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Longing for the Ideal: Images of Marie Taglioni in the Romantic Ballet

Edwin Binney, 3rd

MARIE TAGLIONI was certainly the most important dancer who ever lived. "Most important," however, does not mean "the best," since technique constantly develops and even yesterday's stars cannot compete with those of today. Attending a ballet performance at age sixty-eight, Taglioni herself commented to her companion: "We could not dance like that in my day."¹ More recently, Dame Margot Fonteyn commented that were she to apply to the Royal Ballet now, solely with the technique that she possessed at the time of her debut, she would not be accepted. What is meant by "most important" is "most influential."

Taglioni created a new image of the theatrical dancer. The early *danse sur les pointes*, the use of the tips of the toes for posing, had not progressed far beyond simple experimentation when she consecrated it as the most important, and obvious, of a *danseuse's* gifts. Since her time, no female ballet dancer can exist without flawless pointe work. Marie Taglioni's style and physical capability established the future standard for ballet.

Other dancers had toured before Taglioni, but not to the extent that she did. After nine years at the Paris Opéra, she traveled throughout the British Isles, the Germanies, and Italy, appeared in Stockholm and Warsaw, and was *première* in St. Petersburg for five seasons. The geographical extent of such a stellar career during the 1830s and 1840s, and the influence it signifies, is comparable only to the travels of Anna Pavlova during the early part of the twentieth century.

¹ Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in England* (London: Phoenix House, Ltd., 1954), p. 130.

The Romantic Ballet, a movement in the history of the dance that paralleled Romanticism in all of the other arts, carried the stamp of Taglioni's unique gifts and personality. Significantly, she is the contemporary of Delacroix and Victor Hugo, of Musset and Chopin. And she is almost the only female to belong in that company. The cult of the ballerina, which she nurtured and legitimized, lasted for many decades after the end of her career, a vitiating influence on the course of the ballet. It was more than sixty years before the advent of the Diaghilev seasons in Paris and the presence of a *danseur* of the quality of Nijinsky brought about a new balance between the sexes and reestablished male dancing, which had been eclipsed by the Taglioni mystique.

Ultimately, what would place Marie Taglioni's art apart from that of her contemporaries was its unique spiritual quality. According to André Levinson, "Classical dance had been a pleasant exercise to witness; henceforth it would explain the soul; ballet had been an amusement, it became a mystery."² Charles de Boigne in his *Petits mystères de l'Opéra* (1857) speaks of Taglioni causing a revolution: "The reason is that Marie Taglioni was more than a dancer, the most perfect that ever appeared on the boards of the Opéra, she was *dance* itself" (p. 43). Perhaps Théophile Gautier, critic and librettist, sums it up best: "She is the priestess of the chaste art; she prays with her legs."³

ON THE DATING OF THE PRINTS

One fascinating way to survey Taglioni's remarkable life and career is through the iconography.⁴ Establishing an exact chronology for the hundreds of prints is exceedingly difficult, even more difficult than gathering precise performance data. A playbill shows a performer's presence on a particular stage in a particular work; the only problem is to locate a complete run of playbills. But the pictorial depiction of a performer in a role from a ballet may bear little relationship to the

² André Levinson, *Marie Taglioni* (Paris: Félix Alean, 1929), p. 23.

³ Quoted by Pierre Véron in *Le Monde illustré*, 7 January 1882.

⁴ This paper was written as the catalogue to an exhibition drawn from the Harvard Theatre Collection and the Binney collection. The catalogue, which is more extensive, includes a checklist of the prints and objects in the exhibition and reproduces twelve prints. It is available from the Harvard Theatre Collection.

actual performance of the work. And for the portraits that do not suggest any ballet at all, the dating of specific prints is extremely hazardous. For example, the major British depiction of Taglioni as "la hayadère" by Chalon and Lane, which bears no date, has previously been incorrectly dated, since it seems to be related to another, dated lithograph. Datings in fact exist in fewer than 25 percent of the examples.

But helpful indications do exist. Periodicals are dated. If a print from a specific newspaper or magazine does not contain the exact date, finding the print within the series establishes the date. (Of course, hundreds of hours may have been expended on often futile searching to identify the periodical.)

Another method is almost as valid. Taglioni danced in *la Fille du Danube* in Vienna in 1839, but not in 1840. There are several Austrian souvenirs of her in that role. It seems logical, if not certain, that they should be dated 1839, rather than the next season. Examples of this practice of issuing souvenir prints exist from all cities where she appeared in one work during a single season.

But in Paris she appeared in *la Sylphide* during eight different years. A print depicting her in that role does not necessarily presuppose publication during one of those eight years, let alone in a specific year. Many of the undated French prints have now been exactly identified by date for the first time in the present catalogue! At the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the Cabinet des Estampes, is the *registre* of the Dépôt légal. During this period, and up to the present day, publishers were legally required to "register" their prints. Thus, under the date of "le 13 juillet 1829," plates 651-657 from the Martinet *Petite galerie dramatique* were presented for inspection at the Cabinet des Estampes. Number 652 shows Taglioni as "la naïade" in *la Belle au bois dormant*. So 13 July is the proper date, not 27 April, date of the premiere. This method of verification is particularly important for the French portraits that suggest no role and no ballet.

In addition, a single copy of a print may exist that was originally provided to the censor to demonstrate conformity of that edition to certain legal norms. Often, those lithographs of operatic or dance interest were transferred to the library and museum of the Opéra by the Bibliothèque Nationale late in the nineteenth century. There they remain for the enlightenment of those who trouble to decipher the elegant handwriting on them.

THE APPRENTICESHIP

Nineteen-eighty-four is the centennial of Taglioni's death. She was born 180 years ago to an Italian dancer-ballet master and a Swedish mother. At a time when Mme de Staël had just written of the Literatures of the North and the Literatures of the South, Marie combined the best of both heritages. "La pale sylphide du Nord," as she was labeled in Paris, could still lay claim to the passionate Latin background of her paternal forbears. Her father, Philippe Taglioni, was the son of Torinese ballet dancers. Marie's mother, Sophie Karsten, was the daughter of Christoffer Karsten, Sweden's greatest singer, and a Polish-born mother who was herself a leading actress and singer.

The greatest single influence on Taglioni's professional life was her father. While the young Marie and her brother Paul were being educated and were taking ballet classes from Coulon in Paris, the itinerant Philippe performed all over Europe and choreographed ballets when they were needed. The news of Marie's dance progress, described in letters from Sophie Taglioni to her husband in Vienna, suggested to Philippe the possible success of a debut there. However, when she arrived in the Austrian capital, Philippe realized that she was not adequately prepared.

Immediately, he placed his daughter on a strenuous schedule under his own tutelage, including two classes a day, each three hours long. When she collapsed from the physical exertion, she was allowed to rest only long enough to regain strength to begin again. This strict program continued until the debut and beyond. Philippe became the center of her world; he was not only parent, but also teacher, choreographer, and business manager. The pattern of her career was set even before her debut.

Taglioni's debut took place at the Court Theatre in Vienna on 10 June 1822. Her father prepared a special new work to celebrate the event, *la Réception d'une jeune nymphe à la cour de Terpsichore*. Unlike the other leading dancers of the Romantic Ballet, she was already eighteen at her debut. There is no immediate iconographic commemoration of her first performance, only a laudatory article in the *Theaterzeitung* of the powerful Adolf Bauerle (1786-1859). The charming lithograph showing a very young Taglioni in heeled slippers, holding



Marie Taglioni and Antonio Guerra in P'Ombre

Marie Taglioni and Antonio Guerra in *P'Ombre*. London, 1840.

a garland, although dated much later, suggests the debut ballet almost as if it had been prepared especially for the occasion.

During the next two and a half years, she appeared regularly in works of the Vienna repertoire, those choreographed by her father, as well as those of the resident ballet masters or guest performers. While she slowly gained professional finish, she had fine opportunities for watching older, more experienced *danseuses* who specialized in the *danse sur les pointes*. This rarified technique, previously used only for its acrobatic surprise, was soon to become her hallmark and to carry her individual stamp. Amalia Brugnoli (fl. 1820–1840) appeared in her husband Paolo Samengo's *Die Fee und der Ritter* on 31 December 1823. In the print published shortly thereafter, Brugnoli's arabesque is supported by her partner, Jean Rozier. It is the first illustration of such a balletic pose. Taglioni's comments in her journal on Brugnoli's *genre nouveau* are revelatory: "She performed extraordinary things on the tip of her toes . . . [which] I did not find graceful, as, to elevate herself onto them, she was obliged to make huge efforts with her arms." When her own talents were ready to surpass Brugnoli's, Taglioni would not need the visible "pinwheeling of the arms" to *relever sur les pointes*. Hidden, trained strength would accomplish the feat without visible stress.

Elisa Vaque-Moulin was another early exponent of pointe work. She also appeared in Vienna during the seasons of Taglioni's professional novitiate. Elsewhere, the technical "trick" also was being tested, as is documented by two prints dated 1821. In London, Fanny Bias from the Paris Opéra stands in "high fifth" in Didelot's *Flore et Zéphire*, a ballet which Taglioni soon made her own. Similarly, Angelica Saint-Romain is pictured in a strong arabesque, probably in a French print. In Paris Geneviève Gosselin also experimented with dancing on pointe before her untimely death in 1818. And in Russia, Charles Didelot (1767–1836) had prepared his favorite pupil, Avdot'ia Ilinichna Istomina (1799–1848) for the leading role in *Flore*, for which, Alexander Pushkin as well as one of her colleagues recorded, she used pointe work.

After Vienna, the Taglioni family, now with the addition of Marie's younger brother Paul (1808–1884), danced in Munich and particularly in Stuttgart. There they were the nucleus of a small group of principal dancers who performed their own repertoire for three years.

Two series of "Remembrances" (*Erinnerungen*) commemorate the first two of these seasons. Examples in the Harvard Theatre Collection appear to be the only ones in America. In the 1826 series, Marie performs with Anton Stuhlmüller in *Zemire und Azor* (25 October 1825). She also appears in a shawl dance with her brother in *Der Abend eines Rajahs* (4 November 1825) and with Stuhlmüller, Louise Pierson, and Paul in *Schwerdt und Lanze* (8 January 1826).

The second group of the Stuttgart *Erinnerungen* shows the *Ballet der Jahrmakkt* which she performed with Turchetto, the *grottesco* of the troupe. Most popular, with two separate lithographs, was *Jocko der brasilianische Affe* (12 March 1826), whose heroine Danina's name was most often used as title. Taglioni appeared in only one of the lithographs. She is also seen in a Viennese example from that ballet, performed in the Austrian capital on 10 August 1826. A sheet of tiny depictions of dancers from various Vienna ballets, too, includes her in that role. Most important of the prints from this period is the first formal portrait of Taglioni. It was prepared by the otherwise unknown T. Lauter and is dated August 1827. At that time, the Taglionis were in Paris where Marie's six debut performances (23 July–10 August 1827) resulted in a three-year contract and paved the way for stardom.

