

A source study of two ballets and a divertissement by Marius Petipa

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Abstract

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The ballets of Marius Petipa (1818–1910) account for most of the nineteenth-century ballets that constitute the current global classical repertory. In this dissertation, I use a selection of sources to provide detailed descriptions of the music, choreography, pantomime, and action in early productions of two of Petipa’s original ballets, *La Bayadère* (1877, revived 1900) and *Raymonda* (1898), and the divertissement *Le jardin animé* from the ballet *Le Corsaire* (staged by Petipa in 1868, 1880, and 1899), all of which are part of this canon. These ballets today are usually presented in versions that have been handed down from artist to artist via oral transmission, the time-honored method of passing traditional work from one generation to the next. But because such productions inevitably bear the accumulated accretions and deletions from a century of changes in taste, technique, and aesthetics, much of the choreography, mime, and action created and staged by Petipa has been lost. Fortunately, sources survive that reveal much about Petipa’s stagings of these ballets. Among them are such documents as the choreographer’s preparatory

notes, instructions for composers, musical and choreographic scores, and mime scripts. These performance-related sources also offer insight into Petipa's creative process and reveal features that distinguish his work. Such features include his incorporation of Italian ballet technique into his French-based choreographic step vocabulary and his inclusion of a new type of narrative-based, multi-movement dance suite for which Petipa appropriated the old term *pas d'action*.

In addition to scene-by-scene descriptions, I offer a detailed introduction to the Stepanov choreographic notation system used to document Petipa's choreography, discussion of the genesis and broader context of the ballets, plot summaries, character sketches, music analysis, performance histories, and detailed descriptions of sources. I also contextualize certain elements of these ballets within Petipa's output, and I discuss several Western productions of *La Bayadère* and *Raymonda* that were staged in the early and mid-twentieth century either using some of these sources or retaining features found in them. Ultimately, a much clearer picture emerges than what has heretofore been known of these ballets in their earliest incarnations.

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Introduction

The ballets of Marius Petipa (1818–1910) account for most of the dozen or so nineteenth-century ballets that constitute the current global classical repertory. These include *Don Quixote* (1869), *La Bayadère* (1877), *Sleeping Beauty* (1890), *The Nutcracker* (1892, planned by Petipa but mostly choreographed by Lev Ivanov), and *Raymonda* (1898) as well as several revivals—*Le Corsaire* (first staged by Petipa in 1863), *Giselle* (first staged by Petipa in 1884), *Coppélia* (first staged by Petipa in 1884), and *Swan Lake* (1895, co-choreographed by Petipa and Ivanov)—and divertissements from *Paquita* (first staged by Petipa in 1847 and again in 1881). These ballets today are usually presented in versions that have been handed down from artist to artist via oral transmission, the time-honored method of passing traditional work from one generation to the next. But because such productions inevitably bear the accumulated accretions and deletions that survival in repertory demands of canonical works due to changes in taste, technique, and aesthetics, much of the choreography, mime, and action created and staged by Petipa has been lost. Nevertheless, Petipa continues to be credited as choreographer of most productions of his ballets. Moreover, significant artistic and political weight is placed on this attribution for it suggests that such productions represent, if only in part, the original or true versions of these ballets.

Fortunately, sources survive that reveal much about what the early stagings of Petipa's ballets were like, including their music, choreography, and mime conversations. Among them are such documents as the choreographer's preparatory notes, instructions for composers, musical and choreographic scores, and mime scripts. These performance-related sources also offer insight into Petipa's creative process and reveal features that distinguish his work, such as his

incorporation of Italian ballet technique and his inclusion of a new type of narrative-based, multi-movement dance suite for which Petipa appropriated the old term *pas d'action*.

In this dissertation, I will use a number of these sources to assemble detailed descriptions of the music, choreography, pantomime, and action in early productions of three works from the canon listed above—*La Bayadère* and *Raymonda* and the divertissement *Le jardin animé* from *Le Corsaire*—for the first time. Along the way, I will contextualize certain elements of these ballets (Spanish character dance, for example) within Petipa's broader output. Finally, at the end of the chapters on *Bayadère* and *Raymonda*, I will discuss several Western productions of these works that were staged in the early and mid-twentieth century using some of the same source materials I have consulted or that maintained a basis in their Imperial-era originals.

La Bayadère and *Raymonda* are two of Petipa's large-scale original works that have yet to be described and analyzed in any systematic way using performance-related sources. Both works include elements common to ballets of the mid-nineteenth century: a multi-act format featuring mime scenes, dances in both classical and character styles, and spectacle in the form of large casts with children as well as adults, processions, tableaux, and scenic effects. The stories of these ballets feature vivid characters and are filled with intrigue, action, and romance. They also reflect societal values of their time—including the values of the Imperial Theaters and the royal crown that governed it. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that *Others and Elsewhere* are seen through the lens of imperialist superiority.

La Bayadère is a four-act ballet with a sprawling melodramatic story told in lengthy mime scenes. Its exotic locale (India) offered opportunities for character dance of the generic variety that Petipa created to depict peoples from lesser-known regions of the world. In contrast, the academic choreography of the Kingdom of the Shades scene has become an iconic exemplar

of Petipa's work. The *pas d'action* in the ballet's final act was strategically placed by Petipa to lead directly to the plot's denouement. The score by Petipa's most frequent collaborator, Ludwig Minkus, is typical of specialist ballet scores of the later nineteenth century. Composed to Petipa's instructions, the music is characterized by clear melodies and rhythms that support the dance and action and recurring motifs associated with various characters.

Raymonda is a three-act ballet created near the end of Petipa's career. Set in medieval France, the story involves the Crusades and the conflict between East and West. Here, narrative and mime are reduced—three of the ballet's four scenes center around multi-movement dance suites, including a *pas d'action* in the second act. *Raymonda* was made for the Italian ballerina Pierina Legnani, whose technical virtuosity is revealed in the ballet's choreography that features extensive *pointe* work and extreme repetition of steps. Yet *Raymonda* too features elements common to earlier nineteenth-century ballets, including a variety of historic, national, and exotic dances. The lush and expansive score commissioned from Alexander Glazunov was intended to continue the practice of working with widely known musicians outside the specialist field, which included Petipa's collaborations with Tchaikovsky on *Sleeping Beauty* and *The Nutcracker*.

The large-scale divertissement *Le jardin animé* represents a different category of Petipa's output—revivals. Featuring music by Léo Delibes, the multi-movement suite of dances was first added to the Paris revival of *Le Corsaire* in 1867 with choreography by Joseph Mazilier. The next year it was interpolated in the St. Petersburg *Corsaire* in Petipa's revival. The diverse source situation for *Le jardin animé* allows the evolution of Petipa's choreography to be traced over the course of several productions of *Le Corsaire* that spanned more than thirty years. Source documents reveal that Petipa continued to revise his choreography in subsequent revivals (in 1880 and 1899) and into the first years of the twentieth century.

Literature review

Although a great number of ballet history accounts discuss Petipa and his ballets, few examine sources that document the creation and performance of those ballets. Two notable exceptions that are pertinent to this current study appeared in the mid-twentieth century. The 1959 *Aleksandr Glazunov. Issledvaniia, materialy, publikatsii, pis'ma* [Alexander Glazunov: Research, materials, publications, letters], edited by Mark Yankovsky (the first of two volumes), included a Russian translation, with commentary, of Petipa's French-language notes to Glazunov for the composition of the score of *Raymonda* by Alexander Movshenson.¹ The 1971 *Marius Petipa. Materialy, vospominaniya, stat'i* [Marius Petipa. Materials, recollections, articles], edited by Yury Slonimsky, included facsimiles and transcriptions of a selection of Petipa's preparatory notes for the ballets *Le Roi Candaule* (1868), *The Bandits* (1875), *La Bayadère*, *Mlada* (1879), *Sleeping Beauty*, *The Nutcracker*, and *Swan Lake* with commentary by Fedor Lopukhov.²

Recent source study of Petipa's ballets has been led by Roland John Wiley. His seminal work, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets* (1985), includes detailed descriptions of early productions of *Sleeping Beauty*, *The Nutcracker*, and *Swan Lake* based on a variety of sources, including annotated musical scores and choreographic notations made around the turn of the twentieth century.³ In *A Century of Russian Ballet* (1990), Wiley used a wide selection of translated librettos, memoirs, and reviews to trace the evolution of the art form in St. Petersburg throughout

¹ *Aleksandr Glazunov. Issledvaniia, materialy, publikatsii, pis'ma* [Glazunov: Research, materials, publications, letters], vol. 1, ed. M[ark] O[sipovich] Yankovsky (Muzgiz: Leningrad, 1959), 145–151.

² *Marius Petipa. Materialy, vospominaniya, stat'i* [Marius Petipa. Materials, recollections, articles], ed. Yury Slonimsky, et al. (Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1971), 153–224.

³ Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth century.⁴ Among the ballets considered are Petipa's *The Pharaoh's Daughter* (1862), *La Bayadère*, *The Vestal* (1888), *Sleeping Beauty*, *Raymonda*, and *The Magic Mirror* (1903). *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov* (1997) focused primarily on Petipa's second ballet master but included further discussion of *The Nutcracker* and *Swan Lake* as well as Petipa's one-act ballet *The Awakening of Flora* (1894) and other works choreographed by Ivanov under Petipa's guidance.⁵ Finally, Wiley's 2022 monograph on Petipa's Russian years features a wealth of translated source material in appendices.⁶

Russian and other European scholars have also produced studies using performance-related sources. In 2006, Olga Fedorchenko, Yuri Smirnov, and Alexei Fomkin published a collection of essays that included source studies of a number of Petipa ballets.⁷ Recent conferences and exhibitions, some of them organized in observance of the bicentenary of Petipa's birth in 2018, have produced proceedings and catalogs featuring a variety of source studies. These include the conference *De Bourdeaux à Saint-Pétersbourg, Marius Petipa (1818–1910) et le ballet 'russe': transfert, appropriation, réinterprétation d'un modèle culturel*, organized by Pascale Melani (Bordeaux, 2015); Congreso Internacional en Madrid, "Marius Petipa: del ballet romántico al clásico," organized by Laura Hormigón (Madrid, 2018); and

⁴ Roland John Wiley, *A Century of Russian Ballet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁵ Roland John Wiley. *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

⁶ Wiley, Roland John. *The Petersburg Noverre: Marius Petipa in Russia* (London: Anthem Press, 2022). Due to the timing of its publication, I was unable to consult this book for this dissertation.

⁷ Olga Fedorchenko, Yuri Smirnov, and Alexei Fomkin, eds., *Baletmeister Marius Petipa. Stat'i, issledovaniia, razmyshleniia* [The Ballet Master Marius Petipa. Articles, research, reflections] (Vladimir: Foliant, 2006).

Hommage à Petipa, an annual conference first organized by the Vaganova Ballet Academy in St. Petersburg in 2018, the proceedings of which are published in the journal *Vestnik Akademii Russkogo baleta imeni A. Ya. Vaganovoy* (Bulletin of the Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Ya. Vaganova).⁸ Sergey Konaev organized the exhibition *Dva veka Petipa* (Two centuries of Petipa), presented at the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum in Moscow in 2018. The accompanying catalog surveys a wide range of source material related to Petipa's ballets with commentary by Konaev.⁹

Other recent source studies and commentaries have been written in connection with historically informed productions of Petipa's ballets and have taken various forms and approaches. Perhaps surprisingly, many have been published in theater program books and magazines where they are more likely to be read by enthusiasts, and possibly practitioners, than by scholars. A sampling of writings and the historically informed productions with which each was associated will demonstrate the range of this work:

- In a review of the Mariinsky Ballet's 1999 reconstruction of *Sleeping Beauty*, I offered an assessment of the production using choreographic notations of the ballet made in the first years of the twentieth century.¹⁰

⁸ Pascale Melani, ed., *De la France à la Russie, Marius Petipa, Slavica Occitania* 43 (Toulouse, 2016); Laura Hormigón, ed., *Marius Petipa: Del Ballet Romántico al Clásico*, Serie: Debate, 29, Asociación de Directores de Escena de España (Madrid, 2020); *Vestnik Akademii Russkogo baleta imeni A. Ya. Vaganovoy* issues are available online at <https://vaganov.elpub.ru/jour/issue/archive>.

⁹ Sergey Konaev, ed., *Dva veka Petipa* [Two centuries of Petipa], exhibition catalog (Moscow: Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, State Central Theatre Museum named after A. A. Bakhrushin, 2018).

¹⁰ Doug Fullington, "The *Sleeping Beauty* reconstructed," *Ballet Review* 28, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 79–88.

- Based on my work for the Bolshoi Ballet's production of *The Pharaoh's Daughter* in 2000, I provided a step-by-step description of the ballet's so-called "River variations" that served as source material for Pierre Lacotte's staging.¹¹
- Pavel Gershenzon described the various sources utilized for the Mariinsky Ballet's 2002 production of *La Bayadère* and provided a comparison of the dances included in the 1877 premiere and two subsequent revivals overseen by Petipa.¹²
- As a result of her research in preparation for the 2007 Bayerische Staatsballett production of *Le Corsaire*, Maria Babanina established the origin of the so-called *Le Corsaire pas de deux* as a *pas d'action* choreographed not by Petipa but by Samuil Andrianov in 1915.¹³
- For the 2011 La Scala production of *Raymonda*, Gershenzhon provided a detailed chronology of the genesis of the ballet using correspondence between the ballet's creators and Petipa's instructions to Glazunov.¹⁴
- A selection of essays was commissioned by Oxford University Press in connection with Alexei Ratmanský's 2015 production of *Sleeping Beauty* for American Ballet Theatre. The essays discussed character and story, the 1921 Ballets Russes production of *The*

¹¹ Doug Fullington, "The River Variations in Petipa's *La Fille du Pharaon*," *Dancing Times* 91, no. 1083 (December 2000): 249–255.

¹² Pavel Gershenzon. "La Bayadère: The Wrath of the Gods Restored." *Ballet Review* 30, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 15–28.

¹³ Maria Babanina, "Prima la music, dopo la coreografia?—Prima la coreografia dopo la musica?" in *Le Corsaire* program book (Munich: Bayerisches Staatsballett, 2007), 31–37.

¹⁴ Pavel Gershenzon, "Cronografia di *Raymonda*: Lettere, documenti, recensioni, commenti," tr. Carla Muschio, in *Raymonda* program book (Milan: Teatro alla Scala, 2011), 47–79.

Sleeping Princess, and Petipa's development of the *pas d'action* and were written by Marian Smith, Maureen Gupta, and me, respectively.¹⁵

- Ratmansky provided a detailed description and assessment of the choreographic notations and other sources he consulted for the 2018 American Ballet Theatre production of *Harlequinade* (1900).¹⁶
- Utilizing a vast array of sources, Sergey Konaev assembled a detailed chronology of dances interpolated into productions of *Giselle* across Europe between 1841 and 1924 in connection with the Bolshoi Ballet's 2019 production of the ballet.¹⁷

Discussions of source material and other topics relating to several ballets (thus far, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Giselle*, and *Raymonda*) have been conducted by the dance writer and critic Alastair Macaulay in interview style. Despite the informality this format suggests, the resulting conversations have revealed substantive new findings and suggested avenues for further source research.¹⁸

¹⁵ Marian Smith, "New Life for Character and Story in *Sleeping Beauty*," *Oxford Handbooks Online* (March 2017), doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.013.172; Maureen Gupta, "Sleeping Princesses and Beauties: Lessons from Ratmansky's *Sleeping Beauty* (2015)," *Oxford Handbooks Online* (January 2017), doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.013.171; Doug Fullington, "Finding the Balance: Pantomime and Dance in Ratmansky's New/Old *Sleeping Beauty*," *Oxford Handbooks Online* (August 2017), doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.013.169.

¹⁶ Alexei Ratmansky, "Staging Petipa's *Harlequinade* at ABT," *Ballet Review* 47, nos. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 2019): 45–55.

¹⁷ Sergey Konaev, "Khronika osnovnykh postanovok s vstavnymi variatsiami (1841–1924)" [Chronicle of main productions with inserted variations (1841–1924)], in *Giselle* program book (Moscow: Bolshoi Theater, 2019), 80–101.

¹⁸ Alastair Macaulay, "Further Annals of *The Sleeping Beauty*: A Questionnaire" *Ballet Review* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2015–2016): 83–109; Alastair Macaulay, Doug Fullington, Maina Gielgud, Jane Pritchard, Alexei Ratmansky, and Marian Smith, "Giselle: Questions and Answers" *Alastair Macaulay* (blog), 10 October 2020, <https://www.alastairmacaulay.com/all-essays/giselle-questions-answers>; Alastair Macaulay, Doug Fullington, and Sergey Konaev, "'Raymonda' and Ballet Herstory: historians Doug Fullington and Sergey Konaev on Lydia Pashkova, Ivan Vsevolozhsky, Marius Petipa and the Russian

Finally, authoritative biographies of Petipa, which include source-based discussions of his ballets to varying degrees, are few and recent. Petipa's diaries, chronicling such daily activities as rehearsals and the creation and revision of choreography during his final active years (1903–1905), were published in 1992 in an English translation by Lynn Garafola that included a biographical preface and an annotated list of Petipa's works.¹⁹ Wiley, who has written more about Petipa than any other scholar, identified the difficulties in compiling information about Petipa's life due to the complexities of the Russian archival filing systems in a 2003 essay.²⁰ These difficulties, as well as an assessment of the Soviet political climate which stalled precise archival and historical study of Petipa and his work, were restated by Sergey Konaev in the preface to his recent edition of Petipa's memoirs.²¹ In 2010 Laura Hormigón authored a Spanish-language biography of Petipa covering his early years in Spain (1844–1847).²² Nadine Meisner followed with an English-language biography of Petipa's entire life in 2019.²³ In 2022, Wiley will publish a long-awaited English-language biography of Petipa's years in Russia (1847–1907)

Imperial Theatres. A 'Raymonda' questionnaire," *Alastair Macaulay* (blog), 21 January 2022, <https://www.alastairmacaulay.com/all-essays/byq3y6560y798jcrmiwp4s4su9ii6>.

¹⁹ Lynn Garafola, ed. and trans, *The Diaries of Marius Petipa*, Studies in Dance History, vol. 3, no. 1 (Spring 1992).

²⁰ Roland John Wiley, "A Context for Petipa," *Dance Research* 21, no. 1 (Summer 2003): 42–52.

²¹ Marius Petipa, *Marius Petipa. "Memuary" i dokumenty* [Marius Petipa. "Memoirs" and documents], transcr. Pascale Melani, ed. and tr. Sergey Konaev (Moscow: Navona, 2018).

²² Laura Hormigón, *Marius Petipa en España 1844–1847: Memorias y otros materiales* (Madrid: Danzarte Ballet, 2010). See also Laura Hormigón, "Petipa in Spain," *Ballet Review* 47, nos. 3–4 (Fall–Winter 2019): 69–72.

²³ Meisner, Nadine. *Marius Petipa: The Emperor's Ballet Master* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

that, as noted above, includes numerous appendices of translated source materials (librettos, ballet master plans, etc.).

Methodology and chapter structure

Despite this recent increase in source studies and historically informed productions of Petipa's ballets, Wiley's scene-by-scene descriptions of the Tchaikovsky ballets remain the only written accounts of their kind—descriptions that synthesize information drawn from a variety of sources that are currently housed in both Russian and Western archives. This paucity of research is due in part to the difficulty of accessing related materials that are housed 4,000 miles apart, a problem slowly being mitigated as some sources are digitized. But perhaps the primary reason lies in the unusual combination of skills required to successfully utilize the sources and integrate the information they provide—knowledge of classical ballet step vocabulary and the ability to read music. (The cursive Cyrillic in which most titles, annotations, and scripts are written presents an additional challenge for this researcher but one in which I have been generously assisted by a team of translators.) In preparing my accounts of *La Bayadère*, *Raymonda*, and *Le jardin animé*, I have followed Wiley's model but have provided more detailed descriptions of choreography recorded in notations and full mime conversations inasmuch as they have been documented in the sources I have consulted.

In this dissertation, after an opening chapter in which I describe the sources I have consulted and provide a lengthy introduction to the Stepanov choreographic notation system, I devote a chapter to each of the ballets that comprise this study. The chapters on *Bayadère* and *Raymonda* begin with an account of the genesis and context of each work that includes a brief plot summary and sketches of main characters. Detailed descriptions of the music focus in large

part on recurring motifs. I address depictions of non-white, non-Christian characters specifically in the course of my discussions, pointing out, for example, that when it came to depicting exotic Others, composers followed well-established practices of writing music that sounded simpler than “normal” Western music. Petipa did the same, most often giving complex academic steps to Western or other leading characters and simpler movements to Others. A St. Petersburg performance history and an explanation of sources consulted lead to scene-by-scene descriptions of each ballet. Here, I document details of step sequences, mime conversations, and general action, often including quotations from reviews or memoirs that provide additional information, particularly where performance-related sources are silent. Both chapters close with a brief discussion of selected productions in the West.

The final chapter begins with descriptions of *Le Corsaire* in Paris and St. Petersburg, the introduction of Delibes’ *Le pas des fleurs* in Paris, and its subsequent incorporation in the Petersburg *Corsaire* as *Le jardin animé*. Petipa’s notes for succeeding productions are then described, compared, and ultimately considered alongside the choreographic notations of the divertissement.

In sharing my findings from these diverse sources, my intent is to provide readers with a far stronger sense than what has heretofore been known of what happened when the curtain went up on these ballets in their earliest incarnations.

Notes on style

Russian dates before 1918 are given in Old Style, that is, twelve days behind the Western (Gregorian) calendar in the nineteenth century (through 1900) and thirteen days behind the Western calendar from 1901 through 1917. I have generally followed the Library of Congress

system for transliteration of Cyrillic. Most dancer names are spelled as they appear in printed programs, although I have made an exception for French names, usually preferring to provide the French spelling rather than a phonetic Russian spelling. I also have usually opted for French or English ballet titles instead of Russian titles.

I have regularly adopted source abbreviations used by Wiley in his book *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, including Rep (for *répétiteur*), CN (for choreographic notation), and PR (for piano reduction).

Chapter One

Sources

The variety of sources that provide details about the creation and performance of Petipa's ballets fall into three categories. The first of these comprises sources that reveal the creative process, including Petipa's preparatory notes and drawings and his instructions to composers. Librettos document ballet narratives that were subsequently brought to life in greater detail when the works were choreographed and rehearsed. A second category features sources that document elements of performance, both onstage and in the orchestra pit. These include musical scores—orchestral scores and parts, piano reductions, and *répétiteurs* (rehearsal scores)—choreographic notations, mime scripts, and production documents that preserve stage set-up, lists of props, and other details. Finally, some of these same sources make up part of a third category of documents that provide information about a ballet's ongoing history—its place in repertory—by recording the interpolations and revisions made to musical scores and choreography that was changed, omitted, or added for new casts of dancers. Posters and programs, with lists of dances and casts, are essential documents in this category. Taken together, these sources provide a clearer picture of Petipa's plans, what actually transpired in performance, and how a ballet was maintained in the years after its premiere.

The following descriptions of each kind of source consulted for this study will prepare us to look in detail at *La Bayadère*, *Raymonda*, and *Le jardin animé* in the subsequent chapters. The Stepanov system of movement notation that was used to document Petipa's choreography will be explained in detail along with an account of its history and use.

Petipa's preparatory notes

Petipa wrote his plans in his native French. They include such details as descriptions of scenes, mime conversations, list of participants in a procession, and the number of bars allotted to a particular passage of choreography. Plans for ensemble numbers feature annotated sketches of groups of dancers. Petipa sometimes noted actions he had already taken, such as a discussion with a collaborator, and included reminders to himself of things to do in rehearsal. The bulk of Petipa's extant plans are held at the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum (GTsTM) in Moscow, but others are preserved elsewhere, such as the Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts (RGALI), also in Moscow, which preserves Petipa's notes for *La Bayadère* (see Chapter Two).

Petipa's instructions to composers

Petipa also prepared detailed instructions for composers, outlining each act of a ballet and its constituent numbers. He often prescribed tempo, meter, and the number of bars for a particular scene or dance. Petipa's instructions to Tchaikovsky for *Sleeping Beauty* and *The Nutcracker* are better known than his instructions to Glazunov for *Raymonda* (which are incomplete and held in multiple archives, making them difficult to assemble) or his instructions to Minkus for *La Bayadère* (which are mentioned in the ballet master's preparatory notes).¹

Librettos

Librettos constitute another important source of information about the creation of ballet. They offer detailed recountings of the plot (usually in ten to twenty pages), though because they

¹ For Petipa's instructions to Tchaikovsky for *Sleeping Beauty* and *The Nutcracker*, see Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 354–359 and 371–376, respectively.

were written before the start of the rehearsal period during which the story was elaborated in detail and sometimes altered, they cannot be taken as impeccable guides to what actually took place on stage.

Musical scores

Music supported and augmented everything performed on stage in a nineteenth-century ballet—dance, mime, and action. Available documents of varying types—orchestral scores (autograph scores in composers’ hands as well as copied scores), short scores, piano reductions, and orchestra parts—provide not only details about the music that was performed but also offer clues as to how the music was coordinated with movements on stage. Scores were composed to the choreographer’s express instructions. Composers brought not only their personal creativity to the process but also an arsenal of stylistic features and compositional tropes that were widely used to depict any variety of situations and peoples.

Another type of musical score, the *répétiteur*, was an arrangement of the orchestral score for one or two stringed instruments. When annotated with the choreographer’s instructions for mime and stage actions, a *répétiteur* was useful for anyone who wished to transmit a ballet from one theater to another. *Répétiteurs*—sometimes well annotated—were also employed at rehearsals in the theater for which the ballet was created in the first place and in performances, too, by the violinist-conductor, whose job was made easier by knowing what to expect on stage.²

² David A. Day notes that “the practice of annotating these parts with the choreographers’ instructions as an aid for the ballet orchestra violin-conductor” was followed in the early nineteenth century by Jean Dauberval and his students at Bordeaux. “As Dauberval’s repertory and influence spread to Paris, Brussels, and other major ballet centers, so did the practice of annotating these *violon répétiteur* parts with instructions for mime, stage actions, and even occasional dance configurations.” David A. Day, “The annotated *violon répétiteur* and early Romantic ballet at the Theatre Royal de Bruxelles (1815–1830)” (PhD diss., New York University, 2007), 2.

The reader of these annotated *répétiteurs*, in the present day, of course, can learn not only what sorts of actions, silent utterances, and mime was called for, but gain a good deal of information about how the music in ballet scores was coordinated thereto.³

This kind of study will reveal a vocabulary of meanings that ballet composers and audiences relied on. Marian Smith has identified a number of stock devices that composers used to communicate action and pantomime and support the movements of the performers on stage. These include *parlante* (talking) music, ballet's version of opera's recitative, that hewed closely to the words conveyed in mime conversations and the use of borrowed music that an audience might recognize and thus more clearly understand the meaning of a scene. Composers also utilized a wide variety of musical tropes that indicated everything from a character's ethnicity, social class, and occupation to their emotional state.⁴

Choreographic notations

In addition to annotated *répétiteurs*, choreographic scores for many nineteenth-century ballets—often created relatively soon after the ballets' premieres—are the primary documents from which we can learn what was danced and mimed onstage. Many such scores exist, but my

³ Today, the largest known collection of annotated *répétiteurs* is preserved at the Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles; these scores were sent incrementally by the Paris Opéra to the Théâtre de la Monnaie in that city. Thanks to the work of David A. Day, this rich and informative collection has been catalogued. Some of the scores (along with thousands of other important ballet and opera documents from multiple collections) have been posted on the website and portal "Opera and Ballet Primary Sources," <https://sites.lib.byu.edu/obps/>, which provides links to scans of libretti, scores, and other documents in several archives, including Music Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University and the fonds of the Théâtre de la Monnaie conserved at the Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles. See also "BYU Brussels Opera and Ballet" at archives.org and David A. Day, "Digital Opera and Ballet: A Case Study of International Collaboration," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 61, no. 2 (April–June 2014): 99–106.

⁴ See Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), especially 34–36 and 101–123. See also Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

focus will be on the best-known examples—the extraordinary body of notations made in St. Petersburg around the turn of the twentieth century. The complex and colorful history of these manuscripts warrants a detailed description of this unique source.

The collection of choreographic notations made according to the Stepanov system is one of the main means by which ballets in the repertory of the St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters were brought to the West during the first half of the twentieth century. This assemblage, together with musical scores and other performance-related sources, is today housed in the Harvard Theatre Collection at Harvard University's Houghton Library and known informally as the Sergeyev Collection, for it was for more than three decades in the possession of Nikolai Sergeyev. A former *régisseeur* of the Imperial Ballet, Sergeyev took a mass of choreographic notations from St. Petersburg when he emigrated West in 1918 and used them to stage productions for dance troupes in France, Latvia, and England.⁵ Though a complete biography chronicling the life and work of Sergeyev has yet to be written, Roland John Wiley and, more recently, Sergey Konaev have provided much pertinent information about him as well as the early history of the Stepanov notation system. I will briefly summarize their findings here.

History of the Stepanov notation system: Stepanov, Gorsky, Sergeyev, and the Sergeyev Collection. The genesis of the Stepanov system dates back to 1889, when Vladimir Stepanov, an

⁵ Nikolai Sergeev Dance Notations and Music Scores for Ballets, 1888–1944 (MS Thr 245). Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University. The finding aid is available online, along with a number of digitized items, at <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/hou01987/catalog>.

Notations and other materials relating to the ballet *Swan Lake* are housed as Nikolai Sergeev Choreographic and Music Scores for the Ballet *Swan Lake*, 1905–1924 (MS Thr 186). Houghton Library, Harvard University. The finding aid for the *Swan Lake* materials is available online at <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/hou01289/catalog>.

Additional examples of Stepanov notation are preserved in the Alexander Gorsky archive (*fond 1*) of the Museum of the State Academic Bolshoi Theater (GABT), Moscow. See Ekaterina Churakova, Elena Frolova, Tatiana Saburova, and Sergey Konaev, *Aleksandr Gorskiy: baletmeyster, khudozhnik, fotograf* [Alexander Gorsky: choreographer, artist, photographer] (Moscow: Kuchkovo Pole, 2018).

Imperial Ballet dancer, began studying anatomy and anthropology at the University of St. Petersburg. His interest in the facility of the human body led him to develop a system of movement notation, “an attempt to create a kind of alphabet for choreographers and all others who require to record human movements.”⁶ In 1891, after demonstrating the system to a committee of ranking artists of the Imperial Ballet (including Marius Petipa), Stepanov was awarded a stipend to continue his studies in Paris with the neurologist Jean Martin Charcot.⁷ Stepanov published his work in 1892 as *L’Alphabet des Mouvements du Corps Humain*.⁸ Stepanov then secured permission from the committee in 1893 to use the system to notate the theater’s ballet and opera ballet repertory. That same year, he also began to teach the notation system in the Theater School.⁹

Early projects (now apparently lost) involving Jules Perrot’s ballet *Le Rêve du peintre* and (likely) Lev Ivanov’s ballet *The Magic Flute* were rendered as part of the notation approval process.¹⁰ Extant notations of Marius Petipa’s one-act ballet *The Awakening of Flora* and the divertissement *Le jardin animé* from his staging of *Le Corsaire* (see Chapter Four) appear to be

⁶ This quotation is from the introduction to Vladimir Stepanov’s *Alphabet of Movements of the Human Body*, tr. Raymond Lister (Cambridge, UK: Golden Head Press, 1958), 9. See note 8, below.

⁷ Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 155.

⁸ V[ladimir] I[vanovich] Stepanov, *Alphabet des mouvements du corps humain; essai d'enregistrement des mouvements du corps humain au moyen des signes musicaux* (Paris: Impr. M. Zouckermann [Librairie P. Vigot], 1892). A copy is preserved in the Sergeyev Collection, MS Thr 245 (269). The system was published in Russia as *Tablitsa znakov dlya zapisyvaniya dvizhenii chelovecheskogo tela po sisteme Artista Imperatorskikh S.-Peterburgskikh Teatrov, V. I. Stepanova* [Table of Signs for the Notation of the Movements of the Human Body According to the System of the Artist of the Imperial St. Petersburg Theaters, V. I. Stepanov] (St. Petersburg [n.d.]). An English translation by Raymond Lister was published in 1858 as *Alphabet of Movements of the Human Body*. See note 6, above.

⁹ Roland John Wiley, “Dances from Russia: An Introduction to the Sergeyev Collection,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 24, no. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1976), 104.

¹⁰ See Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 155–157, and “Dances from Russia,” 104n26. *The Magic Flute* was notated again at a later date, very likely in less detail than the original. See MS Thr 245 (58).

other such early projects, as an examination of the scribal hands and formatting suggests.¹¹

After Stepanov's untimely death in 1896, he was succeeded as notation teacher by another Imperial Ballet dancer, Alexander Gorsky.¹² Gorsky refined Stepanov's system and in 1899 published two essays, *Table of Signs for the Notation of Movements of the Human Body According to the System of the Artist of the Imperial St. Petersburg Theaters V. I. Stepanov* and *Choreography: Examples for Reading*.¹³ Gorsky was transferred to Moscow in January 1901, and his successor in St. Petersburg was Nikolai Sergeyev, who had been working with him as an assistant since 1897.¹⁴

Sergeyev had graduated from the Imperial Theater School and joined the Imperial Ballet in 1894; he was named *régisieur* in 1903. He continued to teach notation and also supervised the ambitious project of notating the ballets and opera ballets in the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet repertory. He was aided during some of those years by two assistants, Alexander Chekrygin (beginning in 1903) and Victor Rakhmanov (beginning in 1904).¹⁵ Promoted to *régisieur*

¹¹ MS Thr 245 (45) and (1), respectively.

¹² About Gorsky, see Churakova, et al., *Aleksandr Gorskiy*, especially 14–16.

¹³ *Tablitsa znakov dlia zapisyvaniia dvizhenii chelovecheskogo tela po sisteme V.I. Stepanova* [Table of Signs for the Notation of Movements of the Human Body According to the System of the Artist of the Imperial St. Petersburg Theaters V. I. Stepanov] (Imperial St. Petersburg Theater School [n.d.]) and *Khoreografiia, primery dlia chteniia* [Choreography: Examples for Reading] (Imperial St. Petersburg Theater School. Installment I. 1899). A copy is part of the Sergeyev Collection; MS Thr (268). For an English translation that includes an informative preface by Wiley, see Alexander Gorsky, *Two Essays on Stepanov Dance Notation by Alexander Gorsky*, tr. Roland John Wiley (New York: Congress on Research in Dance, 1978).

¹⁴ Sergeyev was designated teacher of the “Theory of Notating Dances” on 1 September 1900. See Gorsky, *Two Essays*, xi, note 14. Gorsky was sent to Moscow on 9 September 1900 to begin his *régisieur* duties. See Churakova, et al., *Aleksandr Gorskiy*, 16.

¹⁵ Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 98 and 106n34. A recent suggestion that Sergeyev had two additional assistants is not supported by documentation. In a 2011 essay, Natalia Zozulina posited that Imperial Ballet dancers Nikolai Kremnev and Sergey Ponomarev were additional notation assistants to Sergeyev. See Natalia Zozulina, “S oglyadkoy na istoriyu (N.G. Sergeyev i zapisi russkikh baletov iz garvardskoy

general in 1914, Sergeyev remained in that position until resigning in 1918 after a failed attempt to become co-director (with Nikolai Legat) of the ballet of the state theater (the former Imperial Ballet).¹⁶

Leaving Petrograd, Sergeyev took with him a large number of notation scores as well as musical scores and other performance-related documents. These would provide him with his future livelihood in the West. He continued to add materials (mostly musical scores) to this collection during his subsequent European travels. From 1921 until shortly before his death in 1951, he used the documents to stage productions that ultimately became the basis for most Western productions of the classical ballet repertory.¹⁷

kollektzii)" [With an eye to history (N.G. Sergeyev and recordings of Russian ballets from the Harvard collection)], *Baletom i Operoy* [Ballet and Opera] (online forum), 18 February 2001, <http://forum.balletfriends.ru/viewtopic.php?t=3510>, note 33. Zozulina cites the inclusion of Kremnev's and Ponomarev's names in the choreographic notation of *The Fairy Doll*, MS Thr 245 (13), as proof of scribal authorship. Upon inspection of the notation, I find nothing resembling a scribe's signature on any of the pages (the notations appear to be in Sergeyev's hand). Ponomarev is listed as the performer of a waltz with Agrippina Vaganova. I have not identified Kremnev's name among the many artists listed as performers in the notation. (Andrew Foster has confirmed that both Kremnev and Ponomarev made debuts in *The Fairy Doll* on 21 February 1907 at the Mariinsky Theater: Kremnev took over the role of the Black Woman, alongside Vasily Stukolkin, and Ponomarev performed the Chinese dance with Vaganova.) To my knowledge, this assertion is not supported by any other documentation. I surmise that confirmation of additional notation assistants was sought in order to account for the various scribal hands found in the notations and to support the false notion that Sergeyev was not one of the notation scribes.

¹⁶ Wiley explains: "In 1918 Sergejev made an extraordinary proposal to become co-director of the newly reorganized ballet of the state academic theatres, according to which he would share leadership with Nikolai Legat... The plan was rejected and Sergejev resigned, despite the reaffirmation of his pension by the new regime and the acute need for experienced administrators at that bewildering time in Russian history. He left Petrograd, tarried briefly in Moscow working at the Bolshoi theatre, and then, choreographic notations in hand, immigrated to western Europe through southern Russia and Constantinople." Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 98.

¹⁷ About Sergeyev, see Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 94–103; Jane Pritchard, "Nicholas Sergeyev," *International Dictionary of Ballet*, ed. Martha Bremser, vol. 2, 1275–1277 (Detroit: St. James Press, 1993); and Sergey Konaev, ed., "My vse visim v vozduke... Pis'ma N.G. Sergeyeva k A. K. Shervashidze (1921–1933)" [We are all hanging in the air... Letters from N.G. Sergeev to A. K. Shervashidze (1921–1933)], *Mnemozina* 6 (Moscow: Indrik, 2014), 555–584, available online at http://teatr-lib.ru/Library/Mnemozina/Mnemoz_6/Mnemoz_6.pdf.

See also Beth Genné, "Creating a Canon, Creating the 'Classics' in Twentieth-Century British Ballet," *Dance Research* 18, no. 2 (Winter, 2000): 132–162.

Sergeyev's stagings included, among others, *The Sleeping Princess* (that is, *The Sleeping Beauty*) for Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in London (1921); *Giselle* for the Paris Opéra (1924), the Camargo Society in London (1932), Vic-Wells Ballet (1934), and the Markova-Dolin Ballet (1935); *Coppélia* for the Vic-Wells Ballet (1933) and Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo (1938); and *The Nutcracker* (1934), *Swan Lake* (1934), and *The Sleeping Princess* (1939), all for the Vic-Wells Ballet.¹⁸

Sergeyev was ballet master for the Latvian National Opera in Riga (1922–1924) and also for Anna Pavlova's company and Opera Privé de Paris (1927–1929). In 1934, he founded and directed his own Russian Ballet in England.¹⁹ Following his years with the Vic-Wells Ballet in the 1930s, he was hired by Mona Inglesby, the English ballerina and dance producer, to serve as *régisseur* for her International Ballet from 1941 to 1948. Sergeyev's stagings for the International Ballet included *Coppélia*, *Giselle*, the *Polovtsian Dances* from the opera *Prince Igor*, *The Sleeping Princess*, and *Swan Lake*.²⁰

Upon Sergeyev's death in 1951, his collection of notations, musical scores, and other materials passed to an uninterested party, but Inglesby—a firm believer in its historical and practical value—managed to persuade her businessman father to buy it. She then tried, without success, to interest Leningrad's Kirov Ballet and London's Royal Ballet in the collection, and finally sold it to Harvard University in 1969.²¹

¹⁸ For a fuller list of productions, see Pritchard, "Nicholas Sergeyev."

¹⁹ See Jane Pritchard, "Bits of *Bayadère* in Britain," *Dancing Times* 79, no. 948 (September 1989): 1120–1121.

²⁰ For a description of Sergeyev's work with Inglesby and International Ballet, see Mona Inglesby with Kay Hunter, *Ballet in the Blitz* (Debenham, UK: Groundnut, 2008).

²¹ See Ismene Brown, "Keeper of old scores," *Daily Telegraph* (3 August 2000), <https://ismeneb.com/articles->

The Sergeyev Collection includes choreographic notations of ballets and opera ballets, violin *répétiteurs*, piano reductions, orchestral scores and parts, printed programs, librettos, and miscellany, including photographs and drawings, relating to the repertory of the St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²² The collection has been used by scholars and practitioners to research and remount ballets from the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet repertory. In recent years, an increasing number of digitized documents have been posted on the Harvard Library website.

Initially, the notations lay essentially undisturbed for more than two decades until Wiley, then a Harvard doctoral student in musicology, made a study of them for his 1974 dissertation. In 1984, Wiley and the choreographer Peter Wright staged a production of *The Nutcracker* for the Royal Ballet in England that incorporated dances and other elements from the notations. The Royal drew on the collection again for its 1987 production of *Swan Lake*, for which Wiley provided the research.

Sergey Vikharev was a leader in the field of historically informed ballet revivals, assisted by historian Pavel Gershenzon. Beginning with *Sleeping Beauty* in 1999, Vikharev's revivals using the Stepanov notations included *La Bayadère* (2001) and *The Awakening of Flora* (2007) for the Mariinsky Ballet, *Coppélia* (Novosibirsk, 2001; Bolshoi Ballet, 2009), and *Raymonda* (La Scala, 2011). All of these productions included recreation of original (or period) scenic and costume designs, and *La Bayadère* featured the restoration of the musical score by Ludwig Minkus. When it was presented in 1999, Vikharev's *Sleeping Beauty* was the first of its kind—an

indexed/ewExternalFiles/Inglesby%2C%20Keeper%20of%20old%20scores%20Aug00.pdf. See also Inglesby and Hunter, *Ballet in the Blitz*, 74, and Ismene Brown, "Time to get authentic," *Dance Now* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 34–39.

²² For a description of the collection and its genesis, see Wiley, "Dances from Russia." See also the online finding aid for the Sergeyev Collection, <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01987>.

attempt to present a large-scale, nineteenth-century Russian ballet as it would have been performed at its premiere.

In 2014, Alexei Ratmansky staged a historically informed production of *Paquita* for Bayerisches Staatballett, assisted by the musicologist Maria Babanina, Marian Smith and me. The goal of the collaborators for this production, who drew on a wide variety of source materials, was to adhere as faithfully as possible to the information provided in the Stepanov notation of the ballet. Ratmansky, assisted by his wife Tatiana Ratmansky, has since staged historically informed versions of *Sleeping Beauty* (American Ballet Theatre, 2015), *Swan Lake* (Zurich Ballet, 2015), *Harlequinade* (American Ballet Theatre, 2018), *La Bayadère* (Staatsballett Berlin, 2018), and *Giselle* (Bolshoi Ballet, 2019).

The Stepanov system and extant examples. Stepanov notation is a precise system that uses Western musical notation as its basis, with noteheads and stems (augmented by a series of additional symbols) written on three different staves to indicate positions of the head, neck, and torso (two-line stave), arms and hands (three-line stave), and legs and feet (four-line stave), and how each moves rhythmically.²³ Taken together, the notated positions describe classical (and character) step vocabulary. Notation manuscripts that document the choreography and action of a ballet include ground plans (showing the position of dancers on stage) that correspond to a series of notated measures (the rhythmic equivalent of musical measures), most containing one enchaînement. Mime conversations are written out in prose along with annotations that describe action and other details.

Although most of the extant notations are incomplete and unfinished, the high level of

²³ For a discussion of the Stepanov system as it is described in the publications by Stepanov and Gorsky, see Sheila Marion and Karen Eliot, “Recording the Imperial Ballet: Anatomy and Ballet in Stepanov’s Notation,” *Dance on Its Own Terms*, eds. Melanie Bales and Karen Eliot (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 309–340.

detail found in the earliest surviving examples suggests that a finished, prescriptive document was the original goal of the notation project. These include the aforementioned notations of *The Awakening of Flora* and *Le jardin animé*, as well as the notation of *La Bayadère*, despite that the latter is made solely in pencil, rather than at least partly in ink, and is primarily a record of the ballet's ensemble dances. Moreover, it seems a musical score was, in the early stages of the project, intended to be part of the notation document: both *The Awakening of Flora* and *Le jardin animé* feature a two-violin *répétiteur* copied in ink on the uppermost staves of each notation system.

The majority of the extant notations, however, are descriptive accounts, that is, unpolished eyewitness records of dance and action as rehearsed in the studio or performed on stage—in-house documents that could be used to restage ballets by those already familiar with them.²⁴ Nevertheless, these documents impart crucial information about the choreography, mime, action, and other details of the ballets recorded. They are notated in pencil, mostly on vertical-format sheets comprising six notation boxes (read from left to right and from top to bottom) consisting of a set of notation staves below an open square used for ground plans and annotations.²⁵ The level of documented detail found in these notations varies from dance to dance and scene to scene.

²⁴ Andrei Galkin has referred to these unpolished notations as “drafts.” Andrei Galkin, “Choreographic notations from ‘N. G. Sergeyev’s collection’ as a source of reconstruction of ballet performance,” *Marius Petipa on the world ballet stage: Materials of the international conference* (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music, 2018), 42. Furthermore, Wiley has noted: “With few exceptions the notations show no evidence of being intended as complete records of the ballets involved, but are instead reminders for dancers already familiar with the choreography. Nor, apparently, were the manuscripts meant to be considered finished works of art in themselves. Many erasures and strike overs show them to be practical documents.” Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 107.

²⁵ Wiley describes three types of paper formatted specially for Stepanov notation. Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 106.

Sergeyev's reputation as notator and stager. Nikolai Sergeyev's reputation has been sullied over the years, and shadows of doubt about his abilities persist to this day. Though it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the motives of Sergeyev's detractors (as Wiley and Tim Scholl have done) or reassess his abilities and aspects of his professional demeanor (as Ratmansky and Sergey Konaev have begun to do²⁶), I would like to say enough about Sergeyev to confirm the merits and significance of the notations that are preserved at Harvard, most of which are in his hand.

In his seminal study of the Sergeyev Collection, written in 1976, Wiley provided essential details of Sergeyev's life and outlined Soviet-era criticisms of Sergeyev that sought to minimize his contributions to the documentation of Imperial-era ballets.²⁷ Of particular importance to the present volume are assertions that Sergeyev was an incompetent dance notator who was responsible for little or none of the actual notation work undertaken by the Imperial Ballet.²⁸ Add to this Fedor Lopukhov's and Ninette de Valois's negative assessments of Sergeyev's abilities as a teacher of notation (Lopukhov) and stager of ballets using notation (de

²⁶ See Konaev, "My vse visim v vozdukh..." In an interview with Alastair Macaulay about Ratmansky's 2015 staging of *Sleeping Beauty* for American Ballet Theater using the Stepanov notation of the ballet, Ratmansky describes adjustments made by Sergeyev to the choreographic text of *Sleeping Beauty* when staging it in the West for ensembles smaller than the Imperial Ballet: "[The record of adjustments made] shows him to be a very capable and tactful editor, while the notations of the original text are proof of his complete understanding and command of the material." Macaulay, "Further Annals of *The Sleeping Beauty*," 86. In addition, describing the sources he used to restage Petipa's *Harlequinade* at American Ballet Theater in 2018, Ratmansky has discussed the practical use of existing Stepanov notations for restaging ballets, what the notations reveal about ballet technique and pantomime, and how the notations can be utilized with additional sources to create a fuller picture of how a ballet was presented on stage. See Ratmansky, "Staging Petipa's *Harlequinade* at ABT."

²⁷ Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 94–103.

²⁸ These assertions are cited in Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 97–98.

Valois), which served to further notions that he was ineffective, at best, or completely inept, at worst.²⁹

More recently, Tim Scholl has described in greater detail the entrenched and multifaceted rejection of Sergeyev that developed in Leningrad early in the Soviet period.³⁰ As did Wiley, Scholl draws from Mikhail Borisoglebsky's 1939 bicentennial study of the St. Petersburg Theater School, which contains a biography of Sergeyev.³¹ Noting the "hostility" and "yellow journalism" present in Borisoglebsky's account, Scholl explains how the author attempts to discredit Sergeyev by documenting his "tyranny in the treatment of the company's dancers, his fawning to his superiors, his general stupidity and unsuitability for the position of regisseur of the ballet."³² These ad hominem attacks against Sergeyev were surely political, for he was a ranking employee of the Imperial regime who left the country with written records of its prized

²⁹ Fedor Lopukhov, *Khoreograficheskie otkrovennosti* [Candid Remarks About Choreography] (Moscow: "Iskusstvo," 1972), 81–82, tr. in Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 98, and Ninette de Valois, *Come Dance With Me: A Memoir, 1898–1956* (London: Hamish Hamilton 1957), 110–112, cited in Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 103n23. In addition to de Valois' recollections, other Western accounts of Sergeyev and his work warrant further examination. For example Anton Dolin's assertion that Sergeyev, when staging *The Sleeping Princess* for Diaghilev, "took offense and withheld his services before the first performance" in response to "alterations in the traditional choreography," is proved false by Sergeyev's letters to his colleague Alexander Shervashidze, in which he shared both his satisfaction with the production and that he remained with the Ballets Russes until *The Sleeping Princess* closed early in 1922, after which Sergeyev and his wife, the dancer Evgenia Poplavskaya, went to Riga. See Wiley, "Dance from Russia," 99, citing Anton Dolin, *The Sleeping Ballerina* (London: Frederick Muller, 1966), 24, and Konaev, "My vse visim v vozdukh...," 563–565.

³⁰ Tim Scholl, *Sleeping Beauty: A Legend in Progress* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 49, 59–63.

³¹ Scholl summarizes and quotes (in English translation) from Sergeyev's biography in Mikhail Borisoglebsky, *Proshloe baletnogo otdeleniya peterburgskogo teatral'nogo uchilishcha, nyne Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Khoreograficheskogo Uchilishcha. Materialy po istorii ruskogo baleta* [The Past of the Ballet Division of the Petersburg Theater School, now the Leningrad State Choreographic School. Materials for the History of Russian Ballet], ed. Mikhail Borisoglebsky, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1938–1939), vol. 2, 76–79.

³² Scholl, *Sleeping Beauty*, 60.

ballet repertory. Borisoglebsky's description of Sergeyev stands in stark contrast to the admiring appraisal written by Vladimir Telyakovsky, director of the Imperial Theaters from 1901 to 1917:

Nikolai Sergeyev, who replaced [Nikolai] Aïstov as *regisseur* in 1903, proved to be most suitable for this task. He was somewhat rough in his dealings with people, but was certainly a truthful and energetic man. He would argue impartially and equally with both artists and the Director. One had to yield to him quite often, as he always talked sense. He was not liked, but he was respected—more and more with the passing of time.³³

The notations themselves, as Tim Scholl writes, “whenever discussed in Soviet dance writings, were reviled.”³⁴ Why they were reviled is a complex matter, but one reason, as Scholl argues, is that

[f]rom 1921, when he staged *Sleeping Beauty* in London for Diaghilev, until 1939, when the same ballet was restaged for the Sadler's Wells Ballet [as the Vic-Wells Ballet was renamed in 1939] [...], Sergeyev staged a number of Russian ballets, from notations, in Europe and England: *Giselle*, *Coppélia*, *Nutcracker*, and *Swan Lake*. In other words, as Soviet productions began to diverge from their Petipa stagings, and Sergeyev purported to stage these same works authentically in the theaters of the capitalist West, his work represented a very real threat to Soviet claims of the uniqueness and authenticity of their nineteenth-century ballet inheritance.³⁵

Let us consider two comments that speak directly to Sergeyev's merit as a notator, both made by Borisoglebsky. First, he claimed that Chekrygin and Rakhmanov, Sergeyev's assistants, did most of the actual notating at the Imperial Ballet. This is a fabrication repeated as fact in Natalia Roslavleva's 1966 volume and given credence again in a 2013 study.³⁶ Second, said

³³ Vladimir Arkad'evich Telyakovskii, *Vospominaniya* [Memoirs] (Moscow and Leningrad, 1965), 156, tr. in V. A. Telyakovsky, “Memoirs: Part 2,” tr. Nina Dimitrievitch, *Dance Research* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 31–33; also qtd. by Wiley (in his own translation) in “Dances from Russia,” 95–96.

³⁴ Scholl, *Sleeping Beauty*, 61.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 60–61. The Vic-Wells Ballet was renamed the Sadler's Wells Ballet and then The Royal Ballet.

³⁶ See Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 98. Roslavleva stated that Sergeyev “was given two assistants, A. Chekrygin and S. [sic] Rakhmanov, who carried out the actual notation of ballets.” Natalia Roslavleva, *The Era of Russian Ballet* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1966), 172; see also 173, 197–198. In their recent work, Marion and Eliot have restated the allegations of some of Sergeyev's critics (as quoted by Wiley) as

Borisoglebsky, the reason Sergeyev did so little of the notating himself was that he “understood almost nothing about the notation of dances.”³⁷ The implication here is that, even though the notations were sound—because they were made by the two competent assistants—Sergeyev’s understanding of them was dismal. And therefore, by extension, he was incapable of putting the notations to practical use in the West and staging the “true” Mariinsky versions of the ballets.

These two claims are easy to refute. First, simply stated, the large majority of notations held at Harvard are in Sergeyev’s hand.³⁸ Konaev has suggested what seems to be the obvious reason for this: when Sergeyev left Russia, he took the notations he had access to, most of which were his own work.³⁹ While the Sergeyev Collection includes notations in other hands—mostly individual dances, some of which are filed with Sergeyev’s notations of the same ballet; others are filed in “excerpts” folders—the majority of the work done by Sergeyev’s assistants is presumed to be lost.⁴⁰ Wiley has identified two notation manuscripts in the collection that bear the signatures of Chekrygin and Rakhmanov.⁴¹ Based on the scribal hands of these examples, I

uncontested fact without mentioning Wiley’s caveat that assessments of Sergeyev, particularly those made by Soviet writers, were often not impartial. See Marion and Eliot, “Recording the Imperial Ballet,” 311–312, 334.

³⁷ Continues Borisoglebsky, he “merely ‘philosophized,’ and sprinkled his speech with incomprehensible terminology.” And he asserts that Sergeyev had never been truly interested in dance notation in the first place, having taken it up to avoid conscription into the armed services. See Scholl, *Sleeping Beauty*, 60. As Wiley argues, this claim attributes to Sergeyev “a motive with connotations of particular asperity for Soviets when Borisoglebsky’s study was published on the eve of World War II.” Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 98–99.

³⁸ This can be verified by comparing the documents in question with notations and other documents made by Sergeyev after he left Russia. For example, his much-reduced version of the Kingdom of the Shades scene from *La Bayadère*, dated 1930 in Paris. See MS Thr 245 (106). This document is discussed in Chapter Two.

³⁹ Konaev, “My vse visim v vozdukhe...,” 555.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

am able to identify the handful of notations discussed in this dissertation that appear not to be in Sergeyev's hand. The rest—aside from a few examples signed by students and others (filed in the “excerpts” folders) for which I have not identified the scribe—appear to be Sergeyev's work.⁴² These range from finished copies (the notation of *La Bayadère*, mentioned above) to hasty sketches of ground plans with minimal annotations. Most of the surviving notations lie midway along this continuum: Sergeyev provided notated movements for legs and feet, plus direction of hips, supplemented by ground plans and prose annotations. Movements and positions of the upper body are only sometimes documented.

Second, as for the idea that Sergeyev understood “practically nothing of dance notation”: the extant Stepanov notation documents speak for themselves, revealing Sergeyev to have been an accomplished notator who possessed a thorough understanding of the Stepanov system. Eyewitness accounts of ballets that were documented by Sergeyev (such as those by dance writer and critic Akim Volynsky) describe dances that closely resemble those preserved in his notation manuscripts. That Sergeyev was engaged as a stager in the West for a period of nearly thirty years following his emigration also supports his competence as a transmitter of the information contained in the notations, although he was more than once described as lacking in creativity and dynamic personality. Reporting on the 1924 Paris Opéra revival of *Giselle*, André Shaikevich noted that “Sergueyev, who was otherwise skilled in his work, was incapable of the smallest

⁴¹ Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 107n36. The signature “A. Ch.,” likely Alexander Chekrygin, is found in the notation of Petipa's ballet *Halt of the Cavalry*, MS Thr 245 (12), page 45, and the signature “V. Rakhmanov” is found in the notation of dances from Verdi's opera *Aida*, MS Thr 245 (216), page 533.

⁴² See Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 107n36. The three files of “Ballet excerpts,” which contain notations of variations and excerpts from larger dances, are MS Thr 245 (227–229). The scribal hand for a number of excerpts in these files appears to me to be similar to Chekrygin's hand, but further investigation is required to make a determination. Regarding the examples signed by students, one can imagine that Sergeyev would choose to preserve well-wrought student notations of variations.

inspiration to the spirit. He succeeded in mounting the choreography with exactitude, as it was given in his note-books, but he knew no way of transmitting to the dancers even the slightest breath of enthusiasm.”⁴³ George Balanchine may have put it best when he said, “I don’t think Sergeyev was incompetent, he was simply uninteresting.”⁴⁴ Even de Valois, who found Sergeyev insensitive, inconsistent, and unmusical as a stager, and went so far as to say that he “went haywire when he was producing things,” did concede that “[h]e’d learned the notations, so he must have had the knowledge...”⁴⁵ Her faith in Sergeyev’s notations, despite her apparent reservations about Sergeyev himself and belittling remarks in her memoir,⁴⁶ may explain the fact that she employed him for eight years, from 1931 to 1939, and as mentioned above made his stagings the foundation of the classical repertory of the Vic-Wells company, which later became the Royal Ballet.

Whatever Sergeyev’s deficits as a stager, there can be no doubt of the importance of his achievements as a notator, his diligence in continuing the notation project at the Mariinsky that had been begun by Stepanov, and finally his guardianship of so many of the materials that had

⁴³ André Schaikevich, *Olga Spessivtseva, magicienne envoutée* (Librairie Les Lettres: Paris, 1954), [page number not given], tr. in Clement Crisp, “*Giselle* Revived: [D] An Eye-witness Account of the Production,” *Dance Research* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 57.

⁴⁴ Solomon Volkov, *Balanchine’s Tchaikovsky*, tr. Antonina W. Bouis (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), 167.

⁴⁵ Genné, “Creating a Canon,” 140. Regarding Sergeyev’s musicality, Beth Genné summarizes and quotes de Valois’s comments: “Often [Constant] Lambert and de Valois would work around the temperamental [Sergeyev], restoring cut passages during his lunch or tea breaks and changing the relationship of the music and choreography if it didn’t seem to fit. ‘He changed a lot of things, we know (from the notes), and if anything was “madly unmusical” I would discuss it with Constant and we would just change the beats.’” Fixing perceived problems of musicality were not the only changes made behind Sergeyev’s back, according to Stanley Hall, a young dancer in the company, who later recalled that as *Sleeping Beauty* was being mounted in 1939 Ashton removed character steps when Sergeyev was out for lunch. Unpublished interview with Marian Smith, April 1994.

⁴⁶ De Valois’ description begins with her observation that “Sergueeff was a strange little man.” See de Valois, *Come Dance With Me*, 110–112.

been created. As Konaev has recently written, Sergeyev “went down in history because under his supervision the ballet repertory of the Mariinsky Theater was recorded in the notation system of V[ladimir] I[vanovich] Stepanov and has been preserved as an archive.”⁴⁷

The Stepanov notations were made during the period that spans the end of Marius Petipa’s career and the beginning of the transition to a younger generation of dancers and choreographers, many of whom went on to have influential careers in the West—in other words, a crucial time in the history of ballet. Sergeyev played an integral role in documenting and preserving this repertory. His notations provide us with a practical view of the nineteenth-century repertory of the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet as it stood at the turn of the twentieth century.

Mime scripts

Mime scripts detail the conversations characters in ballets have with each other that are expressed using a combination of codified and freer, naturalistic gestures.⁴⁸ Some of the extant

⁴⁷ Konaev, “My vse visim v vozdukhe...,” 555.

⁴⁸ As Sarah Gutsche-Miller has pointed out, three types of gestures and movements used in theatrical dance were identified by Berthe Bernay (1856–[?]), a choreographer at the Olympia in Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the author of *La danse au théâtre* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1890). Gutsche-Miller writes that Bernay “described three types of pantomime, which she termed ‘natural’, ‘artificial’, and ‘conventional’. According to Bernay, natural pantomime is that which comes naturally to actors from their own feelings; artificial pantomime has specific rules and must be learned; and conventional pantomime consists of natural gestures that have become stock gestures through repetition in the theater.” Sarah Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet 1870–1913* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 314n8.

The dance historian and critic Giannandrea Poesio writes that early twentieth-century publications about mime were inspired by Italian dancers like Virginia Zucchi, Pierina Legnani, and Enrico Cecchetti, who had “joined foreign companies and theatres in Europe” at the end of the nineteenth century, popularizing “balletic mime.” Giannandrea Poesio, *The Language of Gesture in Italian Dance from Commedia Dell’arte to Blasis* (PhD diss., University of Surrey, 1993), 274.

Such early twentieth-century publications on mime include, according to Poesio, Mark Edward Perugini’s series in *The Dancing Times* in 1914 “on the language of gesture as part of the ballet tradition” (Poesio, 274, citation not given), a later book by Perugini’s wife Irene Mawer, *The Art of Mime* (London, Methuen, 1932), and Gertrude Pickersgill, *Practical Miming* (London: Pitman, 1936). Later books include Joan Lawson, *Mime, the Theory and Practice of Expressive Gestures* (London: Pitman, 1957;

mime scripts preserved in the Sergeyev Collection simply reproduce annotations written in the choreographic notations for the same ballets. Other scripts in the collection are discrete documents that include extensive and detailed mime conversations that are not found in other sources. The mime script for *La Bayadère*—which is preserved in a different archival collection—falls into this latter category as well.

Mariinsky Theater production documents

Production documents is a term I will use for a set of manuscript pages that forms a bound volume held by the St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music and dated 1893–1905.⁴⁹ These pages preserve the stage settings, props, costume accessories, and other elements of the ballets in the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet repertory that were performed at the Mariinsky Theater around the turn of the twentieth century. Notes regarding properties, costume accessories, and the like were made initially in black ink and, by virtue of many annotations and strikethroughs in various inks and pencil, appear to have been revised a number of times over a

New York: Dance Horizons, 1963), Katherine Sorley Walker, *Eyes on Mime: Language Without Speech* (New York: John Day, 1969), and Beryl Morina, *Mime in Ballet* (Winchester Hants, UK: Woodstock Winchester Press, 2000). See also the film *Mime Matters*, directed by Ross MacGibbon (London: Landseer Films Production for Royal Academy of Dance, 2002).

