragically, Toni Lander died of a sudden illness. In spite of this, Bruce Marks and Flemming Ryberg together with Bournonville coach Sorella Englund and managed to stage the ballet for the Royal Danish Ballet in 1986: *Abdallah* had come back home.

14 At the gala for the third Bournonville Festival in 2005, the *Jockey Dance* was danced as a unisex duet by two principal ballerinas *en travestie*, Gudrun Bojesen and Gitte Lindstrøm.

15 Artistic directors of the Royal Danish Ballet since the first Bournonville Festival: Henning Kronstam 1978–85, Frank Andersen 1985–94, Peter Schaufuss 1994–5, Johnny Eliassen (temporary appointment) 1995–7, Maina Gielgud 1997–9, Aage Thordal-Christensen 1999–2002, Frank Andersen 2002–8. Frank Andersen (born 1953), was a Danish principal dancer and Bournonville instructor. He was artistic director at the Royal Danish Ballet 1985–94. He then was ballet director for the Royal Swedish Ballet 1995–9 and artistic adviser for the Chinese National Ballet, and judge at international dancer competitions, before he returned to his position as artistic director of the Royal Danish Ballet in 2002. Abroad, he has staged *Napoli* and *La Sylphide*. For the Royal Danish Ballet, he has staged *A Folk Tale* in 1991 (together with Anne Marie Vessel Schlüter and

with decor by her majesty, Queen Margrethe II) and *Napoli* several times since 1992 (with Henning Kronstam, Dinna Bjørn and Anne Marie Vessel Schlüter).

16 *Jeg Dig Elsker* (I love you). An interpretation of *La Sylphide* with ballet director Nikolaj Hübbe, directed by Ulrik Wivel. Dancers: Mads Blangstrup, Gudrun Bojesen, Lis Jeppesen. DVD, 25 minutes. The Royal Theatre and the Danish Film Institute 2005.

12 The orchestra as translator: French nineteenth-century ballet

1 Operas of four acts or longer nearly always included a ballet; shorter operas (or shortened versions of longer operas) were performed on the same evening as independent ballets.

2 *Le Journal des débats*, 28 September 1822. The score for *Alfred le grand*, first performed 18 September 1822, was by Gallenberg and Dugazon.

3 Auguste Baron, *Lettres et entretiens sur la danse* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1824), p. 296.

4 *Le Moniteur universel*, 21 September 1827.

5 *La Siècle*, 23 September 1836.

6 *La Sylphide*, 26 September 1840.

7 *Le Constitutionnel*, 11 August 1845.

8 Gustave Chouquet, *Histoire de la musique dramatique en France* (Paris: Librairie Firmin Didot Frères, 1873), p. 170.

9 See Stephanie Jordan, "The Role of the Ballet Composer at the Paris Opéra: 1820–1850", *Dance Chronicle*, 4/4 (1982), pp. 374–88; and Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* (London: Dance Books, 1980), p. 10.

10 Over a half-century later, Tchaikovsky wove the royalist tune "Vive Henri Quatre" into the final scene of *Sleeping Beauty* (1890) to help conclude that ballet "with great pomp and ostentation", and a royalist flair, recalling the Parisian tradition of using it to suggest just those qualities.

11 Such "vocal" passages were frequently indicated in rehearsal scores, and the text "spoken" by the characters written below the staff.

12 To *Le Corsaire*, 1856, a new *divertissement* was added by Delibes in 1857. The ballet was restaged by Petipa at the St Petersburg Maryinsky Theatre, with additional music by Drigo, Minkus and Pugni. The music for the famous *pas de deux* so often performed without the rest of the ballet is by Drigo.

13 Galops may be found, to name only a few examples from the stage of the Paris Opéra, in the ballets *La Jolie Fille de Gand*, *Le Diable à*

quatre, *La Fille de marbre*, *Diabolina*, *La Korrigane*, and the operas *Dom Sébastien*, *Gustave III* and *Le Prophète*.

14 The polka, which was according to Guest (*The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, p. 229) “all the rage in the ballrooms and public balls” in the early 1840s, is said to have made its first appearance on the stage of the Opéra in the ballet *Lady Henriette* (first performed 21 February 1844).

15 *La France musicale*, 17 August 1845.

16 *Le Nord*, 13 July 1863.

17 Such levity proved a valuable counterbalance to the serious and even violent tone of many operas with which ballet shared the stage. See Smith, *Ballet and Opera*, pp. 59–96.

18 *La France musicale*, 11 August 1844.

19 *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 27 September 1840.

20 *Le Nord*, 13 July 1863.

21 *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 5 December 1880.

22 *Le Ménestrel*, 12 March 1882. This music fared well in the next century, in Serge Lifar’s *Suite en blanc* (1943), revived as *Noir et blanc*, and as a concert suite.

23 Letter to *The Times* of London of 6 July 1914, reprinted in Roger Copeland and Marshall Cohen (eds.), *What is Dance? Readings in Theory and Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 260.

24 This choreography also uses ballet music from Verdi’s *Jérusalem* and *Don Carlos*.

25 Music of Delibes’s *La Source* and *Naila* was used for Balanchine’s *La Source* (1968); parts of the *Sylvia* score have also been choreographed by, among others, Balanchine and Ashton. The many other choreographies to Delibes’s ballet music include Léo Staats’s *Soir de fête* (1921), using *Le Corsaire* and *La Source*, which has been performed over 250 times.