PARIS

During her early years at the Paris Opéra, Taglioni continued the search for a permanent repertoire. The first year, with a modest salary and the simple title of *remplaçante*, she performed no important new ballets. One major portrait, however, remains from this otherwise barren period. The register of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale dates it 5 November 1828. The likeness is a half-length lithograph by Pierre-Roch Vigneron (1789–1872) from his own design, showing her with a complicated coiffure and dress. It is the only French portrait from the *ancien régime* rather than the period of the Orléanist monarchy. This first Paris memento, like many of the later ones, occasioned numerous progeny from other publishers, of the same size or in reduced, sometimes reversed, variants. This Vigneron portrait reappeared immediately in Paris, published by a different firm. An identical variant was published only shortly thereafter in London. Reduced, it is seen again as a London

fashion plate. It also was used on sheet music covers, both English and American. Finally, it appears as a souvenir of Taglioni's Berlin visit in 1832. The complicated search for iconographic variants has begun!

More significant for Taglioni's professional career was finding two important dances to start a permanent repertoire. In the ballet *la Belle au bois dormant* (27 April 1829), she appeared in the role of a naiad. She is shown in that costume in the series of plates *La Petite galerie dramatique*, by the Maison Hautecoeur-Martinet, a series comprised of about thirty or more similar engravings published every year since 1796. (Taglioni's naiad is no. 652.) Before leaving the Opéra in 1837, she would be similarly featured eight more times.

Two months later the Martinet gallery published a second Taglioni engraving, the *Tyrolienne* from *Guillaume Tell*. Her Swiss dance in Rossini's final opera (3 August 1829) remained a part of her performing repertoire throughout her career. The pose from the Martinet print was used for many sheet music covers, again both British and American.

The year 1830 was a turning point for Taglioni. She went to London for what became the first of fifteen seasons. Then before the year was out, she appeared in Paris as leading dancer in her first important role in a complete work, the hybrid *le Dieu et la bayadère* (libretto by Eugène Scribe, music of Auber). Her role of Zoloé, the Indian temple dancer, was both mimed and danced. The other performers sang their roles. The Martinet plate appeared shortly after the premiere (13 October 1830). Other depictions of her in the same role followed until 1877 when the final likeness during her lifetime of her in costume appeared.

Meanwhile Paris had rebelled against Charles X in the "Three Glorious Days" (28-30 July 1830). Under the new king, Louis-Philippe, the Opéra ceased to be part of the royal household. It became a private enterprise, and Dr. Louis Véron (1798-1867), spurred by a large governmental subsidy, agreed to become director "at his own risk and peril." For Véron, the Opéra was a business, not a luxury. If popular stars, if new, more popular operas and ballets would fill his theatre, then he would offer both. Taglioni's first three-year contract ended in March 1831. The new one, for six years, negotiated by her father with the new director, established her as the major star in the Paris ballet firmament.

This primacy already had been heralded by the printing of new lithographed portraits. In January 1831 Jean Gigoux (1806–1894) greatly beautified his sitter. In April Pierre-Louis (known as Henri) Grevedon (1776–1860), whose wife was an actress and whose portraits of theatrical personalities were widely circulated, was overly brutal. His portrait of Taglioni was exhibited at the annual salon in Paris that year. Her *affronté* pose is unflattering and shows her looking dowdy. But this London-printed likeness, with its distinguishing “Miss Taglioni” as title, reappeared, not only in Paris, but also in Russia in the fall of 1837, and in Denmark in the summer of 1841. As her career advanced, so did iconographic recognition.

1831 AND THE CONQUEST OF LONDON

Taglioni's first London season had been cut short by the closing of the King's Theatre upon the death of George IV. Yet she had found at that time her first major role, that of Flore in a revival of Didelot's *Flore et Zéphire*. (The ballet had premiered on 7 July 1796 as *Zéphyr inconstant, puni et fixé*; revivals had appeared in 1812, 1814–15, and 1821.) She embodied the spirit of the goddess so well that the work was remounted in Paris after her return from England, along with *le Dieu et la bayadère* in which she again was featured as Zoloé. Then, she appeared for the first time in Paris in a full-length ballet. Her partner was a young *danseur*, Jules Perrot, with whom she was already appearing in *pas de deux* inserted into other works. Perrot would later choreograph several of her greatest successes.

Her return to London for a second series of performances at the King's Theatre for almost three and a half months (May to mid-August 1831) was triumphant. She not only performed a number of dances in her expanding repertoire but also found the perfect artist to memorialize her. This was Alfred-Edward Chalon (1780–1860), a Genevan by birth but already sufficiently British to have been named a Royal Academician. He had received his training in art at the Royal Academy and had been showing works at that institution's annual exhibitions since 1801. Ballet had always interested Chalon, and he had drawn numerous caricatures of dancers in works dating from 1821, 1826, and 1831.⁵ His discovery of Taglioni's artistry resulted in

⁵ Illustrated in Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in England*.

a series of sixteen lithographs dating from the summer of 1831 to 1845. Probably as many more uncatalogued preliminary watercolor sketches and other drawings are extant also. His *Flore*, as drawn on stone by Richard James Lane (1800–1872), became Taglioni's first major icon. (Lane was Chalon's favored lithographer, since the artist did not lithograph his own original designs.) The print was published in June 1831. Its popularity was such that variants, reductions, reversals, and adaptations (often with a different title) were to appear for the next thirty years. *Flore et Zéphire*, which opened the London season on 9 April, was followed quickly by the *Tyrolienne* three days later. The *Naiade* was danced for the first time there on 3 May, and *la Bayadère* by the end of the month (26 May). On 25 June Taglioni noted in her journal that Chalon brought "portraits" for her to see. On 14 July for the benefit of the theatre's manager, Laporte, Taglioni appeared for the first time in a *Pas Napolitain*. The composer Costa had played the music for her only four days before. Here was the repertoire that Chalon was to immortalize.

Taglioni returned to France in August, and, during her brief convalescence from illness, her father negotiated the new contract for her with Dr. Véron. During August, the first three of Chalon's *Six Sketches* were published: no. 1, *Flore*; no. 2, *la Tyrolienne*; and no. 4, *la Bayadère*. The next month, the remainder appeared: no. 5, *la Naiade*, without plate number; no. 3, *la Napolitaine*; and no. 6, with a facsimile signature, showing her in *révérence* after a performance. Thus, the first Taglioni album was finished; it appeared complete in its own slipcase shortly thereafter, with a laudatory poem in front of each lithograph. The volume was republished in Paris in French in October–November 1834.

The *Six Sketches of Mademoiselle Taglioni in the Characters in Which She Has Appeared During the Present Season* is not the only evidence of London's 1831 infatuation with the new star. The lithographer Maxim Gauci (1774–1854) prepared another variant of the Vigneron portrait, slightly shortened, which was published by Mori and Lavenu for *The Musical Gem*.

Another, even stranger, pirating of an earlier print was also published at this time. In 1824 Robert Cruikshank (1789–1856) had prepared a print showing the Green Room of the Opera House with the popular *danseuse* Maria Mercandotti and various "London fashionables." Now, in 1831, that print was altered to include Taglioni in her

"bayadère" costume in the center of it. The title, "Premières Danseuses and Their Admirers. The Green Room of the Opera House (King's Theatre) 1822" did not even resemble Cruikshank's. The scene was reversed and made slightly smaller. In addition to the new figure of Taglioni, those of the dancers Lise Noblet and Virginie Mullin were added also, taken from separate plates in the *British Theatrical Gallery* of 1822. If, as Goethe remarked, "same brings misquotation," it also brings mistitling of the depictions of important theatrical personalities. A variant of the new piracy shows the head of the *Flore* from the *Six Sketches* in the lower margin.

From this period dates the delightful and extensive group of watercolor sketches of Taglioni by the young Victoria that are now preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor. The little princess was passionately attracted to the ballet, and Marie Taglioni became her idol. She had a Taglioni doll, named her fastest horse after the dancer, and noted in her diary, "I dressed myself up as La Naïade, as Taglioni was dressed, with corals in my hair."

After 1831 the iconographic need to immortalize Taglioni in London subsided for several years. In September 1834, however, the young Bernard Mulrenin (1803–1868) designed and lithographed a rare likeness of her in her new, major role of "la sylphide." C. Hullmandel, who had printed the Chalon-Lane *Flore*, printed this one also. Its absence from Beaumont and Sitwell's important *Romantic Ballet in Lithographs of the Time*⁶ has somewhat limited its recognition.

A major Taglioni icon, the lithograph that she is reputed to have preferred above all other likenesses, by Chalon and Lane, portrayed her as "la bayadère." It is unusual in several respects. The print is large and — contrary to the British custom of dating large, elaborate lithographs — is undated. However, the print unquestionably is from the period 1834–1835, when, during both London seasons, she performed in *la Bayadère*. Earlier confusion about the date of the print may be attributed to the copying of the size of this popular Taglioni likeness by a neophyte artist to oblige Fanny Elssler, a so-called rival of Taglioni. In his catalogue of English dance prints, George Chaffee calls attention to the fact that a print of Elssler in *la Volière* by John Deffet Francis (1815–1901), as lithographed by Maxim Gauci, is the

⁶ Cyril Beaumont and Sacheverell Sitwell, *Romantic Ballet in Lithographs of the Time* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1938).

same size as the Taglioni *Bayadère*.⁷ Actually, *la Volière* was danced only in Paris in May 1838, but the London print is properly dated August 1838.⁸ Chaffee accurately called the Elssler print a "Coronation Souvenir," referring to Queen Victoria's accession, but it is incorrect to conclude, because of the identical formats, that Taglioni's *Bayadère* also is that late. The presence of a French variant of the Chalon work dateable to 16 December 1835 itself precludes later dating. Thus, Doffet Francis's 1838 print of Elssler is derivative of the Taglioni original, no doubt to enhance Elssler's reputation with the comparison. These two are the only prints in this larger format (53.3 x 36.2 cm.) among all ballet prints in the 1830s.

No less extraordinary is *The Original Taglioni*, published undated and without an artist's name. It is a far-removed *Bayadère* variant in which, costumed but partially covered by a fashionable top-coat, she struts in front of a pier glass. London, obviously moved by the performances of "the foreign" Marie Taglioni, had nonetheless made her its own. The conquest of 1831 was complete.

THE PERFECT ROLE

In the autumn of 1831, Taglioni returned to the Opéra. She performed once in *le Dieu et la bayadère* at the end of September, her only complete role, although she also danced the "Tyrolienne." She appeared ten times in October, but events off stage were more important than those performances. Dr. Véron's predecessor had accepted a new opera, *Robert le diable*, by the well-known librettist Eugène Scribe to a score by Giacomo Meyerbeer, who was as yet unheard of at the Opéra. This first joint venture of the two, along with three succeeding collaborative works, were all destined to be the cornerstones of the operatic repertoire in Paris for the next fifty years. Philippe Taglioni choreographed the incidental ballet in the new work, which, like all other evening-long operas, contained a ballet *divertissement*, usually in the second act. In addition, *Robert le diable* included another, unique, ballet episode. In the third act, the hero goes to find a magic charm which can only be obtained through the intercession of a band of dead nuns. Diabolically malevolent, the

⁷ George Chaffee, "The Romantic Ballet in London: 1821-1858," *Dance Index*, 2 (1943), 120-199.