Informative nineteenth-century publications about mime include Frances A. Shaw, *The Art of Oratory: System of Delsarte, from the French of M. L'abbé Delomosne* (Albany: Edgar S. Werner, 1882); Henry Davenport Northrop, *Delsarte Manual of Oratory: Containing the Choicest Recitations and Readings [...]* (Cincinnati: W. H. Ferguson, 1895); and Andrea De Jorio, *La Mimica Degli Antichi Investigata Nel Gestire Napoletano* (Napoli: Del Forno, 1832), tr. in Andrea De Jorio and Adam Kendon, *Gesture in Naples and Gesture in Classical Antiquity: A Translation of La Mimica Degli Antichi Investigata Nel Gestire Napoletano, Gestural Expression of the Ancients in the Light of Neapolitan Gesturing* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000).

See Poesio's discussion of mime treatises and his extensive bibliography thereof (and plates from selected treatises) in Poesio, *Language of Gesture*, 304–312. See also Dene Barnett, *The art of gesture: The practices and principles of 18th century acting* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1987).

⁴⁹ St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music (GMTMI), GIK 16917.

period of years. Some of the annotations are dated with the year they were made—a number of them post-date the compilation period of the manuscript.

Posters and programs

Posters (*affiches*) and programs (folded leaflets) provide details about production credits, names of characters and casting, division of acts and scenes, names of dances, and names and numbers of performers. Part or all of this same information was sometimes included in published librettos as well. Comparison of posters and programs can reveal the chronology of changes made to a particular ballet over time.

Additional sources

In addition to the documents described above, there exists an array of other vital sources that can enrich our knowledge of Petipa's ballets, including images (photographs and costume and scenic designs, to name just a few), reviews, commentaries, and memoirs. These items and accounts can often be used to corroborate information preserved in notations and musical scores.

Most of these valuable sources are held by libraries and museums. Others are in private collections. Some have been published. I will call on a number of these sources as I describe the ballets examined in this dissertation, with a focus on music, staging, and choreography. For the most part, scenery and costumes fall outside the scope of my closest attentions. I do not claim, however, that I have been able to examine every germane source; further pertinent documents certainly exist (though some, including those held by the Central Music Library of the Mariinsky

Theater, for example, are currently unavailable to most scholars), and surely more are waiting in archives or attics, yet to be discovered.

Taken together, this variety of sources brings into clearer view Petipa's working methods and their results on stage. They enable scene-by-scene and dance-by-dance descriptions of *La Bayadère*, *Raymonda*, and *Le jardin animé* that reveal three works alive with variety, strong characterizations, inventive choreography, and a theatrically savvy coordination of music and movement. Finally, the concrete details the sources provide about the structure and content of these ballets enable them to be considered in the context of Petipa's broader output and contributions to the ongoing evolution of the art form.

A note about dance descriptions

The step vocabulary featured in the ballets under discussion primarily represents the *danse d'école*—academic, or classical, dance taught and performed in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Much of the choreography also features character dance—including national, exotic, and historic dances—an important genre within nineteenth-century ballet.⁵¹

Because the Stepanov method relies on symbols to document choreography, I will use French step terminology to describe the movements, acknowledging that many steps continue to

⁵⁰ About nineteenth-century classical dance (also called academic dance or *danse d'école*), see Sandra Noll Hammond, "Dancing *La Sylphide* in 1832: Something Old or Something New?" in *La Sylphide: Paris 1832 and beyond*, ed. Marian Smith (UK: Dance Books, 2012), 31–56, and Hammond, "Dances Related to Theatrical Dance Traditions," in Elizabeth Aldrich, Sandra Noll Hammond, and Armand Russell, *The Extraordinary Dance Book T B. 1826: An Anonymous Manuscript in Facsimile*, Dance and Music Series, no. 11, gen. ed. Wendy Hilton (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000), 31–50.

⁵¹ "Character dance" is a broad term used to refer to social, historical, or "ethnic" (national, folk, exotic) dances whose step vocabulary was often combined with elements of classical dance for inclusion in ballets. See Lisa C. Arkin and Marian Smith, "National Dance in the Romantic Ballet," in *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, ed. Lynn Garafola (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), 11–68, 245–252.

be identified using a variety of terms. Gail Grant's *Technical Manual and Dictionary of Classical Ballet* has been my main source for terminology.⁵² Sometimes, however, I will simply describe the movement or provide the prose terms used in accompanying annotations, calling to mind Sandra Noll Hammond's cautionary advice regarding analysis of nineteenth-century ballet choreography and identification of steps: "Look for similarity of position or movement, not necessarily similarity of nomenclature, for ballet terminology can vary at different times and different locations."⁵³

Several terms require particular definition or explanation:

Arabesque: Most *arabesques* or *demi-arabesques* notated in the Stepanov method feature a raised leg that is bent forty-five degrees at the knee. Rather than identifying this position as *attitude allongée*, I refer to it as *arabesque*.

Bourrée: Although I generally avoid using a step name as a verb, I do employ the term *bourrée* as a verb—a shortened version of Grant's *pas de bourrée suivi*.⁵⁴

Demi: I use the prefix *demi-* to refer to half-height of the leg, or forty-five degrees. (Ninety degrees is the maximum extension notated in the Stepanov method.) For example, *demi-emboîté devant* refers to an *emboîté* in which the leg is raised forty-five degrees to the front, whereas *emboîté devant* refers to an *emboîté* in which the leg is raised ninety degrees (or full height) to the front.

Demi-valse: This term refers to a two-part movement that begins with a step *à plat* (that is, onto a flat foot, usually the front foot in fifth position), followed by a step on *demi-pointe* with the other foot (usually the back foot in fifth position). *Demi-valse* is usually performed multiple times in succession and employed as a traveling step. We will find that Petipa used *demi-valse* in any number of variants, particularly in dances that combine character and *danse d'école* step vocabulary. I thank Jean-Guillaume Bart for his suggestion of this term. Alexei Ratmansky has also shared with me that what I call *demi-valse* is a characteristic step in Russian dance called *pripadanie* (pl., *pripadaniya*).

⁵² Gail Grant, *Technical Manual and Dictionary of Classical Ballet*, 3rd ed. (New York: Dover, 1982). I describe position of the arms according to the French school. See p. 132.

⁵³ Hammond, "Dancing *La Sylphide* in 1832," 36. See also, Sandra Noll Hammond, "Steps Through Time: Selected Dance Vocabulary of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Dance Research* 10, no. 2 (1992): 93–108.

⁵⁴ Grant, *Technical Manual*, 78.

Finally, the step descriptions are not intended as guides for revival but rather to give the reader an idea of the step vocabulary of the period and the way enchaînements were put together. Some of my descriptions of enchaînements will include connecting steps—such as *tombé*, *coupé*, *glissade*, *pas marché*—while others will consist of only primary steps.

Chapter Two

La Bayadère

Set in India, *La Bayadère* is one of Marius Petipa's most popular and enduring "exotic" ballets. Premiering in 1877, the four-act spectacle took its place alongside the choreographer's other major exoticist works: *The Pharaoh's Daughter* (1862), set in Egypt, and *Le Roi Candaule* (1868), set in the ancient kingdom of Lydia. The story of *La Bayadère* was based in part on *Sacountala*, a ballet-pantomime produced in Paris two decades earlier by Petipa's brother, Lucien. Another ballet-pantomime, *Giselle* (1841, Paris) also served as inspiration for some of *La Bayadère*'s character relationships and scene details, particularly in the ghostly Kingdom of the Shades. The Orient was conjured by costumes and scenic designs ("ethnographically true costumes," according to one review of the 1877 production), and character dances evoked a European idea of local Indian color.¹ Academic dances, of course, were a staple of Petipa's choreography, not only in the Kingdom of the Shades, which has become one of classical ballet's most beloved scenes, but in the final act's *pas d'action*. This narrative-driven, multi-movement dance structure was developed by Petipa and often served as the centerpiece of a scene or act. All of these elements were supported by the well-crafted score by Ludwig Minkus, which is distinguished by its musical unity, achieved through recurring melodic and rhythmic motifs, and its representations of Indian and other "exotic" music using a variety of established techniques.

La Bayadère's plot and its precedents in earlier ballets. The authorship of the libretto has been the subject of discussion since the ballet's premiere. Current scholarship favors a

¹ *Golos*, 26 January 1877, 2, tr. in Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 20.

collaboration between Petipa and the journalist and historian Sergei Khudekov (1837–1927).²

While phrases from Petipa’s preparatory notes for *La Bayadère* are quoted nearly verbatim in the libretto, other more erudite features likely were Khudekov’s contribution. Indeed, Roland John Wiley suggests Khudekov “may have been responsible for the inclusion (and possible misuse) of Indian lore and Sanskrit terms.”³

The melodramatic plot involves Nikia, a bayadère (an Indian temple dancer), who loves Solor, a great warrior. The two pledge eternal love, but Solor is obligated to marry the Rajah’s daughter, Hamsatti, who with her father plots and murders Nikia.⁴ Solor dreams of meeting Nikia in the Kingdom of the Shades, where the bayadère warns him not to betray her. In the final wedding scene, the spirit of Nikia appears to Solor and, as he and Hamsatti are wed, the gods exact vengeance and the temple is destroyed by an earthquake and lightning, killing all within. Nikia and Solor are reunited, and together they fly over the peaks of the Himalayas.

Sergey Konaev has characterized this plot as a “revenge drama,” in contrast to the “love drama,” epitomized by the 1841 Romantic-era ballet *Giselle*.⁵ Nevertheless, *La Bayadère* shares much with *Giselle* in its plot and characters.⁶ Indeed, in his notes outlining the now-famous

² See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 141; Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 18–19; and Sergey Konaev, “Der Tigre Captif und Gustave Doré: Marius Petipas Inspirations-Quellen” [The *Tigre captif* and Gustave Doré: Marius Petipa’s sources of inspiration], in *La Bayadère* program book (Berlin: Staatsballett Berlin, 2018), 44.

The 1877 libretto of *La Bayadère* has been translated by Wiley in *Century*, 293–303.

³ Wiley, *Century*, 291n2.

⁴ I follow Petipa’s spelling of “Hamsatti” instead of the more common “Gamzatti.”

⁵ Konaev, “Der Tigre Captif,” 45.

⁶ Tiziana Leucci has also drawn connections between *La Bayadère* and *Giselle*. See Tiziana Leucci, “Naslediye Romantizma i Oriyentalizma v Baletakh Mariusa Petipa s Indiyским motivom: ‘Bayaderka’ (1877) i ‘Talisman’ (1889) [The heritage of Romanticism and Orientalism in Ballets by Marius Petipa with Indian motives: “Bayaderka” (1877) and “Talisman” (1889)], *Vestnik Akademii Russkogo baleta*

Kingdom of the Shades scene, Petipa referred to *Giselle* several times, as we shall see below. And like *Giselle*, the story of *La Bayadère* centers on two love triangles. The first, made up of Solor, Nikia, and the Great Brahmin who loves her, can be seen as analogous to the lovers Albert and Giselle and the jealous Hilarion; the second, including Solor, Nikia, and Hamsatti, is another version of Albert, Giselle, and Bathilde, Albert's fiancée. However, as a "revenge drama," most of *Bayadère*'s characters are as aggressive as *Giselle*'s Hilarion in their attempts to steer the action toward their own purposes. But where Hilarion is ultimately contrite, the Brahmin is obdurate. Where Bathilde and Giselle find common ground, Hamsatti and Nikia quickly become enemies to the death in their quest to claim Solor as their own. Solor seems the exception. Whereas Albert is actively duplicitous (although an aristocrat, he presents himself to Giselle as a fellow peasant), Solor becomes lost in his own dilemma. After an energetic opening scene, he recedes into inertia, conceding to stronger characters. Like *Giselle*, nearly half of *La Bayadère* takes place after its heroine has died. But once Nikia has met Solor in the afterlife, she returns to the real world to claim her vengeance. Unforgiving, she waits for Solor to die before claiming him, whereas Giselle saves her lover from the vengeful and ghostly Wilis and returns him to his fiancée.⁷

In addition to *Giselle*, Lucien Petipa's *Sacountala*, produced in 1858 for the Paris Opéra, significantly influenced the story of *La Bayadère*. The libretto for that ballet, by Théophile Gautier (co-librettist of *Giselle*) was based on Kalidasa's Sanskrit play *Shakuntala*, of which a French translation (of a 1789 English translation) had been published in 1803.⁸ The title

imeni A. Ya. Vaganovoy [Bulletin of the Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Ya. Vaganova] 6 (2019): 27–28.

⁷ See Tim Scholl, *From Petipa to Balanchine* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 5–7, for a discussion of features of Romantic ballet present in *La Bayadère*.

character is an Indian woman “of celestial origin” who enjoys the protection of the gods and falls in love with the King of India.⁹ After overcoming a series of obstacles set up by the ballet’s antagonists, the lovers are united. The plot is quite like that of *La Bayadère*, though it has a happy ending. The opening scene, in particular, is clearly the model for *Bayadère*’s Festival of Fire, and some of the character names were borrowed as well (*Sacountala*’s Dushmata became *Bayadère*’s Dugmanta, Madhava became Madhavaya, and Hamsati was borrowed as Hamsatti).

The Western conception of the bayadère. *La Bayadère* and *Sacountala* are only two of many Western works of the period that drew from the Indian devadasi tradition. Molly Engelhardt has described the transformation of the devadasi into the bayadère (a French term taken from the Portuguese *bailadeira*, meaning female dancer), particularly “the origins of the bayadère story and how the devadasi tradition in India was appropriated and repackaged by poets, librettists, and choreographers for Western consumption.”¹⁰ The elevated devadasi, a dedicated servant of god who ranked higher than men in her religious community and who enjoyed a variety of legal rights and certain sexual freedoms, was transformed into the bayadère, a subservient, fallen sinner in need of redemption.¹¹ (Nikia refers to herself as “a miserable bayadère.”) This redefinition was largely accomplished by Goethe in his 1798 ballad *Der Gott und die Bajadere*, which served as an essential source for the 1830 Parisian opera-ballet of the

⁸ *Sacountala, or the Fatal Ring... translated from the original Sanskrit and Prakrit* (Calcutta, 1789); *Sacountala, ou l’anneau fatal, drame traduit de la langue sanskrit en Anglais, par Sir W[illiam] Jones, et de l’Anglais, en Français par le citoyen A. Bruguière; avec des notes des traducteurs* (Paris, 1803). See Gautier’s 19 July 1858 article on *Sacountala*, published in *Le Moniteur Universel* and tr. in Gautier, *Gautier on Dance*, 281–287.

⁹ Cyril W. Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1941), 363.

¹⁰ Molly Engelhardt, “The real bayadère meets the ballerina on the Western stage,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 42, no. 3 (2014): 511.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 512.

same name, *Le Dieu et la Bayadère, ou la Courtisane amoureuse*. A collaboration by composer Daniel Auber, librettist Eugène Scribe, and choreographer Filippo Taglioni, the work was a vehicle for Marie Taglioni, who danced the role of the Zoloé, a bayadère rewarded by the Hindu god Brahma for her self-sacrifice.¹² The libretto of *La Bayadère* assumes the merger of the devadasi and bayadère by defining the former as “bayadères of the first rank” then explaining that “[b]ayadères are charged with looking after the pagodas; they live in the pagodas and study with the brahmins.”¹³

Engelhardt also cites Jacob Haafner’s *Reize in eenen Palanquin*, a travel narrative published in 1808, as an important source for the Western notion of the bayadère. She argues that this work influenced not only *Le Dieu et la Bayadère* but *La Sylphide* as well, “the ballet that dance historians agree marks the genesis of the form and pathos of the romantic ballet.”¹⁴ In his writings, “Haafner not only legitimizes the function of the devadasi [the financially independent temple prostitute who, as a servant of god, is rewarded with heaven] in his account, but he also praises the natural beauty of the Indian dancer and her affinity with nature in ways that anticipate European dance reviewers’ celebration of the romantic form and the ballerinas who embodied it.”¹⁵ Giannandrea Poesio similarly described the bayadère’s “double nature of priestess and

¹² About Taglioni in *Le Dieu et la Bayadère*, see Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 2nd ed. (London: Dance Books, 1980; 3rd ed. Alton, UK: Dance Books, 2008), 102–105, 233–235. For a discussion of *Le Dieu et la Bayadère*, see Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 138–149.

¹³ Wiley, *Century*, 294.

¹⁴ Engelhardt, “The real bayadère,” 513.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

dancer [which] epitomized the characteristic dichotomy of the Romantic female image: saint and sinner, angel and whore, unreachable and desirable.”¹⁶

Gautier wrote with enthusiasm about the group of touring devadasis that performed in Paris in 1838. He acknowledged at the outset of his description that, in addition to whatever notions of “the East” the word bayadère would conjure in the mind,

[y]ou will also be reminded of the slender legs of Mlle Taglioni beneath billowing clouds of muslin, the rosy shades of her tights plunging you into dreams of the same hue. Inevitably, the very unIndian bayadère of the Opéra will merge with the *devadasi* of Pondicherry and Chandernagore.¹⁷

At the end of his report, however, having recounted in great detail the bodies, dress, music, and dance of the Indian devadasis, Gautier concluded: “It is reported that the Bayaderes will make their debut at the Variétés. Their proper place is at the Opéra, in *Le Dieu et la bayadère*.”¹⁸

Engelhardt notes the historical inaccuracies that resulted from this merger of diluted elements of Indian culture into the milieu of Western European academic dance theater:

The backdrops of the ballets were not accurate—a little bit of Turkey here, a little bit of India there—and ballerinas wore their bouffant knee-length tutus slightly adjusted with an eastern trim. They still danced en pointe, pirouetted across the stage, and abided by the rules of classical ballet, using sensualist elements—scarves, earrings, darkened faces—as props for representing an exotic, non-specific east.¹⁹

¹⁶ Giannandrea Poesio, “The Choreographer and the Temple Dancer: the origins of *La Bayadère*,” *Dancing Times* 87, no. 1038 (March 1997): 527–528. Poesio suggests other stage works that may have served to inform Petipa’s understanding of the bayadère and Orientalism more generally. These include Jean Coralli’s ballet *La Péri* (1843) as well as two operas, Verdi’s *Aida* and Gluck’s *Orfeo e Euridice*, both of which Petipa choreographed in the decade before creating *La Bayadère*. Nadine Meisner also points out the similarities in *Bayadère*’s plot to *La Péri* as well as to Saint-Léon’s *Météora, or the Valley of the Stars* (originally, *Météora, ou as estrelas cadentas*). See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 140–141.

¹⁷ Gautier, *La Presse*, 20 August 1838, tr. in Théophile Gautier, *Gautier on Dance*, ed. and tr. Ivor Guest (London: Dance Books, 1986), 39.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁹ Engelhardt, “The real bayadère,” 510. See also Rajika Puri, “Im dienste der Gottheit: Die Indische Devadasi” [In the service of the deity: The Indian Devadasi], in *La Bayadère* program book (Berlin: Staatsballett Berlin, 2018): 11–13.

Petipa's inspirations for La Bayadère. Within this context of imprecisions, Petipa had done his research, in his usual fashion, by looking to current events and visual arts for inspiration for his staging of *La Bayadère*. The Prince of Wales's visit to India in 1875 was covered extensively by European newspapers and periodicals. As Konaev has demonstrated, reports accompanied by evocative sketches published in one of Petipa's favorite French magazines, *L'Illustration*, as well as in the Russian magazine *Vsemirnaya Illustratsia* (World Illustrated), surely fueled the choreographer's imagination and inspired a number of particular moments in the ballet.²⁰ Petipa's efforts did not go unnoticed, as evidenced by this review of *La Bayadère* in the *Journal de Saint Pétersbourg*:

Everything necessary to render the *couleur locale* exactly has been taken from engravings appearing in the *Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News* on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' journey. As a result, we see a series of scrupulously exact tableaux of the mores and costumes of the Indians, which naturally give the ballet an ethnographic interest quite exceptional and singularly fascinating.²¹

Despite these engaging visual components, balletomane Konstantin Skalkovsky reminded readers in *Novoe vremya* of the limits of realism in ballet:

Mr. Petipa borrowed from India... only some external features, because the dances of this scene [the Festival of Fire] are little similar to the dances of the bayadères, which consist, as is well known, of some oscillations of the body and measured movements of the arms to the most doleful music.²²

Finally, as Konaev notes, "Petipa's other source of inspiration and lifelong devotion were illustrations by Gustave Doré. There is innumerable evidence in Petipa's archives that he actively studied almost all the editions illustrated by Doré and then used them in his works."²³

²⁰ Konaev, "Der Tigre Captif," 44–45.

²¹ *Journal de Saint Pétersbourg*, 25 January 1877, no. 17, 2, tr. in Wiley, *Century*, 292.

²² *Novoe vremya*, 26 January 1877, 2, tr. in Wiley, *Century*, 291.

As we proceed through the ballet scene by scene, we will encounter Petipa's incorporation of these various inspirational sources.

Characters (in order of appearance)

Roots of La Bayadère's plot and characters in nineteenth-century Orientalist opera.

Before introducing the ballet's individual characters, let us briefly contextualize the story of *La Bayadère* as a whole. Ralph Locke has identified a paradigmatic plot characteristic of Orientalist operas of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that can be broadly applied to ballets of the same period.²⁴ This plot involves a white, European man (in opera, a tenor) who ventures into a brown- or black-skinned colony represented by alluring female dancers. There he both encounters an affectionate and sensitive woman (a lyric soprano) and incurs the wrath of a high priest or other tribal leader (a baritone or bass). While *La Bayadère* diverges somewhat from this paradigm (for example, all of its characters are Indian Hindus—Locke makes the point that “[a]n archetypal plot is not a rigid template”), we can identify within its characters and storylines elements that correspond to these archetypes and narrative tropes.²⁵

The warrior **Solor** is the leading male character in *La Bayadère*. The libretto tells us he is a “wealthy and important kshatriya,” that is, a high-ranking member of the Hindu military caste.²⁶ Early in the ballet, Solor is both amicable and authoritative in his milieu—in his dealings

²³ Konaev, “Der Tigre Captif,” 45.

²⁴ Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 181. Locke refers to the Orient in broad terms—encompassing Morocco on the western end to Japan on the eastern end. See page 177.

²⁵ Ibid., 182.

²⁶ Wiley, *Century*, 294.

with his peer Toloragva and also with the religious fakir Madhavaya. Although Solor is what Locke calls a “duty-bound male,” he falls in love with Nikia, a bayadère who is bound to the temple.²⁷ Knowing they cannot be together in their current circumstances, Solor implores Nikia to run away with him. Yet, when the Rajah tells him he must marry his daughter Hamsatti (the two, in fact, have been promised to each other since childhood), Solor is ultimately unwilling to renounce her for Nikia. He spends the rest of the ballet dealing with his plight internally, revealing himself to be an *homme fragile*, which Locke defines as dreamy (literally, in this case) and under the spell of the female lead.²⁸

Solor’s comrade **Toloragva** is also a kshatriya.²⁹ According to the sources, he is active only in the opening scene, where he functions as a peer for Solor to converse with and leads the hunters in his absence. He is Solor’s second-in-command.

Madhavaya.³⁰ The term fakir (from the Arabic *faqīr*, meaning “poor”) is of Muslim origin but came to be applied in India to Hindus as well. Fakirs were holy men believed to possess miraculous powers, such as the ability to walk on fire, hence their inclusion in the opening scene’s Festival of Fire. The fakir Madhavaya is a facilitator and informant for Solor, and he is kind and sympathetic toward the lovers. He is also smart, resourceful, and alert.

²⁷ Locke discusses the “duty-bound male” in the context of Orientalist plot tropes. See Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 186.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 192–196.

²⁹ The cast list in the libretto gives the spelling as “Toloragva,” but the libretto text, 1877 poster, and subsequent programs give the spelling as “Toloragva.” See Appendix B and C.

³⁰ The cast list in the libretto and 1877 poster gives the spelling as “Madgavaya” (using Latin-alphabet transliteration), but “Magdavaya” is used in the libretto text and later programs. See Appendix B and C. I have opted for the first spelling and, as with Hamsatti, I use the Roman the letter “h” instead of the more common “g” in place of the Cyrillic “r.” Madhava is a Sanskrit name and another name for Vishnu, with references to sweetness and honey.

The **Great Brahmin** is the leader within a high-ranking priestly caste and the ballet's primary antagonist and catalyst for tragedy. He is the type described by Locke as the "brutal, intransigent priest." But as with the other principal players in *La Bayadère*, his character embodies complexities that go beyond stereotypes.³¹ He desires Nikia for himself and uses his "coercive power" in an attempt to force her to submit to him.³² When, out of jealousy, he exposes the romance of Solor and Nikia to the Rajah, he does not anticipate the Rajah's decision to have the bayadère killed and bitterly regrets his actions. But ultimately his pride—and what Locke refers to as the "fanatical rigidity and intolerance" of this character type—proves more powerful than any affection he feels for Nikia.³³

As a bayadère, **Nikia**'s dual nature of godly servant and alluring woman combine to make her both a *femme fragile* and *femme fatale*.³⁴ As the former, she returns Solor's affections and would rather die than be without him. She also fears that Solor, who is above her station, will abandon her. But as *femme fatale*, she continually and threateningly reminds her lover of his vow to her, does not hesitate to take up a dagger to kill a romantic interloper, and ultimately wreaks vengeance on the entire cast with the apparent blessing of the gods.

Rajah. Dugmanta, the rajah of Golconda, had carefully planned for the future of his kingdom by promising his daughter Hamsatti to the warrior Solor when they were both children.³⁵ As a ruler, he expects his will to be done and does not tolerate deviation or

³¹ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, see 181.

³² *Ibid.*, 196.

³³ *Ibid.*, 198.

³⁴ See Locke's discussion of these character types in Orientalist opera in *Musical Exoticism*, 184–192.

³⁵ Golconda was a territory in southwestern India.

opposition. When he learns from the Great Brahmin that Solor plans to marry Nikia, he immediately resolves to have her killed, regardless of her religious status.

As the daughter of the Rajah, **Hamsatti** wields power and influence, making her more *femme fatale* than *femme fragile*. She believes herself entitled and is willing to kill to get what she believes should be hers. She is guilty of “personally vindictive violence” against Nikia, another trope cited by Locke.³⁶ But she also suffers from feelings of insecurity and is unsure that Solor will find her attractive or love her. The similarities between Nikia and Hamsatti as *femmes fatales* are suggested by the title of the ballet’s second scene, “The Two Rivals.” But because Hamsatti is “earthly,” whereas Nikia is “heavenly,” she ultimately loses out to divine intervention.

Aiya. The term *aiya*, of Malay origin, refers to a maid or nursemaid. Hamsatti’s *aiya* is described as a “slave girl” in the libretto but was portrayed by an adult woman in Imperial Ballet productions.³⁷ In modern productions, the character is sometimes interpreted by an older women, suggesting a close, familial relationship between princess and nanny. Young or old, Hamsatti’s *aiya* cares deeply for her and defends her from Nikia’s attack.

Depictions of people of color. The hierarchy of performers within the Imperial Ballet demonstrates an imperialist model of depicting race: lower-ranking members of the company and school had their skin darkened by make-up and costuming. Cast photographs of the revival in

³⁶ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 196.

³⁷ Wiley, *Century*, 294. See Irina Boglacheva, ed. *Peterburgskiy balet. Tri veka: khronika. Tom III. 1851–1900* [The Petersburg ballet. Three centuries: A chronicle. Volume III. 1851–1900] (St. Petersburg: Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Y. Vaganova, 2015) [hereafter *Khronika III*], 189. *Khronika III* lists A[lexandra] Natarova as the *aiya* in 1877; however, because Alexandra Natarova was born in 1869 and “Natarova” listed on the poster is not designated as a student, it seems likely that the role was played by Varvara Natarova, a member of the corps de ballet since 1867.

1900 and its subsequent performances show that these artists included male supernumeraries (the most inconsequential of roles) in Act One as well as the young boy students (in roles akin to the Arab boys in Act Two of *Raymonda*—see Chapter Three—and the young “nègres” in the divertissement *Le jardin animé* from *Le Corsaire*—see Chapter Four) and the men carrying large fans in the Act Two divertissement. (The roles for the boys and men in Act Two also feature the ballet’s most basic step vocabulary in comparison to the more complex choreography for other roles.³⁸)

The drummer in the Hindu Dance appears to have been another type of performer presented with darkened skin: a leading but nameless character in a divertissement. A color caricature drawn by Nikolai and Sergei Legat depicts Vasily Stukolkin as the drummer in the Act Two Hindu Dance, the wildest exotic number in the festival divertissement.³⁹ Stukolkin’s costume features a dark brown leotard, dark brown face make-up, and dark brown slippers that suggest bare feet. Other exotic elements include large hoop earrings, bracelets worn on his wrists and arms, a large necklace crossing his chest, bells on his ankles, and exaggerated features—long black hair and large red lips.

³⁸ For example, see the supernumeraries on the steps of the pagoda in the cast photo of Act One (St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music [GMTMI], 3240/48, circa 1900, available online at <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=12631641>), the student boys (sitting with their legs crossed) and the supernumeraries (holding large fans at the rear of the stage) in the cast photo of Act Two, Scene Three (GMTMI GIK 2705/160, circa 1900, available online at <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=7655664>), and the later photo (circa 1917) of Petr Vladimirov as Solor with two boys from the Act Two divertissement (GMTMI GIK 17937/4299, available online at <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=31691539>).

³⁹ This and many other caricatures were published in Nikolai and Sergei Legat, *Russkiy balet’ v karrikaturakh’* [sic] [Russian ballet in caricatures] (St. Petersburg: 1902–1905).

In contrast, the highest-ranking performers (including the ballerinas and *premier danseur*) and performers of roles with governmental or religious authority (including those portraying the Rajah and Great Brahmin) do not appear to have had their skin darkened.⁴⁰

La Bayadère in the context of Petipa's oeuvre

Dance and exoticist spectacle in La Bayadère. Roland John Wiley has placed *La Bayadère* in the broader context of Petipa's *oeuvre*: “*La Bayadère* illustrates the continuing vitality of the *ballet à grand spectacle* on oriental motifs, of which *The Pharaoh's Daughter* was prototype: extravagant tableaux interspersed with episodes of an active, melodramatic love story.”⁴¹ Indeed, melodrama fills *La Bayadère*, particularly its first two scenes, which are primarily exposition with little dancing. “Extravagant tableaux” form the bases of two subsequent scenes, one a religious festival and the other the Kingdom of the Shades, set in the spiritual realm. The ballet also includes depictions of “Eastern ceremoniality”—several rituals and numerous processions—which Locke identifies as “the most prominent markers of an Eastern society” in operas.⁴² Such rituals and processions, of course, could easily be included in ballets, which—whether set in the East or West—often called for processions anyway, followed by suites of dances (in which rituals or other observances could be enacted). Opportunities for dance are also built into the various ceremonies and are often centered around Nikia, who, as a bayadère, both conforms to Orientalist stereotypes and fulfills Romantic ballet's requirement of a

⁴⁰ See GMTMI GIK 2705/160. See also the photo (circa 1901) of Julia Sedova (Hamsatti), Nikolai Aistov (Dugmanta), and Pavel Gerdt (Solor). GMTMI GIK 2037/99, available online at <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=12631653>.

⁴¹ Wiley, *Century*, 291. See also Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 17.

⁴² Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 196.

modicum of verisimilitude: she is a dancer. Group dances also have rationales: they are part of religious rituals or festival celebrations, or they represent a natural expression of the characters' nature—the shades of dead bayadères, for example.⁴³

A list of *La Bayadère*'s scenes (with the titles given in the libretto) and their various components demonstrates this amalgam of exoticist elements, traditional features of the *ballet à grand spectacle*, and opportunities for justifiable dance:

Act One, Scene One: The Festival of Fire

- Festival of Fire (mysterious religious ceremony)
- Procession-like entrance of the Great Brahmin, munis, *rsi*, *bramacarins*, gurus
- Dance of the bayadères
- Dance of the fakirs

Act Two, Scene Two: The Two Rivals

- Procession-like entrance of Rajah, kshatriyas
- *Djampe* dance to entertain the Rajah

Act Two, Scene Three: The Bayadère's Death

- Procession of Badrinata
- Large festival divertissement comprising multiple dances and groupings

Act Three, Scene Four: The Appearance of the Shade

- Dance of snake charmers (described in libretto)/Dance of astrologers (listed on poster: *Sakodusa*) performed to calm and distract Solor⁴⁴

Act Three, Scene Five: The Kingdom of the Shades

- Extended classical *pas* featuring large, female corps de ballet comprising multiple dances

Act Three, Scene Six: Solor's Awakening

Act Four, Scene Seven: The Gods' Wrath

- Procession-like entrance of warriors, brahmins, bayadères, Hamsatti, Rajah and retinue, Solor
- *Pas d'action* comprising entrée, adagio, variations, coda for relatively small cast of eight performers
- Wedding ceremony

⁴³ See Smith, *Ballet and Opera*, 65–67.

⁴⁴ See Appendix B for the 1877 poster.

- Natural event precipitated by religious ceremony: lightning, earthquake

Apotheosis

Petipa's development of the pas d'action. Act Four of *La Bayadère* includes an example of one of Petipa's most significant innovations, which has to do with the way he structured dances. In Petipa's original works, he repackaged the older, free-form *pas d'action* into a clearly structured multi-movement dance suite with a narrative basis.⁴⁵

Most Parisian ballet-pantomimes of the mid-nineteenth century were comprised of nearly equal amounts of pantomime and dance. These sometimes intersected, however, in scenes that can be called *pas d'action* (literally, dance with action *or* dance of action), though the term was not in widespread use at the time, or *scène dansante* (danced scene), a term used in printed programs in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Notably, in the production documents (scores, manuals, etc.) that describe this type of scene, there was no stable term used to label it. Various descriptive terms were used (*Scène et Pas*, for example), and the scene type was effective and well known. But like other formal structures (for example, "sonata form" in instrumental music and "solita forma" in Italian opera), it was not given a generic appellation during its heyday, doubtless because nobody deemed it necessary.

In the ballets that he created anew (as opposed to his revivals of existing ballets), Petipa continued to mix dance and action; he also used the term *pas d'action* to refer to a distinct formal structure that combined the two. I refer to Petipa's expanded version of the *pas d'action* structure as a "multi-movement dance suite" in order to convey its greater scale and the fact that it

⁴⁵ For a broader discussion of structure in Petipa's ballets, see Tim Scholl, *From Petipa to Balanchine* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 4–12.

includes several distinct segments.⁴⁶ These large-scale dance structures combine (on one hand) the narrative-driving mimetic elements of earlier *pas d'action*—one or more of the movements includes mime content or acting—with (on the other hand) divertissements comprised of various numbers, such as an *entrée*, *adagio*, variations, and coda (for example, the *pas de cinq* featuring dancers representing five European nations in the opening scene of Joseph Mazilier's *Le Corsaire*).

This is not to say that Petipa was the first to employ this structure. In fact, the four-movement *Pas de Mlle Carlotta Grisi* in the first act of Mazilier's *Paquita* is an example of the *pas d'action* structure (or multi-movement dance suite) that was later taken up by Petipa. This *pas* comprises four distinct movements—*entrée*, two variations, and coda—with pantomime included in its opening movement. Although the action—according to Justamant's staging manual, two men nearly come to fisticuffs over Paquita⁴⁷—does not relate directly to the plot of the ballet, the structure of the multi-movement dance suite and the inclusion of action is clearly in place in this 1846 Parisian ballet. In retrospect, one may see it as an inspiration and model for Petipa's later multi-movement *pas d'action*.

Beginning with *The Pharaoh's Daughter* in 1862, Petipa regularly included such *pas d'action*, or multi-movement dance suites, in his ballets, and in many cases he used the term *pas d'action* in their titles. In contrast to the intimacy of most *pas d'action* created by his predecessors (Jean Coralli, Jules Perrot, and Mazilier, to name only a few), some of Petipa's *pas d'action* were extended and grandiose affairs that featured a large cast of performers. For

⁴⁶ See Fullington, "Finding the Balance."

⁴⁷ Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung der Universität Köln, Schloß Wahn (The Theater Studies Collection of the University of Cologne, at Wahn Castle), Inventory Number 70-479. Justamant's manual documents a production of *Paquita* staged in 1854 at the Grand Théâtre, Lyon.

example, the four-movement *Grand pas d'action* in the first act of *Sleeping Beauty*—which includes the famous “Rose” adagio—featured twenty-four performers, including non-dancing characters and students.⁴⁸

This study includes examination of two *pas d'action*, both with small casts. In *La Bayadère*, Petipa saved the *pas d'action* until the ballet’s final climactic scene, the wedding of Solor and Hamsatti. The shade of Nikia appears numerous times during the various movements (entrée, adagio, variations, and coda for eight dancers) that make up the dance. In *Raymonda*, we will find that the second-act *Grand pas d'action* (adagio, four variations, and coda for six dancers) demonstrates the Muslim warrior Abderrakhman’s amorous pursuit of Raymonda.

The Music

Turning next to the music, let us examine the score by Petipa’s frequent collaborator, the Austrian composer Ludwig Minkus (1826–1917). Wiley, who has delineated the role of the ballet composer in late-nineteenth century Russia, concludes that Minkus’ score for *La Bayadère* is “varied and subordinate but competent” and “stands directly in the specialist tradition,” a tradition that called for composers to hew to the needs of the ballet master, to complement with their music the visual component of the ballet and “vivify” the dance as well, and to provide the right orchestral colors at the right times.⁴⁹ As Wiley puts it, “The right choice [of sonority] had to be made for numerous solo obbligatos, and mime scenes were to be made suitably characterful by including descriptive elements appropriate to the action.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ See the *Sleeping Beauty* libretto, tr. in Wiley, *Century*, 362.

⁴⁹ Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 23; see also 1–10 for his full discussion of the skills and challenges of the specialist composer. Robert Letellier provides a more positive assessment of Minkus’ work. See Robert Ignatius Letellier, *The Ballets of Ludwig Minkus* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 24–34. For a discussion of Parisian traditions, see Smith, *Ballet and Opera*, especially 3–18.

Yet no matter how difficult the task, nor how successfully the specialist ballet composer met its challenges, Russian “serious” composers tended to look down on ballet music until Tchaikovsky started composing it and were likely unsympathetic to ballet lovers of the time who, as Wiley notes,

...liked the works of specialist composers (and they still do today), possibly because they experienced them in the theatre and grew familiar with them in their proper setting.⁵¹

In any case, Minkus, who appears to have begun composing for ballet as early as 1857, served successfully as Court Ballet Composer of the Imperial Theaters in St. Petersburg from 1872 to 1885.⁵² He enjoyed a particularly fruitful relationship with Petipa, beginning with their initial collaboration on *Don Quixote*, which premiered in Moscow in 1869. During his tenure, Minkus wrote the scores for the large majority of Petipa’s new works, with *Don Quixote* and *La Bayadère* becoming the two most famous ballets resulting from their partnership. Indeed, Minkus’ score for *La Bayadère* was deemed successful and served its purpose well, as summed up by Ekaterina Vazem, the first Nikia:

Of all of my created roles, Nikia was my favourite. I liked this ballet for its beautiful and very theatrical libretto, its interesting and colourful dances in various genres and for its music by Minkus, highly successful in its melodies and appropriate to the choreography and to every scene.⁵³

⁵⁰ Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 7.

⁵¹ Ibid., 6. Note also that throughout the nineteenth century, ballet in St. Petersburg was very much a European enterprise in terms of its influences and creative leadership. Petipa’s predecessors in the post of first ballet master were primarily French, including Charles Didelot, Antoine Titus, Jules Perrot, and Arthur Saint-Léon. Minkus’ immediate predecessor in the post of ballet composer was the Italian musician Cesare Pugni.

⁵² About Minkus, see Letellier, *Ludwig Minkus*, 5–17.

⁵³ Ekaterina Vazem, “Memoirs of a Ballerina of the St Petersburg Bolshoi Theatre,” tr. Nina Dimitrievitch, part 4: *Dance Research* 6, no. 2 (Autumn 1988), 33.

Among Petipa's plans for *La Bayadère* is a page detailing the numbers in Act Four that the ballet master noted he had given to Minkus (see below). That the specificity in the description of music and action is far less than what Petipa provided for Tchaikovsky may be an indication of Minkus' familiarity with the ballet master's working process, a familiarity he no doubt developed during their many years of collaboration.⁵⁴

Several musical sources allow for both a description of Minkus' score and coordination of it with information found in other sources, including choreographic notations and mime scripts. A microfilm of a two-violin *répétiteur* (Rep) is preserved in the Sergeyev Collection.⁵⁵ At 312 pages, its contents appear to span at least the period 1877 to 1901 and provide a record of changes made to the score during that time—cuts, interpolations, and changes in order—and a handful of annotations. In addition, a manuscript piano reduction (PR), also an Imperial-era document (as its scribal hand suggests), is held by the Royal Opera House, London.⁵⁶ Comprising 228 pages, it includes a variety of brief annotations in Russian and English (often entrances) which confirm its use through the mid-twentieth century.⁵⁷ Additional piano reductions and an orchestral score of the Kingdom of the Shades (discussed below) are also held

⁵⁴ Petipa's notes for Tchaikovsky for *Sleeping Beauty* and *The Nutcracker* are reproduced and translated in Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 354–359 and 371–376, respectively.

⁵⁵ MS Thr 245 (272), Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁵⁶ Royal Opera House score courtesy of Lars Payne. No shelf mark has been provided. The piano reduction of Act Four is reproduced in Ludwig Minkus, *La Bayadère*, ed. Robert Ignatius Letellier (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 298–331. This publication also includes a reproduction of “a répétiteur's piano score from Kiev (1981)” of the complete ballet, representing twentieth-century Soviet-era productions, and additional excerpts.

⁵⁷ For example, the manuscript annotations “Rudi” and “Margot” are references to Rudolf Nureyev and Margot Fonteyn, who first performed the roles of Solor and Nikia together in the “Kingdom of the Shades” scene in 1965, in a staging by Nureyev for The Royal Ballet.

at Harvard. These scores appear to have been copied (and likely orchestrated) during Sergeyev's years in Riga (as were similar scores for *Giselle* and *Paquita*).⁵⁸

The musical examples that follow in this chapter are drawn from both the Rep and PR, but their numbering and barring follow the Rep. For some examples, I have combined annotated details regarding instrumentation, as well as dynamics and phrase marks, from both sources. I have also corrected obvious errors and edited lightly for consistency.

Recurring motifs

Conforming to standard practice for nineteenth-century ballet scores, Minkus' score for *La Bayadère* is made up of many discrete and fairly short numbers. Most of these numbers are built on phrases of four, eight, or sixteen bars, and rather than following the action in a literal way—for example, by underscoring particular physical gestures with descriptive musical ones (common in scores composed earlier in the century)—they provide atmospheric music appropriate to the action or the emotions being expressed.

One of Minkus' most effective and oft-deployed devices is the short rhythmic or melodic motif. Most notable, perhaps, is a rhythm first heard in the Great Brahmin's motif. This rhythm also appears in numerous subsequent melodic motifs, thereby providing continuity to much of the action music throughout the ballet. This rhythmic motif also appears in select dance melodies, often those accompanying Nikia, perhaps to demonstrate that her fate is tied to the

⁵⁸ See Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 99. Sources held at the Mariinsky Theater and described by Pavel Gershenzon in an article in 2002 include Minkus' autograph score and three two-violin *répétiteurs*. Gershenzon describes the *répétiteurs* as containing "extensive handwritten notes marking dancers' entrances, combinations, and so forth, along with paraphrases of the mime passages synchronized to the music." Gershenzon, "*La Bayadère*," 17–18, 23, 24–25. I was unable to consult these sources for the present study.

Brahmin's actions. Other motifs appear only in a single act or scene, providing short-term continuity between music and action.

Great Brahmin's motif. The heavy, descending motif Minkus composed to represent the Great Brahmin accompanies the priest's initial entrance. Marked *maestoso* (majestic) in the Rep, the stark, stately theme makes clear the Brahmin's authoritative station and exemplifies the rigidity of the high priest character type (Ex. 2.1a).⁵⁹ The motif returns when the jealous Brahmin visits the Rajah to inform him of Solor's pledge of love to Nikia, underscoring the gravity of the situation (Act Two, Scene Two, No. 6).

Ex. 2.1a Great Brahmin's motif; Act One, No. 2, bars 1–8

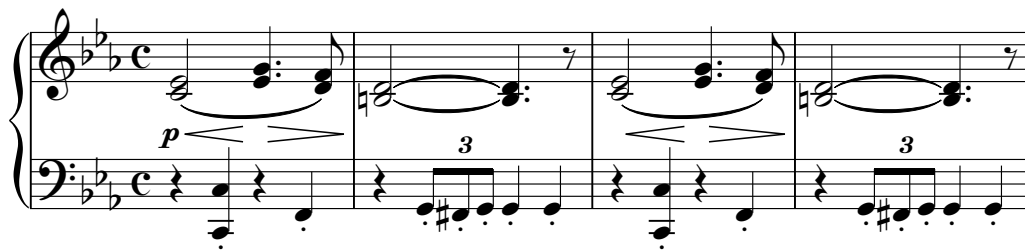
The musical score for Ex. 2.1a is a piano accompaniment in 2/4 time, key of B-flat major. It consists of two systems of music. The first system is marked 'Maestoso' and 'p' (piano). It features a descending motif in the right hand, starting on G4 and moving down to D3 over the course of the first four measures. The left hand provides a steady accompaniment of quarter notes. The second system is marked 'f' (forte), 'dim.' (diminuendo), and 'ff' (fortissimo). It continues the descending motif in the right hand, which becomes more pronounced and eventually leads to a full chord in the final measure. The left hand continues with quarter notes, ending with a final chord.

A shorter, inverted statement of the motif is introduced shortly thereafter, in the same number (Ex. 2.1b), and it recurs at several points throughout the ballet as a portent of Nikia's

⁵⁹ See Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 198.

doom: when the Brahmin orders Nikia to be summoned following the bayadères' dance (Act One, No. 4); as Solor is made aware that the Rajah intends for him to marry Hamsatti (Act Two, Scene Two, No. 5, in a slight variant); while the Brahmin offers Nikia an antidote to the snake venom (Act Two, Scene Three, No. 16); and just before the destruction of the temple at the end of the ballet (Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 6).

Ex. 2.1b Shortened, inverted version of the Brahmin's motif; Act One, No. 2, bars 17–20



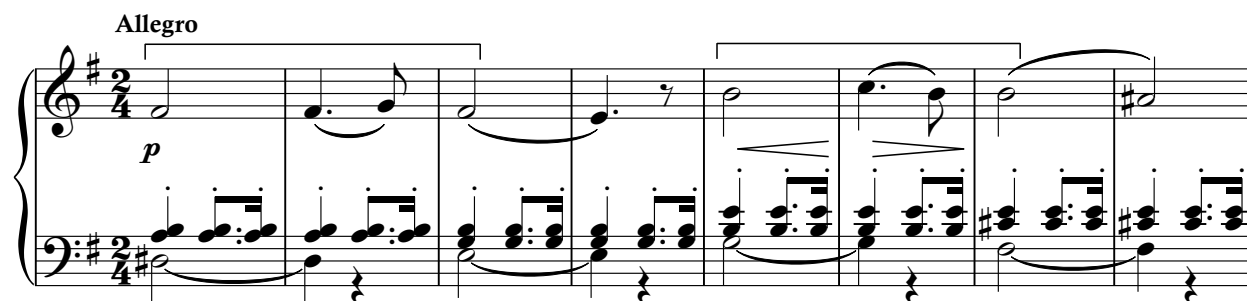
The Brahmin's rhythmic figure. More pervasive still is the rhythmic figure, half note—dotted quarter note—eighth note—half note (long—long—short—long), drawn from the Brahmin's motif (Ex. 9.1a, see brackets). This figure is employed by Minkus throughout the ballet, both in mime scenes and in dances performed by leading characters, and is often associated with the Brahmin's power and authority. The figure is presented in a variety of ways and informs a broad collection of melodies. For example, in the second act the figure is paired with a descending melody that shares the oppressive weight of the Brahmin's motif as the Rajah tells his daughter that she is to be married to Solor (Ex. 2.1c).

Ex. 2.1c Brahmin's rhythmic figure; Act Two, Scene Two, No. 4, bars 30–33



Use of upward semitone neighbor note. The pairing of the rhythmic figure with a melody characterized by an upward semitone neighbor note also recurs throughout the ballet. First presented shortly before the final curtain in Act One, the phrase is the first in a series of related motifs associated with Nikia and her fate (Ex. 2.1d).

Ex. 2.1d Rhythmic figure paired with upward semitone neighbor note (see brackets); Act One, Scene One, No. 13, bars 170–177



The most substantial iteration of this phrase becomes Nikia's Act Three motif, first heard in Act Three, Scene Four, as Solor is visited in his chamber by the shade of his beloved bayadère. The motif is stated twice at the beginning of an extended passage (Ex. 2.2a, bars 67–70). According to Locke, the combination of flute and harp that is present here “was one of the

standard French-operatic markers of ancient or exotic religiosity.”⁶⁰ We will return to further expressions of exoticism presently.

Ex. 2.2a Nikia’s Act Three motif; Act Three, Scene Four, No. 3, bars 67–78 (Source: Rep)

[Example on next page.]

⁶⁰ Ibid., 197.

Poco meno mosso
[Fl.]

p Hp.

cresc.

fz

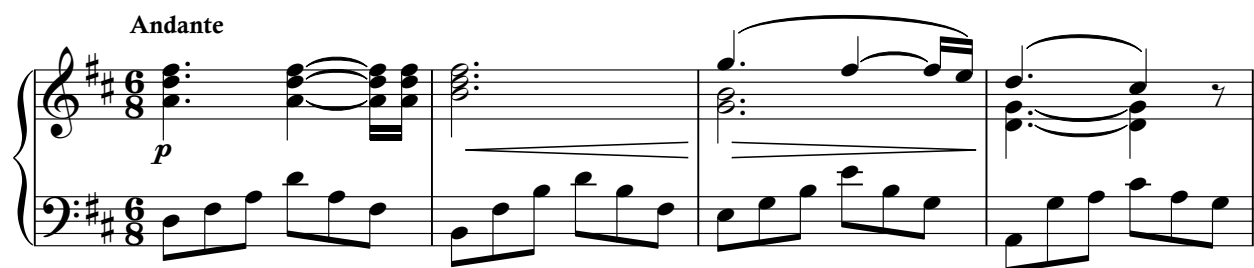
pp *ff*

The latter half of this excerpt (bars 75–78) is foreshadowed in the previous act after Nikia is bitten by the snake. In that case, the phrase is followed by a descending scale that spans an entire octave (presumably as the poison takes hold), heard just before the Brahmin offers Nikia an antidote, which she stubbornly refuses (Act Two Scene Three, No. 16, bars 190–202).

The motif returns in the subsequent Kingdom of the Shades scene at Nikia’s first appearance as a shade (Act Three, Scene Five, No. 4) and is incorporated as the second phrase of the violin solo in No. 10 (Ex. 2.5c, bars 4–5) that accompanies the first meeting of the lovers in the afterlife.

The *Grand Adage* of the Kingdom of the Shades scene features both the upward semitone and the rhythmic figure in its opening phrase (Ex. 2.2b), and the rhythmic figure is repeated throughout the number, infusing this famous scene with reminders both of the Brahmin’s treachery and of Nikia’s doomed fate.

Ex. 2.2b Brahmin’s rhythmic figure, incorporating upward semitone, in *Grand Adage*, Act Three, Scene Five, No. 11, bars 3–6



Chromatic appoggiatura. Two motifs representing Nikia (in the opening scene) and Hamsatti are related by their shared chromatic appoggiatura (which, perhaps in both cases, represents their longing for fulfillment). Nikia’s first entrance in the ballet is accompanied by a

melody incorporating a chromatic appoggiatura as well as the Brahmin's rhythmic figure (Ex. 2.3a; for the latter, see brackets in bars 1–2 and 3–4).

Ex. 2.3a Nikia's Scene One motif: her first entrance, featuring a chromatic appoggiatura and the Brahmin's rhythmic figure; Act One, No. 6, bars 1–4

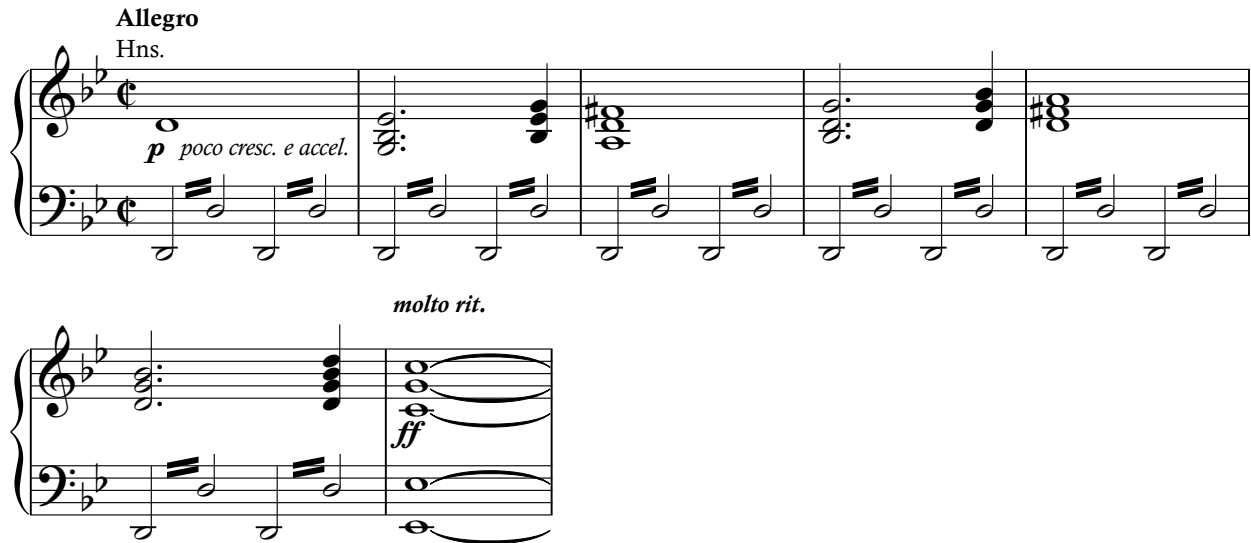
The musical score for Ex. 2.3a is written for Violin and Viola (Vln., Vc.) and piano (p). It is in 12/8 time, key of B-flat major, and marked Andante. The score consists of two systems, each with a vocal line (sotto voce) and a piano accompaniment. The piano part features a chromatic appoggiatura in the right hand and a rhythmic figure in the left hand. The vocal line also features a chromatic appoggiatura in the right hand and a rhythmic figure in the left hand. Brackets in the piano part indicate the rhythmic figure in bars 1–2 and 3–4.

A less florid version of this motif is introduced in the previous number (possibly to accompany a mimed mention of Nikia or the actions of those going to fetch her from the pagoda), which is struck in the Rep and omitted in the PR (Ex. 2.3b). An augmented version of the motif appears again, two numbers later, in Act One, No. 8, after the Brahmin declares his love for Nikia (Ex. 2.3c).

Ex. 2.3b Less florid version of Nikia's Scene One motif; Act One, No. 5, bars 1–4



Ex. 2.3c Augmented version of Nikia's Scene One motif, after the Brahmin declares his love for her; Act One, No. 8, bars 89–95



A similar downward chromatic inflection is found at the midpoint of Hamsatti's motif, first introduced at her initial entrance in Act Two, Scene Two. Like Nikia's motif in Act One, this melody also incorporates the Brahmin's rhythmic figure as part of an upward melodic gesture, adding a hint of martial quality to depict Hamsatti, who after all is the Rajah's daughter (Ex. 2.4, see brackets). Hamsatti's motif returns in Act Three, Scene Four (No. 3), when the hopeful bride visits her troubled groom in his chamber.

Ex. 2.4 Hamsatti's motif; Act Two, Scene Two, No. 4, bars 14–21 (bar numbering from PR)

The musical score for Hamsatti's motif is presented in two systems. The first system (bars 14–17) is marked *Moderato* and *p* (piano). The melody in the right hand consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a chromatic appoggiatura in the first measure. The left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes. The second system (bars 18–21) includes a *rit.* (ritardando) marking. The melody continues with a similar rhythmic pattern, and the left hand accompaniment features some rests and a final chord in the last measure.

As the rhythmic figure informs further melodies, so can the chromatic appoggiatura of Nikia's and Hamsatti's motifs be found in other melodies later in the score. Minkus' musical depiction of Hamsatti's despair upon learning Solor is pledged to Nikia includes the chromatic appoggiatura as well as rising fifths and descending scales, both features of the Brahmin's motif (Ex. 2.5a). The appoggiatura phrase, in retrograde, opens the *pas de trois* in the Kingdom of the Shades (Ex. 2.5b), perhaps as a reference to the altogether different setting. Minkus employs the same retrograde phrase at the beginning of the subsequent violin solo (Ex. 2.5c).

Ex. 2.5a Hamsatti's despair, featuring her motif that includes a chromatic appoggiatura, rising fifths, and chromatic scales; Act Two, Scene Two, No. 8, bars 1–8

Andante

Cl.

p Bn.

Vln.

pp

Ex. 2.5b Kingdom of the Shades, *Pas de trois*, featuring the appoggiatura phrase in retrograde (bar 1); Act Three, Scene Five, No. 6, bars 1–4

Allegretto

p dolce

Ex. 2.5c Kingdom of the Shades, violin solo, featuring the appoggiatura phrase in retrograde (bars 2 and 6); Act Three, Scene Five, No. 8, bars 2–9

The musical score is for a violin solo in 2/4 time, key of D major. It is divided into two systems. The top system shows the violin part with a melodic line and a piano accompaniment. The violin part is marked 'Andante' and 'Vln. solo'. The piano part is marked 'dolce' and 'p'. The violin part features a phrase in retrograde, with an appoggiatura phrase in bars 2 and 6. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a sustained chord in the left hand.

Solor's motifs. The rhythmic figure also informs the Act Three motif of Solor that opens the act and is featured in both of its scenes (Ex. 2.6). This turbulent melody reflects the warrior's inner conflict. Of all the recurring motifs Minkus employs in *La Bayadère*, Solor's is the most thoroughly developed, though its use is limited to Act Three.

Contrasting sharply with this stormy motif is a consonant one that is heard in the first two scenes of the ballet, representing Solor as a stately, assured warrior and ruler (Ex. 2.7).

Ex. 2.6 Solor's Act Three motif, representing his inner conflict; Act Three, Scene Four, No. 1, bars 1–4

Agitato

f

3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

Ex. 2.7 Solor's Act One motif, representing him as a stately, assured warrior and ruler; Act One, Scene One, No. 1, bars 76–91

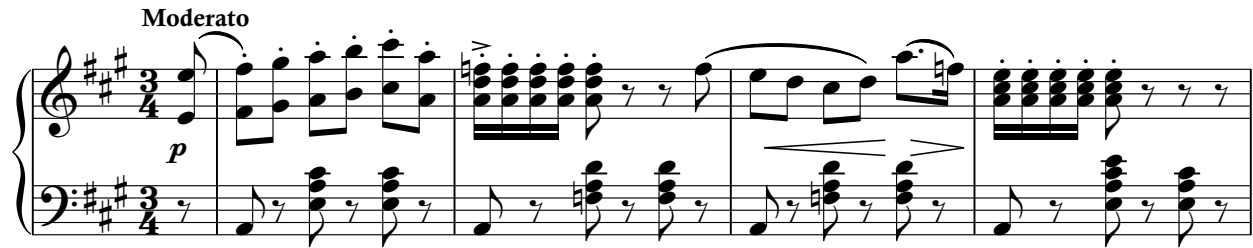
Allegro

f

fz

Ascending line. Several dance melodies associated with bayadères and Nikia include an ascending line that directly contrasts with the descending line of the Brahmin’s motif. The first occurrence is heard in the bayadères’ dance in Act One (Ex. 2.8a).

Ex. 2.8a Ascending line in the bayadères’ dance; Act One, Scene One, No. 3, bars 13–16



This ascending line returns when Nikia arrives to visit Hamsatti (Act Two, Scene Two, No. 9), confirming its association with bayadères. A rising line also figures prominently in Nikia’s mournful solo at the end of Act Two, Scene Three (Ex. 2.8b), as she laments Solor’s impending marriage to Hamsatti.

Ex. 2.8b Ascending line in Nikia's mournful solo; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 16, bars 16–23

Molto moderato
Vc. solo

The musical score for Ex. 2.8b is a violin solo in 3/4 time, key of D major. It is marked 'Molto moderato' and 'Vc. solo'. The melody is an ascending line, starting on D4 and rising to A4. The accompaniment consists of chords in the bass, starting on D3 and rising to A3. The dynamic is piano (p).

The upward scale returns in the waltz section of the Act Four *Pas de Guirlandes* (garland dance) performed as a divertissement by students, at the end of which Nikia is said to have appeared by rising out of a trap in the stage (Ex. 9.8c).

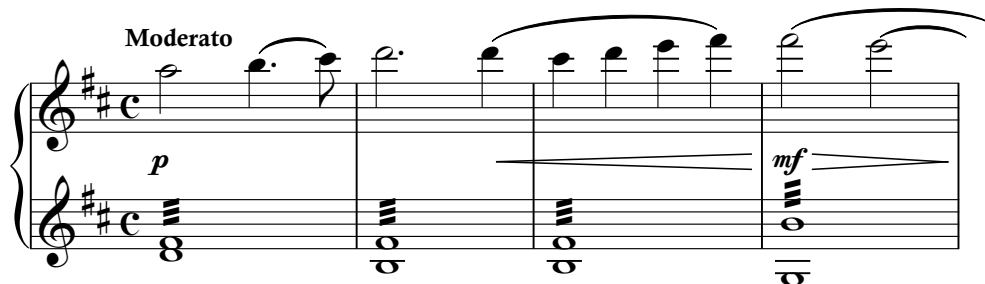
Ex. 2.8c Rising scale in the *Pas de Guirlandes*; Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 2, bars 46–53

Tempo de valse moderato
grazioso

The musical score for Ex. 2.8c is a piano solo in 3/4 time, key of D major. It is marked 'Tempo de valse moderato' and 'grazioso'. The melody is a rising scale, starting on D4 and rising to A4. The accompaniment consists of chords in the bass, starting on D3 and rising to A3. The dynamic is piano (p).

The aspirational ascending line becomes the antithesis of the dooming descent of the Brahmin's motif and has the final say in the drama. The extended major-key finale that concludes both Acts Three and Four features a rising melody—yet again incorporating the pervasive rhythmic figure—that reaches heavenward (Ex. 2.8d). If the descending scale is interpreted as representing Nikia's doom and that of all the major characters, the ascending melody, in contrast, signifies the happiness the lovers ultimately find together in the afterlife. D major, also the predominant key in the Kingdom of the Shades, emerges as the key of final resolution.