26 1 August 1847. His ballets include *La Chatte blanche* (Paris, 1830), *Faust* (London, 1833), *La Fille du Danube* (Paris, 1836), *Les Mohicans* (Paris, 1837), *L’Ecumeur de mer* (St Petersburg, 1840), *Die Hamadryaden* (Berlin, 1840), *Giselle* (Paris, 1841), *La Jolie Fille de Gand* (Paris, 1842), *Le Diable à quatre* (1845), *The Marble Maiden* (London, 1845), *Griseldis ou les cinq senses* (Paris, 1848), *La Filleule des fées* (Paris, 1849), *Orfa* (Paris, 1852), and *Le Corsaire* (Paris, 1856).

27 Remarks made by Adam while working on *La Filleule des fées*, quoted in Benoit Jouvin, *Hérolid, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Heugel, 1868), p. 148.

28 “Léo Delibes”, in Selma Jeanne Cohen and Elizabeth Aldrich (eds.), *International*

Encyclopedia of Dance (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), vol. II, p. 368.

29 *L’Opinion*, trans. Cyril Beaumont, in *Complete Book of Ballets* (London: Putnam, 1937; repr. 1956), p. 495.

30 *Le Telegraph*, 3 June 1885.

31 “Le XIX Siècle” (in Delibes dossier d’artiste, Bibliothèque de l’Opéra); George Balanchine and Francis Mason, *Balanchine’s Complete Stories of the Great Ballets* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), p. 608.

32 Jouvin, *Hérolid*, p. 194.

33 Edouard Deldevez, *Mes Mémoires* (Paris: Marchessou fils, 1890), p. 34.

34 5 December 1880.

35 See Ivor Guest, *Le Ballet de l’Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Flammarion, 2001), pp. 297–314, for a list of the Opéra’s ballets and their composers, 1776–2000.

13 Russian ballet in the age of Petipa

1 *Russian Ballet Master: The Memoirs of Marius Petipa*, ed. Lillian Moore, trans. Helen Whittaker (London: A. & C. Black, 1958), p. 23.

2 Vera M. Krasovskaya, “Petipa, Marius”, *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jean Cohen and Dance Perspectives Foundation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 2005) (hereafter *IED*), p. 150.

Jean-Antoine Petipa died in St Petersburg in 1855, at which point Marius took over his position, which he continued to occupy until 1863, when at Petipa’s request, the director of the Imperial Theatres appointed Christian Johansson to succeed him.

3 Petipa, *Memoirs*, p. 22. A “benefit” refers to a performance of which all or part of the proceeds were earmarked for a particular artist or group (such as the corps de ballet).

4 Natalia Roslavleva, *Era of the Russian Ballet*, foreword Ninette de Valois (London: Gollancz, 1966), p. 22.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

6 This is the date of the Russian as opposed to the French premiere, which took place at the Paris Opéra in 1856. The 1858 St Petersburg production was by Jules Perrot. Petipa restaged the ballet five years later, with significant revisions in 1868 (when he choreographed the “Jardin Animé”), 1885 and 1899. See “Works by Marius Petipa in Russia”, in *The Diaries of Marius Petipa*, ed., trans. and intro. Lynn Garafola, *Studies in Dance History*, 3/1 (Spring 1992), pp. 81–2.

7 *La Sylphide* premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1832. Three years later, Antoine Titus staged the ballet after Taglioni at the Bolshoi Theatre,