⁸ *Ibid.*, item 55.

nuns, having forsaken their religious vows, can communicate with the forces of evil to obtain the needed talisman. Philippe also arranged this second ballet, danced in a ruined cloister by the *corps de ballet* of nuns. The dancing role of Helena, their abbess, was to be interpreted by his daughter, Marie. On 6 October 1831 rehearsals of this ballet began, with Marie rehearsing her new role for the first time on 31 October.

The premiere of *Robert le diable* took place on 21 November. It was almost catastrophic. The heroine, Mlle Julie Dorus, narrowly missed serious injury from a piece of scenery. A hanging scrim fell and might have crushed Taglioni, who was lying on the gravestone from which she was to come to life. But she saw it falling and leapt to safety. Then, at the end of the opera, the tenor Adolphe Nourrit disappeared down a trap door that had not been shut after its previous use. Nobody was hurt, and the work was a triumph (593 performances up to 1876). Either remembrance of a near fatal accident, disinclination to appear in the ballet of an opera, or the recurrence of foot trouble prejudiced Taglioni against her role. She danced it twice more before another *danseuse* became the Abbess Helena, to Meyerbeer's consternation. His letter complaining that the absence of the initial creators of the various roles might jeopardize the success of the new work is in the Harvard Theatre Collection. Taglioni, therefore, appeared three more times (9, 14, and 16 December) but not thereafter. For this reason, the Taglioni iconography does not include the cloister scene from *Robert le diable*, but there is one print exhibited in which her presence is implied, although not portrayed. She, indeed, had initiated the role which contributed to the triumph of Romanticism on the stage of the Opéra.

Although Taglioni was not pictured as Helena in *Robert*, she indeed was as Zoloé in *le Dieu et la bayadère*. The *Galérie théâtrale ou Collection de Portraits en pied des principaux acteurs des trois premiers théâtres de la Capitale* was a series of steel engravings by Chartier after drawings of Emile Wattier (1800–1868), each with several pages of text. The series had begun in 1812 and, when the number of prints was sufficient, they were brought together in parts and bound. The depiction of Taglioni as Zoloé appeared in the third volume, the plates of which are not numbered. Thus, her most important early role was engraved just before she found her greatest one.

With *Robert le diable* firmly established in the Opéra's repertoire (it

was given 32 times before the end of February 1832), Philippe Taglioni turned his attention to a libretto that Adolphe Nourrit, who played the title role in *Robert le diable*, had brought him during rehearsals in October. The tenor had read Charles Nodier's tale, *Tribby the Imp of Argyle* (originally published in 1822). The friendly male "familiar spirit" of the tale was changed to a sylphide, in love with a young Scotsman named James. His growing fascination with her causes him to leave his engagement party to follow her into the forest. They play together — she flying among the trees, he unable to follow her. His desire to keep her for himself alone motivates him to use a scarf upon which the wicked Madge has cast a spell. The fatal scarf will cause her wings to fall, and she will be his forever. The charm succeeds, but, as her wings fall, the sylphide dies. A despairing James sees his former fiancée Effie on the way to marry his brother, and the band of sylphides bears their dead leader away through the treetops.

No simpler presentation could be given of human longing to rise beyond the earthly and the mortal. The delicacy of *la danse sur les pointes* eloquently uplifted and idealized the sylphide into a "celestial" sphere that was hers alone. The acrobatics of the technique were muted. Inevitably, tragedy for the "terrestrial" James and his adored sylphide resulted from their misplaced love.

By 29 December 1831, Joseph Mazilier, the *premier danseur* of the Opéra, had begun to rehearse with Marie. The premiere of *la Sylphide*, 12 March 1832, was the apex of Taglioni's career. Ten years after her Viennese debut, Taglioni had finally found the perfect role. Henceforth, *la Sylphide* would be identified with Taglioni, now almost twenty-eight.

After ten enormously successful performances of the new ballet in six weeks, an outbreak of cholera closed the Opéra, and Dr. Véron gave three months leave to all his main singers and dancers. Taglioni used this extended vacation to perform a dozen times in Berlin, where her brother Paul had settled as leading dancer. He had married a local *danseuse*, Amalia Galster (1801–1881). *Le Dieu et la bayadère* and *la Sylphide* became family affairs, as Paul partnered his sister, and Amalia became either Néala or Effie, depending on the work.

While the Taglionis were enchanting Berliners, Paris was distributing prints of the new ballet. On 1 and 16 May the first four prints of the *Album de l'Opéra* were issued. Plate 1, by Eugène Buttura (1812–1852), shows the opening of *la Sylphide*, James sleeping in a

chair, with the sylphide at his feet. Probably contemporary with the *Album* is a scene showing the *salle* of the Opéra with James chasing the sylphide as she flies through the forest. By 19 June the Martinet Gallery published plate no. 729, showing Marie with the kneeling Mazilier. This engraving is crucial to ballet history, for it shows the exact shape of the white sylphide costume. A simple, belted, long tunic with very slight fullness in the skirt, it was the standard, basic female costume for dancers at this period. It was not a special creation of the artist Eugène Lami (1800–1890) who has often been credited with its invention, although he did design the Scottish costumes for the ballet.

Not to be outdone, Berlin also published a printed souvenir of the Taglioni visit. It was a reversed reduction of the Vigneron portrait of 1828 and was subtitled "Erste Tänzerin der grossen Oper zu Paris." German became the third language used in the Taglioni iconography.

As though one hugely successful ballet were not sufficient for the year, Philippe mounted a second: *Nathalie ou la laitière suisse*. Under its original title, *Das Schweizer Milchmädchen*, it had been produced first in Vienna in 1821 with Philippe himself dancing the role of the hero. He mounted it again in Vienna for himself and Louise Pierson in the summer of 1826 when the Stuttgart company moved to the Austrian capital. Philippe was apparently extremely fond of the work; a *Divertissement suisse* was mounted in Berlin in June 1832, which was amplified to become *la Ressemblance*, a one act ballet, in London in July. There were five performances at Covent Garden; then the work was restored to its original two acts at the Paris Opéra on 7 November 1832. The Taglioni iconography is enriched by two prints showing Marie in her new role of "la laitière suisse": a Martinet engraving on 6 March 1833 in Paris, and an identical fashion plate entitled "Newest Fashions for June, 1833" when the ballet appeared in its Opéra format at the King's Theatre (premiere, 9 May 1833).

Meanwhile, Paris celebrated its sylphide. On 4 February *Le Charivari*, a Paris theatrical daily, published a portrait signed by Julien (probably Bernard-Romain [1802–1871]). This artist already had portrayed Taglioni once, bust length, in the supplement of the newspaper *Le Voleur*, probably in 1828. Now, for *Le Charivari*, Julien designed the first portrait of a dancer to appear full-page in a Paris newspaper. The long fur boa is distinctive. Also from early in 1833, although dated 1832, is plate 3 of a series called *Les Artistes contemporaines*.

These were lithographs featuring bust length groups of six theatrical personalities each. Plate 1 depicted actresses; plate 2, actresses and opera singers. Plate 3 featured the *premières danseuses* of the Opéra, and Taglioni appeared at the top as number one of the six. Her depiction is related to the Grevedon portrait of 1831 but is even less flattering to her. Jacques Lanta (1807–1864), the artist, appears to be trying to contrast the plain Taglioni with those colleagues who were decided beauties.

At the end of 1833 there was still another Taglioni triumph — the premiere on 4 December of the three-act *Révolte au sérail*, with music of Théodore Labarre. The box-office receipts from its first ten performances were even higher than those of the already legendary *Robert le diable*. Seven separate Martinet costume plates attest its importance. Two of them show Taglioni, no. 833 from Act I and no. 838 from Act III, where, wielding a sword and wearing armor, she drilled an army of female warriors.

There was further pictorial acclaim when the Salon of 1834, held in the spring, exhibited two oil paintings of her. The first was a seated portrait with a *ferronnière* ornamenting her forehead by Agost-Elek (called Auguste) Canzi (1813–1866). The other presented the opening pose from *la Sylphide*, in which she kneels before the sleeping James (her brother Paul). Painted by Gabriel Lépaulle (1804–1886) and dedicated to Dr. Véron, it is now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, gift of the Taglioni heirs. The prints made from these oil paintings during 1835 are both shown: the Canzi portrait, lithographed by Charles François Mayer (d. 1849) and the mezzotint of the double portrait. This latter work occasioned reductions, both English and American, in which the title of the ballet appeared as *The Mountain Sylph*. Two British political caricatures make use of the same scene. In the first, the Duke of Wellington hovers behind the chair of James, while Daniel O'Connell, the great Catholic emancipator, kneels before him. In the other political caricature, O'Connell appears as the hero, Donald (the James of the original ballet). The new sylphide is Her August Majesty, Victoria Regina. In addition to the traditional orb and scepter, her attire includes a short ballet tutu as she stands in stately *arabesque* on full pointe on a cloud.

The iconography was now enriched by five identical variants of Grevedon's portrait of Taglioni (1831) with a tulle boa encircling her neck, and her repertoire was now even stronger with its four suc-

cessful works. In addition to the new roles in *Nathalie* and *la Révolte au sérail*, there were the two major, permanent works, *la Bayadère* and *la Sylphide*. Both of the latter were rendered by Chalon and lithographed by Lane. Their *Bayadère* which is supposed to have been her favorite likeness of herself, we have noted before. Their *Sylphide*, dated 1 January 1836, shows her floating in a cloud over a rose bush. Still another *Sylphide* was published in Paris, just before, on 16 December 1835. It actually is the Chalon-Lane *Bayadère* with a new title from the now more popular *la Sylphide*. Taglioni was truly the avatar of her most successful role.

But all was not eulogy! Thackeray's "tribute" to Taglioni was a caustic series of eight caricatures, *Flore et Zéphyr, Ballet Mythologique par Théophile Wagstaff*, of which we show three and the title page. We may be "amused," but the ballerina, like Queen Victoria, could not have been. These lithographs by the great British novelist appeared on 1 March 1836, exactly two months after the Chalon-Lane *Sylphide*.

The reputation of her successful ballets was so strong that even several disasters could be quickly forgotten. In March 1834 London witnessed *Sire Huon ou le Cor enchanté*. First mounted for Marie's benefit performance that season, it was performed only twice. A similar Paris benefit saw *Brésilia (or Brézilia) ou la Tribu des femmes* (8 April 1835). Five performances finished that run. Philippe, however, mounted it again in London, as *Mazila* (29 June). Three further British performances were enough. There was, however, no gap in Marie's performing. A *Sylphide*, a *Bayadère*, or a *Révolte* could always balance the unsuccessful ballets and fill the opera house.

Only one event could now halt Taglioni's career — pregnancy. She had married Comte Alfred Gilbert de Voisins (1800–1863) at St. Pancras Church, London, on 14 July 1832. His mistreatment of her included desertion for a six-month visit to his brother in Constantinople. A short reconciliation in the spring of 1835 did not necessarily lead to the pregnancy; the paternity of neither of Taglioni's children could bear scrutiny. Her *mal au genou* was soon to become the usual circumlocution among dancers for pregnancy. Her last performance was in *la Sylphide* on 19 October 1835. On 30 March 1836 a daughter was born, Eugénie-Marie-Édwigé. While the other *première danseuse* of the Opéra, Fanny Elssler (1810–1884), was initiating her major role — the Spanish dancer Florinde who dances the cachucha in *le Diable boiteux* (1 June 1836) — Taglioni continued her convalescence and prepared to resume her career.