Ex. 2.8d Rising scale in the finales of Acts Three and Four; Act Three, Scene Six, No. 16, bars 274–277



Musical depictions of India, Elsewhere, and Otherness

Minkus depicts India and, more broadly, Elsewhere, by employing several devices that Locke has identified as typical of Western music meant to sound exotic.⁶¹ These include the use of solo instruments and melodic styles intended to represent the *vina*, an Indian stringed

⁶¹ Ibid., 51–54. Locke's broad and comprehensive examination of exoticism throughout Western art music incorporates a wide variety of important scholarship. Within the list of stylistic features that he has identified as occurring in Western musical exoticism are focused descriptions of musical devices used by composers to depict foreign instruments, such as the *vina*.

instrument that is played by Nikia. The vina has historically been represented in Western music by winds or strings playing extended melismatic solo lines perceived as “arabesque”-like, a term that here refers not to a ballet position but to a “decorative, curvaceous” melodic line intended to depict the atmosphere of Arabic architecture and, more broadly, the Orient.⁶²

The Indian vina. Solo flute accompanies Nikia’s first dance in the ballet’s opening scene (Act One, Scene One, No. 7). The libretto names the accompanying instruments: “Then the sounds of the turti (bagpipes) and the vina (a small guitar) served to accompany the graceful and languorous movements of the bayadère.”⁶³ After an introductory bar, in which the flute emulates the droning of the *turti* (presumably related to the *titti*, an Indian bagpipe made of goat skin), a long, winding solo begins that combines references to drones with quick scales and rising arpeggios (Ex. 2.9a). The solo concludes with a fast coda that blends the leaps of the drone motif with the running sixteenth notes often employed for the ending of a traditional ballet variation (Ex. 2.9b)

⁶² Ibid., 53, 60. On Locke’s use of the terms Orient and Orientalism, see pages 177–178.

⁶³ Wiley, *Century*, 295.

Ex. 2.9a A flute imitates the sounds of the *turti* and the *vina*; Act One, Scene One, No. 7, bars

1–9

Moderato
Fl. solo

p rit. a tempo

Ex. 2.9b Coda of Nikia's first dance; Act One, Scene One, No. 7, bars 25–30

Poco più mosso

1. 2.

The flute serves the dual function of both a signifier of exoticism and a typical instrument used to accompany female ballet solos (for example, variations for Giselle and the Peasant *pas*

de deux soloist in Act One of *Giselle* and one of the female solos in the second act *pas de deux* in *Paquita*). Moreover, the flute is associated with Nikia throughout the ballet as it is with Giselle.

Later in the scene, “[t]he pleasant sounds of the vina (guitar) are heard” as Nikia is about to appear from the pagoda again, this time for her rendezvous with Solor: “The window opens and Nikia appears in it, holding a guitar. The fakir [Madhavaya] crawls along some branches and places a plank beneath the window, along which the bayadère descends, illuminated by the moonlight.” This atmospheric scene is also accompanied by a vina-inspired flute solo that is introduced by harp. The solo, even more than the first, embodies the “decorative, curvaceous” lines of the arabesque, performed over a rhythmic ostinato accompaniment, yet another signifier of exoticism identified by Locke (Ex. 2.10).⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ibid., 52.

Ex. 2.10 “Decorative, curvaceous” lines in the melody; Act One, Scene One, No. 10, bars 8–20

Andantino
Fl. solo

The musical score is written for a flute solo in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major. The tempo is marked **Andantino**. The score consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The melody is characterized by decorative, curvaceous lines, often using slurs and ties. The dynamics range from *p* (piano) to *f* (forte). The accompaniment features a bass line with triplets and chords. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings like *p*, *rit.*, and *f*.

In the second act, Minkus depicts the vina using a solo cello to accompany Nikia's mournful dance at the end of Scene Three. As the libretto tells us, "Nikia comes out of the crowd with her little guitar. Her face is covered by a veil. She plays the same melody she played in Act 1."⁶⁵ Though Minkus did not actually repeat the Act One melody, he did compose a melismatic tune with a somber, singing quality (Ex. 2.7b) that is not unlike the brief cello solo that gives voice to Albert's grief at Giselle's grave (Ex. 2.11).

Ex. 2.11 *Giselle*, Act Two, *Entrée d'Albert et de Wilfride* (Adam), bars 17–21

Elsewhere and Otherness. More broadly, Minkus depicts Elsewhere using a combination of musical features, including short, disjunct melodic phrases, rhythmic ostinato, extensive repetition, and asymmetry. Locke describes such features as “not distinctive (not inherently

⁶⁵ Wiley, *Century*, 300.

marked as to origin)” but nonetheless able to suggest Otherness “by their rigid insistence.”⁶⁶

These elements, emphasized through repetition, are found in the music accompanying the actions (Ex. 2.12a) and dances of the fakirs (Ex. 2.12b) as well as in the dance of the bayadères in the opening Festival of Fire, with its insistent repeated sixteenth-notes that conclude each two-bar phrase (Ex. 2.7a).

Ex. 2.12a Actions of the fakirs; Act One, Scene One, No. 4, bars 13–16

Allegro con fuoco

The musical score for Ex. 2.12a is written for piano in 3/2 time, key of B-flat major. It consists of two systems of two staves each. The first system (bars 13-14) begins with a forte (f) dynamic. The right hand features a melodic line with trills (tr) and a strong, accented sixteenth-note pattern (fz). The left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system (bars 15-16) continues this pattern, with the right hand ending on a strong, accented sixteenth-note chord (fz). The tempo is marked 'Allegro con fuoco'.

⁶⁶ Ibid. The devices Minkus uses to depict Elsewhere are among those listed by Locke under the following heading: “Departures from normative types of continuity or compositional patterning and forward flow. These departures may include ‘asymmetrical’ phrase structure, ‘rhapsodic’ melodic motion, sudden pauses or long notes (or, quick notes), and intentionally ‘excessive’ repetition (of, for example, short melodic fragments using a few notes close together; or of accompanimental rhythms...” Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 53.

Ex. 2.12b Dancing of the fakirs; Act One, Scene One, No. 8, bars 1–4



These features play a particular role in connection to the choreography in the divertissement of Scene Three, wherein Minkus assigns these signifiers to dances performed using character steps, not on *pointe*, or dances intended to represent Indian life, such as the *Manu* dance, which is performed on *pointe* (Ex. 2.13). As the divertissement progresses and the dances begin to include more steps from the classical vocabulary, Minkus employs more traditional-sounding melodies made up of longer phrases that are either conjunct or legato and sometimes both (Ex. 9.14).

Ex. 2.13 *Manu* dance; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 14, bars 15–22 (Source: Rep)

Allegretto

Ex. 2.14 Ensemble dance with a traditional-sounding melody; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 6,
bars 1–8

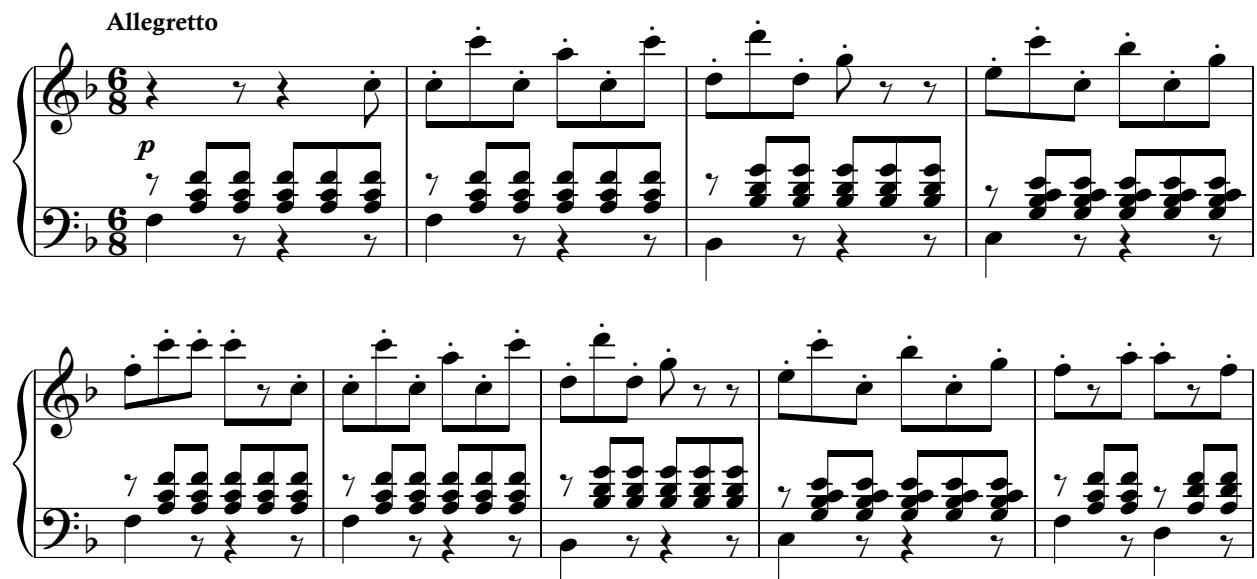


The character dances are intended to suggest local color—Indian dance—without any specific connection to actual Indian dancing beyond the broadest suggestion. Minkus likewise employs disjunct melodic contour, staccato articulation, and short phrase length to convey Otherness without direct reference to Indian music. The resulting mechanistic quality of these musical numbers, combined with the limited step vocabulary of their choreography (I will discuss this below) can cause the dancers to seem doll-like and caricatured, simpler and perhaps two-dimensional, in comparison to the dancers who perform classical step vocabulary of far greater variety.

Minkus’ use of these exoticist techniques was not a new feature of ballet scores in St. Petersburg. His predecessor at the Imperial Ballet, Cesare Pugni, employed these same broad signifiers to depict Otherness. Take, for example, Pugni’s variation for the “Hong Ho” river (Huang He, or Yellow River) in China that is part of the famous underwater scene in *The*

Pharaoh's Daughter. Over a simple chordal accompaniment in 6/8 meter, Pugni has written a disjunct, staccato melody made up of two-bar phrases (Ex. 2.15).

Ex. 2.15 *The Pharaoh's Daughter, Pas des Fleuves*, Variation 5 (Pugni), bars 6–14



Early performance history

La Bayadère, grand ballet in four acts and seven scenes with apotheosis, with a libretto by Marius Petipa and Sergei Khudekov, music by Ludwig Minkus, and choreography by Petipa, premiered on 23 January 1877 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg. The occasion was a benefit performance for Ekaterina Vazem, who danced the lead role of Nikia alongside Lev Ivanov as Solor and Maria Gorshenkova as Hamsatti. Veterans Christian Johanson, Nikolai Golts, and Nikolai Troitsky took the roles of the Rajah, Great Brahmin, and the fakir Madhavaya, respectively. Pavel Gerdt, as a nameless cavalier, performed a “Classical dance” with Gorshenkova in the third scene’s divertissement and the Act Four *pas d’action*.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ *Khronika III*, 188–189. See also Wiley, *Century*, 291–293, and Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 20.

The production was a great success, particularly for Vazem. “It is difficult to evaluate that perfection with which the benefit artist, Mlle Vazem, performed all the dances of her new role, both classical and character,” wrote the critic for *Golos*.⁶⁸ Vazem herself, despite difficulties working with Petipa (see below), admitted, “The reception given me by the public was magnificent.”

Petipa’s attention to detail paid off. *Golos* effused: “Everything, beginning with the superb décor of Messrs Roller, Wagner, Shishkov, and Bocharov, the lavish, ethnographically true costumes, and ending with the tiniest accessory details, glitters with magnificence, novelty, originality, and produces an enchanting impression on the audience.”⁶⁹

La Bayadère immediately became the ballet of choice for further benefit performances in 1877: for Alexei Bogdanov, chief director of the ballet troupe, on 30 January; for Lubov Radina, who danced the lead in the third scene’s “Hindu dance,” on 5 February; for the corps de ballet on 13 February; and for the soloist Alexandra Kemmerer on 20 February.⁷⁰ A subsequent benefit for Troitsky on 31 March 1877 was attended by Alexandre Benois, whose memories provide details about the first production.⁷¹ Select passages from the ballet were soon featured on other special programs. For example, on 29 April 1877, the second act was performed on a program benefitting the Red Cross Society.⁷²

⁶⁸ *Golos*, 26 January 1877, 2, tr. in Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 20.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Khronika III*, 190.

⁷¹ *Khronika III*, 190. See also Alexandre Benois, *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet*, tr. Mary Britnieva (London: Putnam, 1941), 42–45.

⁷² *Khronika III*, 191.

On 19 October 1880, a benefit performance for Timofei Stukolkin, the first three acts of *La Bayadère* were given, omitting the fourth act. Although the final act would eventually be dropped from the ballet in the early twentieth century, the omission here was likely made to accommodate the benefit artist: Stukolkin was featured in a revival of Saint-Léon's *Graziella*, which followed the three acts of *La Bayadère*.⁷³

Marie Petipa made her debut in the role of Hamsatti on 21 October 1882, dancing opposite Vazem. A mediocre review in *Novoe vremya* deemed her miming abilities satisfactory, but observed, "...when she started dancing in the sixth scene, something curious happened: neither legs nor hands obeyed."⁷⁴ This report suggests Marie may not have performed Hamsatti's "Classical dance" in Act Two, Scene Three.

Following Vazem's retirement, Anna Johanson made her debut as Nikia on 16 September 1884, with Gerdt as Solor and Marie Petipa as Hamsatti. Ivanov moved into the role of the Rajah and Alfred Bekefi made his debut as Madhavaya.⁷⁵ Pavel Gershenzon has called this production a restaging and notes several changes made to the order of dances and the cast size of various numbers. Close inspection of the poster, however, reveals no mention of a revival or restaging and just two significant differences from the earlier poster of 1877. First, the "Classical dance" in the third scene is omitted. Second, the 1884 poster states that the ballet is given in six scenes, rather than the original seven, because the very short "Solor's Awakening" scene is cut. But the poster mistakenly retains the title "Solor's Awakening" and applies it to the ballet's closing scene, which should be called "The Wrath of the Gods." (The 1900 revival program includes the

⁷³ Ibid., 208.

⁷⁴ *Novoe vremya*, 23 October 1882, qtd. in *Khronika III*, 220.

⁷⁵ *Khronika III*, 232. Pavel Gershenzon noted that the "Classical dance" was omitted by at least 1884. See Gershenzon, "La Bayadère," 17.

same number of scenes with the same titles as in 1884, including the mistitled final scene.) On 1 February 1885, the third scene of *La Bayadère* was presented as part of the farewell benefit of Lubov Radina, who reprised her role in what Pleshcheyev called the “spectacular Hindu dance.”⁷⁶

Petipa revived *La Bayadère* a final time on 3 December 1900 at the Mariinsky Theater. The occasion was the benefit performance of Pavel Gerdt, in observance of forty years of service. The production featured new scenery and costumes as well as the debuts of Matilda Kshesinskaya as Nikia and Olga Preobrazhenskaya as Hamsatti. Gerdt remained in the role of Solor with Nikolai Legat taking over duties as the nameless cavalier in Act Four. Marie Petipa was featured in the Hindu dance.⁷⁷

Petipa took the opportunity in this revival to make further revisions. Many of the production’s dances were meticulously recorded in Stepanov notation at this time or shortly thereafter. In a separate document, the mime conversations of (at least) the ballet’s opening two scenes, as performed by the revival cast, were also recorded in detail. Both of these documents will presently serve as main sources for my description of the ballet.

With *La Bayadère* once again in repertory as of 1900, more debuts followed. Moscow ballerina Ekaterina Geltser danced the role of Nikia at the Mariinsky Theater on 21 October 1901, with Gerdt as Solor and Julia Sedova in her debut as Hamsatti.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Alexander Pleshcheyev, *Nash Balet (1673–1899)* [Our Ballet (1673–1899)], 2nd, supplemented ed. (St. Petersburg: Th. A. Pereyaslov and A. A. Pleshcheyev, 1899; reprint, St. Petersburg: Music Planet, 2009), qtd. in *Khronika III*, 237.

⁷⁷ *Khronika III*, 372–373.

⁷⁸ Natalia Zozulina and V. M. Muronova, eds., *Peterburgskiy balet. Tri veka: khronika. Tom IV. 1901–1950* [The Petersburg ballet. Three centuries: A chronicle. Volume IV. 1901–1950] (St. Petersburg: Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Y. Vaganova, 2015) [hereafter *Khronika IV*], 25.

But the most important debut in this new production of *La Bayadère* was Anna Pavlova's in the role of Nikia on 28 April 1902, with Gerdt as her Solor and Sedova as Hamsatti. Wearing new costumes designed by Alexander Golovin, Pavlova achieved tremendous success as the bayadère.⁷⁹ As she would do the following year for *Giselle* with her interpretation of the title character, Pavlova's performance as Nikia revived the public's interest in *La Bayadère*, injecting new life into the ballet that contributed significantly to its maintenance in the repertory.

Sources

In addition to the libretto, poster (Appendix B), programs (see Appendix C), and music scores, sources documenting choreography, mime, action, and the stage plan allow for a detailed description of the Imperial-era *La Bayadère*. These include the sources mentioned above: a choreographic notation in the Stepanov method, a mime script for the ballet's first two scenes, and a selection of Petipa's preparatory notes.

Choreographic notation. The choreographic notation (CN) of *La Bayadère* is one of the Sergeyev Collection's most detailed documents, including movements for the entire body—not just legs and feet—for many of the dances.⁸⁰ However, only dances are included in this notation, and nearly all of them are ensemble dances (exceptions are the *Manu* dance and the solos for the three Shades in Scene Five; solo dances for Nikia are not included). This reminds us that the earliest extant examples of Stepanov notation in the Imperial Theaters (of which this is one)

⁷⁹ *Khronika IV*, 35, and Lazzarini, *Pavlova*, 55. Photographs of Pavlova as Nikia taken by Karl Fischer in 1902 are reproduced in John and Roberta Lazzarini, *Pavlova: Repertoire of a Legend* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), 54–57.

⁸⁰ MS Thr 245 (105).

appear to have been intended to document dance—in particular, ensemble dances—rather than action and mime.

The CN documents the performance of a single cast, that of the 1900 revival, with two exceptions (Vera Trefilova as the first Shade soloist and Nikolai Legat as the cavalier in the Act Four *pas d'action*).⁸¹ This is confirmed by the dancer names listed in the CN:

Solor	Pavel Gerdt
Madhavaya	Alfred Bekefi
Great Brahmin	Alexei Bulgakov
Nikia	Matilda Kshesinkaya
Dugmanta	Nikolai Aistov
Hamsatti	Olga Preobrazhenskaya
Shades	Vera Trefilova, Varvara Rykhlyakova, Anna Pavlova
Cavalier	Nikolai Legat

Moreover, the notation score appears to be a finished product that was based on an earlier draft.

An annotation in the Scene Three “Crooked Dance” referring to a “rough draft” reflects the amount of care taken to produce a legible, accurate accounting of the ballet’s ensemble choreography, the restaging of which would pose the greatest challenge to a *régisseur*.

The CN was made by a single scribe—almost certainly Nikolai Sergeyev. The time period during which the notation must have been made favors this attribution: recall that Gorsky was already working in Moscow as of September 1900 (that is, during the rehearsal period for the *Bayadère* revival). Further, Sergeyev was not provided with notation assistants until after his appeal to Vladimir Telyakovsky, Director of the Imperial Theaters, in May 1903.⁸² Sergeyev’s

⁸¹ Julia Sedova danced the first Shade variation in the 1900 revival. When she debuted as Hamsatti on 21 October 1901, Vera Trefilova replaced her as a solo Shade. Georgi Kyaksht was the extra cavalier in the revival cast. When Nikolai Legat replaced him is uncertain, but Legat was dancing the role at least by 28 April 1902 when Pavlova made her debut as Nikia.

⁸² See Konaev, “My vse visim v vozduke...,” 556–557.

script is tidier here than we see in most of the notations that comprise the Harvard collection, but the hand, as well as the method of notating certain steps, appears similar to notations in which Sergeyev's authorship can be identified with certainty.⁸³ (This tidier hand crops up from time to time in other notations, for example, in parts of *Sleeping Beauty*.⁸⁴) But regardless of the identity of the scribe, the notation of *La Bayadère* certainly belongs to the early period of the Stepanov method's use, during which notations were prepared in greater detail than in subsequent years.

The 141 pages of choreographic notation are written on oblong-format sheets that include two musical staves (not utilized here) above four systems of notation staves. Four boxes in the right margin are used by Sergeyev for annotations. Ground plans are written on the staves ahead of each corresponding passage of notated steps. Pencil is used throughout. The sheets are bound in a single volume, now fragile, with tape at the binding. An inside page at the beginning of the volume lists the notated ballets included in the Sergeyev Collection.

Manuscript mime script. A set of manuscript pages containing a mime script for Act One and the first scene of Act Two is preserved in the Gorsky archive at the Museum of the State Academic Bolshoi Theater.⁸⁵ This document comprises a cover page (bearing the title “Ballet ‘Bayaderka’ | (Plot) | Author’s manuscript”) followed by eleven pages of script written in ink in Cyrillic cursive in a neat, legible hand that I also believe to be that of Nikolai Sergeyev.

(Comparison with the mime scripts for *Giselle*, *Paquita*, and *Le Corsaire* that are preserved in

⁸³ See Chapter One, note 38.

⁸⁴ MS Thr 245 (204). See, for example, the notation of the *Dances of the Maids of Honor and Pages* in Act One, in which the scribal hand used for notation, ground plans, and annotations matches the hand in the *Bayadère* CN.

⁸⁵ Museum of the State Academic Bolshoi Theater (GABT), KP 3949 *fond* 1, *op.* 1, item 78, pp. 1–8, courtesy of Alexei Ratmansky. Two pages of the manuscript are reproduced in Churakova, et al., *Aleksandr Gorskiy*, 103.

the Sergeyev Collection confirms this.)⁸⁶ Unlike several of the scripts preserved in the collection, however, the *Bayadère* mime script is a discrete document rather than a compilation of annotations found in the CN. This suggests that in the initial stages of documenting the steps and action of the Imperial Ballet repertory, choreography and mime were intended to be recorded separately. But as I have already noted, the early, prescriptive examples of Stepanov choreographic notation (such as this one for *La Bayadère*) gave way to the descriptive, less polished examples that make up most of the notations preserved in the Sergeyev Collection, in which both choreography and mime are included in a single document.

The script is particularly valuable as evidence that the complexity of the mime conversations in the action scenes of *La Bayadère*—and, therefore, likely other ballets in the Imperial Ballet repertory—was similar to that preserved in the Justamant staging manuals. Further, the abundance of mime recorded here for these two scenes seems to confirm that the mime documented in many of the Sergeyev Collection’s choreographic notations represents abbreviated versions of what were likely more detailed conversations.⁸⁷ As in the case of the CN, the artist names included in the mime script (Kshesinskaya, Bekefi, etc.) confirm that the document was prepared in conjunction with the 1900 revival.

Mariinsky Theater production documents and Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters. The Mariinsky Theater production volume includes thirteen pages documenting the stage settings and

⁸⁶ *Giselle* mime script, MS Thr 245 (3); *Paquita* mime script, MS Thr 245 (29); *Le Corsaire* mime script, MS Thr 245 (1). All are in Sergeyev’s hand.

⁸⁷ While inclusion of mime conversations in the choreographic notation documents rather than in separate mime scripts resulted in briefer descriptions of what characters said—sometimes seeming to provide only a distillation of more detailed dialogue—it also came with the benefit of a ground plan showing how characters moved on stage during mime scenes.

describing props and other elements of the Mariinsky Theater production of *La Bayadère*.⁸⁸ The pages were initially prepared for the 1900 revival.

In addition, the *Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters* for the season 1900–1901 features a lengthy entry on the revival. Although the prose in the *Yearbook* is essentially a distillation of the libretto and thus offers no new information in that regard, it is illustrated with numerous photographs of stage designs (as well as the cast), allowing for comparison with the stage drawings included in the production documents.⁸⁹

Petipa's preparatory notes. A selection of Petipa's preparatory notes for *La Bayadère* is held by the Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts in Moscow.⁹⁰ Written in French in Petipa's hand, these include scene descriptions (notes for Act One appear to be lost) and two lists of participants in the extensive procession that opens Act Two, Scene Three.⁹¹ That several phrases in the libretto seem to be taken near verbatim from Petipa's notes supports the supposition that Petipa co-authored the libretto with Khudekov.⁹²

La Bayadère: A scene-by-scene description

I will use these various sources to assemble a composite description of *La Bayadère*, drawing freely on primary and secondary sources that shed light on various elements of the production, be

⁸⁸ St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music (GMTMI), GIK 16917, fols. 176r–182r.

⁸⁹ *Ezhegodnik Imperatorskikh Teatrov* [Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters] (1900–1901), 157–173, available online at <https://archive.org/details/ezhegodnikimperal900diag/mode/2up>.

⁹⁰ Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts (RGALI) *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 122, 132, and 133, courtesy of Alexei Ratmanský.

⁹¹ Some of these have been translated into Russian, with commentary by Fedor Lopukhov. See *Marius Petipa. Materialy*, 169–175.

⁹² See note 2, above.

they music, dance, mime, or action.⁹³ As with the music examples, my description will follow the numbering found in the Rep.

Act One
Scene One: The Festival of Fire

Introduction. The two-part introduction is comprised of passages from the fast, rhythmic Act One *Danse des Fakirs* (Ex. 2.12b) and the stately *Grand Adage* from Act Three, Scene Five (Ex. 2.2b). This binary form, in which the aggressive music of the rough, earthy fakirs contrasts with that of the gentle, heavenly shades, is the same used in introductions to *Giselle* and *The Sleeping Beauty*, the latter beginning with the stormy, chromatic motif of the fairy Carabosse followed by the consonant, flowing theme of the Lilac Fairy. Here, Minkus presents an Orientalist version of the form, juxtaposing some the score's most exoticist music with some of the least.

In the absence of Petipa's notes for Act One, I rely primarily on the detailed mime script for a description of the action.⁹⁴ In reproducing the text (in translation), I have retained words and phrases that may seem redundant or otherwise unnecessary to the reader, but which refer to the various mime gestures used to convey the meaning of the prose. I also retain dancer names when they appear in the manuscript and accompany them, at least at first use, with their character's name. The script refers to "Dugmanta" rather than "Rajah"; I will use both names interchangeably in my description. I also have frequently substituted "Nikia" for "bayadère" and

⁹³ Gershenzon provides a summary and comparison of the 1877, 1884, and 1900 productions. See Gershenzon, "*La Bayadère*," 16–19.

⁹⁴ Lopukhov explains that Petipa's extant notes begin with the second scene. *Marius Petipa. Materialy*, 169.

“Madhavaya” for “fakir” for greater clarity. Finally, I will refer to select musical motifs as they occur in the score.

The opening scene introduces the first love triangle: Solor, Nikia, and the Great Brahmin. Exotic features abound: a mysterious temple, a fire pit of unknown spiritual significance with wild-looking men jumping through its flames, attractive bayadères who emerge from the temple, and a menacing high priest.

The production documents reveal an outdoor scene, set up downstage of the fifth wing. The temple façade is placed at a slight angle upstage left, with a central, curtained opening. A small staircase leads from a raised entrance down to the stage floor. A fire pit is at center and behind it a raised platform that appears to support a carved image. The scene is framed by tall trees and lush foliage.

No. 1. The curtain rises at the second bar of No. 1. Short, staccato phrases and dotted rhythms over a pulsing bass immediately create an atmosphere of suspense (Ex. 2.16).

Ex. 2.16 Suspenseful music at curtain-up; Act One, Scene One, No. 1, bars 1–10

Allegro

p

sempre poco a poco cresc.

The libretto adds detail to the sketches in the production documents: “The stage represents a consecrated forest; branches of bananas, amras, madhavis, and other Indian trees are intertwined. At the left a pond designated for ablutions. In the distance, the peaks of the Himalayas. The wealthy kshatriya Solor (a famous warrior) enters with a bow in his hand.”⁹⁵ He is joined by Toloragva and a group of hunters.

Solor (aside): “I will not go hunting with them, I will stay here alone, in order to—” pointing to a window in the pagoda “—see and talk to a beauty, whom I love” (Ex. 2.7). (to the hunters) “You all go hunting there and try to kill the tiger.”

Toloragva: “Are you not going with us?”

Solor: “No! I will stay here, bow, and pray before this pagoda.”

Toloragva (to the hunters): “Go!” All exit.

Alone, Solor looks over the entire stage. He points again to the window in the pagoda.

Solor: “Right there is one beauty whom I love with a passion; but I see her so little, that I even suffer for her” (variant of Solor’s motif; see Ex. 2.7). “But I very much would like to speak with her. But how to call her here, I do not know. Anyway, I will ask the fakir about it.” He claps his hands to call the fakir Madhavaya, who runs in and bows to Solor.

Madhavaya: “What can I do for you?”

Solor: “Listen. In there is one beauty whom I would like to see and speak with. But how to call her here? Can you think of something?”

Madhavaya: “I have an idea. When everyone comes out of there to here and will be bowing to this fire here, I will also be stabbing myself with this dagger and fall in exhaustion.

⁹⁵ Wiley, *Century*, 294.

Then she will come and give me to drink. At the same time, I will whisper to her to come when she hears three claps of the hand.”

Solor (with exuberance): “Good! What a great idea. Wonderful!”

Madhavaya: (pointing to the pagoda) “Footsteps can be heard there. Let us run.”

Solor runs off stage, while Madhavaya runs up to the doors of the pagoda, hears footsteps, and runs away.

No. 2 (“Priest”). The Brahmin enters from the pagoda, walking softly, his hands crossed on his chest (Ex. 2.1a). After him walk the other brahmins.

Brahmin: “One beauty I love passionately. I am a priest.”

He calls the fakirs, who come up to the fire and pray. Bekefi (Madhavaya) walks up to the Brahmin, hands raised up, and falls before him.

According to Locke, “Eroticism mingles with mysterious ceremoniality in various dances of priestesses in French exotic operas.”⁹⁶ The dance for twelve bayadères, choreographed with the onstage fire pit as its central focus, fits this paradigm hand in glove.⁹⁷

No. 3 (“Entrance of the Bayadères”). The “Bayadères’ dance” is the only notated passage of the opening scene. Twelve bars facilitate the entrance of the women, followed by a piquant, staccato melody in waltz time (Ex. 2.8a). The CN offers an unusual amount of logistical detail: “12 women corps de ballet bayadères come out of the temple and fold arms over chest crosswise. Walk quietly.” They form lines of six on either side of the stage. The fire pit near center is

⁹⁶ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 196.

⁹⁷ The program for the 1900 revival lists only six women participating in the Festival of Fire, but the CN records choreography for twelve, in agreement with the 1877 poster and other programs for performances after the revival, including the program for Pavlova’s debut on 28 April 1902.

labeled “holy fire” and “priest | Bulgakov” is indicated by an “X” at downstage left. In bars 11–12, the “priest says, You dance here.” Sergeyev has noted, “left side written down,” that is, the steps for the women on stage left are notated, and those on stage right should perform them on the opposite foot and to the opposite side. The dance is not performed on *pointe*.

Traveling upstage to encircle the fire pit, the women perform a variant of *demi-valse*—the front leg rising to *demi-attitude devant* with each step—alternating legs with each bar, the same arm overhead as the leg raised in *attitude*. Backs are arched, heads are turned downstage. The women are joined by the Brahmin, who stands upstage of the fire, facing the audience. Again they arch their backs and necks, their arms overhead, then bow forward, crossing their arms on their chests. After repeating this ritualistic gesture, they travel away from the pit and back, rotate in a circle around it, and move out to the wings and back, all with *demi-valse*. They repeat the ritual gesture a third time then form a row across the downstage. “The priest walks away from the fire | stepping quietly” and moves downstage right. After the bayadères travel upstage and back, they return to the sides and the dance comes to a conclusion.

No. 4. Brahmin: “The one who is beautiful is not here” (Brahmin’s inverted motif; see Ex. 2.1b). He commands Nikia to be called, and Madhavaya goes to the pagoda to summon the bayadère. The Brahmin calls the fakirs to pray. They run up and eat (*kushayut*) the sacred fire (Ex. 2.12a). Others then jump through the fire.

No. 5. All but the final three bars of No. 5 are cut in the Rep (Ex. 2.3b).⁹⁸

No. 6 (“1st Entrance of the Bayadère”). Nikia enters from the pagoda, her face covered with a veil (Ex. 2.3a).

⁹⁸ This 60-bar number (not including repeats) is structured in a similar way as No. 4: twelve slow bars are followed by a longer, faster section in 3/2 meter that is an extended version of the second half of No. 4.

Brahmin (to the others; he wishes to speak with Nikia privately): “You pray over there.”

Nikia bows to the fire and then to the Brahmin. The Brahmin walks up to Nikia and lifts her veil.

He is stunned by her beauty. “How beautiful she is.” (to Nikia) “You dance here.”

Writing in 1922, Akim Volynsky recalled Pavlova’s affecting first appearance as Nikia:

[Pavlova] entered covered with a veil. She stopped on top of the staircase, which led to the entrance of the Indian temple, for only a few seconds. But this already signified a feature of her passionate and brilliant art. You need to know how to stand while the music is playing, the strings roaring, the violins singing, and the orchestra waving and sighing. Descending from the stair in a slow step, the dancer came out to the proscenium and, pausing for several new measures, threw off the dark veil covering her face. A storm was set off in the theater. But the peal of acclaim quickly died away and the audience became still at the first signs of the dance theme. How wonderful Pavlova was at this moment!⁹⁹

No. 7 (“La Danse”). As are most solo dances in the ballet, Nikia’s variation (Exx. 2.9a and 2.9b) is absent from the CN.¹⁰⁰ We can turn again to Volynsky for a description, this one of Pavlova’s final performance at the Mariinsky in 1913:

The Bayadère begins her dance with a graceful andante, starting with her leg back in tendu croisé, in the spirit of an arabesque. Throwing her arms about in an oblique line, she bends her body in a low bow, with her face to the public. Then, within a second, she rises on her toes and dances to the beat of the orchestra, acting with her hands and saucily lifting them sideways. The picture here is unparalleled in the curvature of forms, which convey the sensation of enthusiasm. This was one of the dancer’s most remarkable entrances.¹⁰¹

Volynsky was still praising Pavlova’s “dance of fire” in 1922, comparing her performance to that of Elizaveta Gerdt.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Volynsky, “Marius Petipa (*Baiaderka*),” *Zhizn’ iskusstva*, 21 March 1922: 2, tr. in Akim Volynsky, *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, ed. and tr. Stanley J. Rabinowitz (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 65.

¹⁰⁰ The libretto (but not the 1877 poster) refers to this dance as “*Djampo*.”

¹⁰¹ Volynsky, “Proshchal’nyi spektakl’ A. P. Pavlovoi (*Baiaderka*)” [Farewell performance by A. P. Pavlova (*La Bayadère*)], *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 25 February 1913, 5, tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 49.

¹⁰² Elizaveta Gerdt made her debut as Nikia on 11 March 1922. *Khronika IV*, 263.

The dance of fire begins—a ritual in the full sense of the word as regards the beauty of its lines and the inspiration of its poses and gestures—with a smooth and tranquil andante. The dance figures are not compact in their design; indeed, the dancing is even somewhat cumbersome in its individual nuances, but it nonetheless constitutes one of Petipa’s masterpieces. The dancer nervously tosses up first one knee, then the other, each bent in the air, and she traverses the stage on pointe, drawing with them countless circles in all directions.

Among the figures of the dance of fire there is one that is exceptionally wonderful. Extending the leg back at full length, the dancer must lightly turn from a pose where she is rolled up in a ball to full height. This is a slow turn with the whole body to the protracted tempo of the violins, as if the body were going through the complete cycle of its growth and suddenly becomes erect, like a wonderfully strong sapling, before the audience’s eyes. ...In Pavlova’s interpretation this figure produced an enormous impression.¹⁰³

No. 8. The *Danse des Fakirs* follows, an extended scene juxtaposing the fakirs’ dancing at the fire pit with the Brahmin’s passionate declaration of love to Nikia and her rejection of his advances. The number opens with the frenetic melody first heard in the introduction (Ex. 2.12b). According to Benois, “The stage was occupied by a pyre whose long tongues of flame leapt high into the air while wild looking, bearded people, dressed in brown tights and red slippers and wearing high turbans, fearlessly jumped over it.”¹⁰⁴ Although this is a group dance, it is not included in the CN. Perhaps the nature of the movement performed by the “wild looking” fakirs was such that it was felt it did not warrant documentation or could not be adequately notated with the Stepanov system.

The Brahmin seizes the opportunity to make his confession to Nikia.

Brahmin (to the fakirs and bayadères): “All of you pray!” The fakirs run up to the fire. (aside) “I will tell her now.” He goes to Nikia, takes her by the hand, and brings her out into the center of the stage. The general scene continues, that is, the fakirs and bayadères pray.

¹⁰³ Volynsky, “Marius Petipa (*Baiaderka*),” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 65.

¹⁰⁴ Benois, *Reminiscences*, 42–43.

Brahmin: “You listen to me, what I will tell you. I love you. Love me and I will protect you and make you the first bayadère.”

Nikia: “[Oh] God!”

Brahmin: “If you return my love, I will make you the first bayadère above all.”

Nikia: “I do not love you and will never love you.”

Brahmin: “Ah! You do not love me?” He moves a little to the side. “Then I will force you to love me!” (Ex. 2.3c).

After their prayer, the fakirs fall to the ground in exhaustion. The Brahmin commands the bayadères to bring water and give the fakirs a drink. They do so. Kshesinskaya (Nikia) gives Bekefi a drink, and when he has had enough, Kshesinskaya makes to go away, but Bekefi stops her.

Madhavaya: “One noble soldier wishes to see you and wants to speak with you. At night he will come here, and when you hear three claps of the hand, then come out.”

Just then, the Brahmin, having noticed the fakir Bekefi talking to Nikia, commands her to leave and then commands everyone to leave. All exit.

No. 9. This next number sets up the meeting of the lovers. The conversation between Madhavaya and Solor is accompanied by one of Minkus’ most affecting musical ideas, in which plaintive, two-part counterpoint represents two voices in conversation (Ex. 2.17).

Ex. 2.17 Conversation between Madhavaya and Solor; Act One, Scene One, No. 9, bars 17–21

(Source: Rep)



Madhavaya (alone): “They all left and there is no one here.” He gets up and calls Solor, who enters.

Solor: “Well? Did you see the bayadère? What did you say to her?”

Madhavaya: “Wait. I will tell you now. From there they came here to pray before this fire. I also prayed and stabbed myself and fell in exhaustion. Then the Brahmin commanded the bayadère to give me a drink. The bayadère brought water and gave me a drink. I told her you will come here at night. When she hears three claps, then she will come here.”

Solor: “Good! Good! Now go and keep watch so that no one sees us.”

Madhavaya goes and watches so that no one sees them.

No. 10. At this time in the pagoda one can hear the bayadère playing on an instrument. According to the libretto, “The pleasant sounds of a vina (guitar) are heard” (Ex. 2.10).¹⁰⁵

Solor: “Oh God! these sounds of hers, how good they are! My heart is aching for her, for her. I love her so much and want to take her to myself. She must be mine, oh yes! yes! she is mine.”

¹⁰⁵ Wiley, *Century*, 296.

No. 11. This number begins with Solor's three hand claps, his signal to Nikia to come and meet him. These are clearly expressed in the score with three accented chords (Ex. 2.18) and are followed by rising sighing figures that describe Solor's breathless anticipation. Nikia enters. A forward-moving, lyrical melody accompanies the first meeting of the lovers (Ex. 2.19).

Ex. 2.18 Solor claps three times to summon Nikia; Act One, Scene One, No. 11, bars 1–4

(Source: Rep)

Allegro non troppo

p sost. *p a tempo* *molto cresc.*

Ex. 2.19 The meeting of the lovers; Act One, Scene One, No. 11, bars 16–23

Moderato non troppo
Vln.

p dolce

Nikia: “Why did you call me here?”

Solor: “I did not go hunting but stayed here in order to see you and say that I love you.

You are so beautiful that I am beside myself.”

No. 12 (*Allegro appassionata*). *Nikia*: “You, listen! There is a brahmin there. He also told me he loves me. We need to be careful.”

Solor: “How did he? How did he dare to say that to you? But listen—” (pointing to the pagoda) “—leave all this and we will run away to my home. Are you not willing?”

Nikia: “I cannot go there with you.”

Solor (in dismay): “How? Why?”

Nikia: “You are a noble warrior, and what am I? a miserable bayadère in this costume. You will abandon me and push me away from yourself.”

Solor: “I will abandon you? Never... I will love you eternally and you will be my wife!”

Nikia: “All right! but swear right in front of this fire that you love me and will be my husband.”

Solor (getting on one knee before the fire): “I swear to love you eternally. I swear you will be my wife.” (The Brahmin eavesdrops on Solor’s oath.) “Now you must believe me. You are mine now. Come to me, come to my arms.” He embraces and kisses Nikia. “I am your slave.”

Nikia: “But do not forget your oath.”

Solor swears again and sits Nikia on his knee.

The lovers’ conversation bears strong resemblance to the similar exchange that occurs in *Paquita*, in which the Romani Paquita refuses her lover Lucien’s request to go with him because

she recognizes “the distance separating a poor *gitana* and an officer.”¹⁰⁶ Here, however, Nikia quickly shifts the focus of the conversation to Solor’s oath, a subject she will return to with insistence throughout the ballet.

No. 13. At the return of the hunters, Minkus reprises the act’s opening march (see Ex. 2.15).

Madhavaya (running in): “I hear footsteps. Someone is coming. Hide.”

Nikia and Solor run and hide behind the temple. The bayadères come out for water in pairs. At the same time, Nikia runs into the temple. Solor blows a kiss after her.

The hunters enter. Solor meets them and asks them about the hunt and whether they killed the tiger.

Toloragva: “I saw the tiger there, and he was coming toward me and pounced on me, and I killed him.” He points with his hand to the dead tiger.

Solor, going and looking at the dead tiger, thanks them and tells them to go home.

Solor: “I will follow you.” All depart. Solor blows another kiss to Nikia (toward the temple), but Madhavaya stops him and points to the window, where Nikia has appeared. Solor runs into her arms.

Nikia: “You remember your oath” (Ex. 2.1d).

Solor: “I swear. I swear! But it is already getting light, and I must leave. Farewell!” He runs to the wings with Madhavaya as the Brahmin watches them again.

Brahmin: “I will have vengeance!” He gestures threateningly as Solor exits.

¹⁰⁶ *Paquita*, 1846 Paris libretto, Act One, scene viii, tr. Marian Smith.

Act Two
Scene Two: The Two Rivals

The second scene introduces the second love triangle: Solor, Hamsatti, and Nikia. First, Solor admits to the Rajah that he cannot fulfill his obligation to marry his daughter but quickly realizes that the Rajah will not take “no” for an answer. Solor retreats into his thoughts as the women emerge as the aggressors.

No. 1. The act opens with a march that will return at the beginning of Act Four. A driving, pulsing melody creates anticipation for curtain-up, which takes place at bar 32 (Ex. 2.20). Nobles enter what the libretto describes as “a magnificent hall in the palace of the rajah Dugmanta.”¹⁰⁷ The production documents record a stage setting that is again set up downstage of the fifth wing. A partition extending from the first wing at stage left serves as a backdrop for a chessboard and five low seats set up at the edge of the stage. The nobles are followed by the Rajah himself.

¹⁰⁷ Wiley, *Century*, 297.

Ex. 2.20 Curtain-up and entrance of the Rajah and his men; Act Two, Scene Two, No. 1, bars 32–39 (Source: Rep)



Dugmanta (coming forward and greeting his guests): “What joy, today my daughter will be married. How happy I am!” Addressing a particular guest, he continues, “You, there, play chess with me. Please sit!” They sit and he commands the kshatriyas to bring in dancers: “You, from there, call them to come here and dance.”

No. 2. The *Djampe* dance (Rep, CN: “Dance with veils”) is a two-part number for “two second *danseuses* and eight coryphées” with “veils tied to the right leg.” Photographs confirm the other end of the long veil was held in both hands, and the CN, in which movements for arms are recorded, indicates that one or both arms are often held overhead. Sergeyev explains, “Left side written down and right side does with the other leg and in the other direction.” A ground plan indicates seven kshatriyas situated behind a table downstage right. Two men sit on either side of the table; Aistov (*Dugmanta*) sits on the side closest to the wing.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ A photograph in the *Yearbook* for the season 1900–1901 shows three kshatriyas seated at the table, with two more standing beside it. *Ezhegodnik* (1900–1901), 157.

The first half of the number features a precise, marked melody over a martial accompaniment with the feel of a polonaise in duple time (Ex. 2.21a).

Ex. 2.21a *Djampe* dance; Act Two, Scene Two, No. 2, bars 1–5



The dance is built on a variety of Petipa’s favorite traveling steps—*ballonné*, *emboîté*, and, most often used for character dance, *demi-valse*—the simplicity of which focuses the attention on the patterns the dancers make *en masse*, whether it be a serpentine line, intersecting diagonals or circles, or block formations. The dance is not performed on *pointe*.

The eight coryphées advance downstage in a single row with a series of two *ballonnés*, *tombé*, *pas de bourrée* and turn a circle to the left with *demi-valse*. After returning upstage, they travel back down with multiple *temps levé en attitude devant* then split and travel to the side with *demi-valse*. The women traverse the stage four times with a series of *temps levé en arabesque* and *temps levé en demi-attitude devant* then perform alternating *coupés*, over and under, in place. They kneel as the two soloists enter upstage left.

The soloists travel backward downstage in mirroring zigzags, performing two *demi-valse*, *tombé*, *pas de bourrée* four times. Downstage and turning to face front, they continue with *pas de cheval*, *pas de bourrée* six times to alternate sides. After moving out to opposite corners with *demi-valse* then back up toward center with a series of turning *temps levés en demi-attitude devant*, *tombé*, *pas de bourrée*, they hold each other by the waist and travel downstage with fifteen consecutive *temps levés en arabesque*, left arms overhead, right arms side. They release each other and travel backward upstage with alternating *coupés*, over and under, finishing at center with *tombé*, *pas de bourrée* to *tendu croisé derrière*.

No. 3. The second part of the dance is a coda-like variant of No. 2, a *presto* polka in A major, that follows on directly; the CN is marked “attacca” (Ex. 2.21b).

Ex. 2.21b *Djampe* dance coda; Act Two, Scene Two, No. 3, bars 1–8



The soloists continue at center with two *temps levés*—the first with the working leg in *demi-attitude devant*, the second with the *attitude* leg passing to *demi-arabesque fondu*—*pas de*

bourrée four times, the coryphées beginning to dance midway through the sequence with *demi-valse*, turning in place. The entire group repositions itself, the coryphées moving upstage, still in two groups of four, the soloists moving slightly to the side. Together, the ten women travel downstage in mirroring zigzags that cross at center. They perform repeated *temps levés en demi-attitude devant*, with *tombé, pas de bourrée* used to change direction. Repositioning upstage once again with a series of *temps levés* and *petits emboîtés*, they turn four circles in place, performing multiple *temps levés en arabesque*. As the music begins to die away, they travel all the way upstage with *demi-valse* then turn left and dance into the wings.

Pas Dzheni. The Rep indicates, “Segue No. 4.” However, mention must be made of an interpolation at this point in the Rep. For the ballet’s sixth performance on 20 February 1877, Petipa added a *Pas Dzheni* for the soloist Alexandra Kemmerer. Gershenzon, who refers to the number as a demi-character dance, explains that it was first part of the large divertissement in Act Two, Scene Three before being moved a scene earlier, where we find it in the Rep, in 1884.¹⁰⁹ The two folios that comprise the number, which has been struck though, are interpolated after the *Djampe* dance. At sixty-one bars (plus repeats), the *Pas Dzheni* is a substantial number (Ex. 2.22). Its middle section features rising and falling staccato lines that remind us of the opening bayadères’ dance (Ex. 2.7a). The variation ends with a typical fast section (in D major) filled with sixteenth-note scales and octave leaps.

¹⁰⁹ Gershenzon, “*La Bayadère*,” 15.

Ex. 2.22 Act Two, Scene Two, *Pas Dzheni*, bars 1–6 (Source: Rep)



The sources I consulted do not indicate how long the *Pas Dzeni* remained in the production. For the 1900 revival, a “Hindu dance” was performed in Scene Two by Maria Rutkovskaya and Alexander Shiryaev, presumably immediately following the *Djampe* dance. No additional music is provided for this dance in the Rep, and the *Pas Dzheni*, as mentioned above, is struck through. By the following season the new “Hindu dance” was retitled “Dance of a bayadère with a Hindu.” The dance appears to have been performed sporadically throughout the first years of the twentieth century.

No. 4 (“Après la Danse”). After the dances, Dugmanta sets his dagger on the table, stands up, and calls a slave (*aiya*), who runs in and bows.

Dugmanta: “Call my daughter to come here.” The slave goes to summon Hamsatti, while Dugmanta addresses his guests: “I thank you, my lords. Now you may leave.” The guests depart and the *aiya* returns, running.

Aiya: “Your daughter is coming here!”

Dugmanta: “Good!”

The *aiya* invites the young woman into the room. Hamsatti enters with two ladies of the court (Ex. 2.4). She greets her father, who embraces her and kisses her forehead. They walk forward.

Hamsatti: “Why did you call me from there?”

Dugmanta: “You listen to me. I will tell you. I called you from there to tell you. You remember there was one [young man], who has now grown up, and you are to be wed to him.”

Hamsatti: “I am to be married! ...to whom! ...I do not know him!” (Ex. 2.1c).

Dugmanta: “Calm down. He is one of ours. He has a brave heart, and you will meet him!”

Hamsatti: “He has not seen me?”

No. 5. *Dugmanta*: “Just wait. He will see you, your figure, your face. He will fall in love for certain” (variant of Solor’s theme; see Ex. 2.7). (addressing the kshatriya) “Call him from there to come here.” The kshatriya leaves. (to Hamsatti) “Just wait, you will see; he will come here.”

The kshatriya invites Solor to enter. The warrior walks into the room and bows to Dugmanta.

Solor: “You called me here. I am waiting. What do you command? I am at your service.”

Dugmanta: “You fought very well and battled the enemy. You are a brave warrior and I protect you.” He puts his hand on Solor, who bows down. “You remember that from childhood you were chosen as the groom for my daughter.”

Solor: “Me, a groom?”

Dugmanta: “Yes!”

Solor: “I am a groom.” He walks to the side, suffering. “[Oh] God, what should I do? I swore my love to one beauty and suddenly I have to marry another. What should I do? How should I act?” He approaches Dugmanta. “But I have never seen your daughter.”

Dugmanta: “Oh, be at ease! You will see her now.” He walks up to his daughter and removes her veil. “There, look!” He reassures Hamsatti. “You see, he is in love and he likes you.”

Seeing her face, Solor is struck by Hamsatti’s beauty (variant of the Brahmin’s inverted theme; see Ex. 2.1b).

Solor (aside): “[Oh] God, how beautiful!” He approaches Dugmanta in bewilderment. “I do not know if she loves me. Can we not put off our wedding and wait for some time?”

Dugmanta: “No! I want it so badly. She is as beautiful as this pearl. I give her to you.”

Solor: “Oh yes! she is simply a beauty.” He comes up to Hamsatti and bows.

Dugmanta: “Oh, how happy I am! He will marry her.”

No. 6. *Aiya* (to Dugmanta): “The priest is coming here and wishes to speak with you” (variant of the Brahmin’s motif; see Ex. 2.1a).

Dugmanta: “The priest, here. Why? Tell him to come in and speak to me.” The slave goes to ask the Brahmin to come in. The priest enters and bows to Dugmanta, who inquires, “Why have you come?”

Brahmin: “I came to tell you something alone and in secret, with no one else around.”

Dugmanta: “Alone? Strange. All right, all of you leave,” he commands, and all depart. Hamsatti wonders, “Why alone?” She hides and eavesdrops on the conversation between the priest and her father. Leaving, Solor looks at the Brahmin as at an adversary. “We are here alone, so tell me, what?” asks Dugmanta again. Hamsatti runs to her *aiya* and says, “I will stay here to listen.”

Brahmin: “Is your daughter to be married?”

Dugmanta (nodding): “Yes!”

Brahmin: “She is getting married to him?” (He perhaps indicates the portrait of Solor that figures later in the scene.)

Dugmanta (nodding again): “Yes!”

Brahmin: “Does he love her?”

Dugmanta (with his hand): “Yes!”

Brahmin: “That is impossible!”

Dugmanta: “You dare to speak!”

No. 7. Rushing upward scales and accented chords in C minor, followed by descending chromatic tremolos, express the Rajah’s indignation.

Brahmin: “I saw at night how he spoke to her [Nikia] about love. He gave her an oath, there before the fire, that he will marry her and steal her and take her away.” At this point, Hamsatti, hearing what the Brahmin is saying, sends her slave to fetch Nikia, whom she wants to see for herself, and find out the truth.

From this point onward, Petipa’s extant notes describe the rest of the scene—the fallout from the Brahmin’s disclosure of the secret love between Solor and Nikia:

The Rajah is revolted by the conduct of his future son-in-law.

He says to the Great Brahmin that the bayadère must die.

The Brahmin, who does not want the death of his beloved bayadère, but wants Solor to be punished, says to the Rajah that killing the bayadère of the pagoda would put Vishnu against them.

The Rajah does not want to hear anything and tells the Brahmin that during the great festival, that [blank space in the manuscript].

At these words, the great Brahmin shudders.

Hamsatti, who has heard everything, [and] wants to know and talk to this bayadère, orders her slave to go and look for her.

The Rajah, quite satisfied with this revenge, exits with the Brahmin.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ RGALI *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 122, fol. 2r.

We return to the mime script, which follows Petipa's plan:

Dugmanta: "What am I hearing? He will steal her, that beauty. I will destroy her!"

Brahmin: "No! No! She belongs to God and to do that is impossible."

Dugmanta: "No, she has insulted me. I will destroy her, that is my will. Let us go." He makes to leave. Seeing that the Brahmin is not coming, he repeats, "Let us go."

Brahmin: "Ah! what have I done! It is I that have killed her. What should I do!" (*piano* variant of the Brahmin's motif). At the second call of Dugmanta, he also makes to depart. "Let us go."

Petipa's notes describe the subsequent confrontation between Hamsatti and Nikia:

Hamsatti, weakened from what she heard, cries, sobbing, but she wants to know from the bayadère's mouth if Solor really loves her.

Her slave runs up and announces to her the arrival of the bayadère.

Nikia, bowing, approaches Hamsatti.

Hamsatti looks at her and finds her very beautiful.

She tells her that she is getting married and that she wants her to dance for her wedding.

The bayadère is very happy to have this honor.

Hamsatti also wants her to know her fiancé and shows her the large portrait of Solor.¹¹¹

At this sight, Nikia goes mad. She tells the Rajah's daughter that Solor has sworn his eternal love [to her].

Hamsatti orders Nikia to abandon Solor. Never! Nikia answers, [I would] rather die!

Hamsatti offers [Nikia] her jewelry and gold on condition that she leave the country.¹¹² Nikia snatches Hamsatti's jewelry from her hands and throws it at her feet.

Hamsatti begs the bayadère to give up Solor. At her words, Nikia takes a dagger which she finds near her and rushes toward Hamsatti.

¹¹¹ Petipa added an annotation on the side of the page: "I know that the Hindus did not have these portraits, but I have allowed myself this anachronism to make the subject clearly understood." This comment is quoted nearly verbatim in the published libretto: "I know very well that Indians did not have portraits, and used this anachronism only to make the comprehension of the story easier. (Author's note.)" Wiley, *Century*, 299.

¹¹² The libretto specifies the jewels as "diamonds and gold." The Golconda region was famous for its diamonds.

The slave, who has followed Nikia's movements, rushes forward and covers her mistress with her body. Distraught, Nikia runs away.

Hamsatti gets up and says: now she must die.¹¹³
The mime script again fulfills Petipa's plan:

No. 8. *Hamsatti*: "Oh my god! my god! What have I heard? He will not marry me. He does not love me." She falls on the table and cries (Ex. 2.5a).

No. 9. *Aiya* (running in): The bayadère is coming here (melodic reference to bayadères' dance; see Ex. 2.8a).

Hamsatti: "Let her come in. I will look at her here." The slave asks Nikia to enter. She comes in and bows to the Rajah's daughter.

Hamsatti: "You may get up." She looks at Nikia. "Oh! how beautiful she is."

Nikia: "You called me from there. Why?"

Hamsatti: "I called you from there to say you must dance at my wedding."

Nikia (with joy): "I am willing to dance at your wedding." She makes a great bow.
Hamsatti wishes to know what Nikia's reaction will be if she shows her a portrait of the groom.

Hamsatti: "Look at my groom! Here he is." She points to the portrait. Nikia looks. Seeing the image of Solor, she is terribly stricken.

No. 10. Rushing scales in C minor, similar to those that accompanied the Rajah's consternation in No. 7, here depict Nikia's outrage.

Nikia: "He! (pointing with her hand to the portrait) is your groom?"

Hamsatti: "Yes!"

Nikia: "Do you love him?"

Hamsatti: "Yes!"

¹¹³ RGALI *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 122, fols. 2r and 3v.

Nikia: “You, his bride. His bride, never.”

Hamsatti: “Listen to me, what I will tell you. I love him, love him terribly. I am asking you, leave.” But the bayadère does not want to listen to Hamsatti.

Nikia: “I, leave here? No! You are great, and I am nothing—a simple bayadère—and he swore to love me.”

Hamsatti: “I will reward you, and I will protect you. I am asking you to leave him.”

Nikia: “No!”

Hamsatti: “I pray you, I pray.” She takes Nikia by the hand and falls on her knees. “Here, take it,” she says, giving her jewelry, rings, and other valuables. Nikia takes everything and throws it to her feet. She runs and falls on the table. Seeing the dagger, she has a thought to kill Hamsatti. She grabs the dagger, goes, and raises it. At the same time, the slave, seeing the whole picture, when the bayadère wants to strike a blow with the dagger, at the last moment gets between them and parries the blow. Hamsatti falls, and Nikia in horror throws the dagger away and runs away. Hamsatti stands and says to all, “Now she must die.”

By at least 1902, the dramatic action I have just described was listed in the program as “Scene of jealousy” (*Stsena revnosti*), featuring Nikia, Hamsatti, Solor, the Brahmin, and Dugmanta.

Scene Three: The Bayadere’s Death

The love triangles and central conflict now established, the remaining scenes feature long stretches of dancing: a combination of character and classical dance in Scene Three, and classical dance in both Scene Five’s Kingdom of the Shades and Scene Seven’s children’s dance and *pas*

d'action. Mime is used sparingly and efficiently in these scenes to move the narrative forward to the next danced segment.

The libretto describes the perspective scenery viewed by the audience as the curtain rises on the third scene:

The stage represents the façade of the rajah's palace from the side of a garden, with masses of huge flowers and broad-leaved trees. In the distance—the tower of the large pagoda of Megatshada, which reaches almost to the heavens.¹¹⁴ In the background, the light blue of the heavens themselves. The Himalayas are thinly covered with silvery snow.¹¹⁵

The stage setting preserved in the production documents reveals a raised platform across the entirety of the fifth wing, piled high with cushions for seating. A narrow staircase at stage right connects the platform to the stage. High above the platform, a “stone” canopy supported by pillars is situated on the diagonal and projects from the upstage right corner. As with Scene One, trees and foliage frame the stage.

The occasion is a celebration in honor of Badrinata, one of the many names for the Hindu deity Vishnu and the name associated with the Hindu temple dedicated to Vishnu that is located in the town of Badrinath in Uttarakhand, India. Petipa's notes demonstrate the splendor and richness he planned for the opening procession. The first of two lists, which includes 178 participants, is the more concise:

3rd tableau ballet *Bayadère*

The Rajah
Solor
Great Brahmin
8 Priests
4 Gurus [*Gourons*]

¹¹⁴ “Megatshada” may refer to the ancient kingdom of Magadha in eastern India.

¹¹⁵ Wiley, *Century*, 299.

8 Hindu men – same costumes¹¹⁶
 6 women of the people – same costumes
 12 Hindus pulling a cart – *Statistes* [Extras]
 8 Penitents armed with red-hot irons – *Statistes*
 16 Hindus who carry idols and palanquins – *Statistes*
 12 Hindus with lances – they are minding a tiger¹¹⁷
 9 Kshatriyas of the Rajah's retinue – same costumes
 2 Noble women of Hamsatti's retinue
 1 Slave of Hamsatti
 8 Religious pilgrims – *Statistes*
 8 fanatical Hindu men of the people – they put themselves under the wheels of the
 cart
 9 Hindus – second *danseurs* (*Pas de Radina*)¹¹⁸
 12 young girls, second *danseuses* } *pas*
 4 Hindu students } *pas*¹¹⁹
 12 *figurants* [corps de ballet men]
 12 little Black boys
 12 1st coryphées
 12 2nd coryphées¹²⁰

A second list provides further detail. Petipa wrote “c'est bon” at the top of the page, suggesting his satisfaction. Multiple strike-throughs, shown below, represent changes made in the manuscript; my notes are in brackets.

Procession
 3rd Tableau

¹¹⁶ I presume “same costumes” means these characters were meant to wear the same costumes they wore in a previous scene.

¹¹⁷ Konaev suggests an image published in 1876 in the French newspaper *L'Illustration*, of which Petipa was an avid reader, may have provided inspiration for inclusion of the tiger in the procession. Titled “Tigre captif amené devant le Prince, à Baroda” and published in connection with the Prince of Wales' recent visit to India, the image depicts a chained tiger in procession, surrounded by men holding lances. See Konaev, “Der Tigre Captif,” 43–45.

¹¹⁸ Lubov Radina was in the original cast of the Hindu Dance.

¹¹⁹ Twelve women and four male students made up the cast of the 1877 Slave Dance (also known as the Crooked Dance of the Slaves). The same cast numbers are represented in the CN.

¹²⁰ RGALI *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 122, fol. 5r.

- 1 12 Second coryphées | The torch bearers are on the stage before the entry of the procession
- 2 4 Gurus
- 3 4 Priests
- 4 1 Great Brahmin
- 5 4 Priests
- 6 12 Little Black boys
- 7 1 Hamsatti's slave
- 8 2 Hamsatti's noble ladies
- 9 1 Hamsatti on a palanquin [litter]
4 men who carry the palanquin 1st
- ~~10~~ 12 12 *danseuses* [replaces "2 second coryphées"]
- 11 ~~12~~ 6 *figurants* [corps de ballet men], they come back a second time
- ~~12~~ 10 12 coryphées [replaces "2 young girls who dance the *pas*"]
- 13 ~~9~~ 4 Kshatriyas
- 14 1 The Rajah on a palanquin
4 men who carry the palanquin and who return to take Solor for his entrance
4 who are near the palanquin with fans
- 15 ~~5~~ 2 Kshatriyas – they go up and go behind the stage to come back with Solor
- 16 5 male *figurants* [corps de ballet men]
- 17 4 they carry an idol
- 18 9 Hindus second *danseurs*. Picheau and the 8.¹²¹
6 second coryphées they come back
- 19 8 Hindu men [–] same costumes
- 20 6 women of the people – same costumes
- 21 4 Hindus [–] students
- 22 6 coryphées | 4 idols [replaces "4 that carry an idol"]
- 23 ~~8~~ 6 fanatical Hindu men of the people [–] they throw themselves under the wheels
- 24 8 Penitents armed with branding-irons *statistes* [extras] (fanatics)
- 25 12 Hindus pulling the cart ["chariot"]
- 26 8 Religious pilgrims, *statistes* [extras]

Those who return before Solor's entry[:]

- 27 8 Hindu men [–] same costumes
- 28 6 women of the people [–] same costumes
- 29 4 Hindus [–] students.
- 30 8 who carried the two idols [see 17 and 22]
- 31 4 Kshatriyas who return in front of Solor
- 32 1 The Fakir, slave of Solor Troitsky¹²²
- 33 1 Solor on a palanquin – the same palanquin that served the Rajah | Solor comes down and orders that the tiger be brought back
4 that he presents to Hamsatti

¹²¹ Alexander Picheau was in the original cast of the Hindu Dance.