- St Petersburg. The ballet was restaged by Taglioni in 1837. Petipa restaged the work, again after Taglioni but with additional music by Riccardo Drigo, in 1892. “Sil’fida”, *Balet Entsiklopediia* (hereafter *Soviet Ballet Encyclopedia*) (Moscow: Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1981); Cyril W. Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets* (London: Putnam, 1937), p. 103.
- 8 Quoted in Roslavleva, *Era of the Russian Ballet*, p. 59.
- 9 Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 66–7.
- 10 Krasovskaya, “Petipa”, p. 149.
- 11 Petipa, *Memoirs*, p. 2. The “bow” is a reference to the small violin or “pochette” that ballet teachers played as accompaniment in class.
- 12 For an account of this unsuccessful tour, see Lillian Moore, “The Petipa Family in Europe and America”, *Dance Index*, 1/5 (May 1942), pp. 76–8.
- 13 Yury Slonimsky, “Marius Petipa”, trans. Anatole Chujoy, *Dance Index*, 6/5–6 (May–June 1947), p. 106.
- 14 “A Glance Behind the Scenes”, *Appleton’s Journal of Literature, Science and Art*, 1 April 1876, p. 433. According to the author, some fifty dancers appeared in the divertissement.
- 15 August Bournonville, *My Theatre Life*, trans. Patricia N. McAndrew, intro. Svend Kragh-Jacobsen (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), p. 581.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 581–2.
- 17 Slonimsky, “Marius Petipa”, p. 115.
- 18 Roland John Wiley, *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 106.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 93. For abolishing the post of official ballet composer, see *A Century of Russian Ballet: Documents and Accounts, 1810–1910*, ed. and trans. Roland John Wiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 350.
- 20 Quoted in Vera Krasovskaya, “Marius Petipa and ‘The Sleeping Beauty’”, trans. Cynthia Read, *Dance Perspectives* 49 (Spring 1972), p. 21.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 Wiley reproduces Petipa’s instructions to Tchaikovsky and his “plan” for the ballet in *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets: Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty, Nutcracker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), Appendix D, pp. 354–70.
- 23 For criticism of the ballet, see Tim Scholl, *Sleeping Beauty: A Legend in Progress* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), ch. 1 (“Genre Trouble”).
- 24 Alexandre Benois, *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet*, trans. Mary Britnieva (London: Putnam, 1941), *Reminiscences*, p. 128.
- 25 *The Yearbooks of the Imperial Theatres (Yezhegodniki Imperatorskikh Teatrov* (St Petersburg/Petrograd, 1890–1915) listed all the dancers and artistic personnel in the employ of the St Petersburg and Moscow companies.
- 26 Krasovskaya, “Petipa”, pp. 153–4.
- 27 Quoted in Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, p. 221.
- 28 Vera M. Krasovskaya, “Ivanov, Lev”, *IED*, pp. 565–6.
- 29 Wiley, *Ivanov*, p. 174.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- 31 Sergei Khudekov, “The Petersburg Ballet During the Production of *The Little Humpbacked Horse* (Recollections)”, in Wiley, *A Century of Russian Ballet*, pp. 266–7.
- 32 Tamara Karsavina, “Platon Karsavin”, *Dancing Times* (October 1964), p. 12.
- 33 “Before graduation . . . many students never imagined the poverty in which their parents lived”, wrote the dancer Anna Natarova in her recollections of theatre life in the 1840s. “However badly they fed us at school, it was worse at home” (“From the ‘Recollections of the Artiste A. P. Natarova’”, in Wiley, *A Century of Russian Ballet*, p. 160).
- 34 For a description of training in the 1830s and 1840s, see “Recollections of T. A. Stukolkin”, *ibid.*, pp. 108–9. For training in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Tamara Karsavina, *Theatre Street: The Reminiscences of Tamara Karsavina*, foreword J. M. Barrie (London: Heinemann, 1930), ch. 7 (“The Pupil”); Princess Romanovsky-Krassinsky [Kshesinska], *Dancing in Petersburg: The Memoirs of Kshessinska*, trans. Arnold Haskell (London: Gollancz, 1960), ch. 3 (“The Imperial Ballet School”); Michel Fokine, *Memoirs of a Ballet Master*, trans. Vitale Fokine, ed. Anatole Chujoy (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), ch. 2 (“Life in School”); and Bronislava Nijinska, *Early Memoirs*, ed. and trans. Irina Nijinska and Jean Rawlinson (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981), chs. 11–17.
- 35 Vera Krasovskaya, *Vaganova: A Dance Journey from Petersburg to Leningrad*, trans. Vera M. Siegel, intro. Lynn Garafola (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), p. 51.
- 36 Prince Serge Wolkonsky, *My Reminiscences*, trans. A. E. Chamot (London: Hutchinson, n.d.), p. 107. For Kshesinska’s account of the incident, see Kshessinska [Kshesinska], *Dancing in Petersburg*, pp. 81–2.
- 37 Kshessinska, *Dancing in Petersburg*, p. 27.
- 38 Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. iv (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 142.

14 Opening the door to a fairy-tale world:**Tchaikovsky's ballet music**

- 1 Solomon Volkov, *Balanchine's Tchaikovsky: Interviews with George Balanchine*, trans. Antonina Bouis (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985), p. 144. From letter to Taneyev (Taneev).
- 2 Volkov, *Balanchine*, p. 153. Herman Laroche recalls Tchaikovsky's turn from opera to ballet.
- 3 Volkov, *Balanchine*, p. 153.
- 4 Karl Fedorovich Valts, *Shest'desyat pyat' let v teatre* (Sixty-five Years in the Theatre) (Leningrad 1928), p. 108. Translation in Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets: Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty, Nutcracker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 56.
- 5 German Avgustovich Larosh (Laroche), *Izbrannye stat'i* (Collected Articles), 5 vols. (Leningrad, 1974), vol. 1, pp. ii, 99. Translated in: Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, pp. 52–3.
- 6 "Sovremennye izvestiya" (25 February 1877), p. 3. Translated in Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 52.
- 7 As Wiley points out, St Petersburg newspapers commented on this similarity: *Novosti i birzhevaya gazeta*, 17 January 1895, p. 3; *Novoe vremya* 17 January 1895, p. 3. Tchaikovsky earlier used the Swan Theme for a children's play at his sister Alexandra Davydov's estate in 1870. Cf. Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 37.
- 8 Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 85. Tchaikovsky originally composed this duet for Undine and her mortal lover, who must die for having betrayed her, in his opera *Undine* (1869). In *Swan Lake*, the soprano and baritone parts are played by violin and cello respectively.
- 9 Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, pp. 80–8. Wiley provides a detailed analysis of the use of keys throughout the ballet and how they relate to the characters.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 244.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 104. Ivan Alexandrovich Vsevolozhsky was Director of Imperial Theatres 1881–99. He had eliminated the post of a resident ballet composer, making it easier to give commissions to composers such as Tchaikovsky.
- 12 Tchaikovsky's response was written in Moscow on 22 August 1888 – more than three months after Vsevolozhsky's initial enquiry (my trans.). Wiley speculates that the director's original letter may have been lost (Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 104).
- 13 Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 125.
- 14 Laroche. *Izbranniye stat'i* vol. II (Leningrad, 1975), pp. 140–3, trans. David Brown, *Tchaikovsky Remembered*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), p. 190. In addition to praising Tchaikovsky's achievement with *Sleeping Beauty*, Laroche's review for the *Moscow Gazette* defends

the use of a children's tale for the ballet, remarks on the composer's skill at writing music of both a serious, melancholic nature as well as happy, lively material, and touches on the Russianness of his music.