La Sylphide, both the ballet and its personification, reappeared on 10 August. "Elle a repris tous ses moyens," wrote her father. Six weeks later was the premiere of the last ballet she created at the Opéra, *la Fille du Danube* (21 September 1836), the first ballet score for Paris by Adolphe Adam (1803–1856), future composer of *Giselle*. A major critic explained that Taglioni, having already accomplished the conquest of the air, now had done the same for the waters. Fewer than five weeks later, as the ballet neared its tenth performance, two Martinet plates appeared. Alophe pictured her enveloped in a long cape, and the well-known Gavarni (1804–1866) drew two designs for a series of costume plates similar to the Martinet *Petite galerie dramatique: le Musée de costumes*.

During her last months at the Opéra, Marie Taglioni appeared in the whole of her repertoire, playing "la naïade" (27 March 1837) and "la Napolitaine" (14 April), as well as performing in the longer works. Her farewell benefit performance took place on 22 April 1837 and finished at midnight on the day of her thirty-third birthday. Of her fifteen-year career, nine had been spent at the Opéra. Only ten more years remained. The audience at her benefit saw Act I of *la Bayadère* as well as a complete *Sylphide*. In addition, in the *Bal de Gustave*, the popular divertissement by her father in the Scribe-Auber opera *Gustave III ou le Bal masqué* (premiered in 1833), she performed a *chasse de Diane* to music specially composed by Auber. Her brother Paul and his wife, who had come from Berlin for the benefit, danced the *Pas styrien* which they had performed several times at the Opéra earlier. The enormous sum of 36,970 francs was realized. Formerly, Taglioni had been but a French *danseuse* who performed occasionally in London or Berlin as well as at the Opéra. She would now be a peripatetic international star.

Paris had already been provided with a special souvenir of the departing ballerina. Jean-Auguste Barre (1811–1896) had previously made a statuette of Fanny Elssler's *cachucha*. Now, in the spring of 1837, a sequel to it, Taglioni in *la Sylphide*, was prepared in both *biscuit* and bronze. The perfect role now was captured in tangible form. From it, Achille Devéria (1800–1857) drew a second example. His lithograph, like the Barre statuette, shows her barefooted, in a *grand jeté devant* between rose bushes. The aerial flight, which was impossible to Barre's medium, was shown in Devéria's. The perfect role had found its perfect icon.

INTERNATIONAL STAR I

Immediately after Taglioni's benefit and farewell, Paris became aware of its loss. *L'Artiste*, the art newspaper-magazine, published Alophe's print of the Barre statuette. Janet-Lange used Devéria's adaptation of the same statuette to show Taglioni's *grand jeté* between the rose bushes, but with her hands clasped down. This was used for sheet music covers, as well as separately. Most important was a lovely portrait by Zéphirin Belliard (b. 1798). It was lithographed for inclusion in his *Célébrités contemporaines lithographiées par Maurin et Belliard*. The separately issued prints, Taglioni's dated from 2 June 1837, later appeared together in one volume (1842). Only four women were included among the many notable men: Marie-Amélie, queen of the French; her daughter, the queen of the Belgians; Madame Adélaïde, and Taglioni. The "queen of the Opéra" appeared in a very select company! Most important is the likeness. The pursed mouth, the domed forehead, the sloping shoulders are all very prominent in this exceptionally life-like portrait. A reduced variant of it, published by Soetens and Son at The Hague, apparently is the only Dutch print of Taglioni.

When the Taglioni family left Paris, they proceeded to Rouen for three performances and then to London for a full season at Drury Lane. The family was to receive £150 per performance from Alfred Bunn, the director, and a series of *Sylphides* and *Bayadères* continued throughout May and June. When Bunn stopped paying them, they stopped dancing in London and performed briefly in Liverpool and Manchester. This London season witnessed the publication of a tiny illustrated album of flute solos: *Six Gems de Ballet*. The collection is extremely rare; there is apparently not even a copy in the British Library. Family members appear in five of the lithographs, Marie in only four of them. One is a *Bayadère* shawl dance which was adapted later as a sheet music cover. There is a *Flore* variant titled *la Sylphide*, plus two lovely *pas de deux* with Paul. The first *pas de deux*, in which they appear on a terrace with a Greek temple on a hill in the background, is not recorded elsewhere. The second, a *pas de deux* from *la Sylphide*, is one of the most beautiful souvenirs of that ballet. It served as prototype for several British sheet music covers, including one for the series "Beauties of the Ballet." (It was no. 3 in that group, and a variant of Taglioni's shawl dance was no. 2.) The print of the Taglioni

pas de deux ended its career in Vienna mistitled as Fanny Cerrito and Gustavo Carcy!

Further evidence of London's fascination with the dancer is the Taglioni Windsor Coach, a new public conveyance that narrowed the travel time between London and Windsor to two hours and was named in honor of her lightness of foot. A lithograph of the coach, complete with the figure of the *Chalon Flore* in the middle of the title, was first published on 10 September 1837. By that time, Marie had passed through Berlin, danced at Potsdam at the particular request of the king of Prussia, and was in St. Petersburg preparing for the first of her Russian seasons. The contract for appearances there had been signed late the previous February, and its conditions were princely. Fifty performances in the season were to include two benefits for herself and a third for her father. Since her single farewell benefit performance in Paris had brought her more than her total salary for her first three years at the Opéra, the financial prospect of the Russian seasons becomes clear.

Taglioni's first appearance at the Bolshoi Theatre in the capital of All the Russias took place on 6/18 September 1837.⁹ Parmenia Migel writes that 3,000 prints of Taglioni were distributed in response to her immense success.¹⁰ Migel wonders what happened to them; we also may wonder where they came from. Soloviev, the earliest biographer of Marie Taglioni in the twentieth century (1912), lists a variant of the Grevedon portrait (1831) titled in Russian and dated 1837 (his iconography no. 57). I have never seen it. But a known Russian print is exhibited here, a variant of the Belliard portrait with slight changes in the top of her bodice. Above her portrait is the notation, *Revue étrangère*. Although this portrait looks like other French portrait lithographs of the period, the *Revue étrangère de la littérature, des théâtres, et des arts* in fact was a St. Petersburg periodical.

From September until Christmas, Taglioni danced *la Sylphide* eight times, *la Bayadère* six, and *la Révolte au sérail* and *Robert le diable* five times each. All these works had previously been performed in St. Petersburg by other dancers, so the dances were already known. Now the original creator of each role presented it herself. For her

⁹ There were twelve days difference between the Gregorian calendar and the Russo-Julian calendar.

¹⁰ Parmenia Migel, *Great Ballet Prints of the Romantic Era* (New York: Dover, 1981), p. 103.

first benefit performance (20 December/1 January), she presented *la Fille du Danube* in its Russian premiere; total receipts were more than 25,000 roubles. It turned out to be the most popular ballet of the first St. Petersburg season, with eighteen performances. Its greatest souvenir, the finest of the Russian prints of Taglioni, unfortunately, is not in the present exhibition. Neither is it in any American or Western European collection known to me. When it was published in Beaumont and Sitwell, it was copied from a Russian book (their no. 3, plate no. 4); Cyril Beaumont had never seen it either. But, we do have others published elsewhere at roughly the same time. On 8 October 1837 Paris issued a very curious three-quarter length portrait, with a closed fan held down in her left hand. It was drawn by Firmin Salabert, a pupil of Ingres, who had just portrayed Fanny Elssler, both alone and with her sister Therese. The beginning of the new year witnessed French variants of the Chalon-Lanc *Bayadère* and *Flore* (titled *la Sylphide*). In February an even more curious variant was published, reflecting news of Taglioni's supposed loss of strength and premature aging. Based on the Devéria adaptation of the Barre statuette, the portrait now showed her face somewhat fuller and softened; the roses at her feet have lost their bloom as well, and their leaves have fallen from the bushes. Chaffee's French catalogue suggests that the print was a souvenir of her Paris farewell in 1844.¹¹ The register of the Dépôt légal at the Bibliothèque Nationale establishes an exact dating, 6 February 1838.

While Paris celebrated its absent sylphide, St. Petersburg saw her second benefit of this first season. A new ballet, *Miranda ou la Naufrage* was danced for the first of only four performances. But 29,000 roubles were added to swelling coffers, and the royal family presented her with a floral branch of turquoises and diamonds in the form of forget-me-nots. Included in *Miranda* was the *chasse de Diane* which she had performed at her Paris farewell. The ballet was later presented in London during the summer for a few more performances, then faded away.

Taglioni's last Russian appearance of the season was 13/25 February 1838 in the apartments of the empress at the royal palace. She danced the cachucha, not once, but twice, in response to the thunderous

¹¹ George Chaffee, "Three or Four Graces: A Centenary Salvo," *Dance Index*, 3 (1944), 136-211.

Mad. M^{lle} Taglioni & Sig.^r Paul Taglioni.



Pas de deux. La Sylphide.

Marie Taglioni and Paul Taglioni in the pas de deux from *la Sylphide*.
London, [1837?].

applause. (She had first presented it at the third performance of *Miranda* for her father's benefit 31 January/12 February.) The empress, who watched Taglioni's preparations in her dressing room, removed a diamond and turquoise bracelet from her own wrist to place on that of the *danseuse*. Choreographing and performing such a character dance, as the balleticized national dances were called, brought Philippe and Marie into direct competition with Fanny Elssler. However, their interest in these dances continued. On the trip back to the West, during a period of five performances in Warsaw, Taglioni learned an authentic Polish mazurka and had a national costume made in Cracow.

Stopping in Vienna, Marie signed a contract to perform there the following year and met the director of Milan's La Scala. She continued on to Paris, attended a benefit performance for Fanny Elssler at the Opéra, and went on to London for a season at Her Majesty's Theatre at the time of Queen Victoria's coronation. Taglioni's first performance was a *pas de deux* with Antonio Guerra in the opera *Parisina*. It was labeled the *pas des diamants* because of the quantity of Russian jewels she wore on stage. She danced her newly learned mazurka (Fanny Elssler reputedly saw it!) and presented *Miranda* for her London benefit. The new ballet lasted an even shorter time than it had in St. Petersburg. Of iconographic importance this summer was the Paris publication of a portrait in the series *Galérie de la Presse* (29 May 1838). It appeared again when the series was reissued in one volume in January 1839. Like the Belliard lithograph the previous year, it is an excellent likeness.

At the end of her first Russian season Taglioni had signed a contract for four additional seasons. The terms were a basic salary of 40,000 roubles, plus 1,000 more each time she performed; two benefits for her and another for her father; and two new ballets to be mounted each season. The 1837-1838 season had featured *la Fille du Danube*; now 1838-1839 started with fourteen performances of *la Sylphide*. The new ballets of the season were dramatic opposites: the three-act *la Gitana* (23 November/5 December 1838), introduced for her first benefit, was to become her second major vehicle. The other new ballet, *la Créole*, was a fiasco and received only two performances. It contained one bonus, however, a real Russian dance that was later inserted into *la Gitana*. There appear to have been no new Russian prints this year.