¹²² Nikolai Troitsky was in the cast in the role of the fakir Madhavaya in 1877.

- 4 near the palanquin with large fans
 34 6 *figurants* [corps de ballet men] of No. 11 who return a second time
 35 12 who hold the tiger captive
 The tiger is dragged off the stage

The Rajah [possibly struck through, with “Solor” written above] orders that the celebration begin.

Also put near Hamsatti's palanquin 4 or 2 men with fans from *corsaire* [*Le Corsaire*] or the other larger ones.¹²³

Taking revisions into account, the procession envisioned here numbers up to 221 participants—far more than appeared in, for example, the hunting procession in the 1841 Paris production of *Giselle* (which called for about thirty participants) or the Pasha's procession in Act One of *Le Corsaire* in its original Paris production of 1856 (which called for as many as forty-two participants).¹²⁴

No. 1. According to the poster, the act begins with a “Solemn Procession in Honor of the Idol Badrinata.” The march that accompanies this massive procession is notated twice in the Rep. The two versions are nearly the same, but not identical. The first is completely struck through. The second, which appears to supersede the first and whose pages have been added to the Rep between the final two pages of the first, comprises 288 bars, offering six distinct melodic ideas,

¹²³ RGALI *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 133, fols. 62r–v and 63r.

¹²⁴ For the French text of the 1841 Paris libretto of *Giselle* and an English translation, see Smith, *Ballet and Opera*, 213–238. For an English translation of the 1856 Paris libretto of *Le Corsaire*, see Willa J. Collins “Adolphe Adam's Ballet *Le Corsaire* at the Paris Opéra, 1856–1868: A Source Study,” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2008), 406–429.

Though sometimes downplayed or forgotten in today's stagings, processions quite often appeared in nineteenth-century ballets and operas. Some were long; some were short; some were magnificent; some were simple and plain. See Marian Smith, “Processions in French Grand Opera,” in *Bild und Bewegung im Musiktheater. Interdisziplinäre Studien im Umfeld der Grand Opéra. Image and Movement in Music Theatre. Interdisciplinary Studies around Grand Opéra*, ed. Roman Brotbeck, Laura Moeckli, Anette Schaffer, and Stephanie Schroedter (Schliengen: Argus, 2018), 43–50.

plus a 54-bar coda (Ex. 2.23). Plentiful internal repeats (usually in 16-bar periods) allow for maximum flexibility.

Ex. 2.23 Processional march; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 1, bars 1–8



Benois described with enthusiasm the procession he witnessed as a child in 1877:

The curtain soon rose again and I found myself in a magnificent tropical park with palm trees and baobabs growing in profusion. In the distance one could see a procession approaching; it consisted at first of tiny cardboard figures, but soon the real ones filed across the stage to disappear in the opposite wing and then form a group in the background. The appearance of the bejeweled elephant caused me to clap my hands with delight, but the innumerable heads and arms of the gilt idols made me feel distinctly uncomfortable, and I could hardly keep my seat at the sight of the “royal tiger” nodding his head from side to side. He was so convincing.

But what enchanted me more than anything—more than the warriors in their golden armour, more than the beautiful veiled maidens whose arms and ankles jiggled with bracelets, was the group of blackamoors who approached dancing, twirling and tinkling their bells. The winding lines of little blackamoors so amazed and delighted me—principally because they were of my own size—that during the following days I shamelessly lied and boasted to my little friends in the

kindergarten that I had actually taken part in that dance. I got so used to this lie that I actually began to believe it myself.¹²⁵

The CN confirms Benois' recollection of procession participants who first cross the stage before re-entering. Under the title "March," entrances for six such groups are notated. Here the ground plans are drawn from the stage perspective rather than that of the audience. Groups enter in pairs at stage right, cross, and exit stage left. Each has a characteristic step notated in 2/4 meter. In all, the CN accounts for eighty-four bars of the march. Identifiers for the first four groups are written in the left margin by their respective notation systems. Some of the words are cut off in the CN binding.

The first group of twelve women holds "fans or mirrors in hand." They will dance No. 5, below. Their traveling step combination begins with a *temps levés en demi-attitude devant* on each leg followed by a variant of *demi-valse*, the left leg rising to *demi-seconde* with each step.

The second group, also twelve women, is labeled "Crooked *pas*," indicating those who will dance Nos. 2 and 3, below. Their appropriately halting enchaînement consists of a *temps levé en demi-arabesque* and a *balancé*, stepping backward on the second step.

The third group holds "garlands on sticks." The ground plan indicates twelve men, again in pairs. A wavy line drawn between each pair likely depicts the garlands that are attached to the end of the pikes they hold. An annotation confirms: "stick for garland in hand." These men perform the same enchaînement as the first group of women.

Yet another group of twelve women, the fourth group, holds "on pointer finger a parrot" as they move across the stage with a *temps levé en demi-arabesque* and three quick steps forward. They will dance No. 6, below.

¹²⁵ Benois, *Reminiscences*, 43.

The five men making up the fifth group (one man leads the other four, in pairs) perform consecutive *temps levés en attitude devant*, the left arm held directly overhead, the elbow bent ninety degrees, and the right arm held forty-five degrees behind the body. No annotation is provided to offer further description.

The sixth and final group includes four men holding pikes who perform the same enchaînement as the first group. An annotation explains that their right arm should be “behind the pike” and the “end of the pike pushes into his side” (that is, one end of the pike is balanced against the hip). Instead of exiting into the opposite wing, this group travels downstage left.

The divertissement commences immediately following the procession. Returning to Volynsky’s review of Pavlova’s farewell performance in 1913, we find a summary of the dances that is in agreement with the order found in the Rep, PR, and CN:

The third scene constitutes a mosaic of dances of various configurations. The so-called Crooked Dance of Slaves [Nos. 2 and 3], with its organized asymmetry, in which equal groups of the corps disperse up- and downstage, is followed by the Fan Dance [No. 5] and Parrot Dance [No. 6], with the four Bayadères [Nos. 7 and 9] with low take-offs and entrechats quatres, and with Manu’s dance [No. 14] in which Elsa Vill performs, having inherited this number—with descending grades of vivid execution—from Vera Trefilova and Tamara Karsavina. Immediately, Alexander Orlov, Vasily Stukolkin, and Olga Fedorova rush across the stage in a feverishly rhythmic Indian dance [No. 14½]. Stukolkin whirls in a vortex, beating the drum with his foot from the bottom up. And Fedorova, among the multicolored ribbons, rushes toward the footlights like a hurricane. The act concludes with the solo number of the Bayadère [No. 16], who dances in the final moment with a basket of flowers in a passionate arabesque upward, with her darkened eyes directed toward the audience.¹²⁶

The organization of the dances reflects a similar, hierarchical pattern observed by Tim Scholl in the dances of the first act of *Sleeping Beauty*:

¹²⁶ Volynsky, “Proshchal’nyi spektakl’ A. P. Pavlovoi (*Bayaderka*),” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 49.

The usual Petipa proprieties are observed in Act I: the dances move from low genre to high, from folk dancing in wooden shoes (the knitters) to grand ballabile with props (garlands, flowers, children), to the summit of the ballet's academic choreography, the adagio for Aurora and her four cavaliers.¹²⁷

Here in *La Bayadère*, the divertissement begins with dances for various ensembles performing relatively simple steps that graduate to more complicated dances for smaller, select groups. The choreography increases in *danse d'école* vocabulary, and in 1877 culminated in a classical *pas* for Hamsatti and a cavalier. After this classical *pas* was eliminated, however, the low-to-high progression was disrupted and the order of the dances was rearranged, as we will see in the later revivals.

No. 2. The two-part “Dance of the Slaves” (or “Crooked Dance of Slaves” as Volynsky called it; recall the similar reference in the CN, above) is characterized by the mixed meters of its opening section: fifty bars of disjunct melody using a combination of 2/4, 3/4, and 4/4 meters (Ex. 2.24). This metrical asymmetry complements the asymmetrically “crooked” nature of the choreography, the main feature of which is a variant of *demi-valse* in which the working leg makes repeated *degagés demi-seconde*, resulting in a hobbling gait.

¹²⁷ Scholl, *Sleeping Beauty*, 42.

Ex. 2.24 Dance of the Slaves (part one); Act Two, Scene Three, No. 2, bars 1–8

Moderato

The musical score is written for piano in G major and consists of three systems of staves. The first system contains measures 1 through 4, the second system contains measures 5 through 8, and the third system contains measures 9 and 10. The time signature changes from 3/4 to 4/4 in measure 2 and remains 4/4 for the rest of the piece. The score features a variety of musical textures, including chords, arpeggios, and melodic lines in both the treble and bass staves. Dynamic markings include *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The tempo is marked 'Moderato'.

In agreement with the 1877 poster, the CN shows that the performers include twelve women and four student men. The women enter upstage left in pairs, flanked by the men, who carry pikes and are instructed to “hold onto the middle of the pike, and the end of it stick into one’s right side,” much as they did when entering in the opening procession (see above).

All perform a series of *temps levés en demi-attitude devant* on each leg and the *demi-valse* variant. Arriving downstage center, the men continue the enchaînement as they move toward the wings while the pairs of women separate into two lines, each circling upstage as the women alternate six *demi-emboîtés derrière* with the same *demi-valse*. Forming a single row upstage, the women circle in place before turning to each other in pairs and exchanging places several times as the men approach from the wings and form a row upstage of the women. With

bounding *jetés en avant*, the men and half of the women (those on stage right) turn and travel upstage as the women on stage left perform the same steps moving downstage. Returning to center, the entire ensemble travels upstage and back with *jetés de côté* and more *demi-valse*, posing in *attitude devant fondu* (the working leg bent ninety degrees) at the end of the number.

No. 3. The second part of the dance, a polka, features a variety of short, repeated phrases of the sort Minkus employs for other character dances in this scene (Ex. 2.25).

Ex. 2.25 Dance of the Slaves (part two); Act Two, Scene Three, No. 3, bars 1–8



The steps include the usual *temps levés* and *demi-valse* as well as some variety; for example, the men begin with *échappé* followed by three *demi-emboîtés devant*. Later, pairs face each other, holding one another by the waist with the left arm, and circle in place four times performing multiple *temps levés en attitude devant*. The dancers repeatedly cover the stage in circles and lines, moving upstage and down, to the wings and back to center, all with a similar small-scale movement vocabulary. The men remain upstage of the women.

At one point, lining the wings and upstage, the dancers pause: “Pose | refer to rough draft” is written in the CN across the respective five bars, reminding us of the care that was taken in creating this neat and precise copy that has survived.

Finally, the ensemble travels directly downstage in rows. Performing *emboîtés devant*, the women hold each other by the waist and the men hold their pikes in their right hand and the waist of their partner with their left. The final pose is nearly the same as that for No. 2: *attitude devant fondu*, the extended leg bent just forty-five degrees rather than ninety.

Beginning with No. 4 in the CN, Sergeyev has assigned each participant in the divertissement a number that is notated on the ground plan and also used alongside the notation staves to indicate whether the performer is dancing. (We will encounter a similar numbering system in the notation of the divertissement *Le jardin animé* in Chapter Four.) The numbers not only allow us to keep track of which performers participated in the various dances but also their placement in the groupings. (The dancers participating in Nos. 2 and 3—Dance of the Slaves—are not numbered in the CN and do not appear to participate in the subsequent dances.)

No. 4. The *Danse infernale* is struck through in the Rep and copied again later in the act. (“Segue No. 5” is written at the end of No. 3.) However, the 1877 poster, in which the number is titled *Hindu dance*, confirms its original position at this point in the divertissement, following No. 3. This suggests the Rep dates as far back as the premiere production. The cast list in the poster includes a lead male-female couple and seven men, a slight revision from the nine men Petipa listed in both of his procession plans (see “Pas de Radina” in his shorter list and entry 18 in his longer list, above). The program for the 1900 revival includes a cast of the same size and confirms the dance was moved to the end of the divertissement, just before the coda.

No. 5. The “Grand Indian Dance” features “12 women corps de ballet | in their hands fans and mirrors | and 12 men with garlands on sticks.” Sergeyev notes, “left side is written down.”

Like the dances that precede it, this piquant waltz features the kind of short, disjunct, staccato phrases with which Minkus signifies character dance (Ex. 2.26).

Ex. 2.26 Grand Indian Dance; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 5, bars 1–8



The twelve corps women (numbered 1–12 in the CN) begin, entering six from each side, performing similar steps as those for the Crooked Dance (and also not on *pointe*): *temps levé* and *demi-valse*. Reaching downstage center, they add *pas de basque*, moving away from and back to a central row. Meanwhile, the men enter in pairs (numbered 13–24), six from each side. They carry the same pikes mentioned above, with garlands attached. The adults are soon joined by twelve small boys (numbered 25–36). Much like their Crooked Dance counterparts, the dancers move about the stage in pairs, rows, and lines. *Pas de basque* and *balancé* are their primary steps. At one point, the boys form two rows downstage while the adults form a large circle

upstage. The women travel backward toward its center and turn in place before heading toward the downstage wings as the men and boys form a long column at center. Each boy places both hands on the shoulders of the boy in front of him. They dance in place as the men's pairs split away and move toward opposite wings and back. The women travel toward center and back to the wings. The dance ends abruptly with a final *échappé en plié* and a spring to *demi-attitude devant* for the women.

No. 6. The ensemble spends the first four bars of No. 6 moving into a grouping (Ex. 2.14). The boys split and travel to either wing with *pas de basque*. There they form lines next to the corps women. The men, also travelling with *pas de basque*, form a semicircle upstage. Behind them, “on stools stand 8 men with large fans” (numbered 37–44 in the CN).¹²⁸

Twelve women (numbered 45–56) enter at midstage, six from either side. Each holds a parrot, which “sits on the pointer finger.” Here Minkus returns to more traditional melodic fare, complementing choreography that includes *pointe* work. To the strains of a broad sweeping melody in waltz rhythm, the women travel in their lines with a series of *temps levés en demi-arabesque* followed by three steps forward. They form a column of two lines at center that transforms into two rows and eventually into one row across the stage. Steps include *demi-cabrioles derrière*, *piqués de côté cou-de-pied devant*, and multiple *temps levés en demi-arabesque* while turning. Traveling steps include *pas de basque*, *balancé*, and a series of *temps levés sur la pointe* in *demi-attitude devant*. Similar to previous dances, the final pose is in *attitude devant*, this time on *demi-pointe*.

¹²⁸ The production documents include four diagrams detailing the positioning of the stools in the various groupings formed during the divertissement.

From here on in the divertissement, the corps de ballet yields to soloists. The 1877 poster lists several dances for pairs or trios of performers:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 7) | Two bayadères | 2 student women |
| 8) | <i>Nautch</i> ¹²⁹ | 2 women |
| 9) | Classical dance | Hamsatti and Solor |
| 10) | <i>Manu</i> | 1 woman and 2 student girls |

The dance for two bayadères became a dance for four by 1900, and the CN thus records the number as a *pas de quatre*. The *Manu* dance is also notated, but as No. 14 in the CN and Rep. How the other two dances correspond to the intervening numbers in the Rep is uncertain. Out of a possible eight numbers (Nos. 7 through 14), the Rep contains just five, the CN three. The PR also includes just three numbers, but an annotation after the third—“No dance *Manu* and beginning of Indian”—refers to missing pages that included the entire *Manu* and the opening of the Hindu dance.

No. 7. The nine bars of introduction at the beginning of No. 7 allow time for the ensemble to form a second grouping, which is similar to the first but with additional dancers upstage. The twelve men switch places with the boys and pose with the women along the wings who are holding parrots. The boys “stand on five stools in a circle and arms folded on chest crosswise” behind a row formed by the women holding fans and mirrors, who kneel. In contrast to the groupings we will find that Petipa devised for the adagio in *Le jardin animé*, which filled

¹²⁹ Pallabi Chakravorty defines *nautch* as “a distortion of the word *naach*, or dance, which is derived from the Sanskrit *nritya* through the Prakrit *nachcha*.” Historically, nautch dancers were “predominantly Muslim women who were trained in north Indian music and dance and once held high status in the royal courts.” The term “nautch” was coined as a catch-all term during British rule to define this northern style as well as various regional dance styles of southern India. By the end of the nineteenth century, nautch dancers had become associated with “low culture and women of loose morals.” See Pallabi Chakravorty, “Dancing into Modernity: Multiple Narratives of India’s Kathak Dance,” *Dance Research Journal* 38, no. 1/2 (Summer–Winter, 2006): 116–117.

the entirety of the stage and within which the leading performers danced, the groupings here frame the stage, leaving an open, central space for dancing.

The dance begins with the entrance of a pair of bayadères (numbered 57 and 58, the CN refers to them as “1st dancers”), one at each upstage corner. They travel down their respective diagonals to a light, staccato—yet mostly conjunct—melody made up of eight-bar phrases (Ex. 2.27). Their steps include multiple *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe*, *glissade*, *jeté* once to each side. The pair returns backward up the diagonal with *piqué en demi-arabesque* and two hops on *pointe* in fifth position three times. They finish with six *chaînés* on *demi-pointe*, traveling to opposite corners, crossing at center.

Ex. 2.27 Bayadères’ dance; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 7, bars 10–17

Moderato

p non troppo presto

A second pair of bayadères (numbered 59 and 60) also begins from opposite upstage corners. They zigzag downstage with *pas de bourrée*, *jeté en avant*, *cabriole derrière* three times. The women circle each other with *piqués de côté cou-de-pied devant* then travel directly

downstage with a series of *temps liés sur les pointes* and *pas de bourrée*, all on *pointe*. They finish their *entrée* with a *temps levé en tournant*, traveling upstage, and *glissade, assemblé*. During this last enchaînement, the first pair of bayadères travels upstage on the diagonal with *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied devant* and joins the second pair, forming a single row at center.

Together the bayadères conclude their dance with a unison passage of walks backward on *pointe*, *temps levé*, *pas de bourrée*, *arabesque fondu*, *assemblé* three times followed by five *pirouettes* from fifth position and *pas de chat*.

No. 8. The first half of No. 8 is a lengthy transition passage. The CN instructs, “In 29 bars all change group.” The music builds throughout, from *piano* to *fortissimo*, creating a sense of anticipation as the dancers move around the stage to assume their next formation. (Ex. 2.28).

Ex. 2.28 Transition passage accompanying the move to the next formation; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 8, bars 1–8

Allegro

The musical score is written for piano in 6/8 time, key of D major. It consists of two systems of four measures each. The first system begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and includes a *poco cresc.* marking. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment.

The third grouping is depicted in a ground plan that lacks performers' numbers and yet is detailed enough to allow for identification of the various constituents. The upstage platforms, of which there are now twelve, are again placed in a semicircular formation. The men with pikes and garlands stand on them. The eight men with fans stand in a broad semicircle at the base of the platforms. In front of them, eight boys stand on eight stools, also positioned in a semicircle. The remaining four boys stand in a row in the center of the space within this formation; each pair shares a garland or similar prop (the CN does not specify). The women with mirrors and fans remain in lines of six at each side, positioned on a slight diagonal. Those with parrots stand in a row at center, in front of the four boys, positioned to face slightly inward on the diagonal.

No. 8 in the Rep continues with "Variation 1," thirty bars (not including internal repeats) of running eighth notes that are similar to the preceding transition music (Ex. 2.29). The entire variation is struck through. Whether or not this is the *Nautch* dance listed on the poster the sources consulted do not tell us.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Gershenzon, "*La Bayadère*," 17.

Ex. 2.29 Act Two, Scene Three, No. 8 (Variation 1), bars 32–39

Allegro

The musical score for Ex. 2.29 is in 6/8 time and D major. It consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system contains four measures, with dynamics *p* and *fz*. The second system also contains four measures. The melody is primarily in the right hand, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady bass line with eighth notes and chords.

No. 9. “Variation 2” in the Rep, also labeled No. 9, is a polka that corresponds to a 32-bar passage titled “4 bayadères” in the CN (Ex. 2.30).

Ex. 2.30 Bayadère’s dance (polka); Act Two, Scene Three, No. 9 (Variation 2), bars 2–9

The musical score for Ex. 2.30 is in 2/4 time and D major. It consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system contains four measures, with dynamics *p*. The second system also contains four measures. The melody is in the right hand, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a steady bass line with eighth notes and chords.

The four soloists (57–60) remain in a single row throughout the dance. They cover the available stage space with steps that include *entrechat quatre*, *changement*, *échappé* on *pointe* followed by a spring to fifth position on *pointe*, runs forward on *pointe*, and *bourrées*. Further into the number, they perform *cabriole devant*, *piqué en arabesque*, *jeté en avant*, and hops on *pointe* in fifth position. After a series of *chaînés* on *demi-pointe*, the dancers finish downstage right.

No. 10. Nine bars of *forte* introduction to No. 10 lead to sixty-four bars of a waltz whose lush melody is reminiscent of No. 6 (Ex. 2.31). This dance is not included in the CN.

Ex. 2.31 Act Two, Scene Three, No. 10, bars 10–18



Following a double bar line at the end of the number, a second 29-bar transition passage facilitates the ensemble’s move to a fourth grouping. The women with parrots join the women with fans and mirrors in lines at each side: “In 29 bars, the women with parrots walk away to the sides and all others stand in their places.” Here, the ground plan includes numbers assigned to all

participants, which helps confirm their placement in the previous group. The music is a repeat of the earlier transition passage (Ex. 2.29) with four additional bars that are struck through.

Neither the Rep nor the CN includes Nos. 11, 12, and 13, and neither are any additional numbers included in the PR.¹³¹

No. 14. The *Manu* dance features a milk seller and two young girls who want a drink from the jug she carries on her head.¹³² This gentle polka, which bears resemblance to the earlier polka that is No. 9, is punctuated throughout its first half by pauses at the end of upward scales that accompany passages of *bourrées* (Ex. 2.13). Once again Minkus uses a disjunct melodic line and chromaticism to suggest the exoticism of the vignette and its locale.

Volynsky reminisced about the dance in 1922:

This [the *Manu* dance] is a combination of various patterns on the floor: pas de bourrée, polka which earlier were performed by Trefilova and Karsavina. Karsavina provided such a splash of fragrant colors and florescent charm that one can never forget it. A mother is playing with her children [this is Volynsky's interpretation of the dance and its characters]. With one hand she supports a pitcher on her head, and the other she waves around freely as if to ward off the hopping little chicks who are clinging to her legs. These circles on the floor depicted by the legs are extended in all directions of the stage, now to the outer wings and now to the edge of the lighted ramp, everywhere following after two Lebanese Cedars of extraordinary beauty.¹³³

Volynsky's description agrees with the ground plan of the CN, which confirms that circles, small and large, are a feature of the lead dancer's trajectory on stage. Entering from

¹³¹ Gershenzon suggests the following possibilities for these numbers: "11) Variation of 2 bayadères? (Allegro non troppo 2/4) | 1884 & 1900: Omitted; 12) Pas Classique of Gamzatti [Hamsatti] and danseur noble (Allegro 6/8) | 1884 & 1900: Omitted; 12a) Variations of the Pas Classique? | Omitted 1884 & 1900; 13) Corps de ballet? (Allegro con fuoco 2/4) | 1884 & 1900: Omitted." Gershenzon, "*La Bayadère*," 17.

¹³² *Manu* is a Sanskrit term that carries various meanings in Hinduism, referring in early writing to the archetypal, or first, man.

¹³³ Volynsky, "Marius Petipa (*Baiaderka*)," tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 68.

upstage, the soloist (numbered 61 in the CN) dances alone for thirty-eight bars. Nearly always on *pointe*, she performs *relevés en demi-arabesque*, *piqués en demi-arabesque*, *temps liés sur les pointes*, *temps levés sur la pointe*, and *bourrées* on *pointe*. (All of the *bourrées* in this dance, for the soloist and the students, are notated in fifth position, as *pas de bourrée couru en cinquième*, rather than first position, *pas de bourrée couru en première*.)

After turning a circle at center, she travels downstage left where she is met by the first young girl (62), who runs up to her. Stopping, the soloist asks, “What is needed?” “Give me a drink,” demands the girl. “No,” the milk seller replies, and she runs across the stage. There she is met by a second young girl (63). They repeat the exchange the seller had with the first girl. Circling around to upstage center, the soloist is joined by the girls, who are also on *pointe*. The trio dances for twenty-eight bars, their steps including more *bourrées*, walks and skips on *pointe*, *relevés en demi-arabesque*, and *relevés petits passés*.

The final hijinks begin. Traveling downstage left with two *piqués en demi-arabesque* separated by a *pas de bourrée*, the soloist is followed by one of the girls, who moves quickly with four successive *piqués en arabesque*. The girl “with two hands drags the milk seller by the skirt”—as both dancers *bourrée*, the girl pulls the soloist backward and upstage toward center. The soloist “with the right hand hits the hands of the girl student,” who “takes [her] hands away and threatens her,” possibly with a wagging finger. The same scenario is played out with the second girl on stage right, but this time the soloist allows herself to be pulled to center. Joining together once again, the trio travels backward upstage with walks and skips on *pointe*. They return, alternating steps into fifth position and *bourrées*, remaining on *pointe* throughout. The soloist breaks away, circling the girls in a counterclockwise pattern with more steps and skips on *pointe*. Finally, to a stream of continuous sixteenth notes, and with all three dancers performing a

continuous *bouffée*, the girls chase the soloist across the stage, the soloist traveling backward as she faces the girls. All stop just short of the downstage left wing at the conclusion of the number. The CN is silent regarding any action that may accompany the final moments of the dance. An added annotation after the final bar in the CN reads, “Run backstage. End.”

No. 14½. The “Hindu dance” (as it is called in its new position in the Rep) follows, untitled, in the CN. The popularity of this number, which featured leading character artists in the company, and the removal of the classical dance for Hamsatti and Solor are possible reasons for moving the Hindu dance to “pride of place” in the divertissement: the last dance before the coda. Led by Lubov Radina and Felix Kshesinsky in 1877 and Marie Petipa and Sergei Lukyanov in 1900, the dance was fast, pulsing, loud, and physically aggressive. Except for brief moments of respite, the dancers performed repeated small jumps throughout. Active torsos leaned forward and back, while arms were repeatedly held behind the body and then raised up.

A man (numbered 64 in the CN) “enters with a drum” from stage left. He is the physical embodiment of the drum we hear in the score from the outset (Ex. 2.32a). He is followed by six more men (65–70) who circle the stage with a series of *temps levé en attitude devant*. They form a diagonal line downstage left, where they continue with multiple *temps levés en demi-arabesque* with a slightly bent knee alternating with *temps levé en arabesque* with a stretched knee, bending forward during the latter. These various *temps levés* comprise much of the choreography of the dance. The celebrated character dancer and teacher Alexander Shiryayev explained, “The ‘Hindu Dance’ in *La Bayadère* is based on *grand battements*...,” referring to the lifting of the leg to the front or back during the small jumps on one leg.¹³⁴ Connecting the dance to imagery illustrating the Prince of Wales’ tour to India, Sergey Konaev has observed that “La danse infernale à

¹³⁴ Birgit Beumers, Victor Bocharov, and David Robinson, *Alexander Shiryayev: Master of Movement* (Pordenone: Le Giornate del Cinema Muto, 2009), 109.

Ceylon,” published in *L’Illustration* in 1876, in which dancing men are depicted in a position similar to the *temps levé en attitude devant*, may have inspired the choreography for this dance.¹³⁵

Ex. 2.32a Hindu dance: a man enters with a drum; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 14½, bars 1–8
(Source: Rep)

Allegro con fuoco

The musical score is written for piano and drum. It is in 2/4 time and consists of two systems of four measures each. The first system features a piano part with a treble clef and a bass clef, with a [Drum] part indicated above the treble staff. The piano part begins with a forte (f) dynamic. The second system continues the piano part with a forte (f) dynamic. The tempo is marked Allegro con fuoco.

The men travel upstage and form a row in pairs, whose partners circle each other, the CN instructing, “Do this nose to nose. Close to each other.” The dancers circle the stage once more, this time forming a diagonal line at stage right, where they stand in a fourth position lunge, arms side, torso leaned forward.

The lead couple (71 and 72) enters upstage left (Ex. 2.32b). Like the men before them, they circle the stage with multiple *temps levés en attitude devant*. Arriving at center, each dancer turns a circle away from the other and, again facing front, continues with *échappé en plié* and

¹³⁵ Konaev, “Der Tigre Captif,” 44–45.

three *demi-emboîtés devant* twice, a series of *temps levés en attitude devant* on the same leg, and alternating *demi-emboîtés derrière*. They turn a circle away from each other again before traveling on the diagonal toward downstage left with multiple *ballonnés* as they are joined by the men, who travel on the diagonal toward upstage left performing the same step. Both groups return on their respective diagonals with *temps levés en demi-arabesque en tournant*, making two full turns. The entire traveling enchaînement is repeated, then the dancers pause at a *fermata* in the score.

Ex. 2.32b Hindu dance: entrance of the lead couple; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 14½, bars 69–76

At the recapitulation of the opening drumbeat, the couple travels again to the downstage left corner, where they turn to watch the men, who take center stage. The men form a circle that rotates in a counterclockwise direction as they perform a series of *temps levés en attitude devant* on the inside leg. The ground plan suggests the men hold the shoulder of the dancer in front of them with their inside arm. The circle opens into a single row, and the men travel directly

downstage with alternating *demi-emboîtés derrière* and back up with *temps levés en demi-arabesque en tournant*.

The lead couple joins the men; they perform a series of *balancés* and *temps levés en arabesque* as they exchange places, while the men, in pairs, repeat their earlier enchaînement danced “nose to nose.” The nonstop intensity of the dance continues, the lead couple eventually moving upstage before the entire ensemble travels downstage together with *demi-emboîtés derrière*. On the final downbeat, all perform *échappé en plié*. The woman and the ensemble men spring to *attitude devant fondu*, while the lead man holds his *échappé* position, body forward, head looking up.

After his initial entrance at the beginning of the number, the drummer is omitted from the CN. Fortunately, a film of the dance was made by Shiryayev, who used three-dimensional puppets captured in stop-motion.¹³⁶ The three-minute film, made during the period 1906–1909, features seven puppet dancers: the drummer, lead couple, and four (rather than six) ensemble men. The dance clearly held meaning for Shiryayev, who had fond memories of Radina’s performance and danced the male lead himself, both at the Mariinsky and on tour.¹³⁷

No. 15. The concluding “Coda” (Rep: “Corps de Ballet”; 1877 poster: “General Final Dance”) features a similarly strong musical pulse but in waltz tempo (Ex. 2.33). The ground plan drawn in the CN suggests the ensemble spends the nine introductory bars reconfiguring the stage space to create additional room for dancing.

The women holding fans and mirrors and the women holding parrots line the wings, with six of each group on either side. As the buoyant waltz begins, pairs of dancers take turns

¹³⁶ The film is included in *A Belated Premiere*, dir. Viktor Bocharov. See Beumers, et al., *Alexander Shiryayev*, 27–30, 46–51.

¹³⁷ Beumers, et al., *Alexander Shiryayev*, 95–96, 137.

traveling to center with *temps levés sur la pointe en demi-attitude devant* and returning with *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied devant* and *pas de basque*, while the others perform *balancés* in place. The boys move downstage in lines on either side, nearest the wings, performing *pas de basque*. They return upstage, travelling backward with *balancés*. By the end of the first thirty-two bars, the women have formed two rows across the stage, where they pose briefly in *tendu croisé derrière fondu*.

Ex. 2.33 Divertissement coda; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 15, bars 10–17



The boys traverse the stage, their lines crossing at center, with a series of *temps de flèche devant*. Meanwhile, the women perform a series of *relevés battements devant*, six *emboîtés devant à terre*, and a *pirouette* from fifth position, *pas de bourrée*, and two *balancés*. The boys, having formed a row upstage of the women, continue by first circling in place with *pas de basque* then performing *demi-emboîtés derrière* in pairs as they “hold each other by the hands” and turn another circle. The rows of women interact by each advancing toward the other and back with *demi-emboîtés devant*.

The mass of dancers reconfigures, traveling with *pas de basque*. The boys return to lines at the wings, and the women's rows regroup at center as the four bayadères enter downstage right and move to center. Dancing in unison, all of the women perform a series of *pas de basque en tournant*, with a *balancé* to finish the turn, *cabriole devant*, *balancé*, before dispersing to the sides and upstage. The boys perform two *grand pliés* in fifth position followed by four *pas de basque* as they move away from their lines and back.

The full dancing contingent now having entered, the lines and rows move upstage and down, toward center and back to the wings in varying configurations, traveling with *demi-emboîtés*, *pas de basque*, and *balancés* (as the boys travel forward, they maintain an open second position). Ten bars before the end, all move to the final grouping with *pas de basque*. Arriving at the penultimate bar, the women and boys form rows across the stage in front of the men (13–24, with pikes and garlands, and 37–44), who “stand on stools”—a row of four farthest upstage and sixteen more in four lines. No pose is given for the women, who are facing slightly inward in their rows. The boys have their “arms folded on chest crosswise” and “sit in the Turkish manner” (that is, legs crossed).

The CN includes nothing further from this act.

No. 16. Nikia's mercurial dance monologue concludes the scene, taking us seamlessly from divertissement back to dramatic plot. Titled “With snake” in the Rep and labelled with the annotation “Bayadère's dance with flowers” in the PR, this number comprises four danced sections, each with a different affect and each increasing in tempo. The act concludes with action music accompanying Nikia's death.

In the absence of choreographic notation for Nikia's dance, we can turn to the libretto for a description of the action:

At the end of the dances, the rajah commands the beautiful Nikia to come in, and he orders her to entertain the public.

Nikia comes forward out of the crowd with her little guitar. The bayadère's face is hidden by a veil.

She plays the same melody she played in the first act [this detail was not realized in the score].

Solor, who the whole time is near the rajah's throne, listens carefully to this harmonious melody and recognizes his beloved. He looks at her with love.

With suppressed malice the Great Brahmin watches him, hardly concealing his wrath.

During the bayadère's dance the rajah's jealous daughter uses all her strength to conceal her state of mind. Smiling, she comes down from the balcony and orders a basket with flowers to be presented to the graceful Nikia.

Nikia takes the basket and continues her dance, admiring the pensive Solor.

Suddenly a snake crawls out of the basket and strikes the bayadère in the heart. Its bite is deadly.¹³⁸

Following a 14-bar introduction of rising lines and a continuous *crescendo*, the first section features a melancholy cello solo (Ex. 2.8b), which represents Nikia's vina ("her little guitar"). A repeat of the introductory material is followed by a brief, sweet *pianissimo* (Ex. 2.34a) leading to a quick polka, a two-bar diminution of the previous melody followed by a rushing upward scale (Ex. 2.34b). The polka moves directly to a concise recapitulation of the scene's opening march melody (see Ex. 2.23), culminating in the snakebite, after which action music takes over until the end of the scene.

¹³⁸ Wiley, *Century*, 300.

Ex. 2.34a Nikia's dance monologue: a brief, sweet *pianissimo*; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 16, bars 56–63

Moderato

Ex. 2.34b Nikia's dance monologue: polka; Act Two, Scene Three, No. 16, bars 77–84

Allegro vivace

The libretto tells us that Nikia “appeals to Solor for help, and he embraces her,”¹³⁹ But whereas Giselle professed her love for Albert as she died, Nikia reminds Solor of his promise: “‘Do not forget your vow,’ she gasps. ‘You are sworn to me... I am dying... Farewell!’” Having rejected the Brahmin’s offer of an antidote, Nikia dies, claiming innocence in her last breath.

Volynsky describes the impression Pavlova made during this number:

Pavlova danced this variation with a basket of flowers in such a remarkably strong and expressive way that the theater broke out in wild applause as soon as the music died down. The dancer died at the footlights, falling headfirst to the ground, and lying flat with her entire body. The enchanted audience froze for several moments and awakened from the artistic spell only when the curtain finally fell.¹⁴⁰

Act Three

Scene Four: The Appearance of the Shade

The opening scene of the third act provides a transition to the dream world of the Kingdom of the Shades. Benois’ description, beginning with the previous act’s finale, takes us from the scene of Nikia’s death and conveys us into the sober atmosphere of Solor’s chamber:

A dark fate hung over the ballerina: the charming girl fell down dead, struck by a snake emerging from a basket of flowers, to the skirling sound of a pipe. From now on she was a shadow. Her silhouette would suddenly flit upon the background of a wall or she would appear to her lover looking like her old self and lure him to the sad, dimly-lighted world beyond the grave, which I identified as “our heaven”—where all the good people went after their death.¹⁴¹

The production plans reveal that the scene is set up in what appears to be the first wing. A number of columns, connected with draperies, frame the scene, with an opening between two

¹³⁹ Wiley, *Century*, 300.

¹⁴⁰ Volynsky, “Marius Petipa (*Baiaderka*),” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 67.

¹⁴¹ Benois, *Reminiscences*, 44.

columns at upstage right. A hookah (*kal'yan* ') is placed next to the opening, and a divan is placed downstage left.

In my description below, I have assigned the nine numbered entries from Petipa's notes to the four numbers that comprise the scene in the Rep and have also allotted bar numbers where possible in order to provide a detailed account of the action. (This scene is not recorded in the CN.)

No. 1. The act opens with Solor's new motif (Ex. 2.6). The curtain rises at bar 17. The descriptive heading at the top of Petipa's page matches that in the libretto:

Order of the 1st tableau of the 3rd act
Solor's chamber in the Rajah's palace

- 1 Entrance of Solor, sad, then he places himself on a divan [bars 17–45].
- 2 Entrance of the fakir [presumably Mahdavaya]. He sees Solor is sad and has the idea of bringing people who will remove the bad spirit [*mauvaise esprit*] that he has in the body. He calls the snake charmers [bars 46–66].

No. 2. The 1877 poster indicates that the *Sakodusa* dance (Rep: "Pas comique") was performed by three Indian astrologers, one of whom was Madhavaya, rather than by the snake charmers planned by Petipa and described in the libretto (Ex. 2.35).

- 3 Entrance of the snake charmers. Dance of the serpent woman and one who plays the clarinet. Comic dance.

Ex. 2.35 *Sakodusa*; Act Two, Scene Four, No. 2 (*Pas comique*), bars 3–10

Moderato

Cl. solo

No. 3.

- 4 Solor returns to his senses and angrily chases away the entertainers [*saltimbanques*].
- 5 The Fakir announces to Solor the visit of his fiancée Hamsatti.
- 6 Entrance of Hamsatti, with two maids of honor, who remain languorous during this scene [bar 22, Hamsatti's theme; see Ex. 2.4]. There are during this scene of coquetry two appearances of the shade [bars 67 and 112; Ex. 2.2a]. Then Hamsatti departs with Solor's promise to marry the next day. The maids of honor follow Hamsatti. Solor remains alone.

No. 4.

- 7 Solor goes and looks near the door and the wall to see if he can see the shade of his bayadère [bar 14].
- 8 The bayadère makes an entrance while dancing, then a small scene between her and Solor. [The 1877 poster includes a "Shadow Dance" for Nikia and Solor, likely bars 49–74; Ex. 2.36]. The bayadère disappears and Solor remains alone.

Ex. 2.36 “Shadow Dance” for Nikia and Solor; Act Two, Scene Four, No. 4, bars 49–56

(Source: Rep)



9 Solor goes to place himself on the divan and falls asleep. The clouds descend.¹⁴²

A harp cadenza introduces the following scene.

Scene Five: The Kingdom of the Shades

The Kingdom of the Shades, Solor’s encounter with Nikia in the afterlife, surrounded by a multitude of deceased bayadères, or shades, is the most famous scene in *La Bayadère* and includes its most concentrated passages of classical dance. The long, winding entrance of the

¹⁴² RGALI *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 132, fol. 2v. Although neither Petipa’s plan nor the libretto mention that opium was the catalyst for Solor’s subsequent dream, the inclusion of a hookah in the stage setting preserved in the Mariinsky production documents suggests this may indeed have been the case.

corps de ballet, in particular, has become iconic. Four sources provide various details about this legendary scene: Petipa's notes, the libretto, the Rep, and the CN. The 1877 poster simply lists all of the performers under one heading, "Dances of the Shades." Further sources, including reviews and memoirs, suggest changes were made between the 1877 premiere and the 1900 revival. I will not attempt to sort through what all of the changes may have been, but where I can suggest connections between the sources, I will do so.

Beginning with Petipa's notes, we find that he mapped out the scene in his usual detail. His description includes mentions of *Giselle* as well as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, presumably a reference to his one-act ballet of the same name that premiered in July 1876, with Mendelssohn's music arranged by Minkus.¹⁴³ The page bears the heading, "On 25 November 1876 I agreed with Mssr Roller at the grand theater the evening of the opera *La Juive* for the plan of the 3rd act of the shades of the new ballet. This is what we have agreed upon."

- 1 As the curtain rises, it is light for the effect of the decoration of Mssr Wagner.
- 2 The stage becomes a bit dark.
- 3 Entrée of the ensemble [*masse*].
- 4 Entrée of 4 or 6 or 8 *danseuses* dancing in poses [*danse au posés*].
- 5 Entrée of Solor.
- 6 Entrée of the ensemble [*masse*].
- 7 Vazem is seen high up in the grass (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*).
Solor goes near her – The shade disappears.
- 8 The dancers encircle [*en tourent*] Solor.
- 9 The shade passes as in *Giselle*.

¹⁴³ See Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 4.

- 10 The dancers circle Solor again and all the dancers disappear. Solor remains.
- 11 The stage is dark. Solor alone – the shade passes very quickly. Solor seems to faint.
- 11bis An entrée for Vazem [and] Solor on stage[;] it is very good [*très bien*] like *Giselle*.
- 12 The ensemble comes on stage and the shades under the gauze form groups along the wings. At that point, Vazem appears in the water. Several colors should be there.
- 13 The stage becomes light[;] the shade throws herself into Solor’s arms, grand adagio.
- 14 During the adagio, the shades by the wings must come once again.¹⁴⁴

At the bottom of the page, Petipa concluded, “Then I will see for the rest.”

The ballet master’s notes refer to numerous familiar elements of the Kingdom of the Shades—the entrance of the corps, an entrée for a smaller number of *danseuses*, an entrance for Solor followed by an appearance by Nikia, and, of course, a “grand adagio.” Other features are unfamiliar, including the shade of Nikia passing quickly by Solor as in *Giselle*, the dancers encircling Solor, and Nikia appearing “in the water.”

Petipa’s plan makes no reference to the conversation between the lovers that is recorded in the libretto:

“I died innocent,” says Nikia’s shade, “I remained true to you; behold then everything around me here. Is it not magnificent!... The gods have granted me all possible blessings. I lack only you!”

“What must I do to belong to you?” Solor asks her.

“Do not forget your vow! You promised to be faithful to me!... The melody which you are hearing now will come to protect you... and my shade to guard you... I shall be with you in misfortune.”

“If you do not betray me,” Nikia continues, “then your spirit shall find rest here, in this kingdom of the shades.”¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ RGALI *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 132, fol. 2r.

Neither do the notes describe a moment that was hampered by issues of timing during the 1877 premiere. According to Wiley, “During Solor’s dream Nikia was to show him a castle in the sky, but in the performance the appearance of the castle was not accurately co-ordinated with Nikia’s gesture, and the dancers faced [upstage] to look at it only after it had disappeared.”¹⁴⁶

The Rep preserves some unfamiliar music, including two numbers near the beginning of the scene (Nos. 8 and 9, see below). And while much of the rest of the music is familiar from performances today, we are left guessing as to when certain of the less familiar elements described by Petipa may have taken place within this music, assuming, that is, that all of Petipa’s plans were realized. Strikethroughs in the Rep suggest various cuts that bring the scene more into alignment with present-day performance. Whether these cuts were made after the 1877 premiere and therefore represent changes made in subsequent productions, the sources consulted do not say.

The collection of dances preserved in the CN, though it does not include all of the choreography to which we are accustomed today, does suggest that by 1900 present-day order was more or less in place. Passages not documented in the CN include the brief action scene that features the initial appearances of Solor and Nikia (No. 7—only the first two bars are accounted for), the lovers’ first *pas de deux*, and Nikia’s variation.

The following list is a comparison of numbers found in the Rep and CN for Act Three, Scene Five:

¹⁴⁵ Wiley, *Century*, 302.

¹⁴⁶ Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 20.

<u>Rep</u>	<u>CN</u>
No. 5 Entrance of the shades	No. 5 “Shades”
No. 6 “3 Solistes (Dames)”	No. 6 “Three soloists”
No. 7 Entrance of Solor; appearance of Nikia	No. [blank] “Scène”; two bars only
No. 8 Brief reprise of No. 6; cut indicated from end of No. 7 to beginning of No. 10	Omitted
No. 9 21 bars struck through; cut indicated from end of No. 7 to beginning of No. 10	Omitted
No. 10 “Violino Solo”	Omitted
No. 11 “Grand Adage”	No. 11 “2nd Adagio”
No. 12 “1. Variation”	No. 12 “Variation”
No. 13 “2. Variation”	No. 13 “Variation”
No. 14 “3. Variation”	No. 14 “Variation”
No. 15 “4th Variation”	Omitted
No. 16 “Coda”	No. 16 “Coda”

Taking these various sources together, the Kingdom of the Shades can now be described.

No. 5. Titled “Shades” (or “Shadows”) in the CN, the famous entrance of the corps de ballet begins far upstage, somewhat left of center. An annotation provides details: “Coming in, one after another | 48 ladies” is written at the top of the page. Indeed, forty-eight women enter the stage on an elevated ramp and trace a wide serpentine line as they descend to stage level and

make their way downstage.¹⁴⁷ While details of the ramp, intended to create the effect of descent from the mountains of the Himalayas, are not given in the CN, they are preserved in the production documents: an upstage-left opening in the mountainous rock façade that surrounds the stage gives onto a platform leading dancers toward stage right. Turning around to the left, the bayadères would step onto the next section of the platform which took them to center stage and a short flight of steps that led down to the stage floor, where they continued their serpentine trajectory. The drawing does not indicate any degree of incline in either ramp.

Next to number “3” in his notes, above, Petipa had drawn a similar winding line that then transforms into more of a spiral. This resembles, in part, the path taken by the Shades as they made their initial appearance. Such patterns are found among Doré’s numerous engravings that illustrate the 1868 publication of Danté’s *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* from his *Divine Comedy*. Some feature multitudinous angels arranged in scrolling lines and circles, while others depict them on a staircase that descends from the heavens.¹⁴⁸

Vazem recalled the scene’s initial reception and confirmed the Doré artwork as a source of Petipa’s inspiration:

Apart from the last act [of *La Bayadère*], there was much applause for ‘The Kingdom of the Shades’, where Petipa’s choreography was most successful. In this scene, all the group dances and solo variations are imbued with poetry.

The group poses were copied by Petipa from Gustave Doré’s ‘Paradise’ from his illustrations for Dante’s *Divine Comedy*.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ The poster for the 1877 premiere includes Nikia, three soloists, Solor, thirty-eight *corps de ballet* women, eleven female students, sixteen small student girls, and twelve small student boys in the list of “Shades Dances.” Gershenzon notes the 1884 production included thirty-six *corps de ballet* women and twelve “senior girls.” This total of forty-eight Shades is the number employed in the 1900 production. See Gershenzon, “*La Bayadère*,” 16.

¹⁴⁸ Dante Alighieri, *Il purgatorio e il paradiso. (colle figure di G. Doré.)* (Paris: L. Hachette e Cia, 1868).

¹⁴⁹ Vazem, “Memoirs: Part 4,” 35.

In his 1925 *Book of Exaltations*, Volynsky explained how the costumes of the Shades brought Dante's world to life:

The attire of the female dancers is unlike anything else. White skirts with white veils, the ends of which are held in the dancers' hands, produce a fantastic impression. Before us are shadows of the world beyond the grave, rocking and swaying, undulating and whirling, with the aerial lightness of Dante's visions.¹⁵⁰

Returning to the CN, we find the dancers' entrance enchaînement fills one bar of music—*arabesque à plat* on the right foot, *tendu devant* with the right foot as the torso bends back and to the left, arms overhead (Volynsky's "rocking and swaying"), *cou-de-pied derrière* with the left foot, and two steps forward. (Note that the *arabesque* is not notated as an *arabesque fondu*.) The ground plan indicates every second dancer performs this combination of steps on the opposite leg. The annotation "first forward, second back, etc." refers to the direction each dancer faces as she performs the *cambré*, the bending and arching of the torso: the first woman turns her body to the left, toward the audience (that is, "forward"); the second woman bends her body to the right, or upstage (that is, "back"). When the dancers change direction and move toward stage left, the subsequent annotation "first back, second forward, etc." now means the first woman's *cambré*, bending to the left, faces upstage (that is, "back"), and the second woman's *cambré*, bending to the right, faces downstage (that is, "forward").

The enchaînement is repeated thirty-nine times for a total of forty iterations set to the opening forty bars of the number, which begins with a languid, slowly descending melody that matches the trajectory of the dancers (Ex. 2.37a).

¹⁵⁰ Volynsky, *Kniga likovanii* [The Book of Exaltations] (1925), tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 252.

Ex. 2.37a Entrance of the Shades; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 5, bars 1–4

Moderato

p *Hp.* *sim.* *fz*

Because only forty bars are allotted to this opening step and the ensemble is made up of forty-eight women, we must presume that during the final bars of this passage the balance of the ensemble makes its way on stage. Finally, the Shades form four rows of twelve across the stage.

Moving in unison to a new melody, this one in B minor, the women make a *développé à la seconde* with the right leg, the arms held to the side (Ex. 2.37b). They next stand in *arabesque* on the right leg, facing downstage right. “Quietly lowering to the knee,” they kneel on the left leg and extend the right leg to the front, arms overhead, torso bent left, back arched. “Quietly rising from the knee,” they perform *sous-sus en croisé* on *pointe* and *bouffée* upstage for four bars, arms overhead. Remaining on *pointe*, they return downstage for three bars, lowering their left arm to the side.

Ex. 2.37b Entrance of the Shades (B section); Act Three, Scene Five, No. 5, bars 17–20

Facing downstage right, they step forward into *arabesque à plat* on the left leg. Lowering the right leg to *tendu croisé derrière*, they perform *detourné* to the right, facing downstage left, and continue with *arabesque à plat* on the right leg. They *bourrée*, turning a circle to the left, followed by *glissade*, *arabesque à plat* on the left leg, again facing downstage left, and a repeat of the *bourrée* turn and *arabesque*.

As the opening melody returns, the ensemble *bourrées* upstage again. This time, individual arrows drawn on the ground plan for each row suggest the rows travel upstage one at a time over the course of six bars. Finally, facing downstage right, the women kneel once again on the left leg, extending the right leg forward, arms overhead, torso bent left, back arched, a position they hold until the end of the number.

Originally performed on a fully lit stage, the ambience of the Kingdom of the Shades appears to have been changed in 1900, when the scene played out against the dark and craggy Himalayas of Petr Lambin’s new design, lit to resemble what Tamara Karsavina referred to as “a

blue transparency of night.”¹⁵¹ Karsavina tells of further scenic elements, as well as the practicalities involved in deploying forty-eight moving dancers on stage, and how these enhanced the magical effect of the corps de ballet’s entrance:

The supernatural element of Romanticism needed also certain contrivances to lend credence to the plot. Thus in the original production [although Petipa mentions gauze in his notes (see above), this may be a description of the 1900 revival], several thicknesses of gauze at the proscenium eerily dimmed the descending shapes. One by one the veils lifted, but the light on the stage remained a blue transparency of night. I remember, too, that the dancers were more closely welded in their ranks, so the spectator took in, not the separate figures, but a chain of shapes that might have been likened to a slow swirling mist, the effect enhanced by the full tarlatans.¹⁵²

The CN suggests the ensemble’s subsequent movement toward the wings is performed during the Rep’s transitional “Cadenza ad libitum Arpa,” a passage facilitating a key change to G major. “Rising from the knee,” the women split at center and *bourrée* to opposite sides. Eighteen women line each wing, and twelve women form a row across the upstage.

No. 6. “The soloists are running in” refers to the three women who will dance the subsequent *pas de trois* accompanied by the corps de ballet. Later in the scene, each will dance a solo variation. The trio will unite again in the coda.

A harp cadenza serves as both an introduction and transition, and the women begin dancing on the downbeat of the subsequent waltz in 6/8 meter (Ex. 2.5b). Traveling on the diagonal from upstage left, they perform *cabriole derrière, sous-sus* four times. They continue on the opposite diagonal with *glissade, relevé développé à la seconde, entrechat cinq*, landing in *demi-arabesque fondu*, three times. Circling upstage to center, they perform *cabriole derrière*,

¹⁵¹ Tamara Karsavina, “‘A Blue Transparency of Night’,” *Dancing Times* 54, no. 641 (February 1964): 239. See also Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 20.

¹⁵² Karsavina, “Blue Transparency.”

the ground plan indicating they make a full turn to the left, *assemblé*. Meanwhile, the corps repeats a majority of the soloists' steps in their places at the sides and back of the stage.

Next, the soloists and ensemble form trios by joining right hands at the center of seventeen three-person pinwheels. Rotating to the right, the trios perform two *temps levés en arabesque* before moving away from each other with a *tour jeté*. They run back, join hands, and repeat the enchaînement two times. As the corps repeats the sequence a fourth time, the soloists travel directly downstage with *grand jeté en avant, piqué pirouette en dedans* twice.¹⁵³

Continuing downstage, now in a zigzag pattern, the soloists perform *glissade, temps levé en arabesque, relevé passé to développé devant* four times to alternate sides, the corps performing the same in place. The soloists return upstage, traveling backward with a series of *pas de bourrée* punctuated by *tombé* and *fouetté*, the working leg passing through *demi-seconde*. They make a final zigzagging pass downstage with *sissonne ouverte, assemblé, relevé en arabesque* four times as the corps complements their movements with *assemblé, sissonne ouverte*, and two *emboîtés derrière*.

Finally, all of the women rise on *pointe* and *bourrée* to center, the corps forming four rows of twelve behind the soloists as the melody winds upward to a gentle conclusion. All finish with a pose in *arabesque à plat*, each row facing opposite sides of the stage.

A second harp cadenza, this one facilitating a key change to A minor, is struck through in the Rep.

¹⁵³ The CN indicate that the corps perform the enchaînement twice more, but this would fill four more bars than are allotted to the soloists at this point.

No. 7. Titled “Scène,” No. 7 is a brief action number represented in the CN only by the ensemble’s exit: the group splits at center to “run behind the wings,” the soloists exiting downstage right.¹⁵⁴

The number comprises three sections and may have accompanied the brief conversation between the lovers that is included in the libretto (quoted above). The first fifteen bars reprise Solor’s motif (see Ex. 2.6). The next twelve bars feature Nikia’s motif played by solo flute, which may have accompanied Nikia’s mime and represented the melody she references in her speech (Ex. 2.2a). This is followed by twenty-eight bars of agitated music that perhaps prefigures the impending “misfortune.”

Nos. 8 and 9. The next two numbers are cut in the Rep. No. 8 is a brief 31-bar reprise of the *pas de trois* waltz, now in A major (see Ex. 2.5b). No. 9 is a 139-bar A minor *allegro* in 3/8 meter (Ex. 2.38).¹⁵⁵ This fleet scherzo sounds more like Mendelssohn’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* than anything else in the scene. (Whether Petipa was referring in his notes to the Mendelssohn score or a moment in his ballet based on Shakespeare’s play is unclear.) An indication of a cut and the annotation in the Rep at the end of No. 7 confirm the omission of Nos. 8 and 9: “Grande Pause | Violino Solo,” a reference to No. 10.

¹⁵⁴ Although listed as “No. 7” in the Rep, an “8” is written in light pencil in the CN where Sergeyev had left a blank space after “No.”

¹⁵⁵ This does not include a repeat of eight bars or a cut of twenty-one bars.

Ex. 2.38 Scherzo; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 9, bars 1–24 (Source: Rep)

The musical score is written for piano in 3/8 time, marked 'Allegro'. It consists of three systems of two staves each. The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and features a melody with trills (*tr*) and slurs. The bass line has chords and single notes, with a forte (*fz*) marking. The second system continues the melody with trills and slurs, and the bass line has chords and single notes. The third system concludes the melody with trills and slurs, and the bass line has chords and single notes.

No. 10. What is known today as the first *pas de deux* for Nikia and Solor is not included in the CN. Whether the 68-bar violin solo (Ex. 2.5c) served this purpose in 1877 is something the sources consulted do not reveal. However, because the subsequent number is titled “2nd Adagio” in the CN, this number appears to have been the first adagio at least by 1900. Volynsky referenced the double adagio in 1913, writing of “Pavlova’s adagio with Samuil Andriyanov, so beautiful in style but divided into two parts. The artist performs the second one among the corps de ballet, who are lying on the floor in a semicircle and accompanying her to the beat of the orchestra with the waving of their veils.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Volynsky, “Proshchal’nyi spektakl’ A. P. Pavlovoi (*Baiaderka*),” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 50.

In his 1972 *Khoreograficheskie otkrovennosti* (Choreographic Revelations), Fedor Lopukhov analyzes the Kingdom of the Shades as an example of choreographic “sonata form,” a reference to the long-established form used for the first movement of multi-movement Western instrumental compositions. In the course of his analysis, Lopukhov offers a partial description of this first *pas de deux* that resembles what is commonly performed today:

The waltz is followed by the adagio of Nikia and Solor, where the ballerina, supported by her partner, performs a saut de basque, a développé into ecarté à la seconde followed by a turn into arabesque. These gently flowing movements... form the basis of the soloists’ adagio. Then, with a series of jetés, one after the other, the ballerina disappears into the wings, while her partner follows slowly behind her.¹⁵⁷

No. 11. Titled “Grand Adage” in the Rep, this 87-bar *Andante* accompanies a second *pas de deux* for Nikia and Solor enhanced by the corps of forty-eight women who provide an active frame for the duet. Rarely only posing, save for the opening groupings, the ensemble is constantly in motion.

As the *adage* begins, Solor is downstage center. The corps de ballet enters from either side through the first wing during the two-bar introduction. In the next sixteen bars (Ex. 2.2b), they form two groupings. For the first, the entire ensemble is directed to “stand in two columns, one behind the other.” The dancers form groups of four, all standing in *arabesque à plat*. The pair in front hold each other by the waist with one arm, while the couple behind holds hands. Each dancer grasps one end of a veil in her outside hand. The two dancers on the left of the quartet share a veil as do the dancers on the right.

After six bars, the ensemble spends two bars changing poses. Here, the same groups of four form circles, the dancers holding each other by the hand. The dancer farthest upstage stands,

¹⁵⁷ Sonata form, simply put, calls for an opening section of music (exposition) that returns as the last section of music (recapitulation). Fedor Lopukhov, *Writings on Dance and Music*, ed. Stephanie Jordan, tr. Dorinda Offord (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 178.

facing the audience, while the others kneel. The dancers on each side face inward, while the dancer farthest downstage faces the audience. After six bars, the dancers take two bars to move to the sides, where they form lines of twenty-four along each wing. Nikia runs in from upstage right, meeting Solor at center.

The CN provides a full set of staves for both Nikia and Solor as well as for the corps de ballet. Annotations provide generous partnering instructions for both leads. Solor and Nikia begin with movements that mirror each other and, in turn, are mirrored by the corps: *degagé de côté* followed by *grand port de bras*. Nikia continues with *pas de bourrée en tournant*, *relevé rond de jambé en l'air en tournant* to *arabesque*. Solor catches her by the waist with his right hand. Nikia puts her left hand on Solor's shoulder and brings her working foot through *passé* to *attitude devant*, as the corps *bourrées* in place, arms overhead. Solor lifts Nikia by the waist in two *sissonnes ouverte* as they travel backward on the diagonal toward upstage left. The corps kneels and extends a leg forward as the dancers did during their entrée (No. 5). Solor and Nikia walk back to their starting point, the corps stands, and the opening enchaînement is repeated.

Next the entire ensemble changes position—Nikia and Solor walk downstage right as the corps walks to form a large semicircle encompassing three sides of the stage. The women lie on their sides, supported by an elbow, the other arm held overhead. Solor lifts Nikia: as she makes a *plié* in fifth position, arms overhead, Solor “takes her with both hands and places her on his right side.” In other words, as Nikia faces Solor, she is lifted and placed on his right hip, maintaining a straight body position, facing upward, her back arched slightly so her face is visible to the audience. Her arms are overhead and her legs are crossed with knees slightly bent. Once he has her in place, Solor holds Nikia with only his right hand, extending his left arm to the side as he

walks backward on the diagonal. Reaching center, Solor kneels, with Nikia still in a supine position. He “puts the lady on her leg and himself rises from the knee.”

A new musical section introduces a brief solo passage for Nikia (Ex. 2.39). Traveling on the diagonal from upstage left as Solor walks downstage left, Nikia performs two *piqué tours en dehors*, *relevé detourné* three times. After running downstage left to meet Solor, she next travels across the stage with two unsupported *piqué tours en dehors* and a supported single *pirouette en dehors* from fourth position to *arabesque*, leaning far forward over Solor’s left arm, two times. Repeating the enchaînement a third time, she concludes with a *double* (rather than a single) *pirouette* to *arabesque*, back arched, arms in fourth position. Solor holds her by the waist with both hands, standing in a lunging fourth position.

Ex. 2.39 *Grand Adage*: solo passage for Nikia; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 11, bars 47–54



The dancers of the corps, who have been raising and lowering their free arm in time with the music, next stand and *bouffée* to form five rows of eight across the stage. Nikia performs an

unsupported *tour de promenade* in *arabesque*, followed by a supported *relevé* (Solor takes her left hand with his left hand), the working leg passing to *développé devant*. This is repeated, the corps keeling at Nikia's second *relevé*, then the couple walks downstage left.

Standing behind Nikia, who faces away from her partner, Solor lifts her by the waist and extends his arms overhead. Nikia's arms are also held overhead, and her legs are crossed and slightly bent. Solor traces a serpentine pattern as he walks backward upstage toward center, alternating his orientation (and Nikia's, who moves her legs from side to side) between downstage corners. As they travel, the corps—each row facing opposite downstage corners—slowly stands and repeats a combination of kneeling followed by a slow rise, their arms passing through positions from side to overhead to opposite side. The gentle up-and-down motion, each line moving opposite the other, creates a wave-like effect, remembered by Karsavina when it was absent from a twentieth-century revival: “With my mind's eye I can clearly see the horizontal lines of dancers, semi-reclining, in *arabesque allongé à terre* while my partner carried me high in his arms in and between those lines.”¹⁵⁸

Nearing the conclusion of the adagio, Nikia and Solor walk side by side directly downstage as the corps *bourrées* toward the wings. The couple joins hands, interlocking arms, and makes a circle to the left. The corps kneels, each dancer facing the near downstage corner. Slowly rising from the knee, they pose in *tendu effacé devant* then raise the working leg to *arabesque* as they turn to face the opposite wing. Solor kneels in *effacé*, facing downstage left, back arched, left arm overhead. The position of his right arm is not given, and nothing is notated for Nikia.