- 15 Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 361: "Musique douce et un peu ricaneuse". This request seems rather confusing. How can the Lilac Fairy be sweet and derisive at the same time? Perhaps Tchaikovsky thought similarly, since the end result is a theme that is *très douce* and not *ricaneuse* at all.
- 16 Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 161.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- 18 Brown, *Tchaikovsky*, p. 339.
- 19 Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 228. Auguste Mustel was the inventor of the celesta.
- 20 Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, p. 234. Composer Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov had notated the Georgian lullaby and sent it to Tchaikovsky.

15 The romantic ballet and its critics: dance goes public

- 1 See also Jeremy Noble's article on Opera criticism in *Grove Music Online*. Among the fictional accounts of life at the Opéra are Albéric Second, *Les Petits Mystères de l'Opéra* (Paris: G. Kugelmann/Bernard Latte 1844); and Albert Smith, *The Natural History of the Ballet Girl* (London: D. Bogue 1847).
- 2 See Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* (London: Dance Books, 1980), p. 109.
- 3 Ivor Guest, "Introduction", in Théophile Gautier, *Gautier on Dance*, ed. Ivor Guest (London: Dance Books 1986), pp. xix–xxvi; p. xxii.
- 4 Quoted in Marian Smith, "About the House", in Roger Parker and Mary Ann Smart (eds.), *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 225.
- 5 Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Edition Hetzel, 1858–9) (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints 1968), vol. 1, p. i.
- 6 Gautier, *Gautier on Dance*, p. 58.
- 7 Jules Janin, *Journal des débats*, 6 December 1833.
- 8 Janin, *Journal des débats*, 27 June 1832.
- 9 Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, vol. 1, p. 127.
- 10 Gautier, *Gautier on Dance*, p. 6.
- 11 Anonymous critic of the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 18 August 1839, on Fanny Elssler dancing the *cachucha*.

12 Susan Bernstein, *Virtuosity of the Nineteenth Century: Performing Music and Language in Heine, Liszt, and Baudelaire* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 11.

13 Louis Gentil, in Jean-Louis Tamvaco (ed.), *Les Cancans de l'Opéra*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS, 2000), vol. 1, p. 338.

14 Charles Baudelaire, *La Fanfarlo*, in *The Poems in Prose*, vol. 11, ed. and trans. Francis Scarfe (London: Anvil Press, 1989), pp. 214–63; pp. 245–7.

16 The soul of the shoe

1 Théophile Gautier, in: *Gautier on Dance*, selected, trans. and annotated Ivor Guest (London: Dance Books, 1986), p. 15.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

3 Cf. Judith Chazin-Bennahum on Jean-Georges Noverre in Chapter 2.

4 Carlo Blasis, *Traité élémentaire, théorique, et pratique de l'art de la danse* was published in 1820. See Fig. 14.

5 Cf. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 2001). Entry Theobald Boehm.

6 The scene was later immortalised in Edgar Degas's painting *The Ballet Scene from Meyerbeer's Opera, "Robert le Diable"*, 1876.

7 Heinrich Heine, *Elementargeister* (Berlin, Paris: Säkularausgabe Akademieverlag and Edn. du CNRS 1979), vol. ix, p. 95. Trans. Marion Kant.

8 First draft of libretto for *Giselle*. Cf. Théophile Gautier, "Théâtres, Mystère, Comédies et Ballets", in *Oeuvres complètes* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1978), vol. VIII, p. 267.

9 Tutu, "childish alteration of *cucu*, dim. of *cul* – rump or buttock", term used since around 1910. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), entry "tutu". Cf. the comprehensive overview of the evolution of the tutu in Martine Kahane et al., *Le tutu* (Paris: Flammarion, Les petits guides de l'Opéra, 2000).

10 Théophile Gautier, *Peau de Tigre*. (Paris, 1866), pp. 335–6, quoted in Judith Chazin-Bennahum, *The Lure of Perfection*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 194.

11 When the tutu was shortened even further and nothing remained but the tulle sticking out at the hip, the tutu required a metal hoop to keep it in shape.

12 This is one of the distinctions between the Russian and the American school. George Balanchine preferred a gentle rise, whereas the

Vaganova style emphasised forcefulness and strength.

13 Dr Janice Bruckner, anthropologist, formerly Director of Research for the department of physical therapy at Philadelphia's Jefferson University, now at Widener University Pennsylvania, is the inventor of this pointe shoe. She developed it together with Prosthetic Orthotic Solutions International. Cf. Marion Kant, "The New Ballet Shoe", in *Ballettanz* (Berlin: Friedrich Verlag, 2004), p. 74.