Such was not the case during the two months in Vienna. There, on the same stage where she had begun her career almost seventeen years earlier, she commanded 2,500 francs per performance, a previously unheard-of sum, and prints poured from the Austrian presses. *La Gitana* was too new, so the Viennese saw *la Fille du Danube* (her first performance 2 April 1839) and *la Sylphide*. Four days later, the *Theaterzeitung* issued as *Costume Bild* no. 67, *Marie Taglioni als Sylphide*. It was, however, the *Chalon l'ore*, reversed, with many changes. Next was a fine portrait by Josef Kriehuber (1800–1876). The likeness suggests a calculating businesswoman. There were also two different prints showing *la Fille du Danube*. The one exhibited is almost identical to that published in Paris shortly after the original French premiere of the ballet three years before. A Viennese playbill for a performance of the same ballet also is exhibited. The finest of the Viennese gallery is the *Sylphide* in a low *attitude devant* by Johann Nepomuk Geiger (1805–1880). Indeed, it is the finest likeness of Taglioni published in the German-speaking world. When she ended her Viennese performances for 1839 with forty-two curtain calls, the horses were unhitched from her carriage, to be replaced by adoring male fans.

Next was London, which included the mounting of *la Gitana* in a reduced version. On the day of her London opening at Her Majesty's Theatre (1 June 1839), the first Italian print of Taglioni was issued in Naples, a city where she was never to perform. *Poliorama pittoresco*, a Neapolitan weekly newspaper that had begun publication in August 1836, now began to issue a supplement every other week. It was called *La Moda* and was to include a lithograph of some celebrity in each issue. The first celebrity to be so honored was Marie Taglioni. Her likeness was taken from a print by Julien which had first been published in 1828. Italian recognition had been slow in coming, but it was now to increase rapidly.

THE SECOND GREAT ROLE

La Gitana, introduced in St. Petersburg (23 November/5 December 1838), was soon to become Taglioni's second most important ballet; it was performed fifty-nine times during the last four Russian seasons. In London it premiered 6 June 1839 and was repeated during that

year and in 1839, 1840, and 1841. Later seasons as well included the production, although not always with Taglioni. *La Gitana* also became the major work of the spring season of 1841 at La Scala. The iconography of this important role is exceeded in variety and richness only by that of "la sylphide."

The three acts of the ballet are more complex than the two acts of the earlier work. In a prologue seven-year-old Lauretta, daughter of a Spanish duke, is learning a dance to perform at her mother's birthday party. She is abducted by the leader of a band of gypsies. Ten years later at a fair in Nizhnii-Novgorod, the heroine dances a mazurka, then accepts the bouquet thrown to her by the governor's son Ivan. When the governor threatens to arrest the leader of the gypsies, he escapes and takes with him the gypsy girl. In Act II Ivan, who has followed the trail of his beloved (scene 1) back to Catalonia, finds the camp (scene 2) where Lauretta performs a gypsy dance. She and Ivan acknowledge their love, and he agrees to join the gypsy band. Act III, scene 1, returns to the Andalusia of the prologue. Lauretta finally remembers her past and is recognized by her parents. A ballroom with a fancy-dress ball (Act III, scene 2) features the dance that the child Lauretta was to have performed so many years before. The lovers are reunited. The whole is an excellent framework for unlimited, varied national dances and a wide range of dramatic situations.

Fanny Elssler had originally laid claim to supremacy in character dancing in *le Diable boiteux* (1836) with its cachucha. Her voluptuous flaunting of the pelvis in a pseudo-Spanish style had made history. Now, almost two and a half years later, Marie Taglioni in *la Gitana* was to accept the Elssler challenge. Her physical range of movement might not include the abandon of the younger Viennese, but her more muted style was pleasing, and she was technically well-trained for the task. Furthermore, she was too sensible to compete directly! Taglioni was a *dansense* who could act; Elssler, an actress who was a very good dancer. Elssler's *la Gypsy*, in three acts, with its famous cracovienne, had opened at the Opéra on 29 January 1839, seven weeks after Taglioni's Russian *Gitana*. Now London became the scene of the first part of the campaign. Elssler's *Gypsy* premiered there on 25 July, once again only seven weeks after Taglioni's. Regardless of personal preferences for the Taglioni or the Elssler ballet, in one respect *la Gitana* was infinitely more important than *la Gypsy*. That was in the field of performance souvenirs.

In July the first of two companion prints by Bouvier was published, the *Mazurka* danced at the fair in Nizhnii-Novgorod. The second, the Spanish *Gipsy Dance* of Act II, scene 2, shows in the background the bridge over the ravine that Lauretta had crossed while she dreamed of Ivan. This second print is undated but cannot be much later than the first. W. Kohler printed both, and Thomas McLean published them. (Elssler, however, did have a kind of revenge. The depiction of Taglioni in the first of these Bouvier prints was pirated, the face unchanged, as an American sheet music cover for Elssler's *New Smolenska* published in Philadelphia.)

Immediately, *la Gitana* provided subjects for sheet music covers. The mazurka at the fair of Nizhnii-Novgorod appeared as no. 13 of the series *Beauties of the Ballet*. It is one of the very few prints of Taglioni where she is labeled "Madame." There is no possibility of the reference being to her sister-in-law, Amalia, instead, for Amalia never performed the role in London.

A very loose adaptation of the second of the Bouvier prints, the *Gipsy Dance*, soon became the prototype for a large number of other sheet music covers. There were at least five separate ones, including the only printed souvenir of Taglioni from Portugal. The bridge remains in the background, but the ravine it spans now features a lone pine tree appearing through the mist of the waterfall. In the original this waterfall was fully visible. Now, it is partially obscured by the dancing figure of "la gitana." The original Lauretta posed in *pointe tendue croisée derrière*. Instead, the sheet music covers show her moving forward in her dance. Two of these were in the exhibition — an English one for *La Gitana (The New Cachoucha)* by C. W. Glover and an American one, *La Mazurka Danced in la Gitana* by the same Glover, lithographed by Nathaniel Currier (1813–1888). Later American music was to feature the same pose titled "Taglioni and Elssler's Dances," with Elssler's head substituted for Taglioni's and the waterfall much higher.

To complicate matters further, the title *La Gitana (The New Cachoucha)* was also used for a completely different scene in a garden with the jets of a playing fountain in the rear. The complex scene, with many subsidiary figures, is framed by an elaborate fan-shape with detailed scroll borders. It exists in both English and American variants and lists Taglioni's "Grand Ballet *la Gitana* at Her Majesty's Theatre—The Courts of Paris & St. Petersburg." Other American

versions give the name of Elssler with the same subtitling, but she had yet to appear in Russia.

All was not adaptation. The original Bouvier print of the *Gipsey Dance* was used by W. & H. Cave in Manchester for a horizontal print of which I know only the present "proof" copy. It is a rarity—only one of two non-London prints from the British Isles. Manchester saw *la Gitana* just after the London season in 1839. The exhibition included the playbill of one of the early London performances, 11 June 1839, and one from the Theatre Royal, Manchester, 22 July 1839.

The third Russian season in St. Petersburg witnessed additional performances of *la Gitana* and the two new ballets required by Taglioni's contract. *L'Ombre*, in three acts and seven scenes (22 November/4 December 1839), was a great success; *l'Ecumeur de mer* (28 January/9 February 1840), a pirate story, to a score by Adolphe Adam who came especially to St. Petersburg in October to write and rehearse it, less so. *La Gitana* was, of course, now a permanent part of the Taglioni repertoire. It was performed several times in Vienna during the spring of 1840, and Bouvier's two prints from the previous July now found Austrian variants. The *Mazurka* was reduced in size; the *Gipsey Dance*, lithographed by Blau, appeared in two different versions. But before Taglioni had even left Russia for the West, London again had produced a major icon of the ballet. In February 1840 a lithograph appeared "Dedicated by permission to Her Royal Highness the Princess Augusta of Cambridge" by Emma Soyer, then only twenty-six. Madame Soyer (1813–1842), as Elizabeth Emma Jones, had begun her career in portraiture by exhibiting at the Royal Academy at age ten. As prolific as she was precocious, she painted several hundred portraits during her brief lifetime. The original painting of her Taglioni *Gitana* is in a private collection in London. The lithograph from it was drawn on stone by Richard James Lane, Chalon's favorite lithographer. This makes the third important print from the same ballet; others were to appear shortly.

A London season of fourteen performances included both *la Gitana* and *l'Ombre*, the St. Petersburg success of the previous winter. Its premiere at Her Majesty's Theatre (18 June 1840) occasioned another great Taglioni icon, even before a Russian souvenir of the ballet appeared. Taglioni stands in arabesque on a rose bush. No wonder her partner Antonio Guerra stands in awe.

La Gitana occasioned not one, but two, London prints in the 1840

season, although they are not as well known as the Bouvier pair of the preceding year. Neither appears in the Beaumont and Sitwell lists; one of them was not even included in Chaffee's catalogue of English ballet prints. Edwin Dalton Smith (b. 1800) prepared the designs, and Weld Taylor lithographed them, the date of issue being 12 June 1840. The Taglioni prints which are pendants are exhibited together here for the first time.

But all was not *la Gitana*. A London "penny plain, twopence coloured"—*Mark's Miniature Portraits*—had included *la Sylphide* in September 1839, and it was in that favorite ballet that Taglioni reappeared in Paris for two of her four French performances between 17 and 26 July 1840. She also danced *le Dieu et la bayadère*. These two works were already in the Opéra repertoire as was *la Fille du Danube*, Act II, in which she appeared for her final benefit performance. On these same occasions she also danced in the *pas de trois* from *l'Ombre* twice and, once, at the benefit, in the Spanish dance from *la Gitana*, for which new music was prepared by Auber.

Three French prints attest to these four performances in Paris. On 9 September a very small scene from the *Bayadère* showed her with the tenor-hero who was called "l'inconnu." He is singing: "Je t'offense . . . Eh bien par amitié." Heretofore, the print has been assigned to earlier performances. The suggestion that the tenor must be Adolphe Nourrit is negated by the dating on the copy of the print in the library of the Opéra. Nourrit left the Opéra in 1837; therefore, the singer must be Alexis Dupont. Later in September there was a depiction of Taglioni as "la Sylphide," full of convoluted lines and fussy ribbons, which is not included here. The separate issue of her as "la sylphide," which had been published the previous year, appeared in *La Galerie des artistes dramatiques* in book form in 1841.

Close in time to these securely dated examples is a lovely sheet music cover to "Les Contemporains—Quatre Quadrilles par N. Louis." Four costumed *danseuses* are shown in the central rectangle of the horizontal picture. And four first names appear in the four corners: Marie, Nathalie, Pauline, Fanny. Taglioni, FitzJames, Leroux, and Elssler may have been implied, but it is Marie Taglioni who appears both as "la sylphide" and, again, as Nathalie in the ballet of that name.