¹⁵⁸ Karsavina, “Blue Transparency.”

The CN provides a record of the first three of the four variations that follow. Whether the corps de ballet remained on stage for these solos is not indicated. Each notated variation features distinct vocabulary—turns in the first, *cabrioles* in the second, *sissonnes doublée* in the third. They share similarities as well: each variation features plenty of *pointe* work, both *relevé* and *piqué* steps.

No. 12. The CN records the performance of Vera Trefilova in the first variation, a piquant 50-bar polka (Ex. 2.40). The choreography differs from modern productions particularly in the number of repetitions of its combinations and in its final enchaînement, in which the sequence of traveling *relevés en arabesque* is broken up with a *bourrée* upstage.

Ex. 2.40 Variation 1; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 12, bars 1–10



Beginning upstage right, Trefilova travels down the diagonal with *piqué de côté en arabesque*, *tendu devant fondu*, two running steps on *pointe*, *glissade* four times. Traveling across the downstage, she continues with three quick *temps levés sur la pointe en arabesque*

followed by a *bourrée*, the hips now facing downstage left even as she continues traveling to the right, three times. She runs upstage to center for the middle section, marked *poco meno* in the Rep, and performs *pas de chat*, *pas de bourrée on pointe*, *piqué arabesque en tournant*, *pas de chat*, *pas de bourrée on pointe*, *double pirouette en dehors* from fourth position three times. She runs upstage left for a final diagonal, the music gaining in tempo (Rep: “Poco piu mosso”): six *relevés en arabesque* followed by a *bourrée* during which she travels back upstage, four more *relevés en arabesque* continuing downstage—the music becoming ever faster (Rep: “cresc. accell. al Fine”)—and seven *chaînés on demi-pointe*, finishing *tendu croisé derrière*, the body leaning forward, head left.

No. 13. The second variation, thirty-six bars of a swinging 6/8, is punctuated by pauses allowing for briefly held poses on *pointe* (Ex. 2.41). The CN documents the performance of Varvara Rykhlyakova. Of the four variations, this one has changed the least over time.

Ex. 2.41 Variation 2; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 13, bars 5–12

The musical score is for a piano accompaniment in 6/8 time, key of D major. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system is marked 'Allegro' and 'f' (forte), with a 'molto cresc.' (much crescendo) marking. The second system is marked 'poco meno' (a little less). The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, sixteenth notes, and rests, with dynamic markings like 'ffz' (fortissimo) and 'p' (piano). The notation is in a standard musical format with a treble and bass clef for each system.

After an annunciatory introduction of four bars, Rykhlyakova begins upstage left and travels down the diagonal with *cabriole devant*, *temps levé en demi-arabesque* three times, finishing the enchaînement with *assemblé*, *relevé en arabesque*, right arm up, left arm side. A *fermata* allows her to briefly hold this position. She continues with *tombé*, *relevé pirouette en dehors développé devant*, *tombé*, *glissade* twice followed by a run upstage left and a repeat from the beginning of the variation, after which she runs downstage left.

Volynsky assessed Agrippina Vaganova's performance in 1913 with a description of the opening enchaînement: "With the technical perfection available only to her, Vaganova does four [sic] cabrioles with leaps of increasing elevation, terminating them with a fading arabesque on pointe."¹⁵⁹

Returning to Rykhlyakova, she next travels toward upstage center on the diagonal: turning to the right, she performs *demi-cabriole devant* and two *demi-emboîtés derrière* twice, followed by *relevé en arabesque*, *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe* to each side. All of this is repeated from the *demi-cabriole* through the first *relevé en arabesque*, after which she runs upstage center for the return of the opening melody.

Traveling directly down center, Rykhlyakova performs a series of seven *relevés en attitude effacé* on alternating legs. Turning to the left, she continues with *demi-cabriole devant*, *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe* twice before turning abruptly to the right for a final enchaînement: *saut de basque* and three *chainés* on *demi-pointe*, finishing with *sous-sus*, arms overhead.

No. 14. The CN of the third variation records the performance of Anna Pavlova. Performed slowly today, the variation in the Harvard orchestral score (discussed below) includes

¹⁵⁹ Volynsky, "Proshchal'nyi spektakl' A. P. Pavlovoi (*Baiaderka*)," tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 50.

a metronome marking of an eighth note = 120, with an *accelerando* only during the final phrase; in modern performances, an *accelerando* occurs halfway through the 33-bar number. The Rep does not include metronome marking but confirms the *accelerando* occurs just five bars before the end. The skipping rhythm of the opening phrase characterizes the entire number (Ex. 2.42).

Ex. 2.42 Variation 3; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 14, bars 1–9

Beginning upstage right and traveling down the diagonal, Pavlova performs *sissonne doublée*, *pirouette* from fifth position, *relevé rond de jambe en l'air* four times. Crossing the stage to the right, she continues with *relevé développé devant*, *relevé en arabesque*, *pas de bourrée piqué en tournant* three times. After running downstage right, she travels backward on the diagonal, alternating steps on *pointe* with two single *pirouettes en dedans*, the working leg carefully notated with the knee bent 135 degrees, three times. Her final diagonal begins with *pas de bourrée couru en première*, traveling the length of the stage, and finishes with *pas de chat*, *relevé en arabesque* on the right leg, right arm overhead, left arm side.

No. 15. The fourth variation, a violin solo in three sections of increasing virtuosity, is Nikia's solo. Accounts tell us the variation was danced with a scarf that flew upward, likely at the end of the opening *legato* section (see below). Both the use of solo violin and the scarf helps to set Nikia's variation apart from those preceding and make it special. Vazem remembered: "I had a tremendous success with my variation with a veil, danced to a violin solo by Leopold Auer, with the veil flying up to the sky at the end."¹⁶⁰ Karsavina also recalled "the scarf in the ballerina's solo, flying away into the skies on the last upward arabesque."¹⁶¹ (In most performances today, the first half of Nikia's variation is performed as a *pas de deux* with Solor. The dancers are connected by a long tulle scarf, each of them holding one end.)

Lopukhov provides details about each of the variation's three sections. While we cannot know how closely his description may resemble what Vazem, Kshesinskaya, or Pavlova may have danced, much that he includes is supported by earlier references. I quote here only his step descriptions and not his accompanying analysis:

The variation begins with turns—demi-tours in attitude. ...The descent from pointe to the sole of the foot and the immediate rise back to pointe for the next demi-tour is performed as if it were a single continuous movement. ...Petipa reinforced the impression created by the slow demi-tours by placing in the ballerina's hands a piece of tulle that would fly upward at the end of the first part of the variation [Ex. 2.43a]. ...¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Vazem, "Memoirs: Part 4," 35.

¹⁶¹ Karsavina, "Blue Transparency."

¹⁶² Lopukhov, *Writings on Dance and Music*, 181–182.

Ex. 2.43a Variation 4: Nikia's solo variation (first part); Act Three, Scene Five, No. 15,
bars 4–7

Allegretto
Vln. solo

p dolce

The second part of the variation is based on the jeté that first appeared in the exposition [Lopukhov's analytic designation for Nos. 5, 6, 10, and 11]. Here the jeté is performed in a different alignment, toward the back of the stage. After the jeté, there follows by way of preparation a pas de bourrée on pointe and a double tour en dehors that again comes to a halt in an arabesque, but with the ballerina facing the audience. ...The choreographic phrase is repeated twice in succession [Ex. 2.43b], and then comes the transition to the third part of the variation—again a walk/run. ...¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Ibid., 182–183.

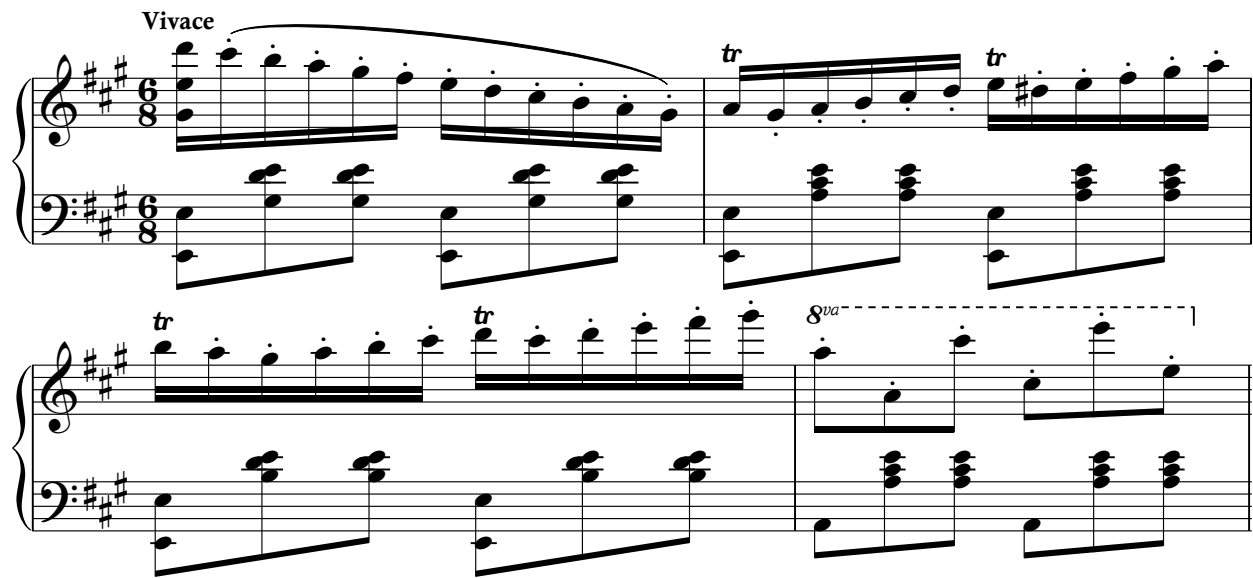
Ex. 2.43b Variation 4: Nikia's solo variation (second part); Act Three, Scene Five, No.

15, bars 20–23

The third part of the variation consists of a walk on pointe, a pas de bourrée that comes to a halt on one supporting leg, then on the other. This is a progressive movement. It is repeated twice, after which the variation finishes like the third variation: there is a forceful pas de bourrée with open arms, not this time down the diagonal but toward the front of the stage, and the ballerina comes to an unexpected halt, not with a pas de chat but in an attitude [Ex. 2.43c].¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 183.

Ex. 2.43c Variation 4: Nikia's solo variation (third part); Act Three, Scene Five, No. 15,
bars 28–31



Volynsky offered a summary of the variation in 1913 that is not dissimilar from Lopukhov's description: "...Pavlova's variation, of the terre-à-terre kind, is based on graceful pliés, on pirouettes en dehors, on semi-leaps, on dances across a slanted line to the accompaniment of the sonorous sounds of the violin, and on the marvelous turns of the body with bended leg which invariably changes to arabesque."¹⁶⁵

No. 16. The coda brings the entire cast together. Beginning with the trio of solo Shades and the corps de ballet, the number continues with entrances for Nikia and Solor, the CN providing rare examples of solo choreography for Nikia. Her final entrée is completely different from what is performed today. Likewise, the corps steps are different from most modern versions, which often retain the ground plan and spacing of the 1900 production but not its

¹⁶⁵ Volynsky, "Proshchal'nyi spektakl' A. P. Pavlovoi (*Baiaderka*)," tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 50.

choreography. In particular, the varying orientations of the body, often directed toward upstage corners while performing steps *en effacé*, have largely disappeared.

The number opens with 115 bars of a broad, swinging 6/8 featuring an expansive melody (Ex. 2.44a). Seventy-three of these bars are cut in the Rep, including a soft, chromatic middle section punctuated by sudden *sforzandi*.

Ex. 2.44a Coda: soloists and corps de ballet; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 16, bars 3–10



With the corps de ballet again lining the wings, twenty-four on each side, the three soloists begin upstage right. Traveling on the diagonal, they perform *brisé*, *pas de chat* to fourth position *plié*, five more *brisés*, *sissonne ouverte changé en avant*. Traveling upstage, they continue with *chassé*, *tour jeté* twice, followed by *assemblé*, *entrechat six*. Having reached upstage left, they repeat their entrée from the beginning to the other side. The corps, meanwhile, performs its own choreography in place: *piqué* steps and *bourrées en tournant*.

The soloists finish at center as the corps runs to form four rows across the stage. All continue in unison with *entrechat quatre*, *relevé petit passé* twice, followed by *échappé* on *pointe* in *plié*, a spring to fifth position on *pointe*, a *bourrée* forward, and four *relevés en arabesque* alternating with *relevés en demi-arabesque en tournant*. This enchaînement is repeated followed by five sets of *chassé*, *cabriole derrière* to alternate sides. The ensemble splits at center and *bourrées* toward the wings, the soloists traveling downstage right, where they finish in *attitude à terre*.

A new musical theme, heavily marked, introduces Nikia and Solor, who begin upstage left (Ex. 2.44b).

Ex. 2.44b Coda: entrance of Nikia and Solor; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 16, bars 116–123

Pochissimo più

The musical score for Ex. 2.44b is a piano accompaniment in 6/8 time, key of D major. It is divided into two systems, each containing four measures. The first system begins with a *fz* dynamic, followed by a *ffz* dynamic in the third measure, and ends with a *p* dynamic. The second system also begins with a *fz* dynamic, followed by a *ffz* dynamic in the third measure, and ends with a *p* dynamic. The music features a mix of chords and moving lines in both hands, with a tempo marking of *Pochissimo più* at the beginning.

The Romantic trope of the “elusive woman” is brought vividly to life in this passage, in which Solor pursues the shade of Nikia, catching her in a lift only to lose her again. Traveling on the diagonal, Nikia performs *temps levé en demi-arabesque* three times and an *assemblé* as Solor

walks beside her, perhaps following slightly behind her. Indeed, with each jump, Nikia turns her head left, to the downstage side, as though to beckon her beloved Solor. He lifts her by the waist as she beats her legs, arms overhead. This is performed three times along the same diagonal. Nikia next runs across to downstage left as Solor “stands and looks at the bayadère.” She begins a *manège*—*saut de basque, grand jeté en avant, petits emboîtés en tournant* three times—followed by three *chaînés* on *demi-pointe* on the diagonal toward downstage right, finishing with *sous-sus*, arms overhead.

The CN continues with the corps de ballet. No repeated music is indicated in either the CN or the Rep, although it is customary today for Solor to dance a solo passage to a repeat of the same twenty-four bars that have just accompanied his entrée with Nikia and her subsequent brief solo. Lopukhov asserts that the same was done during Gerdt’s early years performing the role:

I talked to Gerdt, and he confirmed that the danseur’s coda was based on the musical repetition of Nikiya’s coda and that the movements consisted of a cabriole derrière preceded by a tombé (preceded directly by a tombé, without a step before the cabriole), followed by a step forward into an arabesque. In the course of the cabriole, the dancer would move forward, and the greater his progress, the more beautiful the appearance of the movement. This combination would be performed twice, followed by an entrechat six.¹⁶⁶ The whole sequence would be repeated using the other leg.¹⁶⁷ Then came the saut de basque in a circle, as performed earlier by Nikiya.¹⁶⁸

Continuing, Lopukhov bemoans changes made to the choreography of *La Bayadère* and offers further detail that may explain why this passage for Solor is omitted in the CN:

I should mention that in this scene from *La Bayadère*, as in Petipa’s other ballets, unacceptable changes are sometimes made. Because they do not grasp the essence of the work, dancers performing the role of Solor replace the cabriole and the saut de basque in the coda with movements they are better able to perform, their main

¹⁶⁶ I presume the *cabriole* and *arabesque* would be performed three times, mirroring Nikia’s three *temps levés*.

¹⁶⁷ Here again, three repetitions of this enchaînement would more closely mirror Nikia’s choreography.

¹⁶⁸ Lopukhov, *Writings on Dance and Music*, 184.

concern being their own perceived success and not the meaning of the work as a whole. They often justify their action by pointing out that Pavel Gerdt omitted the male coda when he danced the role of Solor. However, Gerdt gave up performing the cabriole and the saut de basque in the coda because of age and with Petipa's permission. When he was younger, he performed all the movements and never replaced them with others that were his own particular favorites. He did what the dénouement of this work demanded, as it was set by Petipa.¹⁶⁹

While I am unable to confirm Lopukhov's assertions, several of his descriptions of choreography match what is found in the CN. These include elements that are no longer part of many current performances, for instance, Nikia's coda *manège enchaînement* that begins with a *saut de basque*. I therefore believe his descriptions could inform the revival of choreography for this scene that is omitted in the CN, particularly Nikia's variation and Solor's coda entrée.

Returning now to the coda, a new passage begins—a *piu mosso, quasi presto* in 2/4 meter (Ex. 2.44c). More than half of the one hundred bars (not including repeats) allotted to the corps in this passage are cut in the Rep. As the music builds with a *crescendo*, the corps performs a sort of vamping step in place that resembles a combination of *demi-valse* and *balancé*. This continues as the four women farthest upstage on each side travel toward center with seven *précipités*. Having formed a row across the stage, they continue with multiple *échappés* on *pointe* as the next four women on each side move toward center with *précipités*. This pattern continues: the third group consists of eight women from each side traveling toward center in two rows of four, followed by the last four women from each side, those farthest downstage.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

Ex. 2.44c Coda: corps de ballet; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 16, bars 148–155

Più mosso, quasi presto

Having formed five rows of eight women each, the corps continues with rhythmic runs forward on *pointe* (*taqueté*) and *arabesque voyagée* traveling backward. These are repeated, followed by *cabriole derrière*, *assemblé*, *entrechat six* twice. The ensemble splits at center and *bourrées* to the sides for four bars as “Kshesinskaya enters into the center of the stage [at the] 4th measure.”

Traveling directly downstage, Nikia performs *piqué double rond de jambe en l’air*, *sissonne ouverte en avant*, landing on *pointe* in *demi-arabesque*, eight times to alternate sides, while the corps performs *cabriole devant* (facing the opposite upstage corner) and *piqué en arabesque* (turning and facing the near downstage corner) four times in place along the sides (Ex. 2.44d).

Ex. 2.44d Coda: Nikia's final entrance; Act Three, Scene Five, No. 16, bars 240–247

Presto

The musical score is for a piano accompaniment in 2/4 time, key of D major (two sharps). It is marked 'Presto'. The first system consists of five measures. The first measure starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The melody in the right hand features eighth notes and quarter notes, with accents on the second and fourth measures. The bass line consists of chords and eighth notes. The second system consists of three measures. The first measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third measure has a forte (*fz*) dynamic. The melody in the right hand features eighth notes and quarter notes, with accents on the second and third measures. The bass line consists of chords and eighth notes.

Nikia travels backward on the diagonal toward upstage left with two hops on *pointe* in fifth position *effacé*, *échappé en plié*, and a spring back to fifth position on *pointe* six times as the corps performs two *relevés en demi-arabesque* (facing the opposite downstage corner), four *demi-emboîtés devant* (turning *en face* and then toward the near downstage corner) three times.

Nikia returns downstage along the same diagonal with *demi-emboîtés devant* and presumably meets Solor (he is not mentioned at this point in the CN), who supports her in a *double pirouette* finishing on *pointe* in *cou-de-pied devant*, left arm side, right arm bent 135 degrees at the elbow (suggesting her hand is placed over her heart), leaning left and back from the waist, torso twisted left. The corps, which has run in from the sides toward center, kneels facing the opposite upstage corner, arms in fourth position, leaning back and toward downstage from the waist, twisting their torsos downstage. No final ground plan is given.

Thus ends the Kingdom of the Shades in the CN.¹⁷⁰ The subsequent 42-bar scene is untitled in the Rep, but I assume it constitutes Scene Six: Solor's Awakening, described in the libretto:

Solor is lying on his divan. His dream is troubled. The fakir enters, stops beside his master, and looks at him sadly.

Solor awakens suddenly. He thought he was in Nikia's embrace.

Servants of the rajah bring in expensive gifts and announce to Solor that all preparations are completed for his wedding to the rajah's daughter.

All exit.

Solor, obsessed with his thoughts, follows them.¹⁷¹

Various cuts in the Rep shorten this already brief scene, which ends with music often used today as an epilogue to conclude the Kingdom of the Shades (Ex. 2.8d).

Act Four Scene Seven: The Gods' Wrath

The final act affords Nikia the opportunity to turn the tables and reclaim her errant lover and also provides the audience with an exciting denouement. In addition, the scene serves as a reminder that Petipa did not always end his ballets with a large-scale *divertissement*. Although there are elements of a *divertissement* in the act, which opens with a procession followed by a delightful children's dance, the main event is a *pas d'action*, performed by a small cast, that thrusts the plot forward to its thrilling conclusion. The act is concise and fast-moving, a welcome and strategic change after several sprawling scenes.

According to the performance sources, Petipa's plans for the final act were realized with few revisions. The balletmaster noted at the top of the page detailing the final scene, "Order [*Marche*] of the 4th act that I gave to Minkus":

¹⁷⁰ Two sets of eight-bar repeats are cut in the Rep near the end of the coda, and additional cuts are made in its final bars.

¹⁷¹ Wiley, *Century*, 302.

Act 4

All is being prepared for the celebration of the marriage of Solor and Hamsatti.
Entry of the warriors, nobles, Brahmins and Bayadères, then the Rajah and his
daughter and Solor.

After the arrival of the two fiancés, the rajah orders that the celebration begin.

Pas des Lotus de Delhi
by the young girls

Pas d'action

Allegro—the 4 *danseuses* enter by one and by two, or [only?] by two.
Then Hamsatti with Gerdt, and while they dance Mme Vazem circles around
Solor. The end of the *allegro* is done together and ends this first piece (*allegro*).

Adagio

During the adagio, the 4 young ladies offer bouquets to the bride, and the shade
always comes between Solor and Hamsatti. Hamsatti gives Solor a flower,
and the shade takes the flower and throws it away.

3 variations—one for the 4 *danseuses*, a second for Gerdt, a 3rd for Hamsatti.

Coda. In this coda, there are 2 entrées needed for the shade as if we hear the
breeze of the wind.

At the end of the coda—while the shade dances its last entrée, the 4 dancers offer
a basket to Hamsatti, who pushes it away with horror, for it reminds her of the
death of the bayadère. Next, she sees the shade in front of her like a specter.
Hamsatti throws herself into her father's arms, begging him to speed up the
marriage.

Thunder is heard a little when the bride sees the specter.

Next comes the wedding.

Then the lightning [*éclair*], the rain, the bursts of thunder and lightning
[*foudre*] that engulf everyone.

Apotheosis¹⁷²

The libretto tells us, “The stage represents a large hall with columns in the rajah's
palace,” a description matched by the stage plan in the production documents: a seemingly
endless hall—an effect created by forced perspective—is flanked by columns and set on a raised
platform reached by a short set of stairs at upstage center.¹⁷³ Seating in long rows is placed

¹⁷² RGALI *fond* 1657, *op.* 3, *ed. khr.* 122, fol. 7r/v.

¹⁷³ Wiley, *Century*, 302.

upstage right and along stage left. Primary seating, probably for the Rajah and the nuptial couple, is placed in the second wing at stage left.

No. 1. The act opens with a reprise of the march first heard at the beginning of Act Two, bringing with it references to the Rajah's palace (see Ex. 2.20). The music accompanies the wedding preparations envisioned by Petipa and the entrance of the nuptial guests.¹⁷⁴ The libretto is in agreement with Petipa's list of attendees: "Warriors enter, together with brahmins, bayadères, and others. Hamsatti appears, followed by her father and his retinue. When the young warrior Solor appears, the rajah orders the festival to begin."¹⁷⁵ The libretto, 1877 poster, and 1900 program all refer to the wedding celebration as *sipmanadi*. This term may refer to *saptapadi*, Sanskrit for "seven steps," a reference to the ritual steps taken by the couple during the Hindu marriage ceremony that symbolize their journey together through life.

No. 2. The *Pas de Guirlandes*, Petipa's *Pas des Lotus de Delhi*, is a two-part dance for twenty-four student girls, all of them on *pointe*. The CN provides particulars that agree with Petipa's brief description: "No. 2 | 4th Act, Scene 5. Anger of the gods. | Dance of the lotuses – 24 student girls," and further, "12 average girl students and in their hands garlands | 12 little girl students | All in all only 12 hard garlands," that is, garlands strung on hoop frames, as we will find they were for *Le jardin animé*. (Note that the posters for the 1877 premiere and 1884 revival list two named students in addition to the ensemble of twenty-four student girls. By 1900, the program lists only "Girl students of the Imperial Theater School.")

The first part of the dance is made up of poses and groupings. To the benign strains of an *andantino*, the students enter, six couples in lines from each upstage side (Ex. 2.45). Presumably,

¹⁷⁴ The Rep includes 148 bars (not including many internal repeats), of which twenty-three are cut. An additional eight bars serve as a transition and modulation to No. 2.

¹⁷⁵ Wiley, *Century*, 302.

each couple includes an average (I will call them “tall”) girl standing upstage of a small girl. Each holds one end of a shared garland. The CN instructs, “garlands are lifted up,” that is, held aloft. Meeting at center in a row that spans the stage, the students form a “1st Group” in which the small girls kneel and the tall girls pose in *arabesque à plat*.

Ex. 2.45 *Pas de Guirlandes*; Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 2, bars 2–5



The grouping dissolves as the students run downstage to form the “2nd Group”—“all run into 2 columns like the two first pairs”—the arrows in the ground plan designate the path of the central couples who form the downstage end of the two columns. The tall girls stand outside of the small girls and again pose in *arabesque*; the small girls stand in *attitude à terre*.

As they move to the “3rd Group,” the tall girls take the garlands and *bouffée* upstage, as the small girls walk in two lines that loop around the tall girls. They reassemble into their columns, the small students kneeling with their “arms on chest crosswise,” the tall girls posing in *arabesque* as they encircle their smaller partners with the garlands.

Sharing garlands once again and holding each other by the waist, the pairs *bourrée* across the stage sideways, their columns intersecting as they pass. They pose in *arabesque* by the wings then *bourrée* back to center, form a single column of pairs, and pose again in *arabesque*.

The central column dissolves as every other pair *bourrées* toward opposite sides then runs upstage where the ensemble forms a single row. Here, couples face each other on the diagonal—tall girls facing downstage left, small girls facing upstage right. Holding both ends of the garlands, the tall girls encircle their partners, who hold their counterparts by the waist. They *bourrée* directly downstage in this position then kneel and pose for three bars. Finally, they run to form an inverted semicircle of three rows at center. The tall girls form the two upstage rows, and the small girls, who “hold each other by the waist,” form a single row in front. The tall girls lower their garlands—the CN instructs, “with the middle of garland touch the floor”—then “lift up the garlands” on the second beat of the last bar, corresponding to a final *sforzando* chord, as the two downstage rows kneel.

Between the two sections of the dance, the students form lines of twelve along each wing: six tall girls with garlands stand upstage of six small girls.

The second half of the number is a waltz that begins as the small girls travel to center with a *temps levé en arabesque* and *demi-emboîtés derrière* twice (Ex. 2.8c). Arriving, they perform *relevés petits passés* then return to the wings as they came. Meanwhile, the tall girls perform *balancés* in place. The small girls run to center and form a circle, kneeling. They are joined by the tall girls, who travel to center with *pas de basque* and form an outer circle. Placing their garlands on the floor, the tall girls move away from the circle with two *ballonnés* and turn in place with two *pas de basque*. Returning to the circle, they repeat the enchaînement then move

away and back one more time. They pick up their garlands, and all move to form two columns as in the first part of the dance.

The girls travel downstage with *emboîtés sur les pointes*. They continue with two *temps levés en demi-arabesque* in place then repeat the enchaînement, traveling farther downstage. Each column becomes a single row with each small girl standing in front of her taller partner. The tall girls hold their garlands high over the small girls, who reach up and grasp the middle of the garland with both hands. Traveling in this position with a series of *temps levés* and *demi-emboîtés derrière*, the two lines cross at center then travel upstage and back.

The small girls release the garlands, and all run to reassemble into their double circles. Holding their garlands high, the tall girls perform *balancés* in place, while the small girls travel away from the circle with *pas de basque*, passing between the tall girls, then run to form a larger outside circle, where they perform *sous-sus* as the tall girls lower their garlands. They repeat the enchaînement as the small girls return to their inside circle and then repeat the entire figure again. On their final return to the inside circle, the small girls delay their *sous-sus* until the second beat of the final bar, coinciding again with the last chord of the music, as the tall girls kneel, their garlands lowered. A final annotation in the CN reads, “End [*Fine*] and all walk off to the sides.”

We see in Petipa’s choreography steps similar to those we will find he gave to the garland-wielding students in *Le jardin animé*—*balancé*, *emboîté*, *pas de basque*, *ballonné*—the latter two favored as traveling steps along with *bourrées*. At the same time, we find in his dance architecture the similar columns and circles he would return to four years after the premiere of *La Bayadère* when choreographing the mazurka in *Paquita*, a dance that also featured twenty-four students.

In his commentary accompanying a Russian translation of Petipa's plans, Lopukhov describes an appearance by Nikia at the end of the garland dance and a subsequent variation, neither of which are part of the sources I evaluated: "In the finale [of the Lotus dance], the children formed a tight circle in the middle of the stage and, scattering to the sides, they revealed the shade of Nikia, who rose from the hatch [a trapdoor]. Nikia performed a very difficult variation, set in the style of the Shades scene of the previous act."¹⁷⁶ While the CN makes clear that the girls are indeed in a circular formation at center at the end of the dance, it is silent with regard to an appearance at this point by Nikia and a subsequent variation. Neither the Rep nor the PR include a variation or annotations about Nikia's appearance. That being said, a program for a 4 September 1905 performance of *La Bayadère* included a "Solo" for Pavlova (as Nikia) that followed the "Lotus Dance." No such solo is included in the program for Pavlova's 1902 debut in the role.

Pas d'action

No. 3. The concluding *pas d'action* is choreographed for just eight dancers: Hamsatti, Solor, Nikia, four bayadères, and a nameless cavalier, who both dances and partners, whereas Solor is documented in the CN as a partner only. Whether the same distribution of duties was observed in 1877, I cannot say, but the poster confirms Pavel Gerdt as the nameless cavalier in the original *pas d'action*. By 1900, Gerdt had long since replaced Ivanov as Solor, and Georgi Kyaksht (and later Nikolai Legat) served as the extra cavalier. In a sense, there are two Solors participating in the *pas d'action*, and sometimes they are on the stage together; for example, during the coda, Solor partners Hamsatti while the cavalier nearly simultaneously partners Nikia.

¹⁷⁶ Marius Petipa. *Materialy*, 175.

Petipa envisioned the *pas d'action* as a multi-movement suite of dances: *entrée*, *adagio*, three variations, and *coda*. The ensemble dances combine choreography with action and mime sequences. The limited number of dancers serves to focus attention more intensely on the main players in the drama. Between dance passages for the four bayadères, Hamsatti and the alt-Solor (the cavalier) make their entrance as bride and groom. The shade of Nikia appears, visible only to Solor (having stepped in to replace the cavalier), and separates the couple. Hamsatti, sensing something is amiss, becomes increasingly apprehensive. She attempts to distract Solor with her dancing and briefly succeeds, but the shade of Nikia persists and eventually Solor partners her, if only figuratively (she dances with the alt-Solor cavalier). He is torn between duty and love.

The CN includes only the *entrée* and *coda*, omitting the *adagio* and the interpolated variations that are part of the Rep. The CN confirms the participants on the first page of the *entrée*: “No. 3 | b[allet] Bayaderka | *Pas d'action* | Last act | Bayadère, Solor, Hamsatti, 4 bayadères | from the good soloists | Fakir, Slave, and Legat N[ikolai].”¹⁷⁷ The movements and actions of the fakir and slave, likely Madhavaya and the *aiya*, are not documented in the CN.

Entrée. The *entrée* is the most substantial number of the *pas d'action*, comprising 149 bars.¹⁷⁸ Three piquant musical motifs, presented in 16-bar periods, are eventually interrupted by a series of increasingly chromatic passages that accompany the intrusion of Nikia in the wedding proceedings.

The bayadères begin. Starting upstage right, a first pair travels down the diagonal with two *temps levés en arabesque*, *cabriole derrière*, two *demi-emboîtés derrière*, all repeated to the

¹⁷⁷ According to the program for the 1900 revival premiere, the four soloists were Julia Sedova, Anna Pavlova, Evgenia Obukhova, and Lubov Egorova. See Appendix D.

¹⁷⁸ The CN does not include repeats of twenty-four bars, eight of which are struck through in the Rep. An additional eight bars are also struck through.

other side (Ex. 2.46a). Traveling backward up the diagonal from downstage right, they continue with *tour jeté*, *relevé développé devant* three times and return downstage with *temps levé en demi-arabesque* and *pas de chat*.

Ex. 2.46a Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Entrée (first motif), bars 1–10

Assai meno moderato

As the second motif is introduced, the second pair of bayadères begins upstage right and travels on the diagonal with *cabriole derrière*, *grand jeté en avant* three times (Ex. 2.46b). Returning upstage, they continue with *temps levé en tournant* and *assemblé*. Reaching center, they dance in place: *entrechat quatre* and *relevé rond de jambe en l'air* to each side, *temps levé en arabesque* to each side, and more *entrechats quatre* and *relevés ronds de jambe en l'air*. They run downstage where they are joined by the first pair of bayadères.

Ex. 2.46b Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Entrée (second motif), bars 19–22



To the third motif, the quartet travels upstage and back with steps that include *entrechat trois*, *piqué derrière en attitude devant*, *pirouette en dehors* from fifth position, *temps levé en demi-arabesque*, *assemblé*, *changement*, and *relevé à la seconde* (Ex. 2.46c).

Ex. 2.46c Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Entrée (third motif), bars 35–38



The second motif returns and the bayadères travel upstage and back again, this time with *relevé en arabesque* alternating with *pas de bourrée on pointe* and *ballonné* to *demi-arabesque* alternating with *pas de bourrée on demi-pointe*. The quartet splits at center, and the pairs move to opposite sides with *chainés* on *demi-pointe*.

At the return of the opening melody, Hamsatti and her cavalier (Legat) enter upstage right. Having waited through three acts, Hamsatti will dance for the first time in this entrée. Travelling down the diagonal, the pair performs *temps de flèche derrière* to *arabesque fondu*,

chassé en tournant. Hamsatti continues with *relevé en arabesque* as the cavalier performs *pas de chat*. This enchaînement is performed three times, then they run to midstage center.

The couple mirrors each other with *cabriole devant*, Hamsatti crossing in front of her cavalier. They change direction with *jeté en tournant* and cross each other again with *grand jeté en avant*. After three times, Hamsatti travels downstage right with four *piqué tours en dehors* as her cavalier walks beside her. They return up the diagonal, Hamsatti with a series of *piqué de côté en cou-de-pied devant* and *piqué tour en dehors en arabesque*, the cavalier with multiple *tours jetés, assemblés, relevés développé devant*, as “all walk to the group,” setting up Nikia’s entrance. The pair runs forward at center, where they are flanked by the bayadères, and Gerdt steps in for Legat, who remains slightly upstage.

To a tripping melody followed by a sequence of short upward flourishes, the vengeful ghost of the bayadère enters downstage left and circles the stage clockwise with five *grands jetés en avant* on alternating legs (Ex. 2.46d). Nikia next crosses the stage left to right with a diagonal of five *piqué tours en dehors* then circles upstage of the bayadères and cavalier, moving toward center with three more *grands jetés en avant*. Arriving, she “roughly pushes through Hamsatti and Solor,” then continues downstage left with six more *piqué tours en dehors* before running into the wings. The music pauses suddenly at the height of a *crescendo*.

Ex. 2.46d Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Entrée (Nikia's entrance), bars 82–90



This particular entrée is claimed by Vazem to have been borne of a confrontation between Petipa and the ballerina during the creation process ahead of the 1877 premiere. Vazem wrote at length about the episode in her memoirs, recalling the steps first choreographed for this entrance:

We began rehearsing the last act, in which Solor celebrates his wedding to Princess Gamzatti; the ceremony is interrupted by the spectre of Nikia, killed at the bride's behest to prevent her hindering the marriage. Nikia's intervention is expressed in a *Grand Pas d'Action*, danced by Solor, Gamzatti and soloists: the Bayadère's spectre appears among them, but is seen only by the bridegroom. I was dancing the spectre, and Petipa once again composed an unsuitable variation, consisting of very small movements. Without much ado, I turned down this composition – which did not suit the music or the whole conception of the dance. The spectre's appearance during the festivities demanded something more imposing than the 'petits riens' [little nothings] created by Petipa.¹⁷⁹

Such was the argument between Vazem and Petipa that the ballerina left the rehearsal.

Taking up the subject again the next day, the two still could not agree on a suitable entrée.

¹⁷⁹ Vazem, "Memoirs: Part 4," 34.

Vazem claims she determined the steps she would dance after Petipa taunted her by suggesting she perform choreography danced by Maria Gorshenkova, in the role of Hamsatti, whose jumping prowess Petipa had exploited in her earlier entrée with the cavalier. Vazem was not a jumper:

‘Very well,’ I replied, ‘but, for the sake of variety, I shall dance these *jetés* entering from the wing nearest the footlights, not from the one at the back.’ This is much more difficult, as the visual effect of the jumps is not helped by the rake of the stage. ...

On the day of the first orchestra rehearsal... The rehearsal proceeded as usual. At last we reached the last act and the moment for the *Pas d’Action*; I stood in the first wing, waiting for my entrance. I was on fire, anxious to teach this conceited Frenchman a lesson, to show him what a ‘talent’ I was. The moment for my entrance arrived and, at the opening strains of my music, I gathered up all my strength, which seemed to be infinitely greater than usual, and literally flew onto the stage, even jumping over some kneeling dancers. Covering the stage in three leaps, I stopped. Everyone on the stage and in the audience greeted me with thunderous applause. Petipa, who was on the stage, realised his unfair treatment. He came up to me and said: ‘Madame, forgive, I am “durak” (a fool)’.¹⁸⁰

All of this said, the resulting choreography fulfilled Petipa’s intent expressed in his sketches: “Then Hamsatti with Gerdt [in his role as the cavalier in 1877], and while they dance Mme Vazem circles around Solor.”

Returning to the CN, the third motif returns strongly as the bayadères resume dancing in a row at center with *pas de chat*, *relevé fouetté double rond de jambe* to *arabesque*, three *demi-emboîtés derrière* four times, traveling downstage. This is followed by *relevé développé devant*, *assemblé*, *entrechat cinq* three times traveling upstage. As before, the dancers split at center and move to the wings in pairs with *chaînés* on *demi-pointe*.

Solor (Gerdt) and Hamsatti begin a second entrée at center as the second motif returns. Hamsatti zigzags downstage with *double ronds de jambe jetés* and *piqués en arabesque*. She is

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 34–35.

“holding the shoulder of Solor,” as she performs the *piqués* (after the *jeté*, she turns around for the *piqué*), and he is “holding the waist of Hamsatti” with his right hand as he stands in a slightly lunging fourth position, his left arm extended to the side. This enchaînement is performed four times to alternate sides. The last time, Hamsatti poses in *arabesque* as Nikia runs in from upstage left and again “roughly pushes through Solor and Hamsatti.” The music, suddenly soft, features tremolos beneath rapid upward chromatic scales. Nikia performs a *piqué en arabesque*, supported by Solor, her body leaning far forward. Hamsatti runs back to Solor and embraces him, displacing Nikia, who runs around the couple to the right. As Solor returns Hamsatti’s embrace, Nikia pushes them apart again and performs a *piqué en arabesque*, supported at the waist by Solor. She breaks away, performing *chaînés* toward downstage right as Solor follows. Hamsatti runs toward them.

Nikia exits into the downstage wing as Hamsatti reaches her groom and performs a *piqué en arabesque*. She mimes, “You watch how I will dance.” Solor agrees and, to the *fortissimo* return of the third motif, Hamsatti travels backward on the diagonal with *tour jeté, assemblé, relevé développé devant* four times. Solor walks beside her and “admires the dances of his bride.” The bayadères join Hamsatti, dancing in pairs on either side: *saut de basque, cabriole derrière* four times to alternate sides.

Solor and Hamsatti reach center and the bayadères pose in pairs as Nikia makes her third entrance, accompanied by a rising, florid, chromatic melody. Running down from upstage right, she “roughly pushes through” each pair of bayadères. “In horror [they] walk off to the side [that is, split apart] and again run up [to each other] and stand in a pose.” Meanwhile, Solor and Hamsatti “exchange pleasantries” until Nikia, circling around to center, “grasps the waist of Hamsatti with her right hand.” Taking the bride with her, Nikia spins (“simply turning on two

legs”) on the diagonal toward downstage right. Solor walks beside the two women. As Nikia releases Hamsatti and runs into the wings, Solor supports his bride in a final pose—*demi-attitude devant* on *pointe*, her hands crossed on her chest—bringing the tumultuous entrée to a close.

Writing in 1913, Volynsky captured the dramatic quality of the dance: “...in the last act, Pavlova glides and flashes across the stage, breaking the tempos of her flight with movements on *pointe*, circling the bride and groom and whirling with them in a delirium of dream movement.”¹⁸¹

Adagio. Although the adagio is missing from the CN, we find it in the Rep: forty-six bars in compound quadruple meter. As in the entrée, three melodic motifs are followed by a passage of chromatic scales that may have accompanied an interruption by the shade of Nikia, an appearance planned by Petipa (Ex. 2.47a).¹⁸² He also envisioned the four bayadères offering bouquets to Hamsatti during the adagio. His further plan for the shade to take a flower from Solor and toss it away is yet another resemblance to *Giselle* that we find in *La Bayadère*. This may have been the action accompanied by the return of the third motif, *pianissimo* and transposed to A-flat major, before a recapitulation of the main melody in the home key of C major (Ex. 2.47b).

¹⁸¹ Volynsky, “Proshchal’nyi spektakl’ A. P. Pavlovoi (*Baiaderka*),” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 50.

¹⁸² The bars containing the chromatic scales are omitted from the PR.

Ex. 2.47a Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Adagio, bars 2–5

Andante

p

Ex. 2.47b Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Adagio, bars 26–29

Andante

pp

f

Variations. The three variations planned by Petipa are not part of the CN or PR.¹⁸³ At the conclusion of the adagio, an annotation in the PR states merely, “Follow 2 No. No. [sic] | Inserted Variations | Men’s and Ladies.’” Turning to the Rep, however, we find two variations interpolated from other ballets.

Titled “Variation | From the ballet *Babochka* [The Butterfly],” the first variation was presumably danced by the cavalier. *The Butterfly* is an 1874 ballet by Petipa, with music by Minkus, based on Marie Taglioni’s 1860 *Le Papillon*. Letellier identifies the variation as that for Prince Djalma, the male lead of *Le Papillon*.¹⁸⁴ The sources consulted do not reveal at what point the variation was added to *La Bayadère* or indicate whether or not Kyaksht danced it in the 1900 revival.

A brief number at twenty-five bars, the variation is in ABA form, with a strong, swinging A section bookending a gentler B section (Ex. 2.48).

¹⁸³ Gershenzon states that neither these numbers nor later interpolations are found in the Mariinsky sources. Gershenzon, “*La Bayadère*,” 15–16, 28.

¹⁸⁴ Letellier, *Ludwig Minkus*, 110.

Ex. 2.48 Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Interpolated Variation from *The Butterfly* (Minkus),
bars 1–5



More information is provided for the second variation: “From the ballet *Vestalka* Cornalba | Variation Mlle Sedova | Music by Drigo.” The inclusion of Sedova’s name confirms the variation is for Hamsatti: Sedova first performed the role on 21 October 1901.

Petipa created *The Vestal* for the Italian ballerina Elena Cornalba in 1888.¹⁸⁵ Sedova performed one of Cornalba’s variations from *The Vestal* when she made her debut as Teresa in Petipa’s *Halt of the Cavalry* on 26 September 1899.¹⁸⁶ Whether or not that variation and this one interpolated into *La Bayadère* are one and the same, the sources consulted are silent. We are also left uncertain as to the variation Preobrazhenskaya may have danced in 1900.

¹⁸⁵ The premiere was given at the Mariinsky Theater on 17 February 1888. See *Khronika III*, 269. The libretto has been translated into English, with an introduction, by Wiley in *Century*, 323–349.

¹⁸⁶ *Khronika III*, 361–362.

Sedova's variation is a more substantial number than the cavalier's variation. The form is ABAC, with the return to A serving as a brief transition to C, which features seventeen bars of *Tempo di Galop* following an *accelerando* (Ex. 2.49).

Ex. 2.49 Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Interpolated Variation from *The Vestal* (Drigo), bars 5–

9



Coda. A swinging 6/8 meter creates momentum throughout the concise coda.¹⁸⁷ The dance proceeds as a series of entrées. The four bayadères begin in a row upstage left. One at a time, each dancer travels down the diagonal performing the same enchaînement to Minkus' jaunty tune: *glissade*, *saut de basque* three times and two *chaînés* on *demi-pointe* (Ex. 2.50a). Having all arrived downstage right, the bayadères continue in unison, traveling backward up the diagonal with *pirouette en dehors développé devant*, *pas de chat* three times. They run upstage to center and continue with two *pas de bourrée* on *pointe*, *entrechat quatre*, *entrechat cinq* three times. Splitting into pairs, they travel to opposite downstage corners with five *chaînés* on *demi-pointe*.

¹⁸⁷ The coda comprises 151 bars, not including several internal repeats, two of which are cut. Forty-five of the bars are clearly cut in the Rep. The remaining bars total a greater number than are accounted for in the CN. For clarification, we can look to the PR. Here, the bars cut in the Rep are omitted altogether, as are bars on two pages of the Rep that follow the beginning of a cut that lacks a corresponding end. The remaining ninety bars (ignoring the PR's own cuts and added repeats) match the CN exactly.

Ex. 2.50a Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Coda, bars 3–10

Allegro non troppo

Hamsatti begins her *entrée* traveling directly down center with *pas de cheval*, *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe*-six times to alternate sides, followed by a *bourrée* upstage left. She continues with a diagonal of *piqué en demi-arabesque* and two *pas de bourrée* on *pointe* making a complete turn six times, finishing with four *chainés* on *demi-pointe*.

The cavalier is next, joined by the four bayadères, flanking him in pairs. In a “V” formation at center stage, they perform seven *cabrioles derrière* on alternate legs, each separated by a *chassé*. The heavy beat of the new motif complements this series of jumps (Ex. 2.50b). After running downstage left, they hold each other by the waist in a row, the cavalier at center, and travel backward up the diagonal with twelve *entrechats quatre*. They run back downstage and finish with *temps levé en cou-de-pied devant*, *pas de bourrée en avant* -on *demi-pointe*, and a pose in *arabesque à plat fondu*. They run upstage left, where the bayadères presumably exit and the cavalier awaits his next *entrée*.

Ex. 2.50b Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 3, Coda, bars 35–42



Hamsatti and Solor (Gerdt) enter downstage right. Facing her groom, who holds her left hand in his, Hamsatti *bourrées* backward across the stage, finishing with a *piqué en demi-arabesque*, supported at the waist by Solor. Nikia and the cavalier follow. Of Petipa's two planned entrées for Nikia in the coda ("as if we hear the breeze of the wind"), this is the only one documented in the CN. Traveling down the diagonal from upstage right, the cavalier lifts her by the waist in a *grand jeté en avant* followed by a supported *double pirouette* from fourth position, her hands crossed on her chest. They perform this enchaînement three times then run upstage left and travel down the opposite diagonal. The cavalier lifts Nikia in four *sissonnes ouverte* to *à la seconde*, her arms overhead. Reaching downstage right, he performs six *pirouettes* as the bayadère travels across the stage with four *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied devant* before running into the wings.

Petipa contrasts the earthly Hamsatti with the heavenly Nikia: the former is given *terre à terre* steps while the bayadère is lifted in movements that create the impression of flight.

(Assuming the same or similar steps were performed in 1877, this distinction seems ironic given that Gorshenkova was a jumper and Vazem was not.)

After the *pas d'action*, the plot moves swiftly to its conclusion.¹⁸⁸ The CN provides the briefest account of the remaining action and apotheosis: “After the *pas d'action* begins the last scene, i.e., the wedding of Solor and Hamsatti. When the priest joins their hands, all collapses and all fall dead. Except Solor, who kneels, the bayadère standing behind him.” Despite the narrative in the CN, the libretto, in agreement with Petipa’s notes, confirms Solor’s death and provides further detail: four young girls (Petipa envisioned these to be the four soloists) offer a basket of flowers to Hamsatti (Petipa planned this action to occur during the coda of the *pas d'action*). Horrified by the recollection of Nikia’s death and the snake that bit her, Hamsatti rejects the basket then sees the shade of Nikia standing in front of her. Petipa called for an ominous reaction from the sky: “The thunder is heard a little when the bride sees the specter.” Hamsatti begs her father to begin the wedding ceremony. As he joins the hands of his daughter and Solor, thunder is heard, an earthquake follows, and lightning strikes the temple, which collapses, leading to the demise of everyone inside. Minkus provides descending chromatic scales to accompany the fall of the temple and quick upward flourishes to depict the bolts of lightning (Ex. 2.51).

¹⁸⁸ The finale comprises a mere seventy-two bars (not including two internal repeats), of which eighteen are cut in the Rep. This final bar count matches the PR with the exception of four bars omitted in the latter that are not cut in the Rep (where they are repeated).

Ex. 2.51 Destruction of the temple and bolts of lightning; Act Four, Scene Seven, No. 6, bars 29–36

Konaev suggests Petipa took inspiration for the destruction of the temple from yet another Doré drawing, *The Death of Samson*.¹⁸⁹ This gravure, created in 1866 for an illustrated Bible, depicts the legendary strongman pushing apart the pillars that hold him captive. They break and topple in much the same way as those depicted in a photograph of the *Bayadère* apotheosis.¹⁹⁰

The apotheosis features a reprise of the passage that follows the Kingdom of the Shades and concludes Act Three (see Ex. 2.8d).¹⁹¹ Evoking a sense of calm resolution, the music accompanies a final image of Solor and Nikia, described in the libretto: “Through the rain the

¹⁸⁹ Konaev, “Der Tiger Captif,” 45. See *La Sainte Bible selon la Vulgate. Traduction nouvelle avec les dessins de Gustave Doré*, 2 vols. (Tours: Alfred Mame et fils, 1866).

¹⁹⁰ The photograph is reproduced in the Staatsballett Berlin *La Bayadère* program book (2018), 62–63.

¹⁹¹ The Rep includes forty-two bars, of which twenty-four are cut; the PR includes just eighteen bars, matching the Rep after cuts.

peaks of the Himalayas are visible. Nikia's shade glides through the air; she is triumphant, and tenderly looks at her beloved Solor, who is at her feet."¹⁹² Recounting his impressions years after the fact, Benois described a special effect employed in the apotheosis: "For the last time, through a shower of golden rain, we see *la bayadère* who has now become a celestial being. The trick of the golden rain was much admired and even commented on in the newspapers."¹⁹³

As *La Bayadère* continued to hold its place in the St. Petersburg repertory during the years following the 1900 revival, important debuts were made in the role of Nikia alongside Pavlova, who continued to perform the role until her last Mariinsky performance. Moreover, the Kingdom of the Shades emerged as a favorite scene chosen for special performances.

The Shades scene was performed at a costume ball held at the Winter Palace on 11 February 1903, at which guests wore seventeenth-century Russian costumes: Emperor Nikolai II and Empress Alexandra Feodorovna were dressed as Tsar and Tsarina. Pavlova danced the role of Nikia, to the chagrin of Kshesinskaya.¹⁹⁴ On 12 February 1906, Pavel Gerdt's forty-five years of service were celebrated with a benefit performance that included the third and fifth scenes of *La Bayadère*. As Solor, he partnered Pavlova as Nikia, with Evgenia Obukhova as Hamsatti.¹⁹⁵ Gerdt finally relinquished the role to Mikhail Fokine on 19 September 1907.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² Wiley, *Century*, 303.

¹⁹³ Benois, *Reminiscences*, 44.

¹⁹⁴ See *Khronika IV*, 43.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁹⁶ Until this date, Gerdt had performed the role Solor in every performance of *La Bayadère* since the 1900 revival, with the exception of a single performance by Sergei Legat on 4 September 1905. Thanks to Andrew Foster for this information.

A complete rendition of *La Bayadère* was given at a benefit performance for Pavlova marking her ten years of service on 15 November 1909. She was partnered by Samuil Andrianov as Solor and joined by Sedova (Hamsatti), Gerdt (Rajah), and Olga Fedorova, who made her debut in the Hindu dance.¹⁹⁷ Just over three years later, having firmly established her reputation in the West, Pavlova danced Nikia for her final performance at the Mariinsky Theater on 24 February 1913. She was partnered once again by Andrianov, with Egorova as Hamsatti and Gerdt as the Rajah.¹⁹⁸

Several seasons earlier, Andrianov had partnered a new Nikia in an auspicious debut: Tamara Karsavina danced the leading role for the first time to great acclaim on 10 February 1910 after several seasons as a successful *Manu* soloist.¹⁹⁹ Gerdt was her Rajah, Egorova danced Hamsatti, and Vaganova, Vill, and Elena Smirnova performed the solo Shades.²⁰⁰ Another important debut was made shortly before the Revolution at a charity performance for the benefit of the Elizabethan Society of Sisters of Mercy, given on 16 April 1916. The program featured a duet from the Kingdom of the Shades and marked the first (albeit excerpted) performances in the roles of Nikia and Solor by Olga Spesivtseva and Anatole Obhukov.²⁰¹ Spesivtseva would dance the role in the West in Sergeyev's reduced version of the Kingdom of the Shades (of which more below).

¹⁹⁷ *Khronika IV*, 121.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁹⁹ Karsavina made her debut in the *Manu* dance on 3 September 1906. See *Khronika IV*, 85, and Andrew Foster, *Tamara Karsavina: Diaghilev's Ballerina* (London: Andrew Foster, 2010), 105.

²⁰⁰ *Khronika IV*, 128, and Foster, *Karsavina*, 105.

²⁰¹ *Khronika IV*, 195.

The elimination of Act Four from the St. Petersburg (then Petrograd) production in the 1920s has long been the subject of speculation. When did it happen and why? Natalia Zozulina recently has determined that the final act was permanently dropped in 1924 for a confluence of reasons that includes, among others, the inexperience of the ballerinas performing *La Bayadère*'s leading roles, the condition of the décor (which may have sustained water damage in 1924), and the entire ballet itself, which was considered by the theater management to lack artistic value.²⁰² Certainly the loss of the ballet's climactic scene changed its dramatic trajectory significantly, despite the fact that certain segments of the *pas d'action* from Act Four were eventually subsumed into the Act Two divertissement. Petipa's version of the final act would not be restored in St. Petersburg until the earlier years of the twenty-first century.²⁰³

In *La Bayadère* we encounter an overall structure of scenes that differs from ballets created earlier in the century by Petipa's predecessors, such as Jean Coralli, Jules Perrot, and Joseph Mazilier. Instead of a series of scenes that balance mime and action with set dances and *pas d'action*, such as those found in Coralli and Perrot's *Giselle* and Mazilier's *Le Corsaire* (and much of his *Paquita*), *La Bayadère* is frontloaded with two lengthy expository mime scenes—the Festival of Fire and the Two Rivals—that feature little dancing. These are followed by three

²⁰² Natalia Zozulina, “‘Bayaderka’ M. Petipa: K voprosu o chetvertom akte baleta” [M. Petipa's *Bayaderka*: To the Question about the Fourth Act of the Ballet], *Vestnik Akademii Russkogo baleta imeni A. Ya. Vaganovoy* [Bulletin of the Academy of the Russian Ballet named after A. Ya. Vaganova] 5 (2018): 36. Zozulina writes: “Thus, if we have managed to correctly build the system of arguments, the answer to the question, when was the last time Petipa's *La Bayadère* went on the stage of the Mariinsky Theater in four acts, there will be two dates in 1924: either 21 September or 10 December.” See also Boris A. Illarionov, “‘Bayaderka’: Chetyre ili tri?” [*Bayaderka*: Four or Three?], *Vestnik Akademii Russkogo baleta imeni A. Ya. Vaganovoy* [Bulletin of the Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Ya. Vaganova] 4 (2017): 28–39.

²⁰³ For details about Sergei Vikharev's 2002 production of *La Bayadère* for the Mariinsky Ballet, see Gershenzon, “*La Bayadère*.”

scenes consisting mostly of dance and little mime—the festival of Badrinata, the Kingdom of the Shades, and the wedding of Solor and Hamsatti. Petipa programmed a single, modestly cast *pas d'action* (in his favored format of entrée, adagio, variations, and coda), but he strategically placed it in the ballet's final scene in order to create an exciting denouement that combined dance and mime. (The eventual excision of this final scene robbed the ballet of this carefully calculated ending.)

Petipa's *pas d'action* featured an element that was not uncommon in the repertory of the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet but would likely be incomprehensible today—an additional cavalier who served as an alt-Solor and who was sometimes onstage at the same time as the real Solor. This arrangement, while requiring the suspension of narrative coherence on the part of the audience, served the purpose of allowing the aging Pavel Gerdt to assume the mime and most of the partnering duties of the leading man (at which he excelled) while relieving him of the rigors of virtuosic dancing, which were entrusted to the younger, nameless cavalier.

La Bayadère provides numerous examples of Petipa's deft handling of a large cast of adults and children. The festival scene in the 1900 revival featured seventy-two performers that included corps de ballet, children, and non-dancing participants. In addition to their own dances, the ensemble formed elaborate groupings that framed the stage for soloists and small-group dances. And as we will also find in the coda of *Le jardin animé*, the festival coda included polyphonic choreography as the different groups of dancers performed discrete enchaînements simultaneously. All of this was preceded by a procession for which Petipa had originally planned to include more than two hundred participants, some of whom (according to the CN) were given danced entrances. In the Kingdom of the Shades, the dancers in the large corps de ballet—forty-eight women strong—are not divided into various groups but instead all represent the same

character (a Shade) and perform unison steps *en masse*. Not only do they frame the stage during the dances of Nikia and the other soloists, but they also mirror their choreography, thereby amplifying the visual impact of the movement.

The constellation of available source documents allows us to follow the development of Petipa's initial plans into a libretto and then into mime scripts (the latter document including far more detail than the preceding two) and a choreographic notation. Moreover, the precise and detailed source material that preserves the mime and choreography for much of the production in separate, finished documents provides a tantalizing example of the way other St. Petersburg productions might have been recorded if time and resources had been available. In particular, the mime scripts for *Bayadère*'s opening scenes confirm that mime exchanges in Imperial Ballet productions were detailed and substantive conversations.

These elements—dance and mime—are supported by Minkus' specialist score, which is characterized by exoticist tropes familiar in many nineteenth-century works. More significant, however, are Minkus' simple yet effective recurring melodies and rhythmic figure and his use of them to create continuity.

Finally, note that Petipa's plans for the Kingdom of the Shades describe a scene that is more magical and fantastical—with its references to *Giselle* and imagery of Nikia “in the water”—than the one that has been handed down over time. Moreover, the libretto for the scene provides only a scant narrative, and the choreographic notation of it, documenting Petipa's revival in 1900, records what is essentially a series of academic dances. Perhaps this emphasis on pure dance has contributed to the longevity of the Kingdom of the Shades, allowing it to transcend changing tastes and become part of the canon of classical ballet.

La Bayadère in the West

Both character and classical dances from *La Bayadère* began to make their way West during the early decades of the twentieth century, long before the celebrated performance of the Kingdom of the Shades by the Kirov Ballet in Paris in 1961. For example, the raucous Hindu dance (No. 14½) from Scene Three made for an energetic closing number of a divertissement. Its relatively small cast combined with high-energy character choreography was an appealing choice for inclusion on touring programs that often catered to music hall audiences. The dance was likely the final item on the program of divertissements offered by the “Famous Russian Dancers” during its May 1910 season at London’s Coliseum. There the number was titled “Indian Dance,” with music credited to Minkus and a cast of one woman and six men.²⁰⁴ Similarly, a “Danse Hindu” from *La Bayadère* was on Anna Pavlova’s program for her tour of Britain in 1911 that included Alexander Shiryayev among its dancers.²⁰⁵

But it was the Kingdom of the Shades that was the jewel of *La Bayadère* and a personal favorite of Nikolai Sergeyev. Jane Pritchard and Sergey Konaev have chronicled Sergeyev’s various attempts—both successes and failures—to stage the Kingdom of the Shades in the West.²⁰⁶ While still in Petrograd, he requested that it be programmed for his farewell benefit performance in September 1917, but the performance itself was denied.²⁰⁷ Once in the West,

²⁰⁴ Pritchard, “Bits of Bayadere.”

²⁰⁵ Beumers, et al., *Alexander Shiryayev*, 137.

²⁰⁶ See Pritchard, “Bits of Bayadere,” and Konaev, “My vse visim v vozdukhe...”

²⁰⁷ St. Petersburg newspapers chronicled Sergeyev’s request and its subsequent denial: “Troubles about a benefit performance. At the next general meeting of the ballet troupe’s artists, the issue of granting the former chief regisseur Mr. Sergeyev a farewell benefit will be put on the agenda. Mr. Sergeyev asked for a benefit performance on 22 October and chose *La Bayadère*. According to rumors, the male staff of the troupe spoke out against the benefit performance for Mr. Sergeyev, finding that all his past activities did not deserve a reward.” *Petrogradskaya gazeta*, 22 September 1917, no. 223, 5. The denial was reported in

Sergeyev was no less enthusiastic. Konaev puts it plainly: “Of the corps de ballet dances by Petipa, Sergeev especially valued the ‘Shades’, which he was ready to stage no matter what plot was used as a pretext.”²⁰⁸ Accordingly, he fashioned the three scenes of the third act of *La Bayadère* into a one-act ballet with a slender, exoticist narrative to accompany the dances. He gave it the title *Le Songe du Rajah*, but it was sometimes presented with a variant, such as *Le Rêve du radjah*. A variety of source materials preserved in the Sergeyev Collection contributes to our knowledge of this little-known redaction from *La Bayadère*. I will discuss them in the context of its diverse stagings.

Sergeyev first set the Kingdom of the Shades in the West for the Latvian National Ballet. The one-act version premiered on 28 November 1923 in Riga on a program that also featured Sergeyev’s staging of *The Magic Flute*, a two-act ballet with music by Drigo and choreography by Ivanov.²⁰⁹ Ten performances were given.²¹⁰

Several of Harvard’s music holdings relating to *Le Songe du Rajah* appear to have originated in connection with these Riga performances. They include an orchestral score, several piano reductions, and orchestra parts. The 116-page manuscript orchestral score, dated 7 March 1923, is in the same hand and format as other scores in the Sergeyev Collection that indicate they were copied (and likely arranged) in Riga during Sergeyev’s years there as ballet master.²¹¹

the *Petrogradsky golos* on 10 May 1918: “The former chief regisseur of the ballet, Mr. Sergeyev, turned to the troupe committee with a request to give him a benefit performance. The issue was discussed at a general meeting of artists and was decided negatively by a majority of several votes.” Thanks to Sergey Belenky for providing these citations.