17 Ballet avant-garde I: the Ballets Suédois and its modernist concept

1 *Berlingske Tidende* (Copenhagen), 12 September 1922.

2 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21 October 1922.

3 Francis Picabia, "Rolf de Maré", *La Danse* (November–December 1924), unpaginated.

4 Jean Cocteau, *La Danse* (June 1921), unpaginated.

5 *The Minneapolis Tribune*, 22 May 1930.

6 *New York Telegraph*, 17 November 1923.

7 *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm), 26 May 1925.

8 Reynaldo Hahn in *Excelsior*, 10 November 1920.

9 *The Spectator*, 25 December 1920.

10 *Midi* (Brussels), 3 June 1921.

11 *Die Weltbühne*, 27 April 1922.

18 Ballet avant-garde II: The 'New' Ballet – Russian and Soviet dance in the twentieth century

1 Elizabeth Souritz, *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, trans. Lynn Visson, ed. Sally Baner (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 140.

19 George Balanchine

1 Michael Walsh, "The Joy of Pure Movement", *Time Magazine*, 9 May, 1983.

2 Quoted in Bernard Taper, *Balanchine: A Biography* (New York: Times Books, 1984), p. 51.

3 Terry Teachout, *All in the Dances: A Brief Life of George Balanchine*. (Orlando, Fla: Harcourt, 2004), p. 3.

4 Charles Joseph, *Stravinsky and Balanchine: A Journey of Invention* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), p. xi.

5 Edwin Denby, *Dancers, Buildings and People in the Streets* (New York: Horizon Press, 1965), p. 84.

6 Francis Mason, *I Remember Balanchine* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), p. vii.

7 See Stephanie Jordan, *Moving Music: Dialogues with Music in Twentieth-Century Ballet* (London: Dance Books, 2000), pp. 123 and 87.

- 8 Balanchine picked music for its *dansante* quality; he held steadfast opinions about what kind of music was danceable.
- 9 Quoted in Joseph, *Stravinsky and Balanchine*, p. 295. Originally from Igor Stravinsky's *Themes and Conclusions* (repr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). On the dispute over the authenticity of this well-known quotation, see Joseph, Stravinsky and Balanchine, p. 411, n. 35. Stravinsky is referring to *Movements for Piano and Orchestra*.
- 10 For a detailed account from this time period, see Yuri Slonimsky's memoir in Mason, *I Remember Balanchine*, pp. 19–78.
- 11 Mason, *I Remember Balanchine*, p. 7. Danilova and Balanchine were never legally married but were seen as such within their circle during the time they were together.
- 12 *Apollo* was originally entitled *Apollon musagète*. For its various titles, see Harvey Simmonds (ed.), *Choreography by George Balanchine: A Catalogue of Works* (New York: Eakins Press Foundation, 1983), p. 86. Adolph Bolm was the first to choreograph to this score; his version made its debut 27 April 1928, and Balanchine's followed June 12 of the same year.
- 13 Taper, *Balanchine*, p. 100.
- 14 See Beth Genné, “‘Glorifying the American Woman’: Josephine Baker and George Balanchine”, *Discourses in Dance*, 3/1 (2006), pp. 29–65.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- 16 See *ibid.*
- 17 *Apollo* was not composed for Balanchine; Balanchine only commissioned four scores from the composer.
- 18 Joseph, *Stravinsky and Balanchine*, p. 14.
- 19 Robert Gottlieb, *George Balanchine: The Ballet Maker* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), p. 206. (From a reprint of an interview published in *Life* magazine, 11 June, 1965.)
- 20 See Simmonds, *Choreography by Balanchine*, p. 117. Listed as “Serenade in C for string orchestra, Op. 48, 1880, first three movements; arranged and reorchestrated by George Antheil”. The fourth movement (*Tema Russo*) was added in 1940 and inserted before the *Elegy*.
- 21 See Costas (ed.), *Balanchine: Celebrating a Life in Dance* (Windsor, Conn.: Tide-mark Press, 2003), p. 149.
- 22 Balanchine, *Balanchine's New Complete Stories of the Great Ballets*, (ed.) Francis Mason (New York: Doubleday, 1968), p. 363.
- 23 Balanchine, *Balanchine's New Complete Stories*, p. 365.
- 24 Taper, *Balanchine*, p. 160.
- 25 Gottlieb, *George Balanchine*, pp. 167–8. A memory of Barbara Horgan.
- 26 See Genné, “Glorifying the American Woman”.
- 27 Solomon Volkov, *Balanchine's Tchaikovsky: Interviews with George Balanchine* (New York: Sunon & Schuster, 1985), pp. 147–8.
- 28 Anon., “Ballet Comes into its Own”, *Musical America*, 64 (April 1944), p. 16. The author cites successful American-themed ballets such as *Rodeo*, *Billy the Kid*, *Filling Station* and *Fancy Free* (by Jerome Robbins – soon Balanchine's associate artistic director of NYCB).
- 29 Ronald Eyer, “‘Song of Norway’ Scores Hit” (Review), *Musical Times* 64 (September 1944), p. 15.
- 30 Balanchine, *New Complete Stories*, p. 171.
- 31 Jordan, *Moving Music*, pp. 112–13.
- 32 Teachout, *All in the Dances*, p. 87.
- 33 See Tim Scholl, *From Petipa to Balanchine* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- 34 See Taper, *Balanchine*, pp. 187–8. Balanchine's choreography was to Gershwin's *American in Paris*, which was dropped by director Samuel Goldwyn due to his “too experimental camera techniques” (Robert Gottlieb, *George Balanchine*, p. 92).
- 35 Costas, *Balanchine: Celebrating a Life in Dance*, pp. 23–5.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 Jordan, *Moving Music*, pp. 122–3.
- 39 Jordan, *Musical Dances* (video recording).
- 40 Jordan, *Moving Music*, p. 114.
- 41 Quoted in Gottlieb, *George Balanchine*, p. 181.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
- 43 Richard Buckle in collaboration with John Taras, *George Balanchine: Ballet Master* (New York: Random House, 1988) p. 269.