While these Paris souvenirs were appearing, the ballerina was back in Russia for her fourth season and two new ballets. The first was *le*

Lac des fées in four acts, adapted from Auber's opera of the same name at the suggestion of Tsar Nicholas I (27 December/9 January 1840/1). It was not the same work as a ballet of the exact same title which was premiered in London on 14 May 1840 starring Fanny Cerrito. Taglioni's second new St. Petersburg ballet of this season was *Aglaé ou l'Élève de l'amour* (10/22 January 1841) which was to be mounted in London later (8 July 1841). No Russian prints are dateable to this period.

Returning west in the early spring of 1841, Taglioni danced in Warsaw but not in Vienna. The major stopping place for the spring season *Primavera* was La Scala in Milan, queen of the Italian opera houses. Taglioni could not perform *la Sylphide* there, because Cerrito had starred in that work twenty-seven times during the previous *Carnevale* (27 January 1841); Roberto Focosi had featured the Neapolitan *danseuse* in a lithograph showing her with a nest of birds from the second act. Instead, Taglioni's eight Milanese performances were in *la Gitana* (premiere, 18 May 1841), and Focosi prepared a pendant lithograph to his *Silfide* depicting Cerrito. Pompeo Cambiasi, historian of La Scala, labeled Taglioni's performances *ottimo*.¹² The same term must also be applied to the Focosi lithograph. It is the most exciting of the six major prints that present Taglioni as "la Gitana."

INTERNATIONAL STAR II

Taglioni's journey to St. Petersburg for the fifth and final Russian season differed from her previous trips. When she went through Hamburg this time, she met Paul and Amalia with Anton Stuhl-müller, her Stuttgart partner of fifteen years earlier. Together, they traveled overland to Kiel where she boarded a ship for Copenhagen. At about the same time *Portefeuillen*, a Danish periodical, published a portrait of her "after Grevedon," lithographed by Emil Bærentzen (1799–1868). Like its 1831 original, it bore the inscription "Miss Taglioni."

The next stop, however, was more important. Although she had been born in Stockholm, Sweden, she had left it shortly afterward and had never returned. Now she was to dance there for the first time — thirteen performances from late August to late September. In

¹² *La Scala, 1778–1906* (Milan: G. Ricordi; New York: Boosey [1906]), p. 378.

addition, her daughter, called Nini, age six, was to be baptized. On hand was her Polish-born maternal grandmother, Marie Karsten (née Marjanna Zofja Stębnowska or Stępkowska, 1753–1848), the only grandparent Taglioni ever knew. The lithographic publishers in Sweden, as excited as the audiences by her presence, produced at least eight Stockholm prints of Taglioni, all variants of three non-Swedish lithographs. Krichuber's Viennese portrait of 1839 appears in four different versions. In all of them, her face is purposely softened. The native artist Johan Cardon (1802–1878) adapted the 1838 portrait by Alophe from the *Galérie de la Presse*, and J. S. Salmson who had lithographed the Krichuber variant did the same for the *Deveria Sylphide* after the Barre statuette. At least he listed his *ritratt* as "after Deveria." He also added ballet shoes to her feet.

More interesting is a series of five watercolors of performances at the Royal Opera by a courtier, Erik Ruuth (1816–1842). They depict Taglioni's Stockholm repertoire. On 18 September she danced, and Ruuth recorded, *le Lac des fées*, the success of the fourth St. Petersburg season. Two days later, it was *Robert av Normandie (Robert le diable)*. Twice on 24 September Ruuth recorded *la Sylphide*, first showing Taglioni's grandmother in the wings with that lady's daughter and great-granddaughter Nini. The elderly woman could not see well enough from the auditorium but was able to enjoy everything seated, with a rug at her feet, backstage. The second *Sylphide* drawing presents Taglioni with her "perfect partner," the Swedish Christian Johansson (1817–1903) whom she took with her to Russia for her final season. He remained there as *premier danseur* and later became an important teacher in the Imperial Russian Ballet School. The last watercolor by Ruuth shows Taglioni in *la Gitana*. What a pity that this scarcely known group was never lithographed. The originals are in the Drottningholm Theatre Museum in Sweden.

On the morning of her departure for St. Petersburg, she danced a benefit performance whose proceeds were for the poor. She left Stockholm surrounded by an adoring throng, some of them on their knees blessing her. Two years later, the Royal Swedish Porcelain Factory at Gustavsberg issued a platter illustrated with a caricature showing "Taglioni's Rented Carriage," pulled by tumultuous fans watched over by a malevolent witch. The dancer, in her carriage, examines a Punch-and-Judy booth through binoculars. This object, signed and dated by Fredsberg at the factory, 1843, is so rare that the museum at the Gustavsberg Works did not even know of its existence.

In St. Petersburg, the two new ballets of the final season were *Daya ou les Portugais aux Indes* (25 December/6 January 1841/2) and *Herta* (in Russian *Gerta*) *la Reine des elfrides* (26 January/7 February 1842). The first was a critical failure, despite the compliment of an imperial gift of a *Sévigné* in turquoises and diamonds worth 10,000 roubles. At the benefit for the premiere of *Herta*, Marie was presented diamond and opal earrings and Philippe a diamond and emerald ring. She danced with Johansson in both ballets as well as with Gredeluc and Holtz (Gol'ts), her previous partners. The Russian dancers, Andreianova, Smirnova, and Shleifokht, performed lesser roles with her; Russian dancers had learned from Taglioni's previous visits.

The final St. Petersburg performances were at last the occasion of dated Russian prints of Taglioni. For the *Teatral'nyi Album* (Spb., 1842), Vasili Fedorovich Timm (1820–1895) prepared two lithographs. The first shows *l'Ombre*, the great success of the third season. In Timm's souvenir, her bust-length portrait appears at the top, surrounded by eight scenes from the ballet. The second print features the same treatment for *le Lac des fées*, the important ballet of the previous season. *Daya* is remembered not at all; and *Herta*, only by a sketch for one of Taglioni's costumes. The drawing is now in the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library. Other very rare Russian prints — her lower leg and her foot on pointe appearing from clouds above a poem in Russian with the French question, "Pourquoi chausser une aile?" and Russian peasants struggling to remain in line at the box office where tickets for her performances are being sold — could have been published at this time or during any of the four previous seasons.

There is also a Russian series of five drawings by Petr Vasil'evich Basin (1793–1877) which were formerly in the collection of the ballerina Vera Trefilova but their present location is now unknown. These drawings depict scenes from *la Sylphide* (three), *la Fille du Danube*, and *la Gitana* (one each). They were all published by André Levinson in his *Meister des Ballets*.¹³ Would that they too had become lithographs.

The Russian seasons ended with twenty-two curtain calls at the final performance of *Herta* and again at the palace with the Spanish dance from that ballet. A fur *palatine* of marten and Yakutsk sable

¹³ André Levinson, *Meister des Ballets* (Potsdam: Muller, 1923).

exactly like that of the empress was a fitting going-away present for Taglioni, who left to continue her conquest of Italy.

It was probably at this time that the only Spanish-language print of Taglioni appeared. It was in the *Correo de Ultramar*, a Spanish-language periodical published in Paris by Bertauts, which appeared in 1841 and continued until the 1880s. Portraits of Carlotta Grisi, recently famous as the creator of *Giselle*, and Taglioni appeared in its *Galeria de Contemporáneos*. The Imprimerie Bertauts had originally published the Janet-Lange version of *la Sylphide* with her hands clasped down. When they prepared the portrait of Taglioni for the Spanish-speaking world, they simply removed the wings and made her figure three-quarter length.

Meanwhile, London, which was not to see Taglioni again until the summer of 1845, published other souvenirs. A seated portrait with a dog in her lap appeared first on 1 January 1842. Edwin D. Smith, who had prepared the pair of *Gitana* lithographs in 1840, designed this one also. It was to be used again as the prototype for an Italian variant published in Rome for the *Carnevale* season of 1846. It was then signed V. Roscioni.

Earlier, a curious London periodical had begun the first year of a three-year run. *The Exquisite* was subtitled "A Collection of Tales, Histories, and Essays . . . Interspersed with Anecdotes . . . Illustrated with numerous engravings, Published weekly." An "engraving," provided with each weekly issue, was to be affixed by the reader to a specially prepared space on the first page. Variants of prints showing most of the important *danseuses* of the previous London season were the subjects of the first thirty-six issues. Taglioni was shown nine times. Her primacy was established, if only by the number of her depictions. To open issue no. 20, she stands on her rose bush perch in *l'Ombre*, but without her partner, Guerra. Issue no. 36 presented a *Flore* variant titled *la Sylphide*. Since the exact date of the first issue is not known, the later ones also cannot be dated precisely. These two, however, must have appeared in 1842 or early in 1843.

Having arrived in Italy, Taglioni was dancing again in *la Gitana* at La Scala (2 June 1842). This year's eight performances again were labeled *ottimo*. A Milanese sheet music cover, titled in German *Huldigung der Sympathie Walzer*, and published by Gio. Canti u. C. shows the figures of both of the larger Focosi lithographs — Cerrito in *la Sylphide* and Taglioni in *la Gitana*. Each is reversed. A small statuette

of Taglioni in the same role may belong to this season or to the previous one. It is so truly anonymous that even its nationality is in doubt. However, I did purchase it in Italy and cannot recognize it as either specifically English or French.

After *la Ninfa Isea* (or *Igea*) (18 June 1842) with an *ottimo* at La Scala but only three performances, Taglioni performed four times in late August in Vicenza at the Teatro Eretanio, and, in October, at Padua. She appeared for the major autumn season at the Teatro Communitalivo, Bologna. Partnered by Cesare Coppini, she performed eleven times, in *la Gitana* and *la Figlia del Danubio* as well as in the *chasse de Diane* now called *la caccia di Diana* and at least in parts of *Herta*. Bologna, unlike much smaller Padua or Vicenza, was able to support the publication of lithographs. Focosi's *Gitana* was published again without his name. The lovely three-quarter length pose drawn from life by A. Frulli was an original depiction of her role in *la Figlia del Danubio* and featured a laudatory quatrain.

Next was a return to La Scala for a third season, *Carnevale-Quaresma* 1843, which began on 26 December 1842. Taglioni only performed in *pas de deux* with François (Francesco) Merante, although Fanny Cerrito was accorded two leading roles that met with success. Philippe Taglioni's ballet *la Péri*, mounted for Marie on 27 February 1843, was poorly received and accorded only a single performance; it received a comment of *pessimo* from Cambiasi. Perhaps Taglioni's hurt feelings were somewhat assuaged by a commemorative medal by Luigi Costa that was struck at the time. And elsewhere, probably in Austria, a magnificent charcoal portrait was drawn by an otherwise unknown Andreas Fleissner who fortunately dated his likeness of *la diva*.

The remainder of 1843 was taken up with the arrival of a second child, Georges-Philippe-Marie, in Munich on 5 October. (The previously accepted date of 1842 is incorrect.) The boy was nicknamed Yuri. He was baptized on 19 October and was "recognized" by Taglioni's long-absent husband Alfred Comte Gilbert de Voisins, on condition of a "séparation de corps et de biens." (This was made final by the Tribunal Civil de la Seine the following August.) Thus, Taglioni's son bore the title of a man who could not possibly have been his father.