²⁰⁸ Konaev, “My vse visim v vozdukhe...” 560.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 580n63 (the year in the essay should read “1923” instead of “1924”).

²¹⁰ See Georgs Stals, *Das Lettische Ballett des Rigaer Oper* (Riga: J. Kadili Verlag, 1943), 51.

²¹¹ MS Thr 145 (111). See Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 99.

Titled *Le Songe du Rajah* (The Rajah's Dream), the score includes the entirety of *La Bayadère* Act Three with minor adjustments. These include cuts in Scene Four (likely corresponding to cuts in the Rep) and an added transition to bridge Scenes Five and Six. Markings in crayon, ink, and pencil include annotations in French and English, suggesting the score was used for subsequent performances in France and England. Of particular interest among the otherwise expected musical annotations are metronome markings for the danced numbers.²¹² Ideally, these tell us the tempi at which Sergeyev intended the numbers to be danced. The score is also annotated with cues for entrances and lighting. Supplementing this score are three annotated manuscript piano reductions (two in ink, one in pencil) and a set of manuscript orchestra parts.²¹³ A manuscript synopsis of *Le Songe du Rajah* in French and signed by Sergeyev is also among the holdings.²¹⁴

In 1926 Sergeyev staged a version of the Kingdom of the Shades in Paris using the title *Le Songe du radjah*. The performance was given on 26 July 1926 at the Cercle Interalliée (Le

²¹² The metronome markings are listed here as they correspond to the numbering in the Rep:

No. 5 quarter note = 60
 No. 6 dotted quarter note = 72
 No. 10 quarter note = 60
 No. 11 dotted quarter note = 60
 No. 12 quarter note = 108; middle section, quarter note = 80; final section, quarter note = 136
 No. 13 quarter note = 72
 No. 14 eighth note = 120; last five bars, quarter note = 88
 No. 16 dotted quarter note = 80; corps de ballet after Nikia and Solor entrance, dotted quarter note = 144; final bars, preceding an *allargando*, dotted quarter note = 180

²¹³ MS Thr 245 (107): *Le songe du Rajah*, manuscript piano reduction, 41 pages, pencil, includes a list of orchestra parts (see item 113); (110): *Le songe du Rajah*, manuscript piano reduction, 36 pages, ink; (112): *Le songe du Rajah*, manuscript piano reduction, ink, in a similar hand and with a similar layout to item 110; (113): 37 manuscript orchestra parts, ink. The score and parts are marked to indicate that Variation 3 was to be played before Variation 2, indicating that in at least one performance or set of performances the variations were re-ordered.

²¹⁴ MS The 245 (112). The text is reproduced in Wiley, "Dances from Russia," 101. Item 262 is another copy of the synopsis in French, unsigned.

Cercle de l'Union Interalliée, a political club) for the Moroccan Sultan Moulay Youssef (Mulai Yusef), who was visiting Paris to open a new mosque. The reduced cast featured Olga Spesivtseva and Serge Peretti in the leading roles, joined by an ensemble of eight women.²¹⁵ An enthusiastic notice in *Excelsior* provided a summary of the event:

THE “DREAM OF THE RAJAH” UNDER THE EYES OF THE SULTAN

During the beautiful celebration that took place on Monday evening at the Union Interalliée, in honor of S. M. Moulay-Youssef, a ballet, “le Songe de radjah”, of a perfect grace, very prettily costumed, after the sketches of prince A. Shervaschidze, and perfectly arranged by M. N. Sergueeff to music by Mincus, was danced by Mlle O. Spessivtzewa, of the Opéra, by M. Peretti, also of the Opéra, and by Mlles Petri, Tikanoff, Berry, Oulianovskaia, Soumarokoff, Alexeeva, Kirova and Tomina. ...²¹⁶

One of two photos accompanying the notice includes the entire cast of the ballet in costumes similar in style to the 1900 Mariinsky production, complete with veils.

The printed program, from which the information in the *Excelsior* notice was drawn, was laid out as follows.

Soirée en l'honneur de Sa Majesté le Sultan du Maroc

“LE SONGE DU RADJAH”

*Costumes d'après les Maquettes
du Prince A. Shervaschidze*

Réglé par M. N. Sergueeff
Musique de Mincus

²¹⁵ For further details about the performance, see Konaev, “My vse visim v vozdukhe...,” 583n75.

²¹⁶ *Excelsior*, 28 July 1926, 2. Alexander Konstantinovich Shervashidze (Chachba) (1867–1968) was an Abkhaz artist, painter, art historian, and critic. Sergeyev had commissioned the designs from him. See Konaev, “My vse visim v vozdukhe...,” 562, 566, 569–570, 572.

L'Ombre Fiancée du Solor
Radjah – Solor
Les Ombres

Mlle O. Spessivtzewa, *de l'Opéra*
M. Peretti, *de l'Opéra*
Milles Petri, Tikanoff, Oulianovskaïa,
Soumarokoff, Alexeeva, Kirova, Tomina

ARGUMENT

Dans le château de SOLOR règne le silence; les chants se sont éteints, toutes joies ont disparu depuis le temps où l'esclave favorite est morte. Le Radjad puissant s'afflige et ses rêves l'emportent vers la jolie femme trépassée dont la voix était tellement magique.

La flute et les danses atteignent les limites les plus hautes. Les Fakirs voyant leur Radjad accablé veulent le guérir au moyen d'une conjuration.

Le Radjad, au comble du désespoir, enjoint à tous de se retirer. Il fume de l'opium, s'assoupit et se trouve transporté dans le monde de la fantaisie; des nuages s'approchent de lui et, lentement, provenant d'eux, se dessinent des ombres au milieu desquelles, le Radjad reconnaît son esclave bien aimée, qui l'emmène dans son royaume.²¹⁷

Under the title *Le Rêve du radjah*, Sergeyev staged his ballet a second time in Paris for a performance given in observance of the second anniversary of Anna Pavlova's death on 23 January 1933 at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.²¹⁸ This time the leading roles were performed by Sergeyev's wife Evgenia Poplavskaya and Henry Taneyev.²¹⁹

A folder of choreographic notations in the Sergeyev Collection gives us an idea of the choreography Sergeyev staged for his various productions of *Le Songe du Rajah*.²²⁰ The folder includes two title pages: one headed "Bayaderka" and the other "Song-Radjah | 1930 – Paris | NS." The dances are documented on plain paper that Sergeyev divided into a grid of eight

²¹⁷ Program for *Soirée en l'honneur de Sa Majesté le Sultan du Maroc* courtesy of Lynn Garafola.

²¹⁸ Pavlova died in The Hague on 23 January 1931.

²¹⁹ For an example of a press announcement of the event, see *Le Petit journal*, 21 November 1932, 4, wherein the ballet is attributed to Sergeyev.

²²⁰ MS Thr 245 (106).

squares. Stepanov symbols are used to notate movements for the legs and feet (on handwritten staves), as well as the direction of the hips, below corresponding ground plans. These pages, in Sergeyev's hand, reveal how he revised the third act for an ensemble of dancers that was far smaller in number than the forces available at the Mariinsky.

The entrance of the Shades is arranged for twelve women. After the opening serpentine entrance, the women dance in pairs then form two circles that eventually consolidate into one large circle that contracts, expands, and rotates. The following *pas de trois* with corps de ballet is an exact copy of the dance recorded in the *Bayadère* CN. Next, a second version of the Shades' entrance, this one for ten corps and three soloists, is struck through. An "Adagio" follows, comprised of various poses and groupings for twelve women. Some of the ground plans are similar to those of No. 11, the *Grand Adage*, suggesting this represents Sergeyev's re-working of the ensemble choreography performed during Nikia and Solor's second *pas de deux*. (As with the *Bayadère* CN, the first adagio is not included.)

Corps de ballet groupings accompanying the four variations follow: for Variation 1, a chain of five dancers on each side of the stage, placed upstage; for Variation 2, similar chains but positioned downstage; for Variation 3, a diagonal line from upstage left; and for Variation 4, a line of dancers along each wing. The solo variations are also notated, duplicating what is found in the *Bayadère* CN for legs and feet. Variation 4 is not among the notations.

The coda begins as in the *Bayadère* CN: the corps' movements are notated below ground plans that also include the three soloists. The "ballerina and cavalier" make their same diagonal entrance; their choreography is also notated. When the corps begins to dance again (see Ex. 2.44c), we encounter some revisions. Sergeyev brings the three soloists back. They traverse the stage in a pattern similar to their first coda entrance, while the corps continues to dance by the

wings. Eventually the corps forms two rows behind the soloists and perform steps familiar from the *Bayadère* CN: *cabriole derrière*, *assemblé*, *entrechat six* twice. The ensemble *bourrées* to the sides just before the ballerina makes her final entrance—the same as in the *Bayadère* CN—accompanied by the corps. The end of the coda is not documented.

The final pages of the folder comprise a collection of various parts of *Le Songe de Radjah* plus an additional dance. Two pages look as though they may be a rough draft of Variation 1 from the Kingdom of the Shades that was eventually re-copied in finished form in the *Bayadère* CN. The scribal hand is the same, but the ground plans are drawn from the stage perspective, movements for arms, head, and torso are omitted, and a straight edge is not used for bar lines and some note stems as it is in the finished copy. Although the steps are essentially the same as in the final draft, some details differ. For example, *pas de bourrée* that are notated on *pointe* in the *Bayadère* CN are notated here on *demi-pointe*, and *pas de chat* in the finished copy are *glissades* in the incomplete version. If the hand of the potential rough draft is indeed Sergeyev's, that fact would support the notion that Sergeyev made the finished notation as well. That this page is among Sergeyev's papers is also support for his authorship. The final two numbers in the folder are a "Hindu dance" in 3/4 meter for a solo woman (not on *pointe*) and a *pas de trois* in 2/4 meter for three women (on *pointe*)—"Mirlitons' mus[ic by] Tchaikovsky"—presumably from *The Nutcracker*.

Wiley has observed that with *Le Songe du Rajah* Sergeyev "was trying to exploit the Parisians' [and, by extension, Western Europeans'] long-standing fascination with Russian art, in particular the Russian variety of orientalism that Diaghilev first popularized there in 1909." Citing *Cléopâtre* and *Shéhérezade* for comparison he notes that the ballet's scenario "is highly derivative in plot and language from the scenarios of works featured in Diaghilev's early

seasons.”²²¹ Despite these narrative similarities, however, Sergeyev was working with music composed in the 1870s, which certainly was regarded as *passé* compared with the new works commissioned and championed by Diaghilev. Likewise, the character choreography of the “Fakir’s dance” (see below), and perhaps even the strictly academic step vocabulary of the Kingdom of the Shades, must have seemed outdated in contrast to the freshness of new works by Fokine, Nijinsky, and other Ballets Russes protégés.

Perhaps due to such perceptions in Paris, most of Sergeyev’s attempts to stage the Kingdom of the Shades in England were thwarted. The English dancer Harcourt Algeranoff recounted Sergeyev’s attempt to stage the scene for Anna Pavlova’s company in 1927:

A few days after the tour [of England] started Nicolai Sergueeff arrived to stage *La Bayadère* for the Company. Pavlova began rehearsing the *pas de deux*, and I can see her now as she held the *à la seconde* on *point*, while [Laurent] Novikov left her and then returned to her and took her hand. The *corps de ballet* had very dull work, and Sergueeff, who could not speak in English at all at that time, kept trying to make the character dancers do the classic work. The English girls tried to say “*Ya Charakternaya*” but to no effect. Then he started rehearsing the Fakir’s dance, with John Sergeieff and Aubrey Hitchins. It was so *démodé* that the Company were having hysterics—only Sergueeff was serious. Pavlova saw it, and then she realised that it was no good trying to revive this old monstrosity which had once been good in Russia; the Fakir’s dance settled it. Sergueeff was paid and returned to Paris. No diplomacy could soothe his hurt. “*The Rajarh’s Drim*”, as he often called it in later years, was a great favorite of his (twenty years later he gave the choreography to Mona Inglesby as a wedding present!). He never spoke kindly of Pavlova afterwards.²²²

In the early 1930s Sergeyev tried to persuade Marie Rambert to let him stage *Le Songe du Rajah* for her Ballet Club. Her response seems representative of the times:

Nicholas Sergueeff, who had been ballet-master at the Maryinsky, was now working as ballet-master at Sadler’s Wells. Every time I met him he told me there was something very important he wanted to talk to me about. So I invited him and his wife to lunch, and he told me all about a ballet he wanted to put on. It

²²¹ Wiley, “Dances from Russia,” 100.

²²² Harcourt Algeranoff, *My Years with Pavlova* (London: William Heinemann, 1957), 165. See also Pritchard, “Bits of Bayadere.”

was a terribly trite story about a Rajah or a Sultan and all his wives. He insisted on telling me every trivial detail.

So I said, 'In what way can I help you?'

'Well,' he replied, 'I thought you might like to put it on at your theatre.'

'Why not at Sadler's Wells?'

'Oh, that's much too small!'²²³

It took forming his own company to allow Sergeyev the opportunity to stage the Kingdom of the Shades again. Opening on 5 March 1934, Sergueeff's Russian Ballet gave eight performances of *The Rajah's Dream* at Bournemouth Pavilion while on tour in England.²²⁴ The leading roles were again danced by Poplavskaya and Taneyev, the same cast as for the Paris performance the year before. This time, the ballet included a *Danse Orientale* in its opening scene, performed by a female dancer to music likely composed by Lischke.²²⁵ (This may be the music for the solo "Hindu dance" included in the choreographic notation described above.) The rest of the cast included two fakirs and eleven shades. The designs were by the Russian painter Konstantin Korovin.²²⁶

The brief scenario included in the program is essentially a translation of the earlier French synopsis, with a sentence added for the *Danse Orientale*:

The Rajah "Solor" surrounded by his wives and slaves, mourns the death of his beautiful wife with the enchanted voice. One of his slaves, wishing to distract him, dances before him; the Rajah sleeps; the flute and the dances continue becoming more and more splendid. The Fakirs, seeing the Rajah so prostrate, wish to cure him by means of a spell. The Rajah, overwhelmed with despair, tells them all to go away; he smokes opium, falls asleep and finds himself transported

²²³ Marie Rambert, *Quicksilver* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 138. See also Pritchard, "Bits of Bayadere," 1121.

²²⁴ Pritchard, "Bits of Bayadere," 1121.

²²⁵ A manuscript full score for oboe and strings (*Danse Orientale* with "Mus[ic] de C. Lischké | Paris," ink) and manuscript piano reduction ("K. Lischke. Oriental. For Mr. Sergeev," in Russian, pencil) are part of the Sergeyev Collection. See MS Thr 245 (108) and (109), respectively.

²²⁶ Sketches of three male costumes and two scenic designs by Konstantin Korovin that may represent this production are also part of the Sergeyev Collection. See Ms Thr 245 (249) and (250), respectively.

into the world of Fantasy. The stars spin round, the clouds growing larger, come towards him, throwing shadows, among which the Rajah recognises his beloved slave, who takes him away at last into her kingdom.²²⁷

One final attempt to present the Kingdom of the Shades ended in disappointment for Sergeyev. In 1947, after working with International Ballet for six years, Sergeyev persuaded Mona Inglesby to allow him to stage his one-act Kingdom of the Shades. Rehearsals progressed, with Nana Gollner and Paul Petrov in the principal roles, but the production never made it to the stage.²²⁸ Various reasons were given, but it is likely that post-war tastes had moved beyond Sergeyev's outdated aesthetics.²²⁹ While sympathetic to Sergeyev's desires and understanding of his disappointment, Mona Inglesby let the project go: "Personally, I found the choreography of *La Bayadère* quite enchanting in spite of the old fashioned music, and I was very sad that the ballet never came to be performed by International Ballet."²³⁰ Sergeyev, who died four years later in Nice, had seen the last of his beloved shades.

²²⁷ MS Thr 245 (283), qtd. in Pritchard, "Bits of Bayadère."

²²⁸ The orchestral score, MS 245 Thr (111), includes names of International Ballet dancers among its annotations: "Sandra [Vane] & Domini [Callaghan], Herida [May]" and "Jack S[purpeon] & Bayadere."

²²⁹ See Inglesby, *Ballet in the Blitz*, 96–98.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

Chapter Three

Raymonda

“Glazunov’s music for *Raymonda* contains some of the finest ballet music we have,” wrote George Balanchine. “And Petipa’s original choreography, which I remember from student appearances at the Maryinsky Theatre, was superb.”¹ In three acts and four scenes, with an apotheosis, *Raymonda* was set in the Middle Ages on a “subject taken from knightly legends,” as the libretto tells us.² Several of its characters were even based on historical figures, though their relationships to one another are likely the invention of the librettist, Lydia Pashkova.

Raymonda was Marius Petipa’s last evening-length ballet to achieve longevity. The work featured a score by the acclaimed young Russian composer Alexander Glazunov, and Ivan Vsevolozhsky, the Francophile director of the Imperial Theaters, designed the costumes. Created to showcase the talents of the great Italian virtuosa Pierina Legnani, *Raymonda* calls upon the title character to appear in all four of the ballet’s scenes and dance in a variety of styles, performing a wide-ranging step vocabulary. The plot, with its elaborate celebrations as well as the presence of denizens of a medieval court in Provence joined by visitors from Arabia, Spain, and Hungary, provided opportunities aplenty for both character and classical dance, and indeed the ballet favors dance over story.

The premiere on 7 January 1898 at the Mariinsky Theater was met with great approbation. Legnani received rapturous notices in the press, and Petipa was lauded with the respect due an octogenarian who had led the Imperial Ballet in St. Petersburg to unprecedented

¹ George Balanchine and Francis Mason, *Balanchine’s Complete Stories of the Great Ballets*, rev. ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 500.

² Wiley, *Century*, 393. Wiley’s translation of the 1898 *Raymonda* libretto is on pp. 393–401.

heights of artistic achievement.³ Yet despite *Raymonda*'s initial success and continuing presence on the stage, its slight narrative led to frequent criticism throughout the twentieth century.

Raymonda's plot, exoticism, and nineteenth-century Crusade narratives. The story told in Pashkova's relatively brief libretto centers around the countess Raymonda, who apparently lives in Provence and is engaged to the knight Jean de Brienne. Awaiting his return home from the Crusades, she is warned in a dream of danger ahead and then wooed by Abderrakhman, a Middle Eastern Muslim warrior, who ultimately attempts to kidnap her.⁴ Jean de Brienne arrives in the nick of time to save his fiancée by felling Abderrakhman in a duel, and the happy couple's wedding is celebrated in the presence of King Andrei II of Hungary, in whose honor a Hungarian-themed divertissement is performed.

Various circumstances throughout the ballet call for the stage to be populated with picturesquely costumed characters, both children and adults: a celebration involving ladies and pages of the court, vassals, and forty-eight dancers of the *Valse provençale* (Act One, Scene One); a dream sequence calling for knights and farfadets (Act One, Scene Two);⁵ a performance at Abderrakhman's behest intended to impress Raymonda with the glories of the Muslim "Orient," in which Moriscos, sixty-one Saracen slaves, and eighteen dancers of the *Panadéros* dance (Act Two) participate;⁶ and Raymonda's wedding, at which appear multitudinous

³ *Khronika III*, 343–345. The performance was a benefit for Legnani. See Wiley, *Century*, 393. Perhaps in deference to Petipa at his advanced age—he was nearly eighty years old when *Raymonda* premiered—newspaper writers focused on the totality of Petipa's career-long contributions rather than the specifics of his work in *Raymonda*.

⁴ The sources frequently use the term Saracen to describe Abderrakhman and members of his entourage. Saracen, from the Greek *sarakenos* (meaning "easterner"), was used pejoratively by medieval Christian writers to refer to Muslim people (including Arabs, Turks, and others), who were regarded as enemies of Christianity. I will use the term in this chapter only where it is used in the sources.

⁵ Farfadets are creatures of French folklore, resembling sprites or pixies.

performers of the *Rapsodie*, *Palotás*, and mazurka (Act Three). Lending an air of fantasized reality to the proceedings is the setting in Provence as well as the presence of historical figures, including the celebrated troubadour Bernard de Ventadour (Bernatz de Ventadorn, in old Occitan spelling), the crusader Jean de Brienne, the Countess Sybil, King Andrew of Hungary, and, possibly, Raymonda herself.⁷ The White Lady, the supernatural patroness of Raymonda's family, appears to have been lifted directly from the pages of Sir Walter Scott's 1820 novel *The Monastery*, in which a character of the same name is the supernatural guardian of the House of Avenal.⁸

The Muslim antagonist Abderrakhman is not based on a particular historical figure, but rather represents a generalized bad-acting "Oriental" man onto whom unfavorable characteristics

⁶ Moriscos refers to Muslims converted or coerced into converting to Christianity after Spain outlawed the practice of Islam in the early sixteenth century. While the term post-dates the Crusades by several centuries, its use broadly reinforces the Spanish connection to Arab peoples depicted in the plot of *Raymonda*.

⁷ Bernart de Ventadoorn (1135–1194) was a Provençal troubadour who lived at the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine and then at Toulouse. John of Brienne (c. 1170–1237) became king of Jerusalem (1210–1225) and Latin emperor of Constantinople (1231–1237) and was active in the Fifth Crusade, whose first contingent was led by his contemporary, Andrew II (1175–1235), king of Hungary. Sibyl (1160–1190) was queen of Jerusalem (1186–1190), reigning alongside her husband, Guy of Lusignan. (She was also countess of Jaffa and Ascalon.) Perhaps the only medieval counterpart of the character of Raymonda heretofore identified is Raymonde, daughter of Raymond VI (1194–1222), count of Toulouse, who became a nun at the monastery of Espinasse. See Claude Devic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, vol. 5, ed. Alexandre Du Mège (Toulouse: J.-B. Paya, 1842), 404: "Nous apprenons d'un ancien monument que Raymond VI, comte de Toulouse, eut un hlle [sic] nommée Raymonde, qu'il aimoit beaucoup, et qu'il fit religieuse dans le monastere de l'Espinasse de l'ordre de Fontevraud au diocèse de Toulouse..." [We learn from an ancient monument that Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, had a daughter named Raymonde, whom he loved very much, and whom he made a nun in the monastery of Espinasse of the order of Fontevraud in the diocese of Toulouse...].

Note further that another character in the libretto, "Béranger, a troubadour of Aquitaine," may have been inspired by Berenguer de Palazol, a Catalan troubadour (fl. 1160–1209) or the nineteenth-century poet Laurent-Pierre Béranger (1749–1822). Finally, Abderrakhman and the troubadours Béranger and Bernard de Ventadour all are mentioned in Théophile Gautier's travel account, *Voyage de Espagne* (Paris: Charpentier, 1845).

⁸ Walter Scott, *The Monastery. A Romance*. By the Author of "Waverley." In Three Volumes. Vol. I (II–III) (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and John Ballantyne; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820).

are projected: he is evil and barbaric, in stark contrast to the refined, righteous, and courtly Christians who are the heroes of the plot. The librettists' approach to the story, then, is quite in keeping with nineteenth-century Western, Islamophobic accounts of the Crusades—including Chateaubriand's—which held that the crusaders were “armed pilgrims who merely avenged the violence of ‘Omar’s descendents’ and liberated Jesus’ grave in Jerusalem.”⁹ Therefore, when Jean de Brienne fells Abderrakhman at the end of Act Two, he does so remorselessly, and the Christian characters soon thereafter, without qualms, take part in a joyous wedding celebration.

The presence of a Muslim character, too (whether good or evil), follows a pattern that Petipa had turned to before. As Nadine Meisner has pointed out, the plot of *Raymonda*, with its love triangle involving a Muslim character, bears similarities to the plots of two earlier Petipa ballets, *Roxana, the Beauty of Montenegro* (1878) and *Zoraiya, the Moorish Girl in Spain* (1881), both with librettos by Sergei Khudekov and Petipa.¹⁰ *Roxana* is described by Meisner as “a patriotic response to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878.”¹¹ (Indeed, the ballet premiered just weeks before the end of the war.) The story depicts Slav Montenegrins under the rule of

⁹ Matthias Schwerendt and Ines Guhe, “Describing the Enemy: Images of Islam in Narratives of the Crusades,” in *FrancoGerman Perspectives International Workshop – Research Group “Myths of the Crusades,”* Eckert.Dossiers 4 (2011): 5, https://repository.gei.de/bitstream/handle/11428/129/ED_2011_04_04_Schwerendt_Guhe_Describing_the_Enemy_Images_of_Islam.pdf?sequence=7&isAllowed=y. See François-René Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem et de Jérusalem à Paris...* (Paris: Le Normant, 1811), and another Islamophobic account, Joseph-François Michaud and Jean-Joseph François Poujoulat, *Histoire des croisades, abrégée à l'usage de la jeunesse* (Tours: Mame, 1899).

On the influences of Muslim artists in European courts of the Middle Ages, see W. S. Merwin, *The Mays of Ventadorn* (Washington, DC: The National Geographic Society, 2002), Chapter 7.

Nineteenth-century accounts of the Crusades are explored at length in Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung, ed., *European Receptions of the Crusades in the Nineteenth Century. Franco-German Perspectives International Workshop – Research Group “Myths of the Crusades,”* Eckert.Dossiers 4 (2011), https://repository.gei.de/bitstream/handle/11428/129/ED4_Crusades.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y.

¹⁰ Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 249.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 120.

Muslim Ottomans (and even incorporates Wilis, who are, after all, Slavic!). The Christian hero Ianko, who loves the orphan Roxana, disposes of his rival, the Muslim Radivoi, by throwing him off a bridge. In *Zoraiya*, set during the Granada-based Moorish occupation of Spain, both hero and heroine are Muslim. Abu Soliman (son of Caliph Abderraman) and the African tribal leader Ali-Ben-Tamarat vie for the hand of Zoraiya, who ultimately saves Soliman from the murderous Tamarat. Both *Roxana* and *Zoraiya* featured Muslim characters in serious, dramatic plots in contrast to that of the ballet *Le Corsaire* (see Chapter Four), in which Islamic culture was largely depicted comedically. And in *Raymonda*, Abderrakhman is presented as a genuine threat to the heroine's safety.

A minor Russian novelist, journalist, and avid traveler, Pashkova had already written two librettos before creating *Raymonda: Cinderella* in 1893 and *Bluebeard* in 1896.¹² Her libretto for *Raymonda* has received much of the blame for the ballet's perceived inadequacies.¹³ In his critique of *Raymonda*, published nearly forty years after the premiere, Prince Peter Lieven summed up what he believed was the ballet's great shortcoming:

I myself... could never follow the story of *Raymonda*. It has a wicked Saracen, a noble knight betrothed, a Hungarian king, a duel, a goblet with magic drink, and of course Raymonda herself, who, it appears, does not want to marry the Saracen; it has a finale and a *divertissement*—in a word, it has everything but meaning.¹⁴

¹² On Lydia Pashkova (1850–1917), see Sergey Konaev's comments in Alastair Macaulay, Doug Fullington, and Sergey Konaev, "'Raymonda' and Ballet Herstory: historians Doug Fullington and Sergey Konaev on Lydia Pashkova, Ivan Vsevolozhsky, Marius Petipa and the Russian Imperial Theatres. A 'Raymonda' questionnaire." *Alastair Macaulay* (blog), 21 January 2022, <https://www.alastairmacaulay.com/all-essays/byq3y6560y798jcrmiwp4s4su9ii6>. See also Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 157–158, and Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 249.

¹³ Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp refer to the "foolish and incomprehensible story..." See Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp, *Ballet: An Illustrated History* (New York: Universe Books, 1973), 98. The author of the *Raymonda* entry in the *International Encyclopedia of Dance* refers to "the flaws of its libretto..." See Karina L. Melik-Pashayeva, "Raymonda," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, vol. 5 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 321. Further, Arlene Croce found the score "lacking in theatrical momentum." Arlene Croce, *Afterimages* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 168.

¹⁴ Prince Peter Lieven, *The Birth of the Ballets-Russes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1936), 71.

Laying blame solely at Pashkova's feet, however, would be to overlook the contributions to the libretto by both Petipa and Vsevolozhsky. While authorship is ascribed solely to Pashkova, Vsevolozhsky—himself an experienced librettist—had obtained the manuscript and sent it to Petipa. On 22 October 1895, he wrote to the choreographer, signaling his readiness to alter the libretto according to Petipa's instructions: "Dear Mr Petipa! Attached to this is Mme. Pashkova's manuscript. You could do something with it. There is little dance; on the other hand, there is too much pantomime. When you have a moment of time, you will tell me what to do."¹⁵ Over the next year, both Vsevolozhsky and Petipa made significant revisions to Pashkova's scenario. Citing a variety of correspondence between the two and between Petipa and Glazunov during this period, Pavel Gershenzon concluded, "It is clear from this correspondence that Ivan Vsevolozhsky personally reworked Lydia Pashkova's scenario for *Raymonda*. As a result, it was this variant on which Glazunov's and Petipa's work was based."¹⁶

Characters (in order of appearance)

Raymonda's four friends—Clémence, Henriette, and the troubadours Bernard de Ventadour and Béranger—are her constant companions at the castle. Though little is disclosed in the ballet about these four as individuals—some in the audience may have recognized Bernard as an actual twelfth-century troubadour—we can be certain that Raymonda enjoys her friends' company and they hers: she plays the lute as they dance after which they invite her to dance for them. During the second act, they dance by her side as Abderrakhman presses Raymonda for her

¹⁵ Quoted in Pavel Gershenzon's excellent annotated timeline detailing the genesis of *Raymonda*, "Cronografia di *Raymonda*," 47.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

hand. At Raymonda's wedding, Bernard and Béranger are participants with the bride and groom in the *Pas classique hongrois*.

Countess Sybille is Raymonda's aunt. She lives with her niece in Raymonda's castle. Not only a countess, Sybille also is a canoness (and therefore unwed).¹⁷ Not surprisingly then, and like Giselle's mother Berthe, she discourages idleness and encourages hospitality.

Raymonda is the Countess of Doris. She lives with her aunt, the Countess Sybille, in a castle likely in Provence, and is engaged to the knight Jean de Brienne. Delighted at the prospect of marriage, and truly in love with her betrothed, Raymonda shares her joy with not only her aunt but also her four close friends, two of whom are troubadours whose very presence calls to mind "the habits of taste, pleasure, and admiration" known to have prevailed in Provençal courts of the period.¹⁸ She delights in her four friends' company and engages in music-making and dancing with them, and she also enjoys the company (and dancing) of her tenants, who congratulate her on her name day in the ballet's opening scene. Like Nikia in *La Bayadère*, Raymonda is assertive (though to a lesser extent, due in part to the minimization of mime, discussed above), and her actions drive the ballet's narrative. She repeatedly shuns the advances of Abderrakhman (saying she would rather die than love him), she orders a *cour d'amour* to celebrate the homecoming of her fiancé, and she enthusiastically cheers him on when he enters a duel with his rival.¹⁹

¹⁷ Countess Sybille likely was a secular canoness, that is, she lived with other aristocrats and was not committed to a life of poverty.

¹⁸ Merwin, *Mays of Ventadorn*, 108ff.

¹⁹ *Cours d'amour*, or courts of love, were medieval courtly games, organized as tribunals. Discussions of love and law were presided over by aristocratic women and expressed in poetry by troubadours. *Cours d'amour* were particularly popular in Provence. See Alicia C. Montoya, *Medievalist Enlightenment from Charles Perrault to Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 102.

In her two entrées, three adagios, five variations, and four codas, Raymonda receives ample opportunity to express herself through dance. But the focus of her role is less an exploration of the character and intrigues of a medieval countess than the presentation of the consummate classical ballerina—all her dances are performed on *pointe* and only those in the final act include a character quality—embodying a Russian fusion of French and Italian technique and style: Legnani at the height of her powers.

Abderrakhman is a Muslim knight and the ballet's exotic antagonist, a role created by the Imperial Ballet's senior male *danseur*, Pavel Gerdt. A non-dancing character (though he partners Raymonda in the second act), Abderrakhman is the ballet's primary mime. He madly desires Raymonda, tries to woo her with gifts and impress her with his vast entourage, and is even prepared to kidnap her if she will not go with him willingly. He is charismatic and passionate whereas Jean de Brienne is bland and dutiful. His violent behavior in Raymonda's dream reinforces his depiction as barbaric.

The White Lady, "protector of the House of Doris," is a ghostly ancestress of Raymonda's family. Akin to a patron saint, she rewards diligence, punishes idleness, and warns of danger. A statue of the White Lady in the hall of Raymonda's castle is a testament to the esteem in which she is held. The White Lady appears in the three of the ballet's four scenes.

Jean de Brienne is a celebrated French knight of the Crusades marching under the banner of King Andrei II of Hungary and Raymonda's fiancé. For much of the ballet, he is en route to his lover's castle and therefore offstage, but Pashkova and Petipa managed to bring him into the action before his actual return to France by including him in Raymonda's dream in the ballet's second scene. His narrative role is primarily ceremonial, calling for him to defend Raymonda's honor and marry her upon his return, and his dancing role is limited: he partners

and dances with Raymonda in the dream scene adagio and coda as well as in the final act's *Pas classique hongrois*, in which he also performs a *pas de quatre* with Raymonda's friends.

Andrei II is King of Hungary and a Crusader under whose banner Jean de Brienne rides. He arrives with Jean de Brienne at the House of Doris as Abderrakhman is attempting to kidnap Raymonda. Notably, King Andrei is presented as an authority figure who brings order to the ensuing chaos and suggests Jean de Brienne and Abderrakhman fight a duel. Finally, he is the guest of honor and the impetus for the Hungarian-themed divertissement performed at the wedding of Jean and Raymonda.

Raymonda in the context of Petipa's oeuvre

The structure of Raymonda: emphasis on spectacle and dance over mime and action. The ballet is spread over four scenes, and its division of action and dance within scenes is much like that in *Sleeping Beauty* (1890): each of the ballet's scenes is centered around a suite of dances (or two, as in the case of *Raymonda*'s second act). The emphasis on dance is made clear from the beginning: the expository opening scene is dominated by a dance sequence (the *Valse provençale*) and the ballet even opens with dancing at curtain-up: we are introduced to Raymonda's friends first as dancers rather than characters with personalities. The plot is thin, and spectacle—large-scale dance suites filled with prop-wielding performers, appearances and disappearances through trapdoors in the stage, and a lavish apotheosis featuring knights astride horses—replaces action. Roland John Wiley explains:

Raymonda stresses ceremony over substance, dancing over story. The exhaustive list of dances and performers and the fussy subdivisions of the text in the libretto call attention to individual numbers at the expense of the story-line. ...Petipa emphasized dancing for its own sake in ballets subsequent to *Raymonda*, continuing his turn away from narrative dramas on which he had built his reputation towards brief, plotless ballets of a kind later taken up by Fokine.

Raymonda and *The Magic Mirror* [1903] are exceptional because a scanty narrative is spread over a long time span, and executed choreographically in the grand manner associated with the dramatic ballets of previous decades.²⁰

Tim Scholl concurs on the matter of Petipa's tendency away from narrative dramas: "The quality and quantity of the choreography in *Raymonda* evidenced Petipa's interest in dancing, rather than narrative, late in his career."²¹ *Raymonda* therefore may be viewed as a step toward abstraction, its plot serving primarily as the means to connect the ballet's various dance suites.²² That being said, recall that Petipa was working with a ballerina (Legnani) who was far more a technician than an actor and therefore was much more suited to dance than mime. Her strengths as a virtuoso dancer were many and her range broad. Therefore the ballet becomes a showcase for the ballerina: *Raymonda* performs no fewer than fourteen numbers that demonstrate her mastery of many types of classical dance as well as elements of Hungarian character dance (or at least a flavor of it in her *Pas classique hongrois*).

Continuing a comparison of *Raymonda* with *Sleeping Beauty* (whose plot is also short on action compared to Petipa's earlier works) by looking to the ballets' lead characters: *Raymonda* is more assertive than Aurora, and Jean de Brienne, obliged to rescue *Raymonda* from the dire situation in which she eventually finds herself, is arguably more active than Désiré. But even so, the characters in *Raymonda* are not developed through mime and action to the degree of those populating *La Bayadère* or most other canonical nineteenth-century ballets. *Raymonda* communicates little about herself through mime other than her joy in receiving the news of Jean de Brienne's return from the Crusades and her distress at Abderrakhman's advances. And while

²⁰ Wiley, *Century*, 392.

²¹ Scholl, *Petipa to Balanchine*, 139n19.

²² For a discussion of the move toward abstract dance in Russian ballet at the turn of the twentieth century, see Scholl, *Petipa to Balanchine*, 11–12, 40–43, and 144n25.

she partakes in a *scène dramatique* and *pas d'action* with Abderrakhman, she and Jean de Brienne have no mimed interactions—at least none that are recorded in the libretto or the choreographic notation of the ballet—no love scene, no *scène dansante*. (In fact, Jean de Brienne is given relatively little stage time, and much of that is spent as a cavalier supporting Raymonda as she dances.) This minimization of dialogue between the romantic leads distinguishes the couple from their predecessors in other canonical ballets—Giselle and Albert in *Giselle*, Paquita and Lucien in *Paquita*, Medora and Conrad in *Le Corsaire*, and Nikia and Solor in *La Bayadère*, to name a few examples—all of whom participate in extensive mime conversations with each other (and with other characters as well). By contrast, Abderrakhman does communicate via mime and is thereby more closely related to the antagonists in the ballets just mentioned—Hilarion in *Giselle*, Inigo in *Paquita*, Birbanto in *Le Corsaire*, and the Great Brahmin in *La Bayadère*. Still, his desires are ultimately carried out within the context of danced scenes: he attempts to woo Raymonda during the *Grand pas d'action* in Act Two and then tries to kidnap her during the subsequent divertissement's coda. And the character of Raymonda is developed in her dance numbers (which demonstrate her grace, strength, and authority) rather than in her mime scenes, an approach surely chosen by Petipa because of Legnani's technical skills. In sum, dance in *Raymonda* is the primary focus, and dance, as much as mime, drives the action forward.

This is not to say that *Raymonda*'s mime scenes are skimpy in number. Though the ballet's characters are less developed through mime conversations than their counterparts in the ballets mentioned above, plenteous mime scenes are still to be found in *Raymonda* and, in general, serve mainly to move the action quickly forward to the next occasion for dance.

Italian influence. The dances in *Raymonda*, particularly those initially made for Legnani, include new step vocabulary that began to be a part of Petipa's work as he choreographed for the

Italian ballerinas who danced in St. Petersburg from the mid-1880s into the first years of the twentieth century. These artists brought with them the virtuoso technique of the Italian school, which included a more pervasive and developed use of *pointe* work and extreme repetition of steps (the now-famous multiple *fouettés* performed by Legnani in *Swan Lake*, for example).²³ Their movement vocabulary was absorbed into the Russian school and, with the arrival of Enrico Cecchetti in St. Petersburg in 1887, men's (and women's) dancing was also further developed.²⁴ In addition, and in order to more fully master the steps of their Italian colleagues, Russian ballerinas travelled to Milan to study with the celebrated teacher Caterina Beretta, who had briefly served as *maîtresse de ballet* in St. Petersburg in 1877 and then taught in Milan from 1879.²⁵

The Music

The score for *Raymonda* was the first by a Russian composer of international stature after the death of Tchaikovsky in 1893 and can be seen as an attempt to replicate the collaboration between celebrated choreographer and composer that produced *Sleeping Beauty* (1890) and *The*

²³ Petipa had a love-hate relationship with Italian technique and style. While he professed to disapprove of the Italian style and step vocabulary, he nevertheless, in his usual manner, choreographed to the strength of his ballerinas. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 171 and 292. Meisner also cites Petipa's interviews published in the *Peterburgskaya gazeta* on 2 December 1906 and 2 May 1907, in which he discussed his aesthetic views. Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 398n75.

²⁴ Enrico Cecchetti (1850–1928) was an Italian dancer, ballet master, choreographer, and teacher; he taught at the Imperial Ballet School, St. Petersburg, 1887–1902, and later returned to Italy, teaching at La Scala in Milan.

Alexander Shiryayev chronicled this era of Italian ballerinas in his memoirs. See Beumers, et al., *Alexander Shiryayev*, 96–106. See also Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 198–206, and Wiley, *Century*, 307 ff., especially 314–320 and 350–356.

²⁵ Caterina Beretta (1839–1911) was eventually director of the Scuola di Ballo at La Scala (1905–1908). See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 202, and Beumers, et al., *Alexander Shiryayev*, 105.

Nutcracker (1892).²⁶ Glazunov, whose early nationalist focus (he was a pupil of Rimsky-Korsakov and considered the heir to the Mighty Handful) became increasingly international (he was later influenced by Liszt and Wagner as well as by Tchaikovsky), must have seemed an ideal choice for the similarly cosmopolitan Vsevolozhsky. Glazunov began composing the score of *Raymonda* after receiving Petipa's instructions for the ballet's opening numbers, dated 16 June 1896.²⁷ He finished both the composition and its orchestration on 21 October 1897, noting "I spent a year orchestrating it."²⁸

Recurring motifs

The lush, expansive, and colorful score of *Raymonda*, in which Glazunov deployed his masterly orchestration skills to great advantage, creates an ever-changing kaleidoscope of sound that complements the diverse content of Petipa's ballet, in which interest was maintained through variety (mime, classical dance, character dance, processions, groupings, and so on). Yet it is Glazunov's thorough use of recurring motifs that sets *Raymonda* apart from other nineteenth-century ballet scores, in which descriptive music had hewed closely to the action on stage. Here, multiple motifs, repeated frequently and often developed—melodically, rhythmically, and through change in instrumentation—create continuity and guide the listener through the ballet's narrative. Glazunov took the additional step of transforming several motifs into melodies for danced numbers, creating an unwavering cohesion between action scenes and the dance.

²⁶ Vsevolozhsky wrote to Petipa about Glazunov and his musical style on 30 May 1896, stating, "It's Delibes fused with Tchaikovsky. He's definitely the man we have been looking for to compose ballets." Tr. in Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 247.

²⁷ About Petipa's instructions to Glazunov, see notes 66–67, below.

²⁸ Gershenzon, "Cronografia di *Raymonda*," 48–50, 60.

Following the lead of his predecessors—Adolphe Adam (in *Giselle*, for example), Minkus, Léo Delibes (in *Coppélia* and *Sylvia*), and Tchaikovsky—Glazunov provided motifs for no fewer than six characters, including two for Raymonda (the first in Act One and another in Act Two), and one each for Jean de Brienne, Abderrakhman, the White Lady, Countess Sybille, and King Andrei II. Another motif denotes Jean de Brienne’s return from the Crusades. (Exx. 10.1–8 present each motif in its first appearance in the score.)

The motifs permeate several pivotal dance numbers. For example, the Raymonda Act One motif becomes the melody for the heroine’s entrance dance, Jean de Brienne’s motif is developed into the *Grand Adagio* of Scene Two, and Abderrakhman’s motif provides the melodic basis for the *Grand pas d’action* in Act Two. Such a tightly organized score does not easily lend itself to the sort of alterations *Raymonda* has undergone since its premiere, as we shall see below.²⁹

The languid quality of the rhythm of Raymonda’s Act One motif (which I will call Raymonda 1; Ex. 310a).1a) combines with inconclusive harmonic resolution to suggest a character in an irresolute state: Raymonda in Act One is anxiously awaiting the return of her fiancé. Her motif and its subsequent development are most often presented in sequences that pass restlessly through multiple key areas.

²⁹ For additional (florid) musical analysis, see Rodney Stenning Edgecombe, “Internationalism, regionalism, and Glazunov’s *Raymonda*,” *The Musical Times* 149, no. 1902 (Spring 2008): 47–56. See also Yuri Slonimsky’s lengthy discussion of the score, number by number, “‘Raimonda’: Put’ Glazunova k baletnomu tvorchestvu” [“Raymonda”: Glazunov’s path to ballet creativity], in *Aleksandr Glazunov. Issledvaniia, materialy, publikatsii, pis'ma* [Alexander Glazunov. Research, materials, publications, letters], vol. 1, ed. M[ark] O[sipovich] Yankovsky (Muzgiz: Leningrad, 1959), 377–503.

Ex. 3.1a Raymonda 1 motif; Introduction, bars 1–2

Musical score for Ex. 3.1a, showing the Raymonda 1 motif in bars 1–2 of the Introduction. The score is in 12/8 time, key of B-flat major. The top staff is for Clarinet and Violoncello (Cl., Va.) with a "Moderato" tempo marking. The bottom staff is for Piano (p). The motif is a descending eighth-note scale: B-flat, A, G, F, E, D, C, B-flat. The piano accompaniment consists of a single eighth note in the first bar and a half note in the second bar. The woodwinds (Ob. and Fl.) enter in the second bar with a similar motif.

After three statements of the Raymonda 1 motif, Glazunov inverts the semitone of its recurring neighbor-tone figure into the interval of a seventh (Ex. 3.1b, bars 8–10).

Ex. 3.1b Raymonda 1 motif, inversion of semitone into interval of a seventh; Introduction, bars 8–9

Musical score for Ex. 3.1b, showing the Raymonda 1 motif in bars 8–9 of the Introduction. The score is in 12/8 time, key of B-flat major. The top staff is for Violoncello (Vn.). The bottom staff is for Piano (p). The motif is a descending eighth-note scale: B-flat, A, G, F, E, D, C, B-flat. The piano accompaniment consists of a single eighth note in the first bar and a half note in the second bar. The woodwinds (Ob. and Fl.) enter in the second bar with a similar motif.

Glazunov subsequently combines the original motif and its interval inversion in Raymonda's entrance music later in the scene (Ex. 3.1c).

Ex. 3.1c Raymonda's entrance; Act One, Scène IV, bars 1–4

Allegro giocoso
Fl., Vn.

The musical score for Raymonda's entrance in Act One, Scène IV, bars 1–4. The tempo is 'Allegro giocoso'. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The time signature is 2/4. The score is written for Flute and Violin (Fl., Vn.) and Piano. The piano part begins with a forte (sf) dynamic and a piano (p) dynamic, then moves to mezzo-forte (mf). The flute/violin part features a rising seventh interval motif.

The interval of a seventh remains when the Raymonda 1 motif appears as an ostinato above the first statement of Jean de Brienne's motif (Jean's motif is in the top voice of the left hand in Ex. 3.2a). As the plot unfolds further, the interval of a seventh reappears in Raymonda 1 at moments of heightened emotion in the narrative, be it joy or terror. This continues through the entirety of Act One and into Act Two. Finally, the rising seventh becomes the primary interval in the Act Three *entr'acte* and the ballet's apotheosis, reminding the listener of Raymonda's journey as the score is about to reach its final resolution. In contrast, Jean de Brienne's motif is rhythmically and harmonically sturdy. If played at a brisk tempo, it could serve as a march or fanfare.

Ex. 3.2a Jean de Brienne's motif (top voice of left hand); Introduction, bars 14–18

The musical score for Ex. 3.2a, Introduction, bars 14–18, is written in 12/8 time and B-flat major. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system shows the top voice of the left hand (Va., Vc.) and the right hand (Fl., Cl.). The second system shows the top voice of the left hand (Va., Vc.) and the right hand (Fl., Cl.). The third system shows the top voice of the left hand (Va., Vc.) and the right hand (Fl., Cl.). The score includes dynamic markings (*pp*, *f*), articulation (*accelerando*, *cresc.*), and phrasing slurs.

Jean de Brienne's motif returns, transformed, as an adagio for solo violin in the dream scene (Ex. 3.2b).

Ex. 3.2b Act One, Scene Two, *Grand Adagio*, bars 3–6

Adagio Vn. solo

p *dolce*

Cl.

Vc.

The Countess Sybille’s simple motif (Ex. 3.3) is essentially a three-note pattern, repeated several times at successively higher pitch levels. This creates a feeling of insistence that matches her persona as keeper of decorum, defender of duty, and upholder of hospitality.

Ex. 3.3 Countess Sybille’s motif; Act One, *Le récit de la Comtesse*, bars 1–4

Andante
Cor ingl.
dolce

p *poco*

Glazunov employed a fanfare-like melody (Ex. 3.4) at the mention (or thought) of Jean de Brienne's imminent return. The rising lines echo the upward motion of Jean de Brienne's motif.

Ex. 3.4 Homecoming motif; Act One, *Le récit de la Comtesse*, bars 45 (beat 2)–51

The musical score for Ex. 3.4 is written for trumpet and piano. The tempo is marked 'Moderato'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The trumpet part, labeled 'Tpt. solo', begins with a fanfare-like melody marked 'f'. It features a triplet of eighth notes in the second measure and another triplet in the eighth measure. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and moving lines, with dynamics ranging from 'f' to 'p'. The score spans eight measures, with the final measure ending on a half note.

The sweet and gentle quality of the White Lady's motif (see brackets in Ex. 3.5) stands in contrast to the stern image of the patroness offered by the Countess. The melody, whose rhythm is similar to Raymonda 1, more aptly depicts Raymonda's dreamlike state when first encountering the White Lady.

Ex. 3.5 The White Lady: Act One, *Scène VII*, bars 20–23

Andante

p dolce

Cl., Va.

Abderrakhman's motif (Ex. 3.6a) also resembles Raymonda 1 in its recurring triplet figure that also suggests the meandering, decorative quality of Nikia's vina music in *La Bayadère* (see Exx. 2.9a–10).

Ex. 3.6a Abderrakhman's motif; Act One, *Scène IX*, bars 8–9

Con moto

Vc. *molto espressivo*

pp

When the motif is developed in the adagio of the *Grand pas d'action* in Act Two, the “exotic” augmented second between the flattened sixth scale degree and raised seventh is thoroughly exploited by Glazunov (Ex. 3.6b).

Ex. 3.6b Act Two, *Grand pas d'action*, bars 2–5

The musical score for Ex. 3.6b is written for Violoncello (Vc.) and piano (p) for Clarinet (Cl.) and Harp (Hp.). It is in 4/4 time and the key of D major (two sharps). The tempo is marked 'Andante' and the Vc. part is marked 'dolce cantabile'. The piano part is marked 'p'. The score consists of two systems, each with two staves. The Vc. part has a melodic line with a triplet of eighth notes in bar 3. The piano part has a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes, also with a triplet in bar 3. The score is divided into two systems, each with two staves.

Raymonda’s second motif (I will call this Raymonda 2; Ex. 3.7a), which makes its first appearance in the *entr’acte* preceding Act Two, is stalwart and resolute, in contrast to the restless Raymonda 1. The motif adopts the fanfare-like qualities of both Jean de Brienne’s motif and the Homecoming motif and may be seen as a commentary on Raymonda’s categorical rejection of Abderrakhman’s advances and her anticipation of Jean de Brienne’s imminent return.

Ex. 3.7a Raymonda 2 motif; Act Two, *Entr'acte*, bars 1–8

Allegretto
Hn.

The horn returns as a solo instrument at the beginning of Raymonda's variation in the same act, in which Glazunov offers a more concise statement of the motif (Ex. 3.7b).

Ex. 3.7b Act Two, Variation IV, bars 5–8

Allegretto
Hn. solo

With the final motif (Ex. 3.8a), representing King Andrei II of Hungary, Glazunov begins a series of borrowings freely culled from Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies*, which appear to have

served as building blocks for the dances of Act Three (see below).³⁰ Writing about that act's *Grand pas hongrois*, Yuri Slonimsky noted, "Glazunov's music created the theatrical counterpart to Liszt's Hungarian music."³¹ Here, in the first two bars of King Andrei's motif, Glazunov quotes from *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 14 (Ex. 3.8b), whose opening theme is itself based on the Hungarian folk song "Magasan repül a daru."³² The music is magisterial in its harmonic consonance and strong rhythm; Locke observes that the "syncopated, symmetrical rhythm," found in bar 26 of Liszt's rhapsody (long-short-short-long), is "typical of various Hungarian-Gypsy and other European dances."³³ A possible model for the strongly repeated tonic chords in the third and fourth bars of King Andrei's motif (representing a harmonic solidity not found in the twisting melody of Abderrakhman's motif) can be found near the end of Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 8 (Ex. 3.8c).

Act Three opens with *Le cortège hongrois*, in which Glazunov extends his quotation of *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 14 as he develops King Andrei's motif into the procession of wedding guests (Ex. 3.8d).

³⁰ Franz Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsodies*, S.244, R.106, are a set of nineteen works for solo piano base on Hungarian themes, composed and published mostly between 1846 and 1853. Several were later orchestrated by the composer. The works were popular and emulated by composers of subsequent generations. For a discussion of Liszt's rhapsodies and Hungarian-Roma style, see Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 135–149. Glazunov had met Liszt in Weimar, where the senior musician conducted Glazunov's First Symphony (1881) in 1884. Two years later, Glazunov dedicated his Second Symphony to Liszt's memory.

³¹ Slonimsky, "'Raimonda'," 479.

³² Michael Saffle, *Franz Liszt: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 328. See Locke's analysis of No. 14 in *Musical Exoticism*, 144–148.

³³ Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 144–145.

Ex. 3.8a King Andrei II's motif; Act II, *Scène III*, bars 27–30, quoting Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 14 and incorporating repeated chords similar to those in *Hungarian Rhapsody* No.

8

Più sostenuto

The musical score for Ex. 3.8a is in 2/2 time and D major. It begins with a piano introduction marked *ff*. The melody is characterized by repeated chords and a *sf* (sforzando) dynamic marking. The score is labeled *Più sostenuto*.

Ex. 3.8b Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 14, bars 25–32

Allegro eroico

The musical score for Ex. 3.8b is in common time and B-flat major. It begins with a piano introduction marked *ff*. The melody is characterized by repeated chords and a *sf* (sforzando) dynamic marking. The score is labeled *Allegro eroico*. The score includes a repeat sign and a first ending bracket.

Ex. 3.8c Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 8, bars 151–158

Presto giocoso assai

The musical score for Ex. 3.8c is in 2/4 time with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). It consists of two systems of piano staves. The first system shows bars 151-154, and the second system shows bars 155-158. The tempo is marked **Presto giocoso assai**. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) at the beginning of each system, *rinforz.* (rinforzando) in the middle of each system, and *p* (piano) at the end of the first system. The music features rapid sixteenth-note passages and chords.

Ex. 3.8d Act Three, *Le cortège hongrois*, bars 1–8, further quoting *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 14

Moderato maestoso

The musical score for Ex. 3.8d is in 2/2 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of two systems of piano staves. The first system shows bars 1-4, and the second system shows bars 5-8. The tempo is marked **Moderato maestoso**. Dynamics include *f* (forte) at the beginning of the first system. The music features chords and eighth-note patterns. Octave markings (*8va*) are present above the first and last measures of each system.

Dance genres

Glazunov also gave close attention to the historic, national, and exotic dance genres that fill *Raymonda*'s score. Like Pashkova's cast of characters, the origins of these dances span multiple centuries and disparate regions, and some reflect tropes created to represent cultures about which Europeans knew little.

Historic dances. The ballet's opening scene includes several examples of French court dance, a category of Petipa's choreographic output largely forgotten today. The composers with whom he collaborated on such dances provided pastiches—imitating the structures and modes of earlier music but using nineteenth-century instrumentation—which Petipa complemented with pastiche quasi-historical choreography, usually performed in period dress with low heels.³⁴

La traditrice. The first dance in *Raymonda*, *La traditrice* (literally, “the traitor”), is a galliard, a triple-time dance popular among the gentry in late-medieval France and also a term describing a young man full of high spirits. The sixteenth-century composer Thoinot Arbeau published the galliard “La traditore mi fa morire” in his 1589 *Orchésographie*, a collection of French social dances.³⁵ Arbeau described the galliard dance: “In the beginning it was danced more discreetly: the dancer and his damosel, after making their bows, performed a turn or two

³⁴ In addition to the genres and forms discussed here, Edgecombe has referred to *Raymonda*'s Act One *pizzicato* variation as a gavotte, though no such identification is provided by choreographer or composer. Originating in the fourteenth century as a peasant dance in Pays de Gap region of southeastern France near Provence, the gavotte is a dance in 4/4 time that eventually became a popular court dance. Glazunov's *pizzicato* is in 2/4 time, complicating its identification as a gavotte, which according to common practice commences on the third beat of an anacrusic bar. See Edgecombe, “Internationalism,” 52.

³⁵ “Orchésographie, par Thoinot Arbea [sic], 1588” is handwritten on the back of a sheet of paper listing the ballets represented in the documents comprising the Sergeyev Collection. The folder of loose sheets in which this document is filed includes a list of historical figures in dance. See MS Thr 245 (280), Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

simply. Then the dancer, loosing his damosel, danced apart to the end of the room. ... Young people are apter to dance it than old fellows like me.”³⁶

Glazunov provided a galliard in 3/8 time in response to Petipa’s instructions: “From 64 to 80 measures of lively, light, gay dancing. Feet cross and recross in a gliding pas. Music in 3/4. Name of dance La Traditore.”³⁷

La Romanesca. Raymonda’s four friends dance a *romanesca* for her as they relax together in the evening following her name-day celebrations.³⁸ The antique sound of the music is perhaps derived in part from its resemblance to a *gavotte* with its opening half-bar upbeats, but it also bears a connection to the *romanesca* (a melodic-harmonic structural formula used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for singing of poetry with instrumental accompaniment) insofar as it uses repeating melodic and harmonic sequences. In addition, at the beginning at least, this *romanesca* calls for Raymonda to play the lute—a harp solo prelude in the orchestra, which establishes the antique-sounding harmony. The music is broadly in AABA form, and its sweet and gentle mood matches that of Raymonda and her friends on this pleasant evening.

Une fantaisie. Raymonda’s subsequent solo, *Prélude et Variation*, is titled *Une fantaisie* in the libretto’s list of dances. A *fantaisie* is an improvisatory musical form; the term was first used in the sixteenth century, where it is found in the lute tablature of several Western European

³⁶ Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1588). For an early-twentieth-century discussion of the history of the galliard, see Philip Hale’s program note for the Boston Symphony Orchestra performances on 20–21 December 1907, Boston Symphony Orchestra program, season 1907–1908 (Boston: C. A. Ellis, 1907), 666–679.

³⁷ [Marius Petipa], “‘Raymonda’: Scenario by Marius Petipa,” tr. Debra Goldman, *Ballet Review* 5, no. 2 (1975–1976) [hereafter: Goldman, “*Raymonda*”], 38. Here, Petipa uses the Italian, “La Traditore.”

³⁸ Name-day celebrations, distinct from birthday celebrations, observe the day associated with one’s given name. Raymonda, a feminine form of Raymond, meant “counsel” and also came to mean “protection.” Protection is a primary theme in *Raymonda*: The White Lady is the protectress of the House of Doris.

countries, including France. Here, Glazunov's solo harp replaces the lute. Like the *romanesca*, the dance itself is preceded by a brief prelude. The pervasive arpeggios contribute to the improvisatory character of the dance, as does the length of tulle held by Raymonda throughout.

Exotic and national dances. In composing the Act Two suite of exotic dances, Glazunov unsurprisingly responded to Petipa's list of dances and spare musical requirements (usually a few words to describe the performers, number of bars, and meter) in much the same way that Minkus did in composing *La Bayadère*—by employing well-used musical tropes to depict people and cultures of Elsewhere, in this case, the Arabic and Moorish peoples of the medieval Middle East, northern Africa, and Spain (compare Exx. 2.9a–2.10, 2.12a–2.13, and 2.35).

The opening *Entrée des jongleurs* features a mostly pentatonic melody played on the xylophone in compound 9/8 meter followed by two numbers that feature modal melodies and drones on open fifths. The first, *Danse des garçons Arabes*, features short, two-bar phrases over an insistent drone of repeated eighth notes. In the second, *Entrée des Sarrazins*, a similar accompaniment (highlighted by tamburo and tambourine) supports a winding then rising melody in the oboe that is quickly taken up by the full orchestra. All of these features are among those identified by Locke as hallmarks of exoticism in Western music: modes and harmonies, “gapped” scales (such as pentatonic), bare textures, repeated rhythmic or melodic patterns, arabesque-like wind solos, and the use of foreign-sounding instruments (such as the xylophone).³⁹

Danse Orientale. Glazunov borrowed the accompaniment figure for his *Danse Orientale* from Tchaikovsky's *Danse arabe* in *The Nutcracker*. For the middle section of the dance, he also

³⁹ See Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 51–54.

drew from the melody of Tchaikovsky's B section (a melody based on three rising notes), which in turn is based on a Georgian lullaby that was transcribed and sent to Tchaikovsky by Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov.⁴⁰ But the opening and closing melodies of the dance are in the same broadly meandering vein as Nikia's Act One solo in *La Bayadère* (see Ex. 2.10). More precisely, they resemble the melodic motifs incorporated by Mily Balakirev into his Georgian art songs. Adalyat Issiyeva has demonstrated how Balakirev blended elements of actual Georgian songs (for example, melismatic turns based on a five-note motif) with exoticist tropes (here, triplet figures, drones) in a manner similar to the melodic contours of Glazunov's *Danse Orientale*.⁴¹

Panadéros. The Spanish dance, initially meant to depict the Moors in Granada, ultimately became a *panadéros* (literally, bakers), a dance originating in Seville that is traditionally performed as a duet (Petipa's cast features a lead couple and corps de ballet).⁴² Like his *Dance Orientale*, Glazunov's *Panadéros* also owes a debt to its sister dance in *The Nutcracker*: both are in triple time and in E-flat major.

In Act Three, Glazunov transitions to another exotic style—Hungarian-Roma—which he first signaled at the end of Act Two with the arrival on stage of Andrei II (Ex. 3.8a, above) and which informs the works that make up the divertissement performed at Raymonda's wedding celebration in honor of the Hungarian king.⁴³ Here Glazunov continues to glean material from Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies*, as examples drawn from the following numbers will illustrate.

⁴⁰ Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 234. The lullaby was quoted by Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov in the second movement ("Berceuse") of his *Caucasian Sketches, Suite No. 2*, op. 42, "Iveria" (1896).

⁴¹ Adalyat Issiyeva, *Representing Russia's Orient: From Ethnography to Art Song* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 178–181.

⁴² See Matteo Marcellus Vittucci and Carola Goya, *The Language of Spanish Dance* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 142–143.

Grand pas hongrois. The *Grand pas hongrois* is a czardas titled *Palotás* in the libretto's list of dances and subsequent programs. The *palotás*, or "palace" dance, was a fifteenth-century Hungarian court dance traditionally performed in the presence of the king that eventually became the traditional opening dance of Hungarian balls. The czardas developed in the nineteenth century and is considered to be the national dance of Hungary. In two-part form, it begins with the slow *lassú* and concludes with the fast *friss*.⁴⁴ Glazunov precedes these two sections of his czardas with a stately opening section in ABA form. For this, he incorporates phrases similar to those used in *Hungarian Rhapsodies* Nos. 6 and 8 (Exx. 3.9a–b, 3.10a–b).

⁴³ See Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 135–174. See also Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993).

⁴⁴ See Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 144.