20 Balanchine and the deconstruction of classicism

- 1 André Levinson, “Le Deuxième Spectacle des Ballets Russes: *Le Bal*”, *Comœdia* (30 May 1929), clipping in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Archives Rondel (hereafter abbreviated AR). All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.
- 2 Bernard Taper, *Balanchine: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 292.
- 3 André Levinson, “Grandeur et décadence des ‘ballets russes’”, in *La Danse d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Editions Duchartre et Van Buggenhoudt, 1929), pp. 9–10.
- 4 André Levinson, “Some Commonplaces on the Dance” (1922), in Joan Acocella and Lynn Garafola, (eds.), *André Levinson on Dance: Writings from Paris in the Twenties* (Hanover,

- N. H.: University Press of New England/Wesleyan University Press, 1991), p. 30.
- 5 “Grandeur”, pp. 20–1.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 17; D. Sordet, Review of the Ballets Russes (27 June 1928), AR.
- 7 Alexandra Danilova, *Choura: The Memoirs of Alexandra Danilova* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), pp. 102–3. See also M. Hunt, “The Prodigal Son’s Russian Roots: Avant-Garde and Icons”, *Dance Chronicle* 5/1 (1982), p. 33.
- 8 Danilova, *Choura*, pp. 102–3.
- 9 Levinson, “Le Deuxième Spectacle”; L. Laloy, “Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt (Ballets Diaghilev): *Le Bal*”, *L’Ere nouvelle* (30 May 1929), AR; W. George, “L’art à la scène: En marge des Ballets Russes”, *Scène* (5 June 1929), AR.
- 10 André Levinson, *Les Visages de la danse* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1933); in Acoella and Garafola, *Levinson on Danse*, caption accompanying plate 11.
- 11 André Levinson, “La Chorégraphie et l’interprétation”, *Comoedia* (29 May 1927), AR.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 Danilova *Choura*, p. 87.
- 14 Levinson, “La Chorégraphie”.
- 15 George Balanchine, *Balanchine’s New Complete Stories of the Great Ballets*, ed. Francis Mason (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954), p. 10.
- 16 On Balanchine and gender, see the analysis of *Agon* (1957) in Sally Banes, *Dancing Women: Female Bodies on Stage* (London: Routledge, 1998) as well as Ann Daly, “The Balanchine Woman: Of Hummingbirds and Channel Swimmers”, *Drama Review* 31/1 (Spring 1987), pp. 9–21.
- 17 Richard Buckle, *Diaghilev* (New York: Atheneum, 1979), p. 470.
- 18 See, for example, Tim Scholl, *From Petipa to Balanchine: Classical Revival and the Modernization of Ballet* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 97.
- 19 Souvenir programme from the December 1928–January 1929 season at the Théâtre de l’Opéra, Paris, AR.
- 20 P.-B. Gheusi, “Les Ballets Russes”, *Figaro* (19 June 1928), AR. These links are discussed in D. Harris, “Balanchine: Working with Stravinsky”, *Ballet Review* 10/2 (Summer 1982), p. 20.
- 21 B. de Schoelzer, “Chronique Musicale: Les Ballets Russes de 1928”, *Nouvelle revue française* (1 July 1928), AR.
- 22 Louis Laloy, “‘Apollon musagète,’ ballet de Stravinsky”, *Ere nouvelle* (17 June 1928), AR.
- 23 André Levinson, “Apollon-Musagète”, *Candide* (21 June 1928), AR.
- 24 André Levinson, “Une escale des ‘Ballets Russes’”, *Candide* (3 January 1929), AR.
- 25 André Levinson, “Apollon-Musagète”.
- 26 George Balanchine, “Vyshe vsyekh masterov” (“The Greatest Master of them All”), in *Marius Petipa: materialy, vospominaniia, stat’i* (*Marius Petipa: Documents, Reminiscences, Essays*), ed. A. Nekhendzi (Leningrad: Leningrad State Theatre Museum, 1971), pp. 277–82. Trans. Irina Klyagin.

21 *The Nutcracker: a cultural icon*

1 Quoted in Roland John Wiley, *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov: Choreographer of The Nutcracker and “Swan Lake”* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 140. Wiley offers many details of the 1892 *Nutcracker* premiere.

2 Jack Anderson, *The Nutcracker Ballet* (New York: Gallery Books, 1979), p. 82. Anderson was the first to chronicle the many versions of the ballet and suggest it had become an American tradition.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 92–6. Anderson spells the Russian’s name “Sergueeff”.