The international career of Marie Taglioni certainly was not over yet. Several North Italian cities were later to be visited, and Paris

and London beckoned again. But the last three years of her performing life must be considered together.

APOTHEOSIS

While Taglioni was spending Holy Week of 1844 in Paris, almost four years after her last performance at the Opéra, the sixth print of a London series of lithographs, *The Star of the Ballet*, was issued on 18 March. Although entitled *Mazurka*, it showed her in a modified *Sylphide* costume, reclining on a bed of clouds. In May she signed a contract with Léon Pillet, the director of the Opéra, for six performances the next month. On 24 May, at the Opéra, she saw Carlotta Grisi in a successful *la Péri*. One week later, Taglioni appeared in ballets already in the Opéra repertoire. *La Sylphide*, with Lucien Petipa partnering her as James, was performed on 1, 14, and 24 June. Also on the first of June the supreme icon of the Romantic Ballet — *les Trois Grâces* — was published.

The search for, and discussion of, this major print was the *raison d'être* for Chaffee's French catalogue, *Three or Four Graces*.¹⁴ By actually finding and editing a copy of this extremely rare print, Chaffee was able to negate all the previous hearsay information written about it. It was not English; it was not by Chalon. It was French. Its title was not, therefore, "The Three Graces," and it was published on 1 June 1844, the work of an otherwise-unknown artist named Lejeune. (Chaffee suggested the probability of an Eugène Lejeune.)

The lithograph presents together three of the greatest ballerinas of the time: Taglioni as "la sylphide," embodying the past; Fanny Elssler in the cachucha as the present; and Carlotta Grisi in the *pas de Diane* from *la jolie fille de Gand*, the future. (Before publication, a barbarous "Miss Ceritto" was printed under the figure of Grisi.) Lejeune presented the poses of the first two *dansesuses* from those of the Barre statuettes with very slight modifications. The third figure was invented to balance them.

Taglioni's six farewell performances at the Opéra, including one *Dieu et la bayadère* (5 June) and one *Fille du Danube* (9 June) passed quickly. For her benefit, she presented Act II of *la Sylphide*, parts of *la Bayadère*, and the *pas de Diane*, which was soon immortalized in a

¹⁴ Chaffee, "Three or Four Graces."



Les Trois Grâces. Paris & London, 1844.

statuette by Ambroise René Maréchal (1818–1847), now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. She also appeared in two *pas* from the St. Petersburg *l'Ombre*.

These performances, however revelatory and exciting, still were ephemeral, but *Les Trois Grâces* and the other prints connected with these farewell appearances remain. Chaffee listed German, Italian, and American variants of the great icon. Of the three American examples the one by Nathaniel Currier has been frequently reproduced. The other two, reversals of the original French lithograph, bear the names of Napoleon Sarony and J. Baillie, both in New York. These are now properly labelled *The Three Graces*. There is also a depiction on a London sheet music cover, never before exhibited or published, more simply titled *The Graces*.

Since Taglioni's Opéra performances in 1840, two important newspapers illustrated with many woodcuts had been founded. On 14 May 1842 the *Illustrated London News* appeared for the first time. In Paris, *L'Illustration* began on 4 March 1843. Each was to include prints showing Taglioni during the last three years of her career as well as other *premières danseuses*. Finally, securely and completely dated prints cease to be the exception. (The [London] *Pictorial Times*, which began on 18 March 1843, never included a depiction of Taglioni.)

The Paris prints directly attributable to the farewell appearances number one dozen. There were two in *L'Illustration*, and several souvenir albums included Taglioni. Typical was *Les Souvenirs de l'Opéra* in which she was drawn by Léon Loire (1821–1898) as "la sylphide" but in a new costume. At her farewell benefit, she had danced the *pas des fleurs* from *l'Ombre* wearing a flower-strewn dress which turned up in Loire's print.

A similarly garlanded dress, shown in the appropriate ballet, appeared in plate 16 of Challamel's *Album de l'Opéra*. Taglioni is presented by Achille Devéria lying on a bed of greenery. This depiction was so successful that it was immediately used for sheet music covers. Of the four made by Janet-Lange, we show *La Rêveuse*, a *valse sentimentale* from the *Album Strauss*, dedicated to Prince Maximilian of Bavaria.

Another similar album was *Les Annales de l'Opéra*. Eugène Guérard (1821–1866) designed the lithographs which were printed by E. Desmaisons. A curious-looking Taglioni, as a strange *Bayadère*, is number seven of the group. It appeared on 20 August 1844. Taglioni was

already in Blevio on the shores of Lake Como in a small villa she had purchased. It was to become a haven from the rigors of her professional life. She left Italy for short seasons in Lyons (early September) and Brussels at the Théâtre de la Monnaie (20 September–2 October) — two cities in which she had never appeared before. Then back to Blevio and a correspondence about the possibility of an American tour. It is possible that these negotiations stimulated the American variants of *Les Trois Grâces*.

The remainder of 1844 saw the publication in parts of the most handsome “keepsake-album” of the period. *Les Beautés de l'Opéra* did not appear in volume until the next year, but the first *livraison*, Théophile Gautier's article on his own ballet *Giselle*, dated from 1 June 1844. On the first of each succeeding month, another section of the complete work was published. Jules Janin's article on Taglioni in *la Sylphide* first appeared on 1 December 1844, an important milestone in the twenty-five year career of the sylphide personified. Each of the nine *livraisons* of *Les Beautés*, as well as the English language version, Heath's *Beauties of the Opera and Ballet*, which uses the same plates and vignettes, opens with an engraved three-quarter length portrait of the protagonist of the work discussed. Taglioni's was designed by Vincent Vidal (1811–1887) and was engraved by W. H. Mote. It is one of her most frequently seen depictions. In addition, the margins around the text are filled with vignettes showing scenes from the opera or the ballet. Those of *la Sylphide* are among the most charming.

The year 1845 was climactic in Marie Taglioni's career. The winter and spring were spent at the Teatro Reggio in Turin, the Teatro Grande in Trieste, and La Fenice in Venice. The repertoire is the same but now is billed as *la Silfide*, *la Caccia di Diana*, *il Passo dell'Ombra*, along with *l'Allieva d'Amore*, which, as *Aglæ*, had been premiered in London in July 1841. Francesco Merante was her partner. While in Venice, she purchased the adjoining Giustiniani and Branniello *palazzi*, which would soon become her winter home.

After a June spent at Blevio, Taglioni returned to London for the first time in four years. The ballet master at Her Majesty's Theatre, Jules Perrot, was still performing as well as choreographing ballets. He had already mounted works for and partnered Carlotta Grisi, Fanny Cerrito, Fanny Elssler, and, for the first time this season, Lucile Grahn. Perrot had been Taglioni's original partner in the Paris revival of *Flore et Zéphire* (1831) and *la Révolte au sérail* (1833). He well

understood her abilities and was an infinitely finer, more inventive choreographer than her father.

First there was a performance of *la Sylphide* (10 July) with Perrot himself as James. He abridged the ballet slightly, keeping all of the familiar dance sections but making it less taxing for her. Then his new work was performed.

Since the early 1840s in London, there had been a growing interest in having ballet stars appear together. Fanny Elssler *en travesti* danced with Adèle Dumilâtre in *un Bal sous Louis XIV* in 1843. That same year, at the command of Queen Victoria, Cerrito and Elssler performed a *pas de deux* together. Now with the simultaneous presence in London of four *premières danseuses* and the genius of Perrot, ballet history was made. The *Pas de Quatre* (premiere, 12 July 1845) presented Taglioni, Cerrito, Grisi, and Grahm in a single *divertissement*. Primacy, of course, was accorded to the peerless Taglioni, as the eldest, the most experienced — without rival. A full-page woodcut in the *Illustrated London News* of 5 July heralded her return, showing her *Sylphide* from *Les Beautés de l'Opéra*. A variant of it, printed on satin, no doubt was used as souvenir of a testimonial dinner.

In the *Pas de Quatre*, Perrot's choreographic genius gave each dancer material that satisfied her, and each shone in her own specialty. Queen Victoria attended the third performance, and on the day of the fourth and final performance of 1845 (19 July), the *Illustrated London News* issued the earliest souvenir pose of the *Grand Pas*. Taglioni appears *en plié* in front of the others.

Shortly thereafter the *Pictorial Times* reported: "Her Majesty's Theatre Saturday last concluded the engagement of Taglioni who is understood to retire from the stage." This was not so. Having just appeared in a new ballet by Perrot, *Diane et Endymion*, which provided a frame for her *chasse de Diane*, she "retired" into an extended tour that took her to Birmingham, Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, and Manchester. London also was kept aware of her presence. On 8 September the authoritative icon of the *Pas de Quatre* appeared, designed by Chalon and lithographed by Thomas Maguire (1821–1895). This pose was to be used by both Keith Lester and Anton Dolin for their recreations of the stellar *divertissement* in ballets of 1936 and 1941. The two poses were not considered sufficient. Brandard, the prolific designer-lithographer of sheet music covers, presented still another, both as an easel print and as a music cover. Taglioni now

kneels in front, with Cerrito standing *sur les pointes* in a position similar to Taglioni's in the Chalon lithograph.

Concurrently with the Chalon-Maguire *Pas de Quatre*, Chalon issued a tribute to Taglioni alone. On 8 September 1845 (although dated 15 September) appeared *La Sylphide: Souvenir d'adieu de Marie Taglioni*. It is a series of six prints from Chalon's designs, lithographed by five different printmakers. The favorite, Lane, was responsible for the first and sixth. Maguire, who must have been busy with the *Pas de Quatre* did the fifth. Edward Morton, J. S. Templeton, and J. H. Lynch drew the others. *La Sylphide* was never presented more beautifully.

Carnevale 1846, was spent at the Teatro di Apollo in Rome. (We have already noted the souvenir lithograph of this season, a variant of the seated portrait by Edwin D. Smith, with the dog in her lap, which was originally dated 1842.) The Lenten season was again at La Scala and again, a failure; an Italian *Ombra* lasted one performance (again *pessimo*, notes Cambiasi). Even Taglioni's mounting of the *Pas de Quatre* with herself, Carolina Rosati, Sofia Fuoco, and Carolina Vente, although appreciated, was given only once. Spring was spent with the whole family at Blevio, where the new home was blessed by the local curate on 14 May, then, back to London again in a repertoire that featured *la Sylphide* and *la Gitana*.

The enormous success of the *Pas de Quatre* the previous summer suggested another galaxy of stars. Therefore, in Perrot's new ballet *le Jugement de Pâris* (23 July 1846), there was the *pas des déesses*. Carlotta Grisi was performing at Drury Lane, but the other three dancers were sufficient for Paris, by Arthur Saint Léon, to make his choice. The apple was, however, accorded to Juno (Taglioni), rather than to Venus (Cerrito). The new *divertissement* was as popular as the *grand pas* of 1845. On 1 August the *Illustrated London News* showed the new work in a fine woodcut. The choreographer Perrot appears also in the role of Mercury.