Ex. 3.9a Act Three, *Grand pas hongrois*, bars 1–8, drawing from *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 6

Moderato maestoso, molto pesante

f

mf

f

Ex. 3.9b Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 6, bars 5–10

Tempo giusto

f

Ex. 3.10a Act Three, *Grand pas hongrois*, bars 25–28, drawing from *Hungarian Rhapsody* No.

8

Ex. 3.10b Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 8, bars 64–67

The slow *lassú* draws from the famous *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 2 (Exx. 3.11a–b). Here Glazunov employs a distinctive scale—termed “*verbunkos*-minor” by Shay Loya—that features the interval of an augmented second between the third and fourth and the sixth and seventh scale

degrees.⁴⁵ The beginning of the fast *friss* clearly seems to be inspired by *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 8 (Exx. 3.12a–b; note the three-bar phrases in each example).

Ex. 3.11a Act Three, *Grand pas hongrois*, bars 37–40, drawing from *Hungarian Rhapsody* No.

2

⁴⁵ Shay Loya, “Beyond ‘Gypsy’ Stereotypes: Harmony and Structure in the *Verbunkos* Idiom,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 27 (2008): 254–280, cited in Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 142.

Ex. 3.11b Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 2, bars 11–18

Andante mesto

Ex. 3.12a Act Three, *Grand pas hongrois*, bars 61–66, inspired by *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 8

Presto

Ex. 3.12b Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 8, bars 140–145

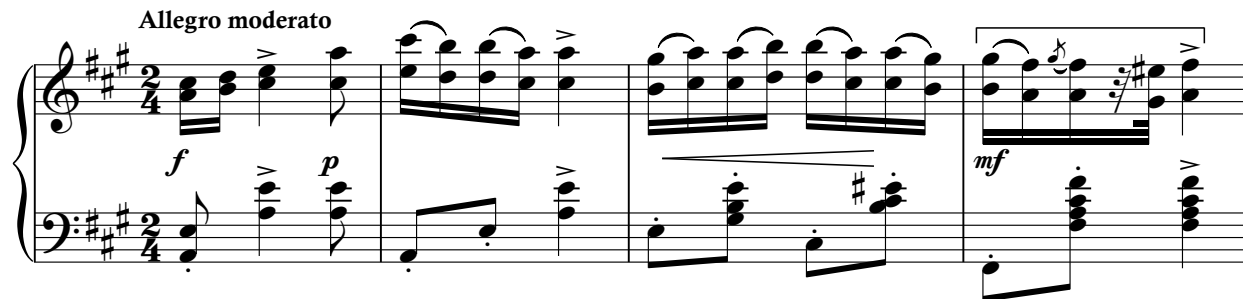


Rapsodie. The third-act *Danse des enfants* is titled *Rapsodie* in the libretto and subsequent programs, a term that came to define a large-scale nationalist orchestral work in the second half of the nineteenth century, a prime example of which is Liszt's orchestration of his own *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 2.⁴⁶ For the students in *Raymonda*, Glazunov provides an orchestral miniature, distinguished by the melodic and rhythmic inflections of the Hungarian-Roma style, including *bokázó* cadences. The dotted *bokázó* rhythm, also found throughout the previous *Grand pas hongrois*, was often used at ends of phrases (see the bracketed cadence in bar 6 of Ex. 3.13). We will encounter the heel-clicking choreography that accompanies *bokázó* cadences in the dances described below.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ See John Rink, "Rhapsody," *Oxford Music Online* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23313>.

⁴⁷ Describing the features of the *Hungarian Rhapsodies*, Locke explains, "Many of the tunes end with one of several equally distinctive melodic-rhythmic cadential patterns. These *bokázó* cadences often give the impression of firmly 'closing off' a phrase, much the way that the steps of various Hungarian folk dances, notably the *csárdás*, end a section with a sharp clicking of the heels." Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 143. See also Bellman, *Style Hongrois*, 93–130, and Loya, "*Verbunkos*," 263–268.

Ex. 3.13 *Bokázó* cadence; Act Three, *Danse des enfants (Rapsodie)*, bars 3–6



Pas classique hongrois. Glazunov continues his incorporation of Hungarian-Roma style in this multi-movement dance suite, which comprises an entrée, adagio, four variations, and coda. The adagio and fourth variation (the one danced by Raymonda) feature winding, arabesque-like melodies of the kind we have found in *La Bayadère* and in the second-act exotic suite of dances in *Raymonda* (Exx. 3.14a–b, above). Both numbers are based in part on the *verbunkos*-minor scale.

Ex. 3.14a Act Three, *Pas classique hongrois*, bars 2–5

Ex. 3.14b Act Three, *Pas classique hongrois*, Variation IV, bars 3–7

Adagio
Pf. solo

The musical score is written for piano solo in 4/4 time. It consists of three systems of music. The first system begins with a piano (p) dynamic marking. The right hand plays a rapid, ascending melodic line with many sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and rests. The second system continues this melodic development. The third system features a forte (f) dynamic marking in the right hand, followed by a piano (p) dynamic marking. The score concludes with a final chord in the right hand and a rest in the left hand.

In the opening of the coda, Glazunov appears to draw from the opening of the *friss* of *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 13 (Exx. 3.15a–b); in the second section of the coda (Ex. 3.16a), he quotes directly from another source, as Jonathan Still has shown: the folk czardas *Hullámszó Balaton* (The waves of the Balaton), a tune that is also quoted in Jenő Hubay’s 1887 *Scènes de la Csarda* for violin and piano (Ex. 3.16b).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Jonathan Still, “Glazunov, *Raymonda*, and *Hullámszó Balaton*,” *Jonathan Still, ballet pianist* (blog), May 12, 2010, <http://jonathanstill.com/2010/05/12/raymonda-and-hullamzo-balaton/>.

Ex. 3.15a Act Three, *Pas classique hongrois*, Coda, bars 1–4, drawing from *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 13*

Allegro

f

Ex. 3.15b Liszt, *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 13*, bars 101–104

Vivace

pp

Ex. 3.16a Act Three, *Pas classique hongrois*, bars 65–80, quoting the tune *Hullámszó Balaton*

Ex. 3.16b Hubay, *Hullámszó Balaton* from *Scènes de la Csarda*, No. 5, Op. 33 (1887), bars 68–75 (violin part)

Less than three years after *Raymonda*'s premiere, Lev Ivanov choreographed Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 2 for interpolation into a performance of Saint-Léon's *Little Humpbacked Horse* on 11 October 1900 at the Mariinsky Theater. Wiley suggests the dance was created—and I suggest that the music may have been chosen—"possibly in response to the successful divertissement on Hungarian motifs that Petipa had created in Act III of *Raymonda*".⁴⁹ The number enjoyed great success.⁵⁰

Raymonda's solo dances

Finally, Glazunov's score also supports and reinforces the extensive ballerina role in all of its variety. Each of *Raymonda*'s five solo variations, as well as her vision scene *pas de deux* with Jean de Brienne, features a different solo instrument or a specialty instrumental technique:

Act One, Scene One <i>pizzicato</i>	Pizzicato strings
Act One, Scene One variation	Harp
Act One, Scene Two <i>pas de deux</i>	Violin
Act One, Scene Two original variation ⁵¹	Flute
Act Two variation	Horn
Act Three variation	Piano

Collaboration between Glazunov and Petipa

Glazunov's pervasive use of motifs and lush orchestration was carried out within the parameters set by Petipa in his instructions for the composition of each number in the ballet. The ballet master dictated details of genre, number of bars, tempo, and occasionally orchestration as

⁴⁹ Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 203. See also Slonimsky, "'Raimonda,'" 479–480.

⁵⁰ See Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 203–205.

⁵¹ The interpolated variation that replaced the original one features solo violin.

well as the action the composer was meant to complement with his score.⁵² With regard to the length of each number, Glazunov followed Petipa's instructions more closely in *Raymonda* than Tchaikovsky had done in *Sleeping Beauty* and *The Nutcracker*, but his autonomous approach to the project nonetheless created frustration for the choreographer.⁵³ Petipa complained about both Glazunov's reluctance to make requested revisions—revisions that were fully expected of Petipa's former specialist composers, Pugni and Minkus—and his publication of *Raymonda* (in both full score and piano reduction) by Glazunov's publisher Belaieff in versions that did not reflect all of the changes made before the premiere, that is, the choreographer's final intentions.⁵⁴ (Owing to his stature as a major composer, Glazunov was accustomed to having his compositions published as he saw fit.) Because neither the printed piano reduction nor the printed orchestral score matches the performance score (or each other, for that matter), they do not reflect the variety of revisions made as the ballet went into production.⁵⁵ Any of Petipa's irritations, however, no doubt paled in comparison to his satisfaction with the overwhelmingly positive reception of the ballet at its premiere.

The score was well received and recognized as a key component of the ballet's success. “*Raymonda* is indebted to a very significant degree to Mr. Glazunov's score,” wrote the ballet

⁵² See notes 66–67, below.

⁵³ On Petipa's collaboration with Tchaikovsky on *Sleeping Beauty* and *The Nutcracker*, see Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 109–111 and 193–200. See also Chapter One, note 1.

⁵⁴ Petipa's complaints, made in a letter to an unknown recipient, are quoted in Gershenzon, “Cronografia di *Raymonda*,” 63–64.

⁵⁵ Comparison of the printed piano reduction and orchestral score with the annotated PR in the Sergeyev Collection reveals the following omissions from the published sources: The printed piano reduction is missing the eight bars added for Abderrakhman's Act One, Scene One entrance; repeated bars in the *Valse fantastique*; an additional six bars of introduction to the *Danse des garçons arabes*; and repeated bars in the *Bacchanal*. All of these passages are included in the printed orchestral score with the exception of the bars added in Act One, Scene One for Abderrakhman's entrance (Ex. 10.17).

critic Nikolai Bezobrazov.⁵⁶ The music critic Vladimir Frolov was more direct, praising the music at the expense of the story:

Despite the subject's paucity and its almost total absence of content, Mr Glazunov has nevertheless known how to bring to it much imagination, taste, and beautiful, animated music, with rhythmic diversity, and interest, orchestrated sonorously and effectively.⁵⁷

Brief performance history

In addition to Legnani, the 1898 premiere cast featured a mix of seasoned veterans, artists approaching leading-dancer status, and youthful newcomers. Sergei Legat, just twenty-two years old, created the role of Jean de Brienne. Dancing opportunities equal or greater to those of Jean de Brienne were given to Raymonda's male friends, Bernard de Ventadour and Béranger—roles created by Georgi Kyaksht and Nikolai Legat, respectively—who danced in the Act Two *Grand pas d'action* as well as the Act Three men's *pas de quatre*. Henriette (Olga Preobrazhenskaya) and Clémence (Klavdiya Kulichevskaya), Raymonda's girlfriends, were also given variations among other dancing duties. Pavel Gerdt created the role of Abderrakhman, with Giussepina Cecchetti and Nikolai Aistov in the smaller roles of Countess Sybille and King Andrei. Lydia Svirskaya created the role of the White Lady. Marie Petipa was also featured, performing the lead in the *Panadéros* and in the interpolated mazurka in Act Three.⁵⁸

Raymonda remained in repertory after Legnani's departure in 1901. Moscow ballerina Ekaterina Geltser assumed the title role on 25 April 1901, with Sergei Legat and Gerdt reprising

⁵⁶ Nikolai Bezobrazov, *Peterburgskaya gazeta*, 8 January 1898, 4, tr. in Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 248.

⁵⁷ Vladimir Frolov, *Peterburgskiy listok*, 8 January 1898, 4, tr. in Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 248.

⁵⁸ Marie Petipa performed these same dances for her farewell benefit on 11 November 1907. See *Khronika IV*, 95, and *Ezhegodnik* (1907–1908), 99–100.

their roles. Raymonda's friends were danced by Lubov Egorova (Clémence), Vera Mosolova (Henriette), Mikhail Fokine (Bernard), and Mikhail Obukhov (Béranger).⁵⁹

On 21 September 1903, Olga Preobrazhenskaya made her debut as Raymonda, joined by Tamara Karsavina in her first performance of Henriette. Preobrazhenskaya had a great success in the role, which was tailored to her strengths by Petipa (more on this below). When the ballet came to be recorded in Stepanov notation, much of the 1903 cast was represented.

At a benefit for the corps de ballet on 10 December 1906, Matilda Kshesinska danced the title role in a performance of the third act, partnered by Nikolai Legat. Anna Pavlova performed the *Panadéros*, having made her debut in the dance, just weeks earlier, on 29 October 1906.⁶⁰ Karsavina made her debut as Raymonda in the complete ballet, partnered by Nikolai Legat, on 12 September 1909.⁶¹ Lubov Egorova followed a year later, making her debut on 26 December 1910, also partnered by Legat.⁶²

Sources

Published scores. As mentioned above, the orchestral score (OS) and piano reduction (PR) of *Raymonda* were published at Glazunov's behest by Belaieff in 1898.⁶³ (Because these scores are accessible online, I have provided fewer musical examples in this chapter than in the

⁵⁹ *Khronika IV*, 19.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 86–87. See also Lazzarini, *Pavlova*, 80.

⁶¹ *Ezhegodnik* (1909–1910, vol. 6) 66, 92, 97. The editors of *Khronika IV* give both 26 November 1917 and 17 February 1918 as Karsavina's debut dates. See *Khronika IV*, 212–213 and 217, respectively.

⁶² *Khronika IV*, 138.

⁶³ Alexander Glazunov, *Raymonda* (Leipzig: M. P. Belaieff, 1898). The piano reduction is arranged by the composer and Alexander Winkler. Both the piano reduction and orchestral score are available online at [https://imslp.org/wiki/Raymonda,_Op.57_\(Glazunov,_Aleksandr\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Raymonda,_Op.57_(Glazunov,_Aleksandr)).

previous one.) Printed stage directions in the OS and PR are quoted from Petipa's scenario sent to Glazunov with the choreographer's instructions for composing the score. The Sergeyev Collection holds a copy of the printed piano reduction that is annotated in Russian and includes manuscript music interpolations.⁶⁴ Its primary importance is that it likely indicates which passages were cut and which were added to the score for performances at the Mariinsky Theater.⁶⁵

Petipa's scenario and instructions to Glazunov. Petipa's instructions to Glazunov for *Scènes I–IV* (through Raymonda's first entrance) are held in the Glazunov archive at the National Library of Russia.⁶⁶ Instructions for other scenes were sent to the composer over a period of

⁶⁴ MS Thr 245 (69).

⁶⁵ The following is a list of cuts, changes, and interpolations made in the printed piano reduction housed in the Harvard Theatre Collection, MS Thr 245 (69).

Act One

Scène V, 35–36: replaced by eight added bars; MS page of PR is taped over printed page 22 (Ex. 10.17, below).

Valse fantastique, 81–95, 97–112: MS annotations indicate a repeat of these bars to match repeats in printed orchestral score.

Variation III, Cut. MS annotation, "Violin solo." Interpolated in its place is an MS piano reduction of *Valse* from Glazunov's *Scènes de Ballet*, Op. 52, 1894.

Ronde des follets et des farfadets, 1–32: cut.

Act Two

Grand Coda, 65–80: cut.

Danse des garçons Arabes: Six bars added at beginning, bringing the music into agreement with the published full score. A two-violin *répétiteur* score of these bars is pasted at the top of the page.

Grand pas Espagnol, 1–8: cut.

Bacchanal, 101–115: repeated, with MS notes added.

Act Three

Danse des enfants: Re-ordered to follow *Le cortège hongrois*.

Grand pas hongrois: a double-sided MS page containing a piano reduction of bars 123–163 (that is, all of page 141) is inserted at page 141.

Entrée: an MS page including a piano reduction of the *Entrée* is inserted at page 141.

Variation II, 46–49: cut.

Variation III: cut.

⁶⁶ National Library of Russia, *fond* 187, item 1426, pp. 1–4 (p. 4 is blank).

time, through spring 1897. These are preserved among several other institutions, including the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum, and some appear to have been lost.⁶⁷

Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters and Mariinsky Theater production documents. In addition to the libretto (see excerpt in Appendix D) and early performance programs, a lengthy illustrated description of *Raymonda* in the *Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters* for the 1897–1898 season provides further details about the original production (for example, 106 performers are listed by name for the Act Three galop).⁶⁸ The Mariinsky Theater production volume includes stage plans for each scene and lists of properties and costume pieces.⁶⁹

Choreographic notation. Additional sources relating to early performances of *Raymonda* are part of the Sergeyev Collection. Chief among them is a choreographic notation (CN), consisting of 190 numbered pages (on portrait-format paper) that are nearly all in Sergeyev's hand.⁷⁰ Additional pages in other hands (on oblong-format paper) are inserted throughout. For the most part, Sergeyev provides only ground plans and movements for feet and legs, with occasional notations for arms, hands, head, and body. The additional notations of a number of variations and some group dances that are interspersed throughout the CN are mostly complete, that is, in addition to ground plans, movements for the entire body are notated. Although music is

⁶⁷ Pavel Gershenzon has included the instructions (translated into Italian) in “Cronografia di *Raymonda*,” 48–58. The instructions were translated into Russian by A[lexander] G[rigorievich] Movshenson, and published, with commentary, in *Aleksandr Glazunov*, 543–555. The instructions are also published in Russian translation in *Marius Petipa. Materialy*, 145–151, and in English translation by Debra Goldman (without source citations) in “*Raymonda*,” 38–44. I will cite Goldman's translations throughout this chapter.

⁶⁸ *Ezhegodnik* (1898–1899), 250–270, available online at <https://archive.org/details/ezhegodnikimper1898diag>.

⁶⁹ St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music (GMTMI), GIK 16917, fols. 140r–145r.

⁷⁰ MS Thr 245 (67).

not included on the notation scores, Sergeyev often noted rehearsal numbers from the OS and sometimes provided the number of measures a particular section of choreography is meant to cover, both of which greatly increase the ability to coordinate dance and action with music.

An assessment of the names of dancers listed in the CN allows us to date the manuscript to the period around 21 September 1903, when Preobrazhenskaya made her debut in the title role. The CN records the performance of Preobrazhenskaya (for whom Petipa rechoreographed some of the ballet)⁷¹ as well as Sergei Legat in his original role as Jean de Brienne and Pavel Gerdt in his original role as Abderrakhman. The four friends are Tamara Karsavina (Clémence), Lubov Egorova (Henriette), Mikhail Fokine (Bernard de Ventadour), and Mikhail Obukhov (Béranger). Nadezhda Petipa is Countess Sybille.

Other items relating to *Raymonda* in the collection include additional choreographic notations of single dances or sections of a dance, manuscript *répétiteurs* and piano reductions for individual numbers, and printed programs from two performances (12 October 1903 and 12 May 1918).⁷²

***Raymonda*: A scene-by-scene description**

The following description of *Raymonda* is based primarily on the CN, taken together with information from the other sources listed above and augmented by period criticism and commentary.

⁷¹ On 19 September, Petipa noted in his diary: “At the school I rehearsed *Raymonda*. Recomposed some variations and the coda, as well as some movements [*des temps*] in the adagio for Mlle. Preobrazhenskaya.” See Garafola, ed., *Diaries*, 18.

⁷² See MS Thr 245 (68, 70, 227, 228, and 247).

Act One

Scene One

Raymonda's name day

Introduction. Glazunov's brief introduction begins with Raymonda 1 (Ex. 3.1a), which soon intertwines with Jean de Brienne's motif at bar 14 (Ex. 3.2a), introducing to the listener the lovers at the heart of the story.

Scène I. The curtain rises at rehearsal number (RN) 4 to reveal a hall in the castle of Raymonda, Countess of Doris, in medieval Provence. Petipa described the setting in his scenario: "The interior of a castle. A hall with a low ceiling, decorated with tapestries with human figures. There are sculptures on pedestals. At the rear a large door, opening onto a terrace with a view of the surrounding country."⁷³ The Mariinsky Theater production documents confirm the large entrance upstage center flanked by two large, elevated sculptures on each side. Seating frames the stage, with two high-backed chairs downstage left and a high-backed *chaise longue* downstage right.

On stage are Raymonda's girlfriends, Henriette and Clémence, troubadours Bernard de Ventadour of Provence and Béranger of Aquitaine, and six student couples. The male students, pages, are practicing fencing and playing lutes and viols, and the female students are sewing and embroidering. The seneschal (the CN records the performance of Alexei Bulgakov), steward of the house, enters upstage right and issues orders regarding Raymonda's name-day celebrations. "Games," written in the CN, may refer to the pages' fencing. At RN 7, Glazunov included Petipa's instruction in the score, "Les pages s'exercent." The program refers to this scene as "Jeux et danses."

⁷³ Goldman, "Raymonda," 38.

The CN provides the ballet's first danced steps, performed by the four friends (RN 9). The choreography here is in Petipa's faux-antique style that he used for pastiche eighteenth-century court dances. Henriette and Clémence wear floor-length dresses and low-heeled shoes. Their opening enchaînement, in which they are joined by Bernard and Béranger, consists of two *tendu devant*, *tombé*, three *pas de bourrée* performed alternately by the couples as they travel downstage. The girl students join the friends and perform similar choreography (RN 10).⁷⁴

La Traditrice

Petipa was already envisioning *La Traditrice* when writing his instructions to Glazunov: "Feet cross and recross in a gliding pas."⁷⁵ Akim Volynsky described the choreography in similar terms: "The dancing is innocent, gliding along straight and broken lines, and interwoven with the fleeting movements of the mazurka."⁷⁶

The girls bow and the boy students walk up to them and ask them to dance.⁷⁷ The student couples travel in pairs upstage and down, then cross the stage. The girls move to center, circle around each other, and return to their partners. They pose—three couples on each side of the stage—while the friends join (likely at RN 15). Obukhov and Karsavina begin, travelling downstage, where he lifts her by the waist. They return upstage, perform another lift, then travel

⁷⁴ The choreography for the students (for both *Scène I* and the subsequent *La Traditrice*) is notated twice. The more detailed of the two notations provides movements for torso, head, and arms. See MS Thr 245 (227).

⁷⁵ Goldman, "*Raymonda*," 38.

⁷⁶ Volynsky, "*Raimonda*," *Birzhevye vedomosti*, 12 November 1912, 5–6, tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 33–34. In agreement with Volynsky, "mazurka" is indeed written into both notations of the students' dances.

⁷⁷ Petipa asked Glazunov for "4 bars of prelude of the invitation to dance." Goldman, "*Raymonda*," 38.

down again and finish with a complete turn to the left. Egorova and Fokine repeat the entire enchaînement to the other side. The students join the friends, and finally all perform the lift sequence, ending with another complete turn as the men hold the women by the waist. According to the CN, the students move upstage left as the music segues into *Scène II*.

Scène II. Countess Sybille (Nadezhda Petipa), canoness and Raymonda's aunt, enters with the seneschal, followed by eight women of the court. The girl students bow to the Countess then join the boy students and four friends in diagonal lines on either side of the stage, the women in front of the men.

The subsequent action and short passages of dance appear to be recorded out of order in the CN when compared to the scenario and score. Some of the notation boxes are numbered by Sergeyev (101–104) to indicate their intended order (the box numbered 102 precedes the box numbered 101, hence the need for the numbering). I will describe the material in the CN according to this numbering and compare it to the libretto and Petipa's scenario.

The Countess, standing at center, orders the boys to stop playing the mandolin (box 101, which does not include a RN). According to the libretto, this action occurred in the later *Scène mimique*, and instead, the Countess “reproaches the girls for their idleness.”⁷⁸

Reprise de la danse. Petipa's scenario describes the action: “All her [the Countess'] efforts are in vain. Just one or two [of the girls] return to their work, as the others throw aside their sewing and embroidery and start dancing again.”⁷⁹ Petipa asked for sixteen bars of dance music; Glazunov wrote only eight. The notated choreography in box 101, however—three *piqués*

⁷⁸ Wiley, *Century*, 397.

⁷⁹ Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 39.

de côté en cou-de-pied devant, pas de bourrée, all on *pointe*, four times to alternate sides, performed by the women in their diagonal lines near the wings—seems corresponds more accurately to the later passage titled *La danse* (see below).

Scène mimique. According to the scenario, OS, and PR at RN 22, the Countess “pounces on the pages and orders them to put away their viols and lutes in order to break off the dance.” CN box 102 references RN 22 but offers only a ground plan showing the Countess standing opposite the four friends and half of the students, all at stage right.

La récit de la Comtesse. Accompanied by a sober setting of her motif (Ex. 3.3), the Countess indicates a statue in the hall and explains it is a likeness of their ancestor, the Countess of Doris (subsequently called the White Lady), who appears from beyond to warn the House of Doris of impending danger and to punish those who do not fulfill their duties. The libretto provides the following narrative (Petipa’s scenario mirrors this account closely):

Countess: “Take care... Countess de Doris, famous by the name of the White Lady, will punish you for disobedience; do you see this statue? This is our revered ancestor. She appears from the other world to warn the house of Doris every time one of its members is in danger, and punishes those who do not fulfill their responsibilities.”⁸⁰

The narrative in the CN is written on the page following the one with the numbered notation boxes. It is titled “Story” and is likely based on the Countess’ actual pantomime gestures:

Countess: “You listen to me. When night comes, this White Lady comes out and looks around to see what is happening, and if she sees you dancing a lot, then she becomes angry. If you are calm, then she will be our patron. Let’s go bow to her.” Everyone walks and venerates the White Lady. “Everything I told you, everything is truth.”⁸¹

⁸⁰ Wiley, *Century*, 397.

⁸¹ The Countess’ “Story” is written in prose on a separate page in the CN. Following the narrative, the action resumes on the previous notation page and then returns to the narrative page, where RN 21 is written in the fifth notation box.

As one can see, the Countess' tale in the CN differs from her story in the libretto and scenario in tone and content, demonstrating how narrative in a libretto could change when it was translated into mime gestures. According to the CN, the appearance of the White Lady is not precipitated by dangers, and dancing is condemned as a vice. The CN narrative also requires all to bow to the statue.

The somber mood is broken by four measures of an *allegro* 2/4 that introduce “La danse,” during which, according to the scenario, the “[Y]oung ladies and pages laugh at the gullible countess, make a circle and draw her in to a circle dance (*khovorod*).” Here, the girl students surely perform the enchaînement notated in notation box 101 (labeled “a little piece of dance on [*pointe* symbol],” see above), traveling downstage and back twice in their lines. The Countess, out of breath, falls heavily into a chair. The ground plan in the notation box numbered 103 indicates the four friends circling the Countess twice then traveling upstage left. In the box numbered 104, they surround the seated Countess, action that corresponds to the scenario: “The countess, out of breath, falls heavily into a chair.”

At RN 29, a “trumpet behind the curtain” signals the arrival of visitors (Homecoming motif; Ex. 3.4).

Scène III. The seneschal enters the hall to announce the arrival of Jean de Brienne's messenger, who has brought a letter from the knight to his fiancée, Raymonda. The Countess leaves to fetch her niece, while the seneschal gives last-minute instructions to the guests and the student girls lay flowers on the ground in a pathway for the ballerina in preparation for her entrance. The CN explains: “Girl students put flowers down on the floor in a diagonal line.” The ground plan indicates with an “X” where each flower should be placed. The boys and girls form

a diagonal line on stage left, next to the flowers. The Countess, having returned, stands at the downstage end of the line. (The four friends are unaccounted for in this part of the CN.)

Scène IV. Entrée de Raymonda. At the height of a crescendo, under which the brass repeats the Homecoming motif, Raymonda enters, “beside herself with joy,” traveling downstage through the flowers with a *bourrée* on *pointe* (RN 33). The melody here is a variant of Raymonda 1 (Ex. 3.1c), Petipa having requested “lively, sparkling, happy music,” words that provide insight into his conception of Raymonda’s character. He added parenthetically for Glazunov, “You must pay special attention to this entrance. It is for the prima ballerina.”⁸²

After moving across the stage with alternating *piqués en demi-arabesque* and *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied devant*, Raymonda returns to the downstage end of the flower line. “Traveling backward over the flowers,” as the CN explains, she “takes flowers off the floor.” The notated combination of steps for this action includes leaning forward in fourth position *plié* (presumably to pick up a flower), a *relevé en arabesque*, and a *bourrée* backward on *pointe*. This sequence is repeated four times to alternate sides, thereby allowing the ballerina to return upstage, traveling backward through the line of flowers and picking them up as she goes. (Whether Raymonda picks up one or two flowers with each repetition is not indicated.) After a series of two *pirouettes* from fifth position, *demi-emboîtés devant*, *assemblé* followed by a *manège* of turns (“everything on [*pointe* symbol]”), Raymonda concludes with an *arabesque* on *pointe* at center, flanked and supported by two women—traditionally, Clémence and Henriette, though they are not named in the CN.

Scène V. Scène mimique. Her entrée concluded, Raymonda receives Jean de Brienne’s letter. She reads it, shares its good news with her aunt, and exudes the joy that is a dominant

⁸² Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 39.

characteristic of her personality. Petipa's instructions to Glazunov underscore the emotion of the scene: "She is joyful. Likewise the rhythm. More lively and expressive. It ends with a happy, passionate, animated crescendo."⁸³

Here again, the CN appears to present some of the action out of order and also provides redundant detail. By reordering the notation boxes based on information from the score, we can determine what seems to be the intended order of action.

The printed annotations in the OS present the action thus (corresponding musical motifs are given in parentheses):

Bars 1–8 (Homecoming)

The messenger kneels and delivers the letter.

Bars 9–14 (Raymonda 1)

Raymonda reads the letter...

Bars 15–18 (Raymonda 1 with rising sevenths)

...and says, "The knight Jean de Brienne returns home covered in glory."

Bars 19–24 (Jean de Brienne)

"Tomorrow Brienne will return to the house of Doris to celebrate his wedding with Raymonda."

Bars 25–28 (Countess)

She [Raymonda] shows the letter to the Countess, who is delighted.

Bars 29–33 (Raymonda 1 followed by a crescendo leading to entrance of vassals and peasants)

The CN provides additional detail that I have allotted to bars of music based on musical motifs and the annotations in the score:

Bars 1–8

The seneschal announces, "From there to here one knight comes from your groom." Raymonda replies, "Oh, how happy I am."

Preobrazhenskaya says "Hello" to the knight [Alexander Medalinsky in the role of the Cavalier of Jean de Brienne], who enters and says, "One who is noble [King Andrei II] sent you a letter from the knight [Jean de Brienne]." He kneels when he reaches Raymonda. Preobrazhenskaya takes the letter with excitement.

Bars 9–14

⁸³ Ibid., 40.

She reads the letter and says, “Ah, he is here.” She presses the letter to her heart and turns to the knight, saying, “You may go.” She reads the letter again.

Bars 15–24

[Raymonda’s recounting of the letter to the court is omitted in the CN.]

Bars 25–28

The Countess [until this point in the CN she is referred to as “Petipa” or “Petipa 2,” but here she erroneously is called “Mother” and Raymonda her “daughter”] walks to Raymonda, kisses her on the head, and says, “You are so beautiful, and I congratulate you.”

Bars 29–33

The seneschal re-enters to announce the arrival of a new guest.

Scène VI: Entrée des vassaux et des paysans. Here, Petipa made a late change to the narrative, introducing the antagonist Abderrakhman earlier than originally planned.⁸⁴ The libretto, revised in time to accommodate Petipa’s alteration, offers a lengthy explanation of the action, which involves the Muslim knight presenting gifts to Raymonda and the revelation of his plot to abduct her. Glazunov, on the other hand, now required to introduce Abderrakhman’s motif an entire scene earlier than planned, wrote a scant eight extra bars of additional music (replacing the original first two bars of *Scène VI*) to facilitate this addition to the action (Ex. 3.17).

A page of mime script details the action of this added encounter, the length of which suggests that at least some of the mime exchange spilled over into the music intended for the subsequent entrance of the vassals:

Enter Gerdt, [who] bows and says [to Raymonda], “I heard about your beauty from afar and now find that they say the truth. You are a beauty; I ask that you accept from me a gift.” He gives a sign with his hand and they [unidentified] present a box with gifts.

She [Raymonda]: I do not accept these presents.

⁸⁴ Petipa had planned Abderrakhman’s first appearance as a surprise plot twist during Raymonda’s dream in the second scene and then ensured that he dominated the ballet’s second act. But before the premiere, the choreographer added a brief entrance for him in the opening scene. Pavel Gershenson suggests this was done to give Gerdt more stage time. See Sergey Konaev and Pavel Gershenson, “Commenti a *Raymonda*,” tr. Carla Muschio, in *Raymonda* program book (Milan: Teatro alla Scala, 2011), 118–119.

He is in despair. She takes the letter [sent from Jean de Brienne] and reads.
“My fiancé will come here.” Gerdt eavesdrops and says, “She will never marry;
she must be mine.”

The Countess comes up and asks the Saracen to go and sit near her. He
thanks her for the invitation and goes and sits.
Waltz.

Ex. 3.17 *Scène VI: Entrée des vassaux et des paysans*, eight added bars (replacing original bars
1–2) followed by original bars 3–4 (Source: MS Thr 245 (69))

[Example on next page.]

Andante sostenuto

Andante marziale

The name-day festivities continue, now with Abderrakhman on stage. Eight vassals enter (their entrance was originally intended for RN 41 but may have been delayed until the action detailed above was complete). They greet and congratulate Raymonda. According to the printed annotation in the score, “They bring barrels [of wine], cakes, and flowers.” Petipa explained to Glazunov, “The music is happy, but when the vassals drink, sparkling.” In response, the composer provided a march with a fanfare-like melody (Ex. 3.9, last two bars) that builds to a “sparkling” crescendo, accompanied by trills in the woodwinds. According to the CN, “Lords come out and [peasants] dance a waltz. Props people bring fruit onto the stage” (two bars before RN 43).

Four bars before RN 44, twenty-four peasant couples enter.

Grande Valse

Addressing the seneschal, Raymonda says, “You to them here, command to dance.” The seneschal relays the instruction to the peasants, and the waltz commences (RN 47).

The *Valse provençale* (as it is called in the libretto’s list of dances) is reminiscent of the Act One *Valse villageoise* in *Sleeping Beauty*, but without children. This massed danced mainly features its performers in block formation, sometimes with couples side by side, other times alternating rows of women and men. According to the CN, which includes far more annotations than notated steps, garlands and wreaths are the principal properties, with *balancé* and *pas de basque* the principal steps. Dancers travel downstage and back, traverse the stage, and eventually coalesce into a grouping in which some of the dancers form a circle at center, performing *ballonné* and *balancé*, while the rest of the women perform *piqués dégagés de côté* and *emboîtés sur les pointes* in several lines along each downstage side. After returning to their block

formation with *pas de basque*, the ensemble travels downstage as the “Ladies lift their hands up and hold onto the wreaths and the Cavaliers hold the garlands by the ends.”

“*Pizzicato*.” The waltz leads directly into the *pizzicato*, a variation for Raymonda, the corps de ballet having formed a large semicircle upstage in two rows, the women in front of the men. With this variation, we encounter the pervasive *pointe* work associated with the technique of the Italian school.⁸⁵ Raymonda’s dance is made up of steps mostly on *pointe*, which seem to be mimicked by the *pizzicato* strings. The choreography features multiple repetitions of movements, several of them featuring hops on *pointe*.

Raymonda begins upstage center and travels directly downstage with *pas de bourrée* on *pointe*, *piqué en demi-arabesque*, *précipité*, *piqué en arabesque* three times to alternate sides. After a walk backward toward upstage left, she continues with a diagonal of *pas de chat*, *assemblé*, *relevé en arabesque* three times, a *bourrée* upstage right, and a repeat of the enchaînement to the other side. A *bourrée* upstage left precedes a diagonal of hops on the left *pointe*—an enchaînement performed three times: *piqué en demi-arabesque* followed by four *temps levés sur la pointe en demi-arabesque*, one *en cou-de-pied devant*, and another as the working leg moves to *développé devant*, all on the left foot. (During this enchaînement, the corps women rise from their knee in preparation for the reprise of the waltz.) A final walk backward on *pointe* introduces another enchaînement of hops on the left *pointe* from upstage right: twenty-two *temps levés ballonnés sur la pointe*.⁸⁶ The variation ends with a repeat of *pas de chat*, *assemblé*,

⁸⁵ As discussed above, from the mid-1880s into the early years of the twentieth, the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet welcomed numerous Italian ballerinas as guest artists. Most of them possessed strong *pointe* technique and contributed significantly to the development of the same in the Russian school.

⁸⁶ The music appears to allow for only twelve repetitions of this step.

relevé en arabesque followed by a *bourrée* traveling farther downstage left. No final pose is given.

Volynsky described the *pizzicato* in detail, praising the ballerina: “Preobrazhenskaya’s genius shines here. She performs her leaps with feline lightness and gracefulness... The *pizzicato* ends with a marvelous *pas*. The dancer crosses the stage diagonally doing jumps on the toes of one foot, doing *battements* with the other. ...”⁸⁷

Reprise de la Valse. During the four-bar introduction to the reprise, the corps performs *pas de basque* as the dancers make their way back to center and resume a block formation, this time comprising four rows of six couples each. The group moves forward with *pas de valse en tournant*, then the “ladies bend [their] body backward and the cavaliers hold them with two hands and kneel.” They travel upstage then down with more *pas de valse* and upstage once again where they pose as Raymonda makes a final entrance (RN 62). She travels downstage in a zigzag pattern performing *jeté* to *demi-attitude devant*, *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe* six times to alternate sides. The corps joins with *pas de basque* downstage followed by *balancé* upstage two times as Raymonda traverses the stage from right to left with alternating *pas de bourrée en avant* and *piqués en demi-attitude devant*, all on *pointe*. She circles upstage with a *manège* of *piqué tours en dehors*. The final ground plan shows Raymonda posing between two men who each hold the end of a garland. The men are flanked by women, and an annotation explains, “holds wreath with garland.”

Scène mimique. At RN 65, an annotation in the score states, “Raymonda wants the reception of her fiancé to be brilliant and gives orders for the next day to organize a *cour*

⁸⁷ Volynsky, “*Raimonda*,” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 34.

d'amour in his honor.” Perhaps Raymonda’s instructions to the seneschal may instead have begun at RN 66, at which point a statement of the Raymonda 1 motif builds over the course of fourteen bars and several key modulations. According to the libretto, Raymonda’s orders further incite Abderrakhman’s anger, though no music was added to depict his reaction.

At RN 68, the music used to bring on the vassals is repeated underneath a triple-time ostinato based on Raymonda 1. This builds to RN 69, at which point a score annotation states, “The vassals withdraw, salutations, etc.” A manuscript annotation at the corresponding point in the PR reads, “Everyone leaves.” After another musical climax at RN 70, the music softens and relaxes over the course of another fourteen bars.

The CN mostly documents the various departures of those on stage: “The peasants do bows [to Raymonda and the Countess] and all leave” (RN 65) followed by “Gerdt and his suite leave.” All exit upstage right. The Countess (here referred to as “Aunt”) kisses Raymonda on the forehead and suggests they depart together. Raymonda replies, “No, I ask you to leave me alone and to dream.” The Countess says, “Good,” kisses Raymonda’s forehead a second time, proposes that the pages also depart, and exits upstage right.

The musical landscape changes at RN 72 to a depiction of a moonlit twilight—a score annotation explains, “Evening has come and the moon is shining.” Petipa’s musical instructions ask for “the tender music of dusk” and “rather poetic music.”⁸⁸

Raymonda (to her four friends): “I ask you to remain with me here. Ah! look, what a wonderful night. Give me a guitar [lute] and I’ll play.”

One of the men hands a lute to Raymonda. She takes it and goes to the *chaise longue* at stage right where she sits.

⁸⁸ Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 40.

Prélude et la Romanesca

Raymonda plays the lute at RN 74 and the two couples begin to dance at RN 75.

Volynsky, in a review of a performance in 1912, described the features of the dance: “The *Romanesque* is restrained, in the style of the eighteenth century. The music has a courtly character and is somewhat weighty and majestic. Agrippina Vaganova and Elsa Vill dance beautifully, with aristocratic elegance.”⁸⁹

Few steps are notated, but the ground plan indicates that the couples dance together, traveling upstage then back, before separating and performing *pas de bourrée en tournant* followed by a bow. This enchaînement is repeated several times. Next each couple joins hands and turns in place then travels upstage on the diagonal, performing alternating *pas de bourrée* and *chassé*. Near the end of the dance, the couples travel downstage, side by side, performing steps similar to those performed in the opening scene of the ballet (see *Scène I*, above). They finish the dance with a bow.

Prélude et Variation

During the prelude to her next variation (*Une fantaisie*), Raymonda approaches her friends and says, “You dance beautifully.” They respond by asking her to dance.

Raymonda passes the lute to Clémence and performs to the accompaniment of solo harp while holding a scarf (alternately referred to as “veil” and “tulle” in the CN).⁹⁰ Volynsky described the opening movements: “Preobrazhenskaya performs the gentle fantasy with its broken chords. She gently extends her leg sideways to waist height and then she changes over to

⁸⁹ Volynsky, “*Raimonda*,” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 34.

⁹⁰ See MS Thr 245 (70) for a manuscript copy of the solo harp part for this variation.

an arabesque with a graceful turn.”⁹¹ Indeed, the opening enchaînement begins with *relevé à la seconde, fouetté* to *arabesque à plat*. After a *pas de bourrée* on *pointe*, Raymonda continues with three *piqués en arrière*, decorated with *petits battements* in the working leg, and another *pas de bourrée* on *pointe*. After repeating this enchaînement, Preobrazhenskaya travels backward again with more *piqués en arrière* leading to a *pas de chat*, during which she “throw[s] the veil,” and a series of *temps levés en demi-arabesque* as she makes a full turn to the right, finishing with *relevé en arabesque*, all performed twice. Next she zigzags backward upstage with *tendu devant fondu, passé* to *tendu derrière fondu*, and two steps on *pointe* three times. A *bourrée* or run on *pointe* directly down center ends with the annotation “throw the tulle” and a final pose in fourth position *plié*.

Scène mimique. The following scene begins with an annotation in the score: “Finally, tired of the emotions of the day [here, Glazunov quotes a melody from the *Grande Valse* danced earlier in the act], she [Raymonda] stretches on a carpet and her pages fan her, while a lady plays her a languorous air.” The libretto tells us that it is Clémence who continues to play the lute.

The CN provides a different account. Raymonda, taking the “tulle” and walking toward stage left, says, “I will dream of the one I love.” A female “friend” (Henriette?) brings Jean de Brienne’s letter to Raymonda, who takes it and offers thanks. She sits in a chair at stage left and kisses the letter. The friends ask to take their leave: “Let us go and fall asleep.” They cross the stage to the *chaise longue*.

By the end of the scene, the friends are still on stage: “Everyone lies down and falls asleep.”

⁹¹ Volynsky, “*Raimonda*,” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 34.

Scène VII: Apparition de la Dame blanche (Ex. 3.5). The CN carries the caption “White Lady” at the top of the first page of the next scene. According to annotations in the PR, the action unfolds as follows: “The White Lady descends from a pedestal, lit by a ray of the moon. Raymonda looks at her, petrified with terror. Nonchalantly, Raymonda stands up. A mysterious force constrains her to obey—she is drawn to the terrace, following the apparition who calls her. The curtain slowly falls.”

The descent of the White Lady (Svirskaya) to the stage from the pedestal seems to have been made possible by a stage mechanism, after which she walks downstage. “Preobrazhenskaya awakens [though according to the libretto, Raymonda had not fallen asleep] and follows the white woman.” The ground plan shows that Raymonda follows the White Lady out of the hall at upstage center. The CN for Scene One ends here.

From this point, Petipa left musical decisions to Glazunov: “All of this passage will show your inspiration to advantage. From beyond the large staircase up which she climbs, I cannot give you an exact count of measures.”⁹² The White Lady’s motif is first heard at RN 87. At RN 88, the Raymonda 1 motif returns, now outlining downward sevenths. In the PR, the third bar of this passage carries the manuscript annotation, “They are walking.” The White Lady’s motif returns to bring the scene to a close.

The opening scene contains the bulk of the ballet’s mime, which serves to introduce the characters and set up the plot. Though lacking the multi-movement dance sequences of subsequent scenes, this part of the ballet features plenty of dancing, beginning with the curtain-up court dance and including a lively entrance for the ballerina, an extended ensemble waltz with

⁹² Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 41. The staircase is not mentioned in the scenic descriptions in the OS or PR, nor is it visible in extant images depicting Act One, Scene One.

a variation for Raymonda and an entrée for her within the waltz reprise, a *pas de quatre* for the soloists, and a second variation for the ballerina.

Scene Two *Visions*

The second scene features a suite of classical dances: adagio, ensemble waltz, three variations, and coda. Action and dance are notably less integrated here than in the opening scene: the various classical dances are followed by an extended mime sequence, and the scene concludes with a brief danced passage for children.

Entr'acte—Scène VIII. Following an *entr'acte* based on Clémence's "sleep" music, the curtain rises on a park outside the castle. The stage set-up documented in the Mariinsky production book includes a simplified sketch of scenic designer Petr Lambin's castle, in front of which is an open outdoor space accessed from the castle terrace by a large staircase at stage right. Twelve round tabourets are arranged in a semicircle on either side of a raised *chaise longue* behind which is a small platform with several steps. A trapdoor (*lyuk*) is located on the stage-left side of the *chaise longue*.

The White Lady walks on the castle terrace, followed by Raymonda's double. (The ballerina performing the part of Raymonda dances in the vision scene, while the double looks on with the White Lady.⁹³) The park is briefly clouded in mist, which clears to reveal a vision of Jean de Brienne, twelve knights, and an ensemble of allegorical figures: forty-eight corps de ballet women—one representing fame and renown (*La renommée*), and the forty-seven others

⁹³ The original cast list for the *scène dramatique* near the end of the act includes "Mlle Legnani, M. Gerdt. *The White Lady and Raymonda's double*." A drawing of Scene Two by the illustrator Karl Brozh, showing Raymonda's double standing alongside the White Lady, was published in *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya* [World Illustrated], 59, no. 1513 (1898): 106.

representing glory (*Gloire*)—as well as twelve student girls as *Les amours*. According to the libretto, Jean de Brienne and his knights are “encircled by girls putting crowns [perhaps laurel wreaths, see below] on their heads.”⁹⁴ Raymonda runs to her lover’s arms.

Grand Adagio

The CN for Scene Two begins with the adagio for Raymonda and Jean, the music for which is an elaborate development of Jean de Brienne’s motif for solo violin (Ex. 3.2b). The majority of the properties employed in the adagio—palm leaves, wreaths (which may be the “crowns” mentioned above), shields, a sword—represent popular Crusades imagery, symbolizing military victory, martyrdom, and honor.

The danced duet is framed by six large groupings—or groups (*gruppy*)—motionless tableaux that are formed by the ensemble. The drawings of the groups preserved in the CN are rough sketches and do not appear to account for all dancers on stage in each group, but they nevertheless provide a significant amount of information. The groups are not always symmetrical formations, yet they balance the stage space. The men and some of the women stand on the tabourets, which are moved around the stage as subsequent groups are formed, though the CN does not indicate whether they are moved by members of the stage crew, supernumeraries, or dancers.⁹⁵ Each group is identified by a Roman numeral, marked in manuscript annotations in the PR, that indicates when each group is to be formed.

⁹⁴ Wiley, *Century*, 399.

⁹⁵ According to author and historian Vera Krassovskaya, the dancers portraying knights moved the tabourets during the vision scene adagio. See Vera Krassovskaya, *Vaganova: A Dance Journey from Petersburg to Leningrad*, tr. Vera Siegel (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2005), 35.

Group I (bar 1) is made up of rows of dancers on the diagonal at stage right, with a back row of women standing on tabourets. The knights also may stand on the tabourets; the drawing lacks clarity, but one of several annotations reads, “men by ladies.” Some of the women carry wreaths, others carry palm leaves, some carry shields, and still others hold garlands. What may be a single row of dancers at stage left balances the larger group at stage right. Two students kneel downstage right in front of the diagonal rows of dancers. Raymonda and Jean de Brienne appear to be upstage center, surrounded by six women.

Group II assembles at bar 11. Here, the dancers form rows in a semicircle around the stage. Ten tabourets again create a raised back row, with two more tabourets farther upstage at center. The drawing shows that women (“with shields”) stand on the tabourets, each holding one end of a garland; the other end is held by a student standing on the stage floor in front of each tabouret. In addition, the knights sit on the tabourets. The next two rows include women holding palms (wreaths are not mentioned); those in the innermost semicircle are lying down. Three women flank the two tabourets that are farthest downstage at each side. Raymonda and Jean de Brienne are unaccounted for in the drawing of this grouping.

Group III (bar 19) features three lines of women at both stage right and left; the women in the central lines carry palm leaves, while the others carry wreaths. As in the second group, pairs of women flank the downstage ends of the triple lines. A semicircle of women and men on tabourets is at stage right. The students stand in two symmetrical diagonal lines at center, and between them stand four male-female couples. And again, the placement of the lovers is not indicated in the drawing.

Group IV coalesces at bar 27, with the majority of the dancers again at stage right, including a row of knights on tabourets behind three rows of women, all on the diagonal.⁹⁶ The dancers in the row farthest downstage kneel; their row is balanced by another row of kneeling women opposite them on stage left. In front of the kneeling dancers are two pairs of women, one at stage right and one at stage left, likely holding each other by the waist. Two trios of women flank them on either side. A central upstage couple may represent Raymonda and Jean de Brienne; they are also flanked by pairs of women. The students stand downstage of them in two lines at center.

Group V (bar 35) bears the heading, “Like 3rd group.” The only difference in the drawing of this group from the third is the addition of two women, one standing with each of the centerstage couples.

Lastly, group VI forms at bar 49. This tableau is completely symmetrical, with dancers in both diagonal and straight lines on either side of the stage. Each knight stands in front of a woman in diagonal lines along each wing; both knights and women appear to be on tabourets. This drawing features the addition of “[Ekaterina] Burmistrova [representing *La renommée*, fame and renown] with a trumpet,” standing far upstage at center. Raymonda and Jean de Brienne are once again not indicated.

The *pas de deux* itself is sparsely notated, with nowhere near the detail found in the notated second *pas de deux* of the Kingdom of the Shades scene in the *La Bayadère* CN. Moreover, as is the case for most *pas de deux* notated in the Stepanov system, this one lacks indications of metered rhythm for the steps. That said, the CN is rich with annotations describing quasi-ceremonial actions and giving an idea of the unusual details of the dance.

⁹⁶ “Group IV” is written in bar 17 and again at bar 27. That the third grouping is indicated at bar 19 suggests the annotation in bar 17 may be an error.

Having asked Glazunov for “heavenly music, poetic, expressive, lively, passionate,” Petipa surely intended to imbue his choreography with these characteristics.⁹⁷ The duet begins with Raymonda sitting on Jean de Brienne’s knee (RN 102). After some standard poses, lifts, and balances (including one in which Jean de Brienne holds Raymonda by the bodice with one hand as she holds a *demi-arabesque* on *pointe*), Raymonda again sits on her lover’s knee. They walk downstage left, where he asks her to bring him his sword. She carries it over her head while walking toward him on *pointe*. An annotation explains, “She sticks [or pierces] the sword into the floor and takes the wreath off head [presumably Jean de Brienne’s head] and puts it on the sword handle.” As Raymonda *bouffées* toward stage left, Jean de Brienne goes upstage and takes a palm leaf from one of the knights. The leaf is featured in the subsequent choreography. For example, near the end of the *pas*, the CN instructs Jean de Brienne to put the palm branch around Raymonda’s waist and hold each end while making a clockwise *tour de promenade* as Raymonda stands on *pointe* in *arabesque*. Next, “they walk [upstage] and Legat takes the wreath off the [his?] head and places [it] on the floor” before partnering Raymonda by the hand in a final *tour de promenade en arabesque*—the CN appears to indicate two full revolutions—followed by two turns, likely supported *pirouettes*.⁹⁸

Volynsky’s brief description of the *pas de deux* is in agreement with the conclusion of the dance as documented in the CN: “Preobrazhenskaya and Nikolai Legat’s adagio is thematically beautiful; charmingly performed arabesques alternate with attitudes. The dancing ends with two *pirouettes* on the left foot.”

⁹⁷ Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 41.

⁹⁸ Volynsky, “*Raimonda*,” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 34.

Valse fantastique

The light and gentle *Valse fantastique* is notated for corps de ballet, coryphées, soloists, and students, though the exact number of dancers involved is difficult to determine from the CN.

The dance begins with twelve corps de ballet women dancing in pairs (RN 110). They perform *balancés* in place, forward and back, before tracing circular patterns around the stage. Two soloists (identified as “[Elizaveta] Vill and [Evgenia] Snetkova” in the CN, although “Vill” is struck through and “[Elena] Makarova” has been added) enter together at upstage center (RN 114). Traveling downstage together, they perform *piqué en demi-arabesque* three times (the enchaînement appears to be notated in incomplete form) followed by *chainés* on *demi-pointe* to opposite downstage wings.

Twelve more corps women enter (identified as “1st corps de ballet”), moving in two groups of six (RN 115). Traveling on opposite diagonals (they cross at center), the groups perform *piqué de côté en cou-de-pied devant* four times followed by *pas de valse en tournant* and *pas de bourrée*. The entire enchaînement is repeated to the other side. Next, they travel upstage with *temps levé en demi-arabesque*, *assemblé* then *bourrée* on their return. This is repeated to the other side as they travel downstage and back, then the entire sequence is danced one more time.

Twelve “2nd corps de ballet” women begin at RN 116 in an upstage row. They travel down center *glissade*, *cabriole devant*, *coupé dessous* on *demi-pointe*, *tombé* three times then turn a circle in place with *demi-valse*. Backward walks on *pointe* bring them upstage, then they split and move to the sides with *pas de basque*. Two upstage rows of six student girls each

follow at RN 117.⁹⁹ They perform “*cabr[iole]* back [*derrière*] 6 times” as they travel downstage then split at center, return upstage, and form lines along the wings.

An unspecified number of coryphées (entrances in the subsequent coda indicate six women) enters at RN 118. They travel downstage in a single line performing *cabrioles derrière* to either side (half the women to the left, the other half to the right) then a *saut de basque* (as they return to the line) three times to alternate sides. More *pas de basque* bring them downstage, where they form a single row. They perform a series of *relevés en demi-arabesque* alternating with *relevés en attitude devant* then split and move to the sides as the “Corps de ballet walks to the middle” and everyone on stage resumes dancing. Although no steps are notated at this point, the ground plan indicates that the soloists and coryphées traverse the stage in two groups, passing each other at center, while traveling groups of three corps women each trace an intricate pattern upstage among pairs of corps women dancing in place.

Near the end of the waltz, thirty-two women (not including the students) are accounted for in the CN.¹⁰⁰ An annotation states, “Everyone in place *pas* 12 times,” matching the notation of twelve *relevés*, again alternating *demi-arabesque* and *attitude devant*. The women turn a circle on *pointe* before the final grouping, in which the dancers are “on [*pointe* symbol] and on the knee.”

Variations

Three variations for women follow. The music for each conjures the same light and airy sound world as the dreamy *Valse fantastique*.

⁹⁹ The Harvard PR includes the manuscript annotation “Coryphée” at RN 117, at odds with the CN.

¹⁰⁰ The Harvard PR includes the MS annotation “girl students” at RN 119. The group of thirty-two women likely includes the two groups of twelve corps de ballet dancers, six coryphées, and two soloists.

The existence of multiple similar yet distinct notations of each of these variations reminds us that the choreography of a given solo dance may have differed, even slightly, from dancer to dancer. In the case of differences between notations documenting the steps of the same dancer, perhaps the dancer herself was allowed leeway in her choices from rehearsal to rehearsal or performance to performance.

Variation I. The CN for the first variation, a gentle 2/4 in D-flat major featuring the celesta, documents the performance of Agrippina Vaganova.¹⁰¹ Beginning at center, she performs two *relevés en arabesque*, *sissonne doublée*, and steps on *pointe* backward (returning to her starting position) two times to alternate sides. She continues with more *relevés en arabesque* followed by a *piqué double rond de jambe en l'air* three times to alternate sides, then she *bourrées* downstage left. Changing direction, Vaganova *bourrées* backward on the diagonal as she zigzags upstage, punctuating each segment with an *entrechat six*. Reaching upstage right, she returns on the diagonal with *relevé en arabesque*—swinging the working leg from a *développé devant fondu* to *arabesque—pas de chat* six times. The variation concludes with *chaînés* on *demi-pointe*, crossing the stage to the right. No final pose is given.

A second notation of this variation, providing movements for the entire body (the first version indicates only feet and legs), is preserved in the collection's miscellaneous files.¹⁰² In this version, for which no dancer's name is given, *temps levés sur la pointe en demi-arabesque* are substituted for the initial *relevés*. The variation continues like Vaganova's version until the final diagonal, which consists of a *pirouette* from fifth position, *coupé dessous*, *assemblé six*

¹⁰¹ The meter of this variation is 2/4, but the PR includes the annotation 4/8 at the top of the page, suggesting the conductor might beat four in each bar. Varvara Rykhlyakova danced the first variation in the 1898 premiere.

¹⁰² MS Thr 245 (228), 16–17.

times. The subsequent turning sequence across the stage appears to begin with *piqué tours en dehors* (the “+” sign indicating a turn to the right is missing) followed by *chaînés* on *demi-pointe*.

Variation II. The CN of the contrasting second variation—a sprightly, running 6/8 featuring rapidly descending melodic scales—records the performance of Elena Polyakova.¹⁰³ Instead of the smooth *relevés* of the first variation, this one opens with a diagonal of *cabriole derrière* and two *pas de bourrée* three and a half times from upstage left. Polyakova returns up the diagonal with *chassé*, *tour jeté*, *relevé en arabesque* three times followed by a run downstage left. Traveling backward up the opposite diagonal, she performs *entrechat six*, *échappé sur les pointes*, and three hops in fifth position on *pointe* three times. After another run, this time downstage right, she travels across the stage with *glissade*, *jeté*, and *temps levés sur la pointe* on the left foot as the right leg makes a *grand fouetté* to *arabesque fondu* followed by a *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe*, all performed twice. She continues with multiple *pas de bourrée* on *pointe*, punctuated by *piqués en demi-attitude devant*, then changes direction to finish the variation with *chaînés* on *demi-pointe* to downstage right.

A second, more detailed notation of this variation, also a recording of Polyakova’s performance and largely in agreement with the first version, is filed within the main CN.¹⁰⁴ This superb notation is signed by Alexandra Konstantinova, a student at the time the several extant notations bearing her name appear to have been made, and is written on oblong-format paper of

¹⁰³ The second variation was danced by Ekaterina Geltser in the 1898 premiere.

¹⁰⁴ This notation—which includes movements of the head, torso, arms and hands—matches the choreography included in the main CN with one significant difference: instead of running downstage right following the third combination (*entrechat six*, *échappé sur les pointes*, and hops on *pointe*), here the dancer makes her way downstage performing multiple *temps levés en demi-arabesque* on alternate feet. These conclude with an *assemblé* leading to the *temps levés sur la pointe*, travelling across the stage from right to left. A final pose is also given: *relevé en demi-attitude devant*.

the kind that Wiley suggests may have been used for classroom exercises (formatted with staves only, without boxes for ground plans).¹⁰⁵ A third notation of this variation is written in the same hand as the alternate version of *Variation I* and is also part of the collection's miscellaneous files.¹⁰⁶

Variation III. Before the first performance, Petipa appears to have discarded the music Glazunov had composed for the original third variation for *Raymonda* and replaced it with a new variation for solo violin—an arrangement of the *Valse* from the composer's *Scènes de Ballet* (Ex. 3.18)¹⁰⁷ The dance is recorded twice by Sergeyev and a third time by Konstantinova. All three versions record the performance of Preobrazhenskaya and are filed within the main CN. The version filed first (by Sergeyev) includes a ground plan and notated movements for legs and feet; the second version (also by Sergeyev) is fragmentary and appears to have been abandoned midway through; the third version (by Konstantinova—it is signed and dated 22 March 1905) is complete, with movements given for the entire body. The steps in Konstantinova's version are nearly identical to those in Sergeyev's (differences will be listed below).

¹⁰⁵ Wiley, "*Dances from Russia*," 107n36.

¹⁰⁶ MS Thr 245 (228), 17. Here, in the second enchaînement, the *échappé* precedes the *entrechat six*, and the final *chainés* are performed on *pointe*.

¹⁰⁷ Alexander Glazunov, *Scènes de Ballet*, Op. 52, 1894. Here, the solo violin of the *Valse* replaces the solo flute of the original third variation. A two-violin *répétiteur* of the interpolated and arranged waltz variation for *Raymonda* is part of the Sergeyev Collection, MS Thr 245 (69).

Ex. 3.18 Interpolated Variation 3, based on *Valse* from *Scènes de Ballet* (Glazunov)

Tempo di Valse
Vn. solo

p dolce

Hp., Vc.

Preobrazhenskaya begins at center with a series of alternating *piqués en arabesque* and *piqués en cou-de-pied devant*, creating a gentle rocking motion that ends in *pas bourrée* on *pointe*. A continuous *bourrée* on *pointe* (only recorded by Konstantinova) takes her upstage left to begin a diagonal of *glissade*, *relevé enveloppé*, *tombé*, *piqué en cou-de-pied devant*, *pas de bourrée* on *pointe* three and a half times, culminating in two fast *pas de bourrée* that coincide with a fast-rising line in the violin and a half cadence.

The middle section of the variation features *renversé*, *pas de bourrée en tournant* six times as Preobrazhenskaya travels across the front of the stage. After a *bourrée* upstage (on *demi-pointe* in Sergeyev's notation and on *pointe* in Konstantinova's), the final section features a speedy zigzag comprised of *piqué en attitude devant*, *pas de bourrée en avant* on *pointe*, *piqué*

en attitude devant, pas de bourrée couru en première, tendu de côté fondu, assemblé, relevé en attitude devant three times. In Sergeyev's version, the variation ends with a final *renversé, pas de bourrée on pointe*, a run on *pointe* directly downstage, and a *piqué en demi-arabesque* to the knee. Konstantinova's account of the concluding enchaînement differs slightly from Sergeyev's: fourth position, *relevé en arabesque, pas de bourrée en tournant on pointe, pas de bourrée couru en première, relevé en attitude devant*, arms overhead.

Volynsky described Preobrazhenskaya's performance as

...full of difficulties. But the rotations of the whole body [*renversé*], which end in the wide fourth position of the legs, are full of poetry. Preobrazhenskaya does them effortlessly. She performs her movements first whirling around, then giving them up to the whim of her fantasy. The variation concludes after the dance on *pointe* in a straight line, with a new and delicate rotation [perhaps a reference to the final repeat of the *renversé*].¹⁰⁸

Coda

The coda (also based on Jean de Brienne's motif) involves all participants. Vill and Snetkova (Vill's name is again struck through and Makarova's added) begin from opposite upstage corners. They travel on the diagonal with *temps levé en demi-arabesque, temps levé en tournant* four times, then change direction for four more repetitions, this time crossing paths at center. They move upstage backward with a series of *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied devant, glissade, jeté* then head to their nearest downstage corners with *chainés on demi-pointe* as twelve corps de ballet women run in from the upstage sides. This group travels directly downstage in two rows of six with a series of *tendu devant fondu, relevé en cou-de-pied devant, glissade*. They next turn two circles in place as they *bourrée on pointe* before traveling backward upstage with a

¹⁰⁸ Volynsky, "Raimonda," tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 34–35.

series of walks on *pointe* and *temps levés sur la pointe en demi-arabesque*. They move to the sides with multiple *précipités* and a *pas de bourrée* on *pointe* to finish. The six coryphées are next, first traveling directly downstage in a single row with *précipités* before moving on to larger-scale steps: *développés devant*, *cabrioles derrière*, and *grands jetés en avant*. After their row splits at center and they run to the sides, concluding with *pas de chat*, twelve more corps women enter from either side and perform a lengthy series of *demi-emboîtés devant* in various formations and patterns followed by *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied devant* and *relevés petits passés*.