4 Cobbett Steinberg, *San Francisco Ballet: The First Fifty Years* (San Francisco: The San Francisco Ballet Association, 1983), pp. 63–4.

5 Discussion of the ways in which Balanchine incorporated Africanist influences in his version of neoclassical ballet can be found in Brenda Dixon Gottschild’s *Digging the Africanist Presence in American Performance: Dance and Other Contexts*. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996).

6 Solomon Volkov, *Balanchine’s Tchaikovsky: Interviews with George Balanchine*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985), pp. 192–3.

7 This violin solo, which does not appear in the original *Nutcracker* score, was cut from the composer’s *Sleeping Beauty* score (it is sometimes restored in current versions).

Tchaikovsky had used its melody again in *The Nutcracker*, so Balanchine’s bringing the two together with this interpolation made musical sense (Volkov, *Balanchine’s Tchaikovsky*, p. 188).

8 Cf. Tania Branigan. “Barbie sponsors Nutcracker ballet”, *Guardian*, Monday, 10 September 2001.

9 Billy Strayhorn collaborated with Ellington on the original adaptation, which only used excerpts of the ballet. For the Bird *Nutcracker*, composer and musical director David Berger added to the score.

10 Edwin Denby, *Dance Writings*, ed. Robert Cornfield and William MacKay (New York: Knopf, 1986), pp. 272–5.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 272–3.

12 These dances are discussed at more length in Jennifer Fisher, “Arabian Coffee in the Land of the Sweets”, *Dance Research Journal* 35/2 and

36/1 (Winter 2003 and Summer 2004), pp. 146–63.

13 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 1.

14 John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 211.

22 From *Swan Lake* to *Red Girl's Regiment*: ballet's sinicisation

1 Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959). See also E. Yuan, *Zhongguo Wudao Yixianglun* (Beijing: Wenhua Yishu, 1995).

2 Li Yu, *Xianqing Ouyi*, 16 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji, 1995), vol. VII, pp. 593–4.

3 Their love story and history has been the subject of many writers, poets and historians.

4 Wang Kefen and Long Yingpei, *Zhongguo Jinxindai Dangdai Wudao Fazhangshi* (Beijing: Renmin Yingyu Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 40–3; Wang Ningning, Jiang Dong and Du Xiaoqing, *Zhongguo Wudaoshi* (Beijing: Wenhua Yishu, 1998), pp. 69–71. See also Ou Jian-ping, “From ‘Beasts’ to ‘Flowers’: Modern Dance in China”, in Ruth and John Solomon (eds.), *East Meets West in Dance: Voices in the Cross-Cultural Dialogue* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), pp. 29–35.

5 Ronglin continued to promote ballet during the nationalist and communist eras. She died in Beijing in 1973. She left a memoir *Qinggong Suiji* or “The Miscellaneous of the Qing Court”.

6 The illustrious *Dianshizhai Huabao* is one of them.

7 Mei Lanfang was the most famous Peking opera singer from the late Qing through the communist era. He was the founder of a new style of singing. He held numerous positions during the communist era. Tian Han was a famous writer and poet. He wrote more than one hundred plays, many songs/poems, and the lyric for the National Anthem.

8 Wang Kefen and Long Yingpei, *Zhongguo Jinxindai Dangdai Wudao Fazhangshi* (Beijing: Renmin Yingyu Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 64–72; Wang Ningning, Jiang Dong and Du Xiaoqing, *Zhongguo Wudaoshi* (Beijing: Wenhua Yishu, 1998), pp. 83–7. Ou Jian-ping, “From ‘Beasts’ to ‘Flowers’: Modern Dance in China”, pp. 29–35.

9 Wang Kefen and Long Yingpei, *Zhongguo Jinxindai Dangdai Wudao Fazhangshi* (Beijing: Renmin Yingyu Chubanshe, 1999), pp. 72–80; Wang Ningning, Jiang Dong and Du Xiaoqing, *Zhongguo Wudaoshi* (Beijing: Wenhua Yishu, 1998), pp. 88–92. Ou Jian-ping, “From ‘Beasts’ to ‘Flowers’: Modern Dance in China”, pp. 29–35.

10 Lin Cunxin, *Mao's Last Dancer: A Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2003).

23 *Giselle* in a Cuban accent

1 See A. Alonso, “Bailar ha sido mi vida”, interview by Lester Tome, in *El Mercurio*, 19 November, 2000 (Santiago, Chile), p. E24.

2 See A. Alonso, “Primeros recuerdos, primeros pasos en la danza”, originally issued in T.

Gutiérrez, *Alicia Alonso prima ballerina assoluta, imagen de una plenitud (testimonios y recuerdos de la artista)* (Barcelona: Edición Salvat, 1981), repr. in A. Alonso, *Diálogos con la danza*, ed. P. Simón (La Habana: Letras Cubanas, 1986), p. 13.

3 See Alonso, “Bailar ha sido mi vida”, p. E24.

4 See E. Denby, “Youth and Old Giselle”, in *New York Herald Tribune*, 24 October, 1945, repr. in E. Denby, *Looking at the Dance* (New York: Horizon Press, 1968), p. 167.

5 See W. Terry, “The Ballet Theatre”, in *New York Herald Tribune*, 15 April, 1955, repr. in W. Terry, *I Was There: Selected Dance Reviews and Articles, 1936–1976* (New York: Dekker, 1978), p. 295.