Other signs of success followed. As a testimonial for Taglioni, a silver statuette was subscribed and commissioned from the sculptor Edmund Cotterill, who had been exhibiting groups of animals and other subjects at the Royal Academy since 1822. A pose showing both protagonists from the ballet *Diane et Endymion* was chosen. Her fawn and his dog were no doubt added by the sculptor; they certainly had not appeared on the stage! Within eleven days the new ballet and

the testimonial statuette were both depicted. On 8 September Jules Bouvier's finest ballet print was published: the *Pas des déesses*. On 11 September a woodcut of the statuette was printed in the *Illustrated London News*.

Inclusion of a Taglioni lithograph in the French souvenir album *Les Gloires de l'Opéra* the following month seems almost anticlimactic. Plate no. 8, lithographed by Haguental, presented her *en arabesque* atop the rose bush from her Russian success, *l'Ombre*. For a second time, Guerra, her partner in the performances and on the original lithograph, is absent. Also in 1846, a Danish edition of *Les Beautés de l'Opéra, Operaen og Balleten*, was published. Spending the winter in her Venetian *palazzi*, Taglioni certainly was not aware of this continued Scandinavian interest in her career.

However, 1847 was the end of the apotheosis! Paris and London had immortalized their *danseuse* suitably. She returned to the British capital too late in the season to take part in Perrot's new spectacular, *les Éléments* (26 June 1847). Her repertoire consisted of "the perfect role" from *la Sylphide*, and the two most recent *divertissements* from the *Pas de Quatre* and *le Jugement de Pâris*. In each of these, Carolina Rosati replaced the absent Grahn. The 1845 work, *Pas de Quatre*, was performed only twice, on 17 and 20 July. Taglioni's last *Sylphide* took place on 7 August. Finally, on 21 August 1847, Marie Taglioni danced on the stage for the last time. The ballet was *le Jugement de Pâris*. After the *pas des déesses*, the "Goddess of the Romantic Ballet" retired. She was forty-three; her career had lasted twenty-five years. Although she ceased to perform, the world of ballet would hear again from Marie Taglioni in her thirty-seven remaining years.

AFTERWARDS

Suddenly, for the first time in more than twenty years, the ballet legend, with its iconographic component, and the private life of Marie Taglioni bore no relation to each other. While a flood of different prints poured from New York presses, perhaps to celebrate an American tour that was never to take place, Marie herself continued the life begun in the last several years: summers in the villa on Lake Como, winters in the two Venetian *palazzi*. While Sarony and Baillie prepared the versions of *les Trois Grâces* discussed above, Nathaniel Currier issued other variants of the Chalon *Flore* retitled *La Sylphide*

and the Chalon *Bayadère*. There were three of the latter, one dated 1847, another signed by Napoleon Sarony.

America was not the only source of prints. In 1848 a Munich version of the *Illustrated London News* woodcut showing the *Pas de Quatre* appeared. It was a music cover for *Terpsichore — Unterhaltende Tonstücke für das Pianoforte*. Another, stranger, variant was one of the Chalon-Maguire prints from the same *divertissement*. It was published the same year in Vienna: *Le Quatuor dansé [sic] à Londres*. There followed the names of the four *danseuses*. Vienna, however, was chauvinistic and parochial. Why celebrate the Danish Grahn, whom nobody knew in Austria, when their own Fanny Elssler was famous? So the Viennese ballerina replaced Grahn at least once in the London *Grand Pas*, if only in a version printed in her home city.

The fame of the *Pas de Quatre* took precedence over everything else. In 1856 Denmark published a *Recueil de compositions de salon pour le piano* with the same Chalon-Maguire pose at the top. More than two years before, New York had seen the depiction from the *Illustrated London News* grouping which Munich had used previously. It had appeared on the sheet music of "Horace Waters' New Years Gift for 1854." The designer of the print, E. Brown, Jr., had drawn that pose in 1845, at the time of the original ballet, but it was not published until December 1853. A simple sheet music cover like *La Couronne des roses* for which there is no previous original is the rarity. It appeared sometime between 1847 and 1851.

Meanwhile, Taglioni herself remained in retirement. Her grandmother Karsten died in 1848. Her niece and namesake, Paul's daughter, appeared in a revival of *la Sylphide* in London in 1851, with James Sylvain, Marie's previous partner in Dublin. The next year her daughter Nini married Prince Trubetskoi; their daughter and four sons were all to be born in Blevio. It was a charming existence. But it did not last!

There has long been speculation about Taglioni's reasons for returning to Paris to continue in the ballet hierarchy. Her interest in the revival of *la Sylphide* (20 October 1858) and the debut of Emma Livry in it at the Opéra is the usual answer. That was certainly an important aspect of Taglioni's decision. She attended the seventh performance of the revival on 17 November. There was an instant personal rapport between the first sylphide and the new one, but even this relationship is not sufficient to explain fully her choice.

Paris and the ballet were to become once again the center of Taglioni's life for more than a decade. Perhaps financial considerations cannot be overlooked, but my personal opinion is that she was bored in retirement.

The first event in Taglioni's new career was a testimonial banquet given for her by Emma Livry and Carolina Rosati, the reigning star of the Opéra. It took place at the popular Paris restaurant, Trois Frères Provençaux. In the absence of the director of the Opéra, Alphonse Royer, who was ill, Dr. Véron presided. "Le tout Paris" of opera and ballet had been invited. More than fifty people attended: Rossini and the son of Schneitzhoeffter, composer of the score of *la Sylphide*, represented music; dancers were, of course, in the majority. After dinner, a specially prepared quadrille, designed by Joseph Mazilier, was danced. He partnered Taglioni. Now leading ballet master of the Opéra, he had been the original James in *la Sylphide*. Rosati appeared with Lucien Petipa, the James of Taglioni's 1844 Paris farewell. The other pairs were Cerrito and Louis Mérante, the current partner of Emma Livry; and Adeline Plunkett with Magloire Beauchet, a *premier danseur* during fourteen years at the Opéra. The print celebrating the dinner and the quadrille presents the Taglioni of the future. There is no ballet costume, but there is, indeed, ballet.

On 7 August 1859 Marie Taglioni was appointed *Inspectrice de la danse* at an annual salary of 3,000 francs. She was to be responsible for all the classes at the Conservatoire de la Danse and for judging its examinations each year. She also saw Livry's repertoire expand to include the leading role in the *divertissement* of Félicien David's opera *Herculanum* along with the regular performances of *la Sylphide*.

Taglioni then was named *Professeur de la classe de perfectionnement*, the advanced professional class at the Opéra, on 12 April 1860. She replaced Louis Gosselin who had just died. Her appointment was noted in a new portrait by E. Bayar (probably Emile-Antoine Bayard, 1837–1891) in *Le Journal illustré* that same month. From this woodcut comes a frequently seen steel engraving showing her with the right thumb and forefinger forming a circle at her chin. It was published by Baumgärtner's in Leipzig, part of a gallery of contemporary celebrities.

The two careers — those of the newest sylphide and the oldest — became even more closely intertwined when Taglioni choreographed her first ballet, the two act, four-scene, *le Papillon*, to a score by

Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880). He was already well-known as the composer of *Orphée aux enfers* (1858), the greatest of the *opéras-bouffes* of the Second Empire. Livry was also well-known. It was Taglioni who was now the debutante. *Le Papillon*, to a libretto of Henri de Saint-Georges, is the story of Parfalla, who is changed into a butterfly by a wicked fairy. After complicated episodes, she comes too close to a flaming torch, and her wings are burned. The spell is broken. A hugely successful premiere (26 November 1860) witnessed by the emperor further enhanced Livry's *taglionnesque* talent. The *Valse des rayons* was transformed from a photo into a lithograph. August Barre prepared his fourth in the select group of statuettes of *danseuses*.

The new status of Marie Taglioni is suggested by her depiction, in plate 1, of Alophc's *Danseuses de l'Opéra*. All of the female dancers were shown in important roles of their repertoires. Although Taglioni was no longer *une danseuse de l'Opéra*, she still appears among them in another variant of Chalon's *Flore* titled *Sylphide*. It was not nostalgia. She was even yet first among her peers, although her peers were now much younger.

The success of her first choreography suggested the possibility of a second effort. Late in October 1862 rehearsals began for a new ballet, *Zara*. The title role was to be danced by Emma Livry, who at the same time was preparing for the mimed role of Fenella in a planned revival of Auber's *Muette de Portici*. At a rehearsal for this revival, on 15 November 1862, her skirt caught fire, and she was fatally burned. She remained alive and in agony for many months, but death eventually came on 26 July 1863. Plans to include Amalia Ferraris in Livry's role in *Zara* did not prove feasible, and the whole project was shelved. Yet Taglioni did not return to the *dolce far niente* of Blevio and Venice. Her daughter's growing family remained there, but Taglioni stayed in Paris at the Opéra, until the French defeat at Sedan and the end of the Second Empire.

The nontheatrical Marie Taglioni is interesting to see. In the past, the simple portraits of her had appeared as regularly as those in the costumes of the various roles. Those portraits, nonetheless, still portrayed the reigning ballet star. Now the pictures of her in her sixties are simple *carte-de-visite* photographs. Her posture betrays the professional, but we do not see a dancer. She is a "former dancer." Her last professional appearance was attendance at the premiere of *Coppelia* on 25 May 1870.

The Franco-Prussian War changed Taglioni's life as drastically as it changed that of all France. For her, the 1860s belonged to Paris; the 1870s were London's. Taglioni opened a dancing school in Connaught Square, which specialized in ballroom dancing and lessons in deportment. The "select young ladies" included a young princess who was eventually to become Queen Mary, later Queen Mother and Queen Grandmother. Others included the mother and two aunts of Sacheverell Sitwell. He took the trouble to write to one of these relatives who was taught by Taglioni's daughter and who commented on Taglioni's participation in the classes.¹⁵ Taglioni was not present for the opening of the new (and present) Opéra in 1874, but she did see her portrait in one of the lunettes of the *foyer de la danse*. Painted by Gustave Boulanger (1824–1888), from the 1834 portrait published by Blaisot, it is fifteenth in the series of twenty *premières danseuses* from the founding of the Opéra in the late seventeenth century up to that time. Three years later she probably saw the last print showing her professionally that was published during her lifetime. The *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* of 31 March 1877 accompanied an article on "Famous Dancers," with a print showing the *Bayadère*. The artist who signed himself on stone "A.H.W." has much to answer for. His pandering to the then modern, popular taste, at least was not as bad as that of the artist of a *Pas de Quatre* depiction on a sheet music cover for *Faust up to Date* in 1892. A *danseuse* of the Romantic Ballet performing in top hat is an anomaly that almost excuses "A.H.W.'s" *Bayadère*.

By 1878, a photograph of Taglioni shows her to be an old woman. In the 1880s, she moved to the home of her son. He had been reported dead during the Franco-Prussian War but had been found alive in a prison camp by his sister. He was now the young father of still another Taglioni grandson (1877). Her last years were spent with him and his family in Marseille where she had once performed in 1829. In 1883, the year before her death, she sent an inscribed photograph to a friend, the dancer known as Maria. If not the last, it is one of the last of her many faces. Upon her death on 27 April 1884 Comtesse Gilbert de Voisins, *née* Marie Taglioni, was buried at Père-Lachaise in Paris in the family vault of the husband whose name her two children bore.

¹⁵ Beaumont and Sitwell, *Romantic Ballet*, pp. 97-99.

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