6 See A. Alonso, “Bailar ha sido mi vida”, p. E24.

7 Olivier Merlin's review (*Le Monde*, 1966) is quoted in the booklet *XLV Aniversario de Alicia Alonso en el personaje de Giselle* (Havana: Gran Teatro de la Habana, 1988), no pages.

8 A facsimile of Anton Dolin's letter, written in Montreal on 24 and 26 June 1967, is reproduced in *XLV Aniversario de Alicia Alonso en el personaje de Giselle*, no pages.

9 See A. Alonso, “El arte no tiene patria, pero el artista sí”, transcript of an interview by Raúl Rivero, in Alonso, *Diálogos con la danza*, p. 177.

10 Arnold Haskell is quoted by Pedro Simón in A. Alonso and P. Simón, “Fuentes y antecedentes de la escuela cubana de ballet” (Sources and antecedents of the Cuban School of ballet), transcript of a lecture offered by Simón and Alonso at the offices of the Union of Cuban Journalist on 10 November 1978, in Alonso, *Diálogos con la danza*, pp. 44–5.

11 See Alonso and Simón, “Fuentes y antecedentes de la escuela cubana de ballet”, p. 25.

12 See Alonso, “Bailar ha sido mi vida”, p. E24.

13 Alonso is quoted by Walter Terry in W. Terry, *Alicia and her Ballet Nacional de Cuba* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1981), pp. 34–5.

14 See the prologue to *XLV Aniversario de Alicia Alonso en el personaje de Giselle*, no pages. The author of the prologue is unknown. Its content was probably sanctioned by Alonso as director of the National Ballet of Cuba and the Havana Grand Theatre, which issued the publication.

15 The programme is reproduced in F. Rey Alfonso and P. Simón, *Alicia Alonso: Órbita de una Leyenda* (Madrid: SGAE, 1996), pp. 190–1.

16 See Alonso and Simón, “Fuentes y antecedentes de la escuela cubana de ballet”, p. 35.

17 Sociedad Pro-Arte Musical, founded in 1919 in Havana. Alonso received her first ballet classes in Pro-Arte’s studios. Later in her career, the Ballet Alicia Alonso appeared at the Auditorium Theatre as part of Pro-Arte’s series.

18 See Alonso and Simón, “Fuentes y antecedentes de la escuela cubana de ballet”, p. 55. Italics added.

19 See Alfonso and Simón, *Alicia Alonso: Órbita de una Leyenda*, pp. 135–4.

20 In 1978 and 1979, the company danced *Giselle*, *Coppélia*, *Grand pas de quatre* and *Les Sylphides*. The programme for these two initial tours also included pieces by Cuban choreographers, but their choreography did not receive positive criticism. For later visits the group therefore focused on its European repertory. Recent tours have featured the company in a production of *Cinderella* by Cuban-French choreographer Pedro Consuegra (1998), *Giselle* (1999), excerpts from *Don Quixote*, *Nutcracker*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Giselle*, *Coppélia* and *Swan Lake* (2001), *Don Quixote* (2003) and *Swan Lake*, Azari Plissetski’s *Canto Vital* and Antonio Gades’s *Blood Wedding* (2004).

24 European ballet in the age of ideologies

1 Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (New York: H. Liveright, 1928), p. 32.

2 Rudolf von Laban, *Modern Educational Dance* (London: Macdonald & Evans 1948), p. 5

3 Cf. Chapter 18 by Tim Scholl, “The ‘New’ ballet: Russian and Soviet dance in the twentieth

century” and chapter 17 by Erik Näslund, “The Ballets Suédois and its modernist concept” in this volume.

4 Cf. Chapter 9 by Inge Baxmann “The French Revolution and its spectacles” in this volume.

5 F. T. Marinetti, *Teoria e invenzione futurista*, ed. Luciano De Maria (Milan: Arnaldo Mondadori Editore, 1983), pp. 144–52. trans. Jonathan Steinberg.

6 Cf. Agrippina Vaganova, *Basic Principles of Classical Ballet*, trans. Anatak Chujoy (1953; New York: Dover Publications 1969); the book is still in print and widely used.

7 The Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo were founded in 1932, as a fusion of the Ballets de l’Opéra de Monte Carlo and the Ballet de l’Opéra Russe à Paris, with Colonel de Basil as director and René Blum as artistic director. The Ballets de Monte Carlo, founded by René Blum at Monte Carlo in 1936 were the result of a row between him and Colonel de Basil. Léonide Massine took over as artistic director in 1938 and the company’s name was changed to Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. In 1985 Les Ballets de Monte Carlo saw a brief revival. The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, a descendant of René Blum’s Ballets de Monte Carlo opened in 1938 and lasted into the 1950s.

8 Théophile Gautier, *Mademoiselle Maupin* (Paris: 1834), p. 22.

9 According to ballet critic Clement Crisp, the future is bleak: “We have stopped being a nation of ballet choreographers, we have stopped being a nation of interesting ballet-dancers, and we have stopped being a nation who go to ballet to enjoy ourselves.” Interview with Ismene Brown, *Dance Magazine* (December 2001). http://www.dance.co.uk/magazines/yr_01/dec01/ismene_b_int_clement_c.htm