Raymonda follows at RN 137.¹⁰⁹ She begins with *temps levé en arabesque*, *piqué tour en dehors*, *développé devant* six times. After retracing her path backward with *arabesques voyagées*, she returns down the diagonal with what is likely a repeat of her initial enchaînement. This is followed by a run to the downstage left corner and a *manège* of this same “first *pas*,” as the step is designated in the CN. She finishes with undesignated turns on *demi-pointe*.

After the *fermata* just before RN 140, the students enter, performing multiple *pas de chat*, *pas de bourrée* as they travel in a single row directly downstage before running back to their starting point.¹¹⁰ Polyakova and Vaganova, the two variations soloists, enter together from opposite upstage corners and perform a series of *glissade*, *saut de basque* on the diagonal (RN 141). The corps re-enters from each upstage side (CN: “Corps de ballet in long dresses”), as the soloists briefly pause then continue to dance: they cross paths at center then move upstage with multiple *temps de flèche* (RN 142). Traveling in two lines, the corps traces symmetrical circular

¹⁰⁹ This entrance is headed, “Preobrazhenskaya for the second time,” although an earlier entrance is not indicated in the CN. The PR includes a printed annotation, “Solo de Raymonda,” at RN 138.

¹¹⁰ The PR includes the annotation “girl students” at RN 140. The fermata is written in the CN at the end of Raymonda’s entrée and matches the fermata in the PR in the bar preceding RN 140.

patterns around the stage, after which all “walk into groups,” suggesting the end of the dance for the ensemble.

A “Coda II | Preobrazhenskaya and Legat” follows, forty bars before the end of the dance (RN 143). Traveling on the diagonal from upstage left, Raymonda performs *glissade, piqué en arabesque, pas de bourrée on pointe* twice. An annotation directs, “Legat lifts,” although lifts are not clearly indicated until the next enchaînement: running around to center, Preobrazhenskaya performs *sissonne ouverte* (lifted at the waist by Legat), *assemblé, relevé en arabesque* four times. She next passes in front of Legat, moving to his right side. He picks her up with his right arm, carrying her “to the side” (that is, on his side), and walks backward on the diagonal toward upstage center, where they make their final pose. The CN instructs one or both of them to kneel; perhaps Legat knelt and Preobrazhenskaya sat on his knee.

The coda is a masterful summation of this multi-movement dance suite, featuring all of its various constituencies: corps de ballet in multiple groups, coryphées, waltz soloists, variations soloists, students, and, of course, Raymonda, first in a solo entrée then partnered by Jean de Brienne.

The next notation page begins with the annotation, “like 1st Group,” which may suggest the ensemble returns to the first grouping of the adagio. As the orchestra plays a sort of epilogue to the coda (a restatement of Jean de Brienne’s theme in a warm D-flat major), Raymonda, according to Petipa’s scenario, approaches the White Lady, who says, “Look, and learn what awaits you.” Raymonda runs to Jean de Brienne but instead finds herself face to face with Abderrakhman, “who has taken the place of her fiancé.”¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 41.

Scène IX—Scène mimique. The CN ground plan indicates that Preobrazhenskaya approaches the upstage, raised *chaise longue* (RN 147). Gerdt is shown next to it, where the trapdoor is indicated in the production drawing. According to the scenario, “All the heavenly maidens have disappeared, just as Jean de Brienne has.” An extended *scène dramatique* ensues, in which Abderrakhman declares his love for Raymonda, who continually rejects him.

Petipa described the surprise meeting and subsequent dramatic scene in detail for Glazunov:

Chromatic scale. Two measures when Raymonda runs to Jean and a fairly shrill sound (high) when she comes face to face with Abder-Rakhman. Pause. And then two beats tremolo. Abder-Rakhman speaks to her of his love, which Raymonda rejects in terror. This is almost a dramatic scene, contrasting with the scene of Raymonda and Jean de Brienne. Music of a passionate, violent, sharp character. The terror of Raymonda. At the end, fortissimo 2/4 for 84 bars.¹¹²

Glazunov gave Petipa much of what he requested: A rising scale leads to the moment that Raymonda meets Abderrakhman, although the scale is more diatonic than chromatic and ends on a high D-flat. This is followed by the ballet’s first statement of Abderrakhman’s motif (disregarding his added entrance in Scene One; Ex. 3.6a) and a pause (*fermata*) as the final note is held. String tremolos follow, underscoring repetitions of the motif that soften before another pause.

The passage proceeds *con moto*, alternating Abderrakhman’s motif with Raymonda 1 (which features frequent leaps of a seventh), as the music becomes increasingly “passionate, violent, and sharp.”¹¹³ Returning to the CN, we find that Abderrakhman appears to advance upon Raymonda as “she, fearful, retreats,” traveling backward downstage, her arms held in front of

¹¹² Ibid., 42.

¹¹³ At RN 148, the OS includes the designation *Scène mimique*. This is missing from the PR, in which all of the musical material comprising the *Scène mimique* is part of *Scène XI*.

her. The subsequent mime scene, in which Abderrakhman becomes increasingly physically aggressive, is described in detail:

Abderrakhman: “I ask you not to leave. I love you.” He wants to embrace her.

Raymonda “drives [him] out.”

Abderrakhman: “Do not drive me out. I love you.” He wants to embrace her again.

Raymonda runs away under his arms as they cross paths at center.

Abderrakhman: “She wants to leave. She is mine.”

He takes Raymonda by the hands and turns her around. Still holding her hands, he pulls her across the stage. She kneels and begs to be saved. Seeing her begging, Abderrakhman steps away. Running upstage, Raymonda attempts to escape. Abderrakhman follows and takes her by the waist. She twists free and pushes him away, making multiple turns as she travels downstage.

Raymonda: “I hate you. Just kill me—and I will not love you.”

Abderrakhman: “You do not want to love me. I will kill you with this dagger.”

He lunges at her, lifting the dagger, but seeing her beauty, he drops the weapon and takes her again by the waist. Raymonda twists free with more turns and runs away. Pursuing her and this time taking her by the neck, Abderrakhman pulls Raymonda upstage to center. Breaking free one last time, she runs downstage only to be lifted by Abderrakhman and carried upstage to the trapdoor.

At the same time, another character, performed by “[Alexandra] Mikhailova,” approaches the trapdoor from upstage left. Mikhailova may have been cast as Raymonda’s double, a role listed among the participants of the *Scène dramatique*. (She was not the White Lady, a role Mikhailova never performed.) The CN instructs, “Gerdt and Mikhailova fall through the trapdoor.” If indeed Mikhailova performed as Raymonda’s double, her disappearance through

the trapdoor with Abderrakhman appears to have been the solution for dispatching the body double at the end of Raymonda's dream.

Scène X—Ronde des follets et des farfadets. Students portraying will-o-the-wisps and goblins (*dukhi*, or “spirits,” in the CN) run onto the stage, first boys then girls (RN 154). Their dance is very sparsely notated. After running into a circle formation around Raymonda, they surround her in a box formation along three sides of the stage (sides and front); the ground plan suggests the boys travel in circles around the girls.¹¹⁴ Next, the *dukhi* travel downstage in rows—two rows of girls followed by a row of boys. Finally, annotations listing Roman numerals I through V suggest division of the students into five groups, the first of which carries the instruction, “Girl students come near”. Nothing is indicated for the other four groups, but at the end of the list another annotation instructs, “and all together.” According to an annotation in the scores, “Raymonda falls with a cry and faints; everyone disappears.”

The order of events just described based on the CN differs from the libretto, wherein Abderrakhman's final attempt to abduct Raymonda occurs after the entrance of the *dukhi*.

Scène XI. This atmospheric scene depicts the sunrise and, musically, is a development of themes accompanying Raymonda's first glimpse of Jean de Brienne combined with short statements of the White Lady's motif and followed by a reminder of Raymonda's scarf variation from Scene One (*Une fantaisie*).¹¹⁵ Glazunov employs all of these themes to transfer the action from the twilight of Raymonda's dreams back to the daylight reality of her courtly life.

Scène XII. The final annotation in the CN for Act One reads, “Entrance of girl pupils and boy pupils from the castle” in search of their missing mistress. The number of students, or

¹¹⁴ The circular ground plans remind us of the choreography for the young students that make up the court of Oberon's kingdom during the opening of George Balanchine's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1962).

¹¹⁵ Petipa asked for “16 bars of music expressive of the situation.” Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 42.

whether the four friends are involved, is not indicated. The music imitates running steps, followed by a quick crescendo, culminating in a final statement of the sunrise theme from *Scène XI* as the curtain falls.

Act Two *Cour d'amour*

Act Two includes two complete dance suites, one a classical *pas d'action* and the other a diverse collection of mostly exotic character dances. Brief mimed passages introduce each suite. The final bacchanale dovetails into the conclusion of the act, which features the denouement: the return of Jean de Brienne and his triumph over Abderrakhman.

Entr'acte—Scène I. Marche. Following a second *entr'acte*, which introduces the Raymonda 2 motif, the opening march brings on knights, lords, ladies, troubadours, minstrels, and others who have been invited to the *cour d'amour*, which is set in an interior courtyard of Raymonda's castle. The scenic design by Konstantin Ivanov features a central entrance with rounded doors upstage at the top of a short, broad staircase. Bench seating is set up along each wing. The CN instructs, "All of them enter from the left side," that is, from upstage right rather than through the central doors. Everyone congratulates Raymonda, who is distracted by her concern that Jean de Brienne has not yet arrived. Trumpets, played *sur la scène*, announce special guests.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Glazunov included a final chord in G minor (first inversion) at the end of the *Marche*, following the onstage fanfare. This isolated chord serves, musically, to bridge the abrupt transition from the E-flat major of the *Marche* to the A minor of *Scène II*. It also functions as a scene-changing chord, creating a momentary suspense, not dissimilar to the brief scene-changing chords Adam provided in the second act of *Giselle* just prior to Albert's entrance.

Scène II: Entrée d'Abdéràme. The seneschal (Bulgakov) reports, "A knight comes" (RN 186).¹¹⁷ Expecting Jean de Brienne, Raymonda is met once again by Abderrakhman, who enters at RN 187, bringing his entourage with him. Raymonda is upset as she recognizes the man from her dream.¹¹⁸ Seeing Raymonda, Abderrakhman bows to her.

Abderrakhman: "I come here for your celebration. Allow me to introduce my suite."

He presents his entourage then crosses to stage right.

Abderrakhman (aside): "She is beautiful. I will propose that she take my hand."

Crossing back to stage left, he extends his hand to Raymonda, but she withdraws her own hand with disdain. According to an annotation in the scores, the Countess "calms Raymonda in the name of hospitality," and the *pas d'action* begins.

Glazunov, drawing on Abderrakhman's motif as presented in the vision scene, here provides the strongest statement of the antagonist's motif thus far. This may have been in response to Petipa's request in this scene for a return of earlier music: "From 16 to 24 bars of music in an Arabian spirit. *Forte* for entrance of Abder-Rakhman. He bows before Raymonda and shows his retinue to her. Music should be somewhat reminiscent of the scene in the previous act."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ The score annotation states that Abderrakhman enters at RN 186, but the CN makes clear that his entrance does not come until RN 187, coinciding with a *forte* statement of his motif.

¹¹⁸ The annotation in the score states, "Raymonda lets out a cry as she recognizes Abderrakhman from her vision."

¹¹⁹ Goldman, "*Raymonda*," 42. Italics added.

Grand pas d'action

Grand Adagio. The dramatic adagio continues the development of Abderrakhman's motif (Ex. 3.6b). Choreographed for three women and three men—Raymonda, Clémence, Henriette, Abderrakhman, Bernard, and Béranger—the dance calls for Abderrakhman to make advances toward Raymonda. (Countess Sybille, undoubtedly an interested onlooker, is included in the cast list for the *pas d'action*.) Petipa pointed out the contrasting emotions expressed in the scene in his instructions to Glazunov: "Music is begun expressing tenderness. However, for the depiction of the Saracen, it is *forte*."¹²⁰ His scenario is poetic in its description of the dance:

Abder-Rakhman, captivated by the beauty of Raymonda, speaks to her of his love. But she prefers the madrigals of the other lords. Abder-Rakhman becomes all the more insistent: "You should belong to me, beautiful countess"—he says—"you will be surrounded by luxury and delights if you stay with me."¹²¹

Far less clear in this case is the CN—the document capable of providing concrete details of what occurred on stage—which offers a series cluttered ground plans filled with annotations, numerous arrows indicating direction of travel, and strike-throughs that require careful deciphering in order to determine what the actual movements and choreography may have been. This is my reading of it:

Raymonda, at center, begins the dance with an arabesque on *pointe*. The ground plan suggests she supports herself by holding Henriette's shoulder. Abderrakhman approaches Raymonda, who moves away from him in a clockwise circle around the stage, as he mimes, "You, do not leave." Raymonda rejoins her two girlfriends at center and mimes in reply, "No! Nobody." The women take hold of each other at the waist and, standing on *pointe*, move their leg "forward and back" three times—that is, they pass their working leg from ninety degrees *devant*

¹²⁰ Ibid. Italics added.

¹²¹ Ibid.

to *arabesque* three times. The girlfriends on either side of Raymonda hold the hands of Fokine (Bernard) and Obukhov (Béranger), who flank the trio and face upstage.

Raymonda runs downstage where she is again confronted by Abderrakhman, who mimes, “Listen to me.” She refuses, and Obukhov lifts her and carries her back to center, as Fokine partners the two girlfriends at upstage right. Abderrakhman follows. Partnered by Obukhov, Raymonda poses on the left *pointe* (her right foot in *cou-de-pied derrière*) and arches her back to lean away from Abderrakhman. She runs from him again, and he approaches her, declaring, “I love you.” Abderrakhman continues to move alongside Raymonda as she *bourrées* across the front of the stage. She steps into a *piqué tour en dehors* that ends *à la seconde* as Obukhov steps in to partner her. Raymonda continues with a *glissade* and *piqué en arabesque* on the right foot then crosses the stage again with *bourrées*, followed by what is likely another *piqué tour en dehors*—the ground plan indicates a turn. (Perhaps she was partnered by Fokine, as Obukhov had partnered her at stage right, although an annotation mentioning Fokine’s name is struck through.) Raymonda runs upstage left. The girlfriends *bourrée* to meet her.

At the climactic point in the music, Obukhov “carries” Preobrazhenskaya “with both hands,” preceded by the girlfriends, who continue to *bourrée*. The group travels on the diagonal. When they reach downstage right, “Gerdt wants to grab her, but she runs past him under his arm” toward stage left where Fokine partners her in a *tour de promenade* as she poses in *arabesque* on *pointe*. She pulls in for a single *pirouette* that opens to *arabesque* as she leans forward. Meanwhile, Obukhov partners both Egorova (Henriette) and Karsavina (Clémence) at stage right as Fokine had done earlier in the dance. Preobrazhenskaya continues with Fokine, who partners her in a *double piqué tour en dehors* opening to *arabesque* as Gerdt, who has crossed to stage left, again declares, “I love you.”

In preparation for the finale, the girlfriends run downstage left to their mistress. The *bourrée* (“all three on [*pointe* symbol]”) to midstage—Preobrazhenskaya to center (where she *bourrées* around Obukhov), Karsavina to stage right (where Gerdt has walked via upstage to meet her), and Egorova at stage left (paired with Fokine). Annotations instruct, “Obukhov spins Preobrazhenskaya 2 circles”; the notation calls for three turns on the right *pointe*: the first *en arabesque*, the second *en cou-de-pied devant*, and the third again *en arabesque*. Preobrazhenskaya next *bourrées* forward for a preparatory fourth position and supported *double pirouette*, finishing *en cou-de-pied devant*. In this final pose, she faces downstage left, away from Abderrakhman (who, despite partnering Karsavina in an *arabesque*, faces directly toward Raymonda), her head turned even farther to the left.

Four variations follow—one for each of Raymonda’s girlfriends, one for a male dancer, and one for Raymonda.¹²²

Variation I. The first variation, an *Allegretto*, 2/4 in D-flat major, features a tripping melody that rises and falls with a continual sense of forward motion. The CN documents the performance of Egorova as Henriette. She begins at center with a series of *pas de bourrée* and *relevés* that alternate *demi-attitude devant* and *demi-arabesque* positions in place. Although the facing position of the hips is not given, the progression of steps suggests the *relevés* were all performed *en effacé*. After traveling upstage right, alternating *pas de bourrée en avant* and *en arrière* on *pointe* while traveling sideways, Egorova returns down the diagonal, still moving sideways, with *pas de chat*, *pas de bourrée* on *pointe*, *relevé en arabesque*, *sissonne changée*,

¹²² An additional notation of a brief (possibly incomplete) female variation that I have not yet identified is written on the oblong-format paper associated with student notation work and included within the Act Two pages of the CN. No ballerina’s name is given, the notation is not signed, and the heading reads merely, “Variation for ballet ‘Raymonda.’ Music by Glazunov.”

pas de chat four times. The next enchaînement, which travels across the front of the stage, may be missing one bar of steps: Egorova begins with two *échappés battus*. (What follows immediately after the *échappés battus* may be missing from the enchaînement.) The next bar documents an *à la seconde* position on the right *pointe*; the left foot then lowers to *cou-de-pied derrière*. These three bars are repeated to the other side as Egorova moves upstage left on the diagonal. A final diagonal features two *relevés petits passés* and two *pas de chat* four times followed by a series of *glissades* and *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied derrière* across the front of the stage. After an abrupt change of direction, Egorova travels back across the stage with unspecified turns, first on *pointe* then on *demi-pointe*.

Variation II. The second variation, for Clémence as danced by Karsavina, is a lyrical 6/8 in B-major. Like Egorova's variation, this one also relies heavily on *pointe* work. Karsavina begins with *piqué fouetté* to *arabesque effacé*, *pas de bourrée* on *pointe* on each foot followed by a gentle *bourrée* that zigzags downstage. After two *glissades*, an abbreviated annotation appears to call for *rond de jambe* on *pointe*. This enchaînement is repeated then followed by two *pas de cheval* to *tendu devant fondu* and hops on *pointe* in fifth position as Karsavina makes two complete turns to the right. All of these movements are repeated, beginning from the two *glissades*.

The rest of the variation features travel up and down the diagonal to and from upstage left. Karsavina first moves backward up the diagonal with repeated *relevés en arabesque* then downstage with eight *entrechat six*, *relevé développé devant*. She travels up again with *piqués en demi-arabesque* and finally returns downstage with a *bourrée* backward that ends with a *pas de basque*, making a half turn and finishing in fourth position *plié*.

A second, more detailed notation of this variation (filed with the main CN) records the performance of Anna Pavlova as Clémence.¹²³ While all of the bars of music do not appear to be accounted for, this notation provides greater detail than the first, particularly for the unusual steps preceding the hops on *pointe*: three quick *grands battements*—the working leg moving from fifth position *demi-pointe* to *attitude devant* and back—beginning with three with the right foot, then three with the left foot, and then three with the right again, all performed as the dancer makes a complete turn to the right. She concludes the enchaînement with an *assemblé* before continuing with the hops on *pointe*. Other differences between the notated versions include the opening enchaînement: instead of two *piqué fouettés effacé*, Pavlova performs only one followed by *coupé dessous* on *pointe* and *pas de basque* into *piqué en arabesque, fondu*. What seems to be a truncated or incomplete final section of Pavlova’s variation concludes with a string of *piqué tours en dehors* that finish with *sous-sus*.

Variation III. The sole male variation in *Raymonda*, an *allegro* 2/4 featuring trumpets that imbue it with a martial quality, sadly is not included in the CN.

Variation IV. *Raymonda*’s variation is based on the *Raymonda* 2 motif and begins with a horn solo that lends a heroic quality to her dance (Ex. 3.7b). As in the preceding variations, the emphasis is on *pointe* work. Preobrazhenskaya begins with a diagonal downstage right from center: *pas de cheval* to *tendu effacé devant fondu, assemblé, pirouette* from fifth position followed by three *piqués petits passés* twice. Next, traveling backward and to the side across the stage, she performs *entrechat cinq, piqué en cou-de-pied devant, glissade en arrière, piqué de côté*, the working leg extended forty-five degrees *devant* then brought in to *cou-de-pied devant*, three times. After a *bourrée* that brings her back to downstage right, Preobrazhenskaya returns

¹²³ I have not identified the notator. The scribal hand and oblong-format paper suggest that this notation may be the work of a student.

up the diagonal with a *piqué tour en arabesque* to *tendu effacé devant* followed by a *bourrée* three times. She continues to *bourrée*, tracing a circle, and arrives upstage center for the climactic phrase: two hops in fifth position on *pointe* followed by a hop to *demi-arabesque* on *pointe*, *plié* six times to alternate sides, traveling directly down center. A variant of this phrase, notated alongside the first option, calls for *changements de pieds* on *pointe*. After a series of *piqués en cou-de-pied* on alternating feet, traveling sideways as Preobrazhenskaya makes her way downstage right, she travels backward up the diagonal with a step that could be described as *ballotté par terre de côté*. She returns with *chaînés* on *demi-pointe* and finishes the variation in fifth position on *pointe*.

A second, incomplete notation of this variation (the second enchaînement is missing) appears to be in the same hand as the second notation of *Variation II*. The notation is filed with the main CN, written on oblong-format paper, and also documents Preobrazhenskaya's performance, providing movements for the torso, head, arms, and hands. The *changement* hops are the only option given, and the final *chaînés* are replaced by ten *piqué tours en dedans*. Volynsky described these final turns, although his account suggests a *manège* instead of a diagonal:

In the pas d'action of the second act, Preobrazhenskaya again dances a complicated variation. In particular, she does a circle of jumps with turns on her left leg, bringing her turned-out right foot above the arch of the left foot first in the front [the notated *coup de pied* position of the right foot], then in the back [the position of the foot when the dancer steps on the right foot before the next turn]...¹²⁴

The notation confirms the final step in the variation is *sous-sus*.

¹²⁴ Volynsky, "Raimonda," tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 35.

Coda. The coda brings all participants together and includes solo passages for the three women and Obukhov (Béranger), suggesting the earlier male variation may have been danced by Fokine (Bernard).¹²⁵

Béranger and Henriette begin upstage left with a diagonal of *cabrioles derrière, temps levé passé* to *tombé croisé*, passing the working leg from *arabesque* to forty-five degrees *devant*, three times (RN 211). The ground plan's drawing of the dancers' extended arms suggests the two may have performed the steps in unison while Obukhov held Egorova by the waist, Egorova held Obukhov by the shoulder, or both. On the return diagonal upstage, Henriette's *bourrées* are punctuated by lifts—*sissonnes* landing in *arabesque fondu*. This initial *entrée* concludes with *chaînés* on *demi-pointe* for Henriette, travelling back down the diagonal as Béranger walks alongside her.

Clémence follows, traveling downstage at center with *glissade, entrechat cinq de volée* to each side, and four *sissonnes fermé* twice (RN 212). She *bourrées* backward toward upstage right and returns on the diagonal with *piqué tours en dehors* followed by turns on *demi-pointe*.

Béranger is next, the CN providing a rare example of male coda steps. His first enchaînement, traveling down the diagonal from upstage right, comprises *tombé, glissade, assemblé, relevé à la seconde, temps de flèche derrière*, likely performed two times. He returns up the diagonal with *pas de bourrée en tournant, assemblé, entrechat quatre, entrechat cinq*

¹²⁵ Fokine appears to confirm this in his memoirs. After lamenting a lack of roles in his early years as a dancer, he explains, "The exception in my repertoire was the role of Bernard de Ventadour in *Raymonda*, one of the best of Petipa's ballets, to the music of Alexander Glazunov. This role I acquired my very first year in service. It contained many dances and two classic variations, one in the third [scene, the *pas d'action*] and another in the fourth act [that is, the fourth scene, the dance for four cavaliers]." Michel Fokine, *Fokine: Memoirs of a Ballet Master*, ed. Anatole Chujoy, tr. Vitale Fokine (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), 43–44.

three times. His final enchaînement, traveling again down the diagonal, is not notated but may have been a repeat of his opening enchaînement.

Preobrazhenskaya enters upstage right at RN 216. After a run forward on *pointe*, traveling on the diagonal, she performs *relevé en arabesque*, *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe*, and a fleeting pose in *relevé en attitude devant*, arms overhead, back arched, and head to the left (thereby seen in profile by the audience), three times. She changes direction, running downstage right, and travels up the diagonal with *arabesque fondu* and three steps backward on *pointe* performed six times to alternate sides. She returns down the diagonal with a final enchaînement of two *relevés développé devant*, three *demi-emboîtés devant*, *assemblé* three and a half times followed by turns on *demi-pointe* as the melody rises to a climactic *fermata*, one bar before RN 219.

Henriette and Clémence continue, dancing side by side as they travel directly downstage at center with “*fouetté [sauté]* and [*piqué en*] *arabesque*” twice to alternate sides (RN 219). They continue with *chassé*, *tour jeté* followed by a run forward into *grand jeté en avant* twice. They head downstage left with a rapid enchaînement of two *piqués en demi-attitude devant* and two *pas de bourrée*, all on *pointe*, twice. Finally, changing direction, the pair crosses the stage with *pas de cheval*, *jeté*, *saut de basque* three times followed by *chaînes* on *demi-pointe*.

Preobrazhenskaya returns for a second, brief entrée—a run directly downstage on *pointe* (RN 221), after which she runs upstage to join her companions. Raymonda allows herself to be partnered briefly by Abderrakhman at center, flanked by the two couples. The CN directs, “everyone forward,” the women performing *demi-emboîtés devant* and finishing with supported *double pirouettes*. At the end, Raymonda “runs away,” exiting downstage right (therefore she

remains in character, is appalled by Abderrakhman, and breaks the convention of waiting for applause at the end of a dance).

Scène mimique. Abderrakhman presents his retinue to Raymonda, who has returned to the stage.

Following a brief mime exchange, a suite of character dances is performed.

According to the libretto, Abderrakhman entreats, ““You must be mine, beautiful countess. I offer you a life of magnificence and pleasure.’ He calls his slaves to entertain Raymonda.”¹²⁶

The CN provides the following narrative:

Abderrakhman: “She left. I love her madly. She must be mine. Oh! What a thought! I am calling my slaves. (to a male servant) You call them here and they shall dance here.”

The “Saracens” run in and Raymonda approaches Abderrakhman at center.

Abderrakhman (to Raymonda): “You look. I led them here. They here will dance for you.”

Together, Raymonda and Abderrakhman walk downstage left to watch the *divertissement*.

With the following suite of character dances performed by Abderrakhman’s entourage, the audience is thrust into the exotic, imagined world of the medieval Middle East and the Islamic stronghold in Spain.

¹²⁶ Wiley, *Century*, 400.

Comparison of Petipa's general descriptions of the dances in his instructions to Glazunov with the names of the dances eventually printed in the program reveals that as Petipa created the choreography, he sometimes deviated from his original plans:

- *Entrée des jongleurs*, which Petipa described as an "entrée of slaves, jugglers, and others" became *Pas des esclaves sarrasins*
- "Entrée of Saracens" became a dance for a dozen Arab boys called *Pas des moriscos*
- "Entrée of Moorish women with cymbals" became *Danse sarrasine*, a duet performed by a male-female couple
- "Entrée of the Spaniard from Granada (Moor) with castanets" became *Panadéros*, a Spanish-flavored ensemble dance led by a second male-female couple that was joined by an all-female ensemble, half of whom performed in travesty

Petipa's choreographic choices for this suite of dances were similar to those he made for the dances in *La Bayadère*'s festal third scene: when depicting peoples whose dance traditions were essentially unknown to him (the exception here is the Spanish *Panadéros*), Petipa employed a short list of relatively simple, ballet-based steps—*emboîtés*, *temps levés*, *soubresauts*, *pas de basque*, and the like—often combined with non-academic or character dance movements for the upper body. Such dances frequently employ props (for example, sticks in the *Pas des esclaves sarrasins* and coconut shells in the *Pas des moriscos*).

The step vocabulary for two numbers in this set of exotic dances makes understandable Shiryayev's later assertion that Petipa's approach to character choreography was based more on academic dance than on national dance steps. He explained, "I shall give some examples: the 'Saracen Dance' (*Danse sarrasine*) in *Raymonda* is based on the classical movements of the *pas de basque* and *ballonné*; the Spanish *panadéros* in the same ballet is based on the very same *pas*

de basque...”¹²⁷ While Shiryaev’s assessment is relatively accurate for the exotic character dances in Act Two, we will find that the Act Three dances employ a greater number of national dance steps.

Entrée des jongleurs

Although the ensemble dance of Saracen slaves was first performed by thirty couples, the CN accounts for only sixteen.¹²⁸ An annotation belong the heading “Saracens” informs, “The cavaliers hold sticks in their hands.” Before the dancing begins, Raymonda and Abderrakhman walk across the stage to join Countess Sybille at downstage left.

The ensemble commences in a block formation comprised of four rows of couples. The group runs directly downstage, then the women move to the sides in two lines. They travel back toward the men (also arranged in two lines) at center with six *demi-emboîtés devant*, arms overhead, followed by six *demi-emboîtés derrière*, bodies leaned forward, arms reaching behind, then run out to the sides and repeat the enchaînement. The men likely perform similar steps: the CN continues with the annotation, “Cavaliers walk after 4th time” (they arrange themselves into four lines).

As the men perform multiple *soubresauts* in place, their arms lifted overhead and opening to the side with each jump, the women travel toward them with a *temps levé en demi-arabesque* then change direction with a *pas de basque*. The ensemble next forms a dense, semicircular grouping upstage, the women flanking a central group of men. The cavaliers “hit the floor with the sticks,” while the women, kneeling, perform a repeating *port de bras*, arms finishing

¹²⁷ Beumers, et al., *Alexander Shiryaev*, 109.

¹²⁸ To be exact, the 1898 premiere program lists thirty-one women and thirty men; a program for 12 October 1903 lists seventeen women and twenty men.

overhead. After more *pas de basque* for the women and *demi-emboîtés devant* and *derrière* for the men, the group travels downstage—annotations include, “everyone walks forward,” as well as, “7 *pas de basque*.” Assembling once again into a block formation—lines of women alternating with lines of men—the ensemble performs a series of *temps levés en attitude devant* in place on alternating legs. At the conclusion of the dance, the women kneel as the men spring from *échappé en plié* to a pose in *demi-attitude devant*.

Danse des garçons arabes

The dance of the Arab boys features twelve students and is notated twice; each notation also includes the boys’ *entrée* in the final *Baccanal*. The more detailed record, in Rakhmanov’s hand, includes movements for the entire body.

The boys enter upstage, six from each side. Annotations inform us of an exotic property added to the dance: coconut shells. The boys “run and hit coconuts on their knees.” The more detailed CN explains: “in the hands, half-spheres with which they hit the same ones on their legs,” that is, the boys hold a half coconut shell in each hand; the other halves are attached to their legs just above the knee. Holding their hands in front of them at waist height, palms down, they run. As they lift their knees, the two halves of the coconut meet and make a percussive noise in time with the quarter-note pulse of the music.

Meeting at center, the boys form two rows and travel forward. The front row turns toward the back row, and the boys switch places with their counterparts in the opposing row: they jump toward each other with a *temps levé en demi-attitude derrière*, complete the turn with a *temps levé en demi-attitude devant*, and dance in place, facing front, with three *emboîtés devant*. They perform this enchaînement four times then resume their high-knee running as they “align into

two columns, clapping [the coconuts] on the knees.” Next, pairs of boys, one boy behind the other, “face the audience” and perform “do-za-do” four times—switching places as they perform two *soubresauts* then returning to their original places with two more.

The boys resume their “run and clap on the knees.” The two lines circle toward opposite sides and meet farther upstage in a single row. As the dance approaches its conclusion, the boys travel downstage then “sit down in the Turkish manner” (that is, with legs crossed) on the final chord. As the music for the next dance begins, they “stand up” and, splitting at center, “just run” to opposite sides (the more detailed CN calls for *temps levés en demi-arabesque*), where they sit in lines along the wings.

Entrée des Sarrazins

The CN for this lively duet danced by a Saracen couple records the performance of Evgenia Obukhova and Vasily Stukolkin.¹²⁹ The notated choreography includes the *pas de basque* and *ballonnés* described by Shiryayev. The pair begins upstage left and speeds down the diagonal with a series of *pas de basque*. Retracing their path, the dancers move “backward in *échappé*.” Reaching center, they circle in place away from each other with a series of four *temps levés en demi-arabesque* followed by a spring from *échappé en plié* into *demi-attitude devant fondu* and a *pas de bourrée en tournant* (which also ends in *demi-attitude devant fondu*) twice.

The couple repeats its opening *pas de basque* enchaînement, the dancers crossing paths as they travel to opposite downstage corners, then “runs sideways” on *demi-pointe* to center. The man holds the woman’s waist as they travel sideways and diagonally upstage left performing *pas de bourrée* punctuated by *battements dégagés en demi-attitude devant* twelve times. Both raise

¹²⁹ An annotation at the end of the previous boys’ dance notes another pairing: “Dance of [Alexander] Shiryayev and Obukhova.”

their left arm overhead with each *battement* as their head is thrown back and twisted left.

Arriving upstage left, they circle away from each other in place with *pas de basque* finishing in fifth position on *demi-pointe*. Returning downstage on the diagonal, they “turn the head right and left” as they perform eight *ballonnés* on alternate legs. Next, the cavalier “pushes the lady” as she performs a pose in fifth position on *demi-pointe*—arms overhead, body bent back, head to the left—followed by a *tombé* and a run forward four times, crossing the stage left to right.

Preparing for their final steps, the couple travels backward on the diagonal toward center with *temps levés en demi-arabesque*, the working leg rising to full *arabesque* when landing the jump. They advance toward the footlights with their opening *pas de basque*, turn away from each other with a circle in place of *temps levés en demi-attitude devant*, then run forward for a final pose in which “the cavalier holds the lady by her head” as she poses in *tendu derrière fondu*, arms extended to the side, back arched, and head turned left.

Grand pas espagnol

With the Spanish dance—*Panadéros*—Petipa moves away from generic “exotic” step vocabulary and turns to a national dance style that had long been of interest to him. His youthful years in Spain (1844–1847) immediately preceding his appointment as *premier danseur* in St. Petersburg afforded Petipa an apprenticeship in Spanish dance that he carried with him throughout his career.¹³⁰ Spanish-inflected choreography no doubt filled his numerous ballets set in Iberian locales, including the early divertissement titled *The Star of Granada* (1855), the one-act episode *The Traveling Dancer* (1865), which Petipa planned to revive as late as 1904, and the

¹³⁰ On Petipa’s years in Spain, see Hormigón, *Marius Petipa en España*. See also Laura Hormigón, “Petipa in Spain,” *Ballet Review* 47, nos. 3–4 (Fall–Winter 2019), 69–72, and Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 48–54.

multi-act ballets *Don Quixote* (1869), *Zoraiya* (1881), and *The King's Command* (1886). Petipa also included Spanish dances in ballets set in other regions, as he does here in *Raymonda*, or fairytale lands, such as *The Nutcracker* (1892). In 1878, he staged the dances for the St. Petersburg premiere of Bizet's *Carmen*.¹³¹

Petipa became a master of dance synthesis, incorporating Spanish step vocabulary into the *danse d'école*. Ekaterina Vazem, whose suggestion of a new ballet set in Spain provided the impetus for *Zoraiya* (in which she created the title role), remembered Petipa's enjoyment of the Spanish idiom: "Petipa worked on *Zoraiya* with much pleasure. The ballet gave him a great opportunity to use his knowledge of Spain, where he spent some of his early years. His composition was most successful, skillfully combining Spanish and [in the particular case of *Zoraiya*] exotic, oriental choreography."¹³²

Some of the Spanish movement vocabulary used by Petipa is described in *The Fundamentals of Character Dance* (FCD), a volume co-authored by the character dancer and teacher Alexander Shiryayev and his colleagues Andrei Lopukhov and Alexander Bocharov that codified character dance as it was performed on the Russian stage at the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century.¹³³ The FCD describes stylized versions of ballet-based vocabulary—such as *balancé*, *glissade*, *pas de basque*, and *sissonne*—that can be performed in a Spanish style.¹³⁴ For example, the Spanish character *glissade* described in the

¹³¹ See *Khronika III*, 194–195.

¹³² Vazem, "Memoirs: Part 4," 38.

¹³³ See A[ndrei] Lopukhov, V[asilievich], A[lexander] V[iktorovich] Shiryayev, and A[lexander] I[lyich] Bocharov., *Osnovy kharakternogo tantso* [The Fundamentals of Character Dance] (Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1939), published in English as *Character Dance*, tr. Joan Lawson (London: Dance Books, 1986). Citations will refer to the English translation.

¹³⁴ See especially Chapter Five, "Studies in Spanish Dance," in *Character Dance*, 108–121.

FCD consists of a step backward into *fendu*, the extension of the front foot in *tendu*, and the gliding of the front foot to meet the back foot.¹³⁵

Spanish-inflected choreography in the *Raymonda* CN is notated like other movements, without use of particular character step names of the kind we will find in the notation of the Hungarian-flavored choreography in Act Three. Reference to descriptions in the FCD can assist in identifying the stylized character steps notated in the CN. Another source documenting this step vocabulary can be found in the Sergeyev Collection—several pages of manuscript Spanish dance exercises written using Stepanov notation are among the holdings.¹³⁶

The *Panadéros* features a lead couple and sixteen women, half of whom perform in travesty, as in the *Pas des manteaux* in *Paquita*.¹³⁷ The CN records the performance of the original lead interpreters, Marie Petipa and Sergei Lukyanov, separately from the ensemble. (Studio photographs of Marie Petipa in this role show her holding a large tambourine, a prop not mentioned in the CN.¹³⁸)

¹³⁵ Lopoukov [sic], et al., *Character Dance*, 114.

¹³⁶ MS Thr 245 (229).

¹³⁷ Travesty roles were popular in Parisian ballets of the mid and late nineteenth century, and they also were used in several St. Petersburg productions, including several ensemble dances. In addition to the dancers in the *Panadéros*, travesty dancers performed the roles of matadors in the *Pas de manteaux* in *Paquita* (1847) and the *Danse des corsaires* in *Le Corsaire* (1858 until 1899). See Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet*, 185–194. The full history of ballet travesty of the nineteenth century has yet to be written; ballet librettos and archival production documents hold many details concerning the practice.

¹³⁸ See, for example, two photographs preserved in the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum (KP 325094/7 and KP 252504/779), available online at <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=24140124> and <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=24501507>, respectively.

The eight bars of transitional music that precede the dance are struck through in the PR. The lead couple enters upstage left at bar 29 and circles the stage for sixteen bars performing undesignated steps.¹³⁹ Arriving at center, the couple stamps their feet (likely an *appel*), performs a *double rond de jambe en l'air fondu* and “*balancé* 4 times” as they travel backward upstage. What follows is made somewhat uncertain due to strikethroughs in the ground plan: The couple separates, traveling downstage on opposite diagonals, then crosses paths as each dancer traverses the stage in turns (annotations call for *pas de basque* and “stamp the foot”) before the woman “turns in place and gets on the knee and bends.” More *pas de basque* bring the dancers back to center, where the woman kneels and her partner poses “over her.” A *fermata* in the CN may correspond to bar 45, which includes three *tenuto* chords marked *passionato* in the score.

The dancers continue with two Spanish *glissades*—an annotation instructs, “extend the leg”—and *saut de basque*, performed three times to alternate sides. They run forward, crossing paths, and pose—“she is over him.” The man continues with two *pas de basque* and a *pirouette*, performed three-and-a-half times, while the woman performs *pas de basque*, traveling away from the man, then runs back toward him and strikes an undesignated pose. She performs this set of movements three times.

The couple next performs eight *pas de basque*, travelling downstage left, then separates and traverses the stage in opposing circular patterns, while they “extend the leg” (that is, perform a Spanish *glissade*)—four times for her, two times and more *pas de basque* for him. Reaching opposite sides of the stage, they conclude the dance by running toward each other and meeting at center stage for a single *pirouette*, ending on the knee.

¹³⁹ A manuscript annotation in the PR at bar 29 reads, “Beginning [Anna] Pavlova,” suggesting the principal couple begins dancing at this point. Pavlova made her debut as the female lead in the *Panadéros* on 29 October 1906. See Lazzarini, *Pavlova*, 80.

As mentioned, the ensemble choreography is notated separately. Beginning in two rows, the “men” (those performing in travesty) behind the women, they travel forward with *pas de basque*. Arriving downstage, they perform “in place *pas*” (*plié* in fifth position followed by an extension of the right foot diagonally forward on *demi-pointe* four times), then the men “turn 2 times” (a *piqué tour en dehors* to fourth position *plié*, performed twice) as the women kneel. The rows split and the dancers move to either side of the stage with *pas de basque* and form lines of couples. Partners face each other as the “ladies gradually go down on the knees” while the “men” echo this movement with an increasing lunge position. The couples continue dancing in lines along the wings. The CN instructs them to “stamp the feet” (they perform four *appels*) “and *bal[ancé]*” (they perform two *balancés en avant*). After further enchaînements involving *pas de basque* and various poses, the lines travel upstage with Spanish *glissades* and return with *pas de basque* several times. At one point, the “ladies are on the knee and bend the body backward,” while the “cavaliers stand over the ladies.” At the end of the dance, both lines run upstage, meet at center, and run forward in two rows. For their final pose, the “men” stand behind the women, who kneel.

Danse orientale

The 22-bar *Danse orientale* is something of a puzzle. The score indicates this number is a variation for *Raymonda*, but no such variation is included in the CN or listed among the dances in the program or the *Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters*, suggesting the number may have been cut. Nevertheless, the dance remains intact in the annotated PR, which otherwise appears to account for cuts and additions to the performance score.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Slonimsky suggests the music was performed but without providing details of the action. Slonimsky, “‘Raimonda’,” 473.

Baccanal

The *Baccanal* functions as both a coda for the suite of character dances and a *pas d'action*. Each group of character performers makes a final danced appearance, and at the end of the bacchanale, Abderrakhman, with the help of his slaves, attempts to abduct Raymonda.

A number of separately notated passages must be collated and reconciled to arrive at an accurate picture of the controlled chaos that defines the *Baccanal*. These include two pages of notation that serve as an outline for the placement onstage of the various ensemble groups as well as separate notations for girl students, boy students, Saracen corps, and Spanish corps plus an entrance for Raymonda and four entrances for the Spanish lead couple (two labeled “1st coda” and two labeled “2nd coda”).

Musically, Glazunov complements the dance with a raucous main theme characterized by dissonance and off-rhythms, a metaphor for the wild exoticism surprisingly unleashed into Raymonda’s comparatively sedate *cour d’amour* (the theme is a duple-meter variant of the triplet figure from Abderrakhman’s motif). Themes from previous numbers are restated, including Raymonda’s *pas d'action* variation (Raymonda 2), the Arab boys’ dance, and the *Panadéros* (now in duple meter). The Saracen couples’ dance is not among the reprises, although it is difficult to imagine they did not take part in the bacchanale.

My description is based on the variety of notated passages in the CN as well as printed and manuscript annotation in the scores. The latter are offered with the caveat that printed score annotations represent early plans that may have been changed during the creation of the ballet. That being said, it is nevertheless a printed annotation in the score that sets the action in motion: “After the character dances, Abderrakhman calls out servants who fill goblets with intoxicating drinks.” The CN references “Girl students with goblets” and “2/4” meter without further

elaboration. An additional notation, however—preserved in the collection’s miscellaneous files and labeled “Grandeess with goblets (girl students)”—provides a ground plan and choreography for twelve students, with some steps notated on *pointe*.¹⁴¹ An annotation in this additional CN tells us that the students hold a goblet in their right hand. Standing in a row across the stage, they run downstage and drink out of their goblets. They next form a column of two lines at center, drink again, and so on. Eventually forming two rows, they perform a series of *temps levés*, both *en demi-arabesque* and *en demi-attitude devant*, and *demi-valse*. Further steps include “dos-a-dos” in couples and *assemblés soutenus sur les pointes* that alternate with more *demi-valse*. The students finish in lines along the wings, where they dance in place “until the end” of their entrée.

At bar 77 (RN 256), Glazunov reintroduces the Raymonda 2 motif. The main CN provides choreography for Raymonda, who joins in the fray.¹⁴² Raymonda, “with a goblet in her hand,” performs “*saut de basque* twice” then “drinks” while performing a *piqué en demi-arabesque* four times as she zigzags downstage. She circles around to center with three more *sauts de basque* then travels downstage right performing “turns on [*pointe* symbol].” She stops beside Abderrakhman, who “takes the goblet.”

Here follow the two pages of the main CN, labeled “Coda,” that provide an outline and ground plans for the remainder of the *Baccanal*.¹⁴³ At RN 258 (though possibly sixteen bars earlier to coincide with the reprise of the *Panadéros* music), Abderrakhman and Raymonda walk

¹⁴¹ MS Thr 245 (227), 2–4.

¹⁴² Though he applied the following idea to the earlier *Danse orientale*, David Vaughan suggested Raymonda’s willingness to join in the dance might be based on reasoning similar to that found in the ballet *Sylvia*, in which the title character, a huntress of Diana, pretends to go along with the scheme of Orion by drinking wine with him, thereby buying herself time in a dangerous situation. David Vaughan, “Nureyev’s ‘Raymonda’,” *Ballet Review* 5, no. 2 (1975–1976), 35.

¹⁴³ A second, detailed notation (in an unidentified hand) of the *bacchanal* entrée for thirty-two Saracens (sixteen couples) is part of the CN.

across the stage. The student girls are lined up on either side performing *balancé*, and the Spanish ensemble dances in a row upstage: two Spanish *glissades*, *saut de basque* four times.¹⁴⁴ The Spanish dancers next travel downstage with *pas marché* and *temps levé battement dégagé devant* for twelve bars then split and moves to the sides with *pas de basque*. The Spanish leads, “Petipa [and] Lukyanov” are also listed but not shown in the ground plan. Of their several separately notated coda entrées, the two labeled “1st coda” complement the ground plan of the Spanish ensemble. In the version filed first in the CN, the solo pair runs on upstage right then travels downstage and up with a series of *temps levés battement dégagé devant* and Spanish *glissades*. As the ensemble moves downstage, the soloists travel downstage right with four *pas de basque*. The man kneels while the woman circles around him performing *pas de basque* and what may be a cachucha step (she stretches her left leg out in *tendu devant* before pulling it back into fifth position). The other notated entrances feature *pas de basque*, Spanish *glissades* (Sergeyev again writes, “extend the leg”), “do-za-do,” and the cachucha step. The CN does not indicate when the Spanish couple’s second entrée was performed or provide further detail about the various notated Spanish entrées. Neither does the CN mention an entrée for the Saracen couple, although a notated “Coda” that appears to fill twenty-four bars is filed after the notation of their solo duet (*Entrée des Sarrazins*, above).¹⁴⁵

The CN continues with a brief passage (sixteen bars) during which the Saracen corps joins the Spanish corps, which now lines the wings inside of the student girls. This section may

¹⁴⁴ The Spanish reprise comprises thirty-bars in the OS but only sixteen bars in the PR. Manuscript annotations in the PR indicate a repeat of the sixteen bars, bring the PR into agreement with the OS.

¹⁴⁵ After running directly down center, the couple performs multiple *demi-emboîtés devant* followed by a four *pas de basque*, which they perform as they make a complete turn to the right and exchange places. After repeating this enchaînement, they move upstage with a variant of *demi-valse* followed by three *temps levés* on *demi-pointe* as they make a complete turn three and a half times. They finish at center with a pose in *tendu derrière*.

coincide with the second half of the Spanish couple's *entrée*—the Saracen corps appears to remain in the top half of the stage, leaving the downstage area open. After running forward in four rows of couples, the Saracen corps men perform a series of four *temps levés en demi-arabesque* followed by four *demi-emboîtés devant* four times (nothing is notated for the women), while the Spanish corps performs two Spanish *glissades*, *battement degagé de côté* four times. As the Arab boys run in upstage from either side, the corps (the notated steps do not designate a particular group) continues with more *temps levés en demi-arabesque* as well as *temps levés en demi-attitude devant*, which the couples perform as they turn—an annotation directs the men to “circle together with lady.”

The Arab boys' theme returns for a mere sixteen bars, but the *entrée* preserved for them fill twenty-four bars. After eight bars of their signature high-knee run, during which they enter upstage from either side (this entrance may be performed during the eight bars preceding the return of their theme music), the boys form a column of two lines at center. Performing *soubresauts*, they jump away from the line and back two times over the course of eight bars. They make a half turn on the last jump, landing with their backs to the audience. They resume running and head upstage, where they form a single row and “stand.”

The Spanish and Saracen ensembles continue dancing throughout. In the final box of notated steps, the mass of dancers that fills the stage in rows is identified as “Saracens, boy students, Spanish.” Two additional pages of notation in an unidentified hand document the *Baccanal* choreography for the Saracen corps in detail. The pages conclude with three ground plans for which no steps are provided. In the first, the ensemble travels downstage: “16 bars they move hitting with sticks”; in the second, “move backward [upstage] also hitting with sticks all

the time”; in the third, “stand in place and continue hitting with sticks until soldiers surround them.”

The final annotation in the main CN states, “Gerdt carries away Preobr[azhenskaya],” an instruction that agrees with an annotation in the scores at RN 265, when the music has reached fever pitch: “Taking advantage of the wild, noisy dance, Abderrakhman abducts Raymonda with the help of his slaves.”

Glazunov’s musical scheme for the *Baccanal*, which as we have seen includes the Raymonda 2 motif and incorporation of melodies from the preceding dances in the character suite, can be compared to the choreographic structure of the dance as deduced from the CN, PR, and OS. Indeed, the music serves as a map for ordering the choreography of this complex dance number.

<i>Rehearsal number</i>	<i>Section/Motif</i>	<i>Bars</i>	<i>Bars per section/motif</i>
251	Introduction	12 bars	21 bars
252		9 bars	
253	<i>Baccanal</i> theme	16 bars	28 bars
254		16 bars	
255		16 bars	
256	Raymonda 2	9 bars	17 bars
257		8 bars	
	<i>Panadéros</i>	16 bars	32 bars
258		16 bars	
259	Arab boys	16 bars	16 bars
260	<i>Baccanal</i> theme	8 bars	8 bars
261	Abderrakhman	8 bars	8 bars
262	<i>Baccanal</i> theme	8 bars	8 bars
	Raymonda 2	4 bars	36 bars
263		20 bars	
264		12 bars	
265		4 bars	
	<i>Baccanal</i> theme	8 bars	16 bars
266		8 bars	

Scène III. Jean de Brienne and King Andrei II of Hungary arrive suddenly on the scene with their retinue. According to the libretto, “Jean de Brienne frees Raymonda from the clutches of the slaves and attacks Abderrakhman...”¹⁴⁶ The CN for this act concludes with Jean de Brienne’s entrance, though the word “Duel” heads a subsequent page that is otherwise blank.

Although the CN does not include ground plans for this final section, the stage directions included in the scores and the explicitness of the music—motifs and other descriptive devices, such as the dissonance that suggests the clashing of weapons—offer detailed clues about the action.

We turn to Petipa’s scenario for a description of the remaining narrative:

The king waves a hand to calm the excitement (Ex. 3.8a]. He has everyone gather in a circle and suggests to the knight de Brienne and Abder-Rakhman that they settle their fight in hand-to-hand combat. They agree. The armor-bearers arm them and stand alongside their respective lords. Raymonda throws her scarf to the knight Jean de Brienne.¹⁴⁷

An annotation in the scores adds, “Enraged by this, Abderrakhman attacks the knight.”

Le combat. The duel, which comprises three attacks, is expressed musically through a combination of Jean’s and Abderrakhman’s motifs along with tense dissonance in the brass. After the second attack, the White Lady appears in protection of Jean—her motif is heard clearly in the score—who then delivers a mortal wound to Abderrakhman.¹⁴⁸ The scenario continues:

¹⁴⁶ Wiley, *Century*, 401.

¹⁴⁷ Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 43.

¹⁴⁸ According to Petipa’s scenario, Abderrakhman did not die, but rather was “put in chains” while “[w]ith sabres the army of King Andrei II pursues Abder-Rakhman’s retinue.” Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 43. The change had been made by the time the libretto was printed: “Abderrakhman received his mortal wound and his retinue did not escape, but was surrounded by King Andrei’s sword-bearers.”

“All the ladies, lords, and servants express their joy and surround Raymonda. The king takes her hand and puts it into the hand of the knight Jean.”¹⁴⁹

Hymne. The final *Hymne* is based on Jean de Brienne’s motif. The White Lady’s motif also makes an appearance, as does the signature triplet of Abderrakhman’s motif, before more onstage brass fanfares signal the end of the act.¹⁵⁰ The intertwining of these motifs provides a summation of the second act’s conflict and its resolution—Abderrakhman’s defeat at the hands of the victor, Jean de Brienne, assisted by the intercession of the White Lady.

Act Three *Le festival des noces*

The final act of *Raymonda* features the wedding divertissement, including the *Pas classique hongrois*, the celebrated dance suite whose very name tells us that it is an amalgam of classical and character dance. The CN for Act Three is the sparsest of the entire ballet (prose descriptions and step names often replace actual step notation), but it preserves enough information to show that many of today’s productions match much of what was notated.

Entr’acte

The sweeping *entr’acte* that precedes Act Three includes repetition of motifs from Acts One and Two—Raymonda 2, the White Lady, the Homecoming motif, and the pervasive rising seventh from the development of Raymonda 1—reminding the listener of the main action of the plot.

¹⁴⁹ Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 43.

¹⁵⁰ Petipa considered a final, post-battle appearance of the White Lady, which may explain the presence of her motif in the *Hymne*. His notes to Glazunov state, “Possible: In a cloud, the White Lady promises them happiness.” Goldman, “*Raymonda*,” 44.

Le cortège hongrois

The curtain rises on the wedding feast of Raymonda and Jean de Brienne in the gardens of Jean's castle "on the slope of an Alpine peak" (Ex. 3.8d).¹⁵¹ The scenic design by Petr Lambin features a castle perched on a summit that is accessible by a wide winding pathway. This is viewed through a large stone archway framed by trees. The production documents indicate smaller arched openings in the third wing on either side of the stage (presumably through which dancers will enter and exit), surrounded by bench seating. According to Petipa's notes to Glazunov, the *cortège hongrois* (Hungarian procession) brings on the following: pages and arms-bearers of the King, King Andrei II, Hungarian knights, Countess Sybille, the seneschal, distinguished ladies and their pages, French knights with their arms-bearers, troubadours, and finally Raymonda and Jean, both of whom wear formal dress (they will change costume before dancing the *Pas classique hongrois*). "The newlyweds take their place on the rostrum with King Andrei and accept congratulations from their guests."¹⁵²

Although Sergeyev's documentation of dances in this act features some notated movements, he just as often accompanied his ground plans with prose descriptions of choreography or simply the name of a dance step; many of the steps named are from the customary step vocabulary of Hungarian and Polish theatrical dance. A number of the movements and steps described in the CN can be matched with steps described in the FCD:

"Hungarian" (*vengerka*) in the CN is first encountered in the *Danse des enfants* and refers to the FCD's *verevochka*, or "hopping in place"—a skipping step that can also be described as a small *temps levé petit passé*. As used in the CN,

¹⁵¹ Goldman, "Raymonda," 44.

¹⁵² Ibid.

“Hungarian” is usually performed as a traveling step, often as the dancers move backward upstage.¹⁵³

“In place *pas*” is used in a variety of CNs to indicate any number of steps that are performed in place, that is, without traveling. In *Raymonda* Act Three, steps performed “in place” often include a *bokázó*—a type of “break” (or “finishing”) step featuring a clip (or click) of the heels (recall the musical figure that accompanies this step; see Ex. 3.13). A *bokázó* is customarily performed at the end of a sequence of steps. The *bokázó* notated most often in the CN is identified in the FCD as “A more Elaborate Bokazo. Break No. 3,” and features a turning in of the left foot, a turning in of the right foot, and a heel “clip” (see *holubetz*, below) as the knees are turned outwards.¹⁵⁴ This particular step is both referred to in the ground plan (“in place *pas*”) and notated for the first time for the soloists near the beginning of the *Grand pas hongrois*.

“Holubetz” (*golubets*) refers to a heel clip; the men performing these dances traditionally wore boots and the women heeled shoes.¹⁵⁵ The Stepanov notators used a symbol (a combination of circle and cross) to denote the clip. The FCD authors explain: “Such steps [*holubetz*] mean that one foot is *clipped* against the other and is distinguished from the more classical *cabriole* in that both legs take part equally and the legs are directly under the body.”¹⁵⁶ *Holubetz* is both written in the ground plan and notated the first time for the soloists near the beginning of the *Grand pas hongrois*.

“Side *pas*” does not precisely resemble any step in the FCD. Using ballet terminology, this step could be described as a *pas de bourrée dégagé de côté*. It could be considered a stylized version of the FCD’s *balancé holubetz*, whose movements include steps to either side, but with “side *pas*” the legs are lifted from the floor and the heels are not clipped as the legs come together under the body.¹⁵⁷ Although the term “side *pas*” is frequently written in the *Raymonda* ground plans, it is not once notated in Stepanov symbols. To find the notation, one must look at the choreographic notation of the *czardas* in *Swan Lake*, where the step is both notated and labeled “Side *pas*.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³ Lopoukov, et al., *Character Dance*, 88–89 see especially entry number 20, “Verevochka. No. 3. Moving Backwards.”

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 91, see especially no. 26.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 50–51 and 83–85.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 97–98, entry number 11: “Balancé Holubetz in Krakoviak No. 2.”

¹⁵⁸ See MS Thr 186 (11).

“Czardas” is first written in the CN as a title for the notation of the ensemble choreography in the *Grand pas hongrois*. To find actual notation of the czardas step, one must again consult the choreographic notation of the *Swan Lake* czardas. The step documented there closely matches the FCD description of “Promenade No. 1,” in which two steps are followed by a *battement développé* on each foot.¹⁵⁹

“Chassé” (*shosse*) is first written in the CN for the entrance of the soloists in the interpolated mazurka. This traveling step is not notated in the *Raymonda* CN, but the term *chassé* may refer to one or more of the standard Polish dance steps described in the FCD, particularly the “Pas-chassé coupé for Boys” and possibly various *pas marché* steps for both men and women.¹⁶⁰ Later in the mazurka, the soloists are instructed to perform “mazurka chassé,” again suggesting the *pas-chassé* step, which is described in the FCD as a “variant of *pas marché* (that is, Mazurka on one foot).”¹⁶¹

“Mazurka” is the opening step for the ensemble of the interpolated mazurka, and later in the dance it is performed by the soloists. As with “side *pas*” and “chassé,” the mazurka step is not notated in the *Raymonda* CN (although the ground plan indicates the couples hold hands while performing the step). However, the step is notated in the choreographic notation of the *Paquita* children’s mazurka as well as in the notation of the *Swan Lake* mazurka.¹⁶²

The first three dances of Act Three (*Danse des enfants*, *Grand pas hongrois*—a czardas—and the interpolated mazurka) draw heavily from national dance step vocabulary. The *Pas classique hongrois*, on the other hand, features mostly classical steps, the women wearing pointe shoes and the men ballet slippers. Taken together, these dances demonstrate a variety of ways in which Petipa choreographed and featured character dance.

¹⁵⁹ Lopoukov, et al., *Character Dance*, 80–81.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 93–95, nos. 1–4.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 94.

¹⁶² See MS Thr 245 (28) and MS Thr 186 (11), respectively.

Danse des enfants

The CN for this act begins with a children's dance for twelve student couples.¹⁶³

Although in the published musical scores the divertissement begins with the *Grand pas hongrois* (below), the opening number in the libretto's list of dances (where it is called *Rapsodie*) is also the *Danse des enfants*.

Volynsky writes, "At the beginning of the act the little children dance charmingly and youthfully, accompanied by the whirlwind of large, leaping notes."¹⁶⁴ The sparsely notated dance begins with the students coming forward in three rows of four couples each (Ex. 3.13).¹⁶⁵ The couples take hands and turn a circle to the left, after which the "girl students spin around in place," while the "boy students clap their hands, standing in place." These opening turning passages are repeated, then the couples perform a *do-si-do* pattern followed by a spin as they hold each other by the front of the waist. These latter steps are also repeated after which the block of dancers re-assembles into three circles, the largest at upstage center with two smaller circles at either side and farther downstage. Holding hands, the students rotate their circles in a counterclockwise direction then disperse and form two lines of six students at either sides of the stage and a row of twelve students upstage. As the central row travels downstage and splits, each half moving toward opposite wings, the students on the sides move upstage center and form a new row of twelve. This pattern is repeated after which the couples who finish on the sides take

¹⁶³ The *Danse des enfants* bears the heading "Czardas" in the CN.

¹⁶⁴ Volynsky, "Raimonda," tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 35.

¹⁶⁵ A recent publication by the Soviet-era dance instructor Elizaveta Gromova describes the choreography for the *Danse des enfants* and can be consulted to complement and provide supplemental detail to the information found in the CN. Elizaveta Gromova, *Detskie tantsy iz klassicheskikh baletov s notnym prilozheniem* [Children's Dances from Classical Ballets with Musical Scores], 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg: Music Planet, 2010), 221–233.

each other by the waist and, making three clockwise turns, travel to form a single row across the front of the stage. The annotation “obertas,” written next to the turns in the ground plan, is the name of a Polish folk dance that features turning steps for a pair of dancers.¹⁶⁶ Those in the upstage row travel downstage to meet them, and the two rows move together, upstage and down, the CN providing no indication of steps other than “Hungarian” for the final movement upstage. The dance ends with two rows of students at center. No final pose is given.

Grand pas hongrois

Titled *Palotas* in the libretto’s list of dances,¹⁶⁷ the *Grand pas hongrois* is a czardas for a solo couple and twenty ensemble couples (later reduced to twelve).¹⁶⁸ The dance was originally led by Olga Preobrazhenskaya and Alfred Bekefi, the latter dancer being the artist whose style and technique informed the codification of Hungarian dance steps in the FCD.¹⁶⁹

The choreography for the soloists and ensemble is notated separately. The ensemble enters first, traveling in procession by pairs from upstage left (Ex. 3.9a). They perform a promenade step, in which movements forward are made with a low *battement développé devant*, then continue with “simply Hungarian.”¹⁷⁰ The dancers form rows of four couples across the

¹⁶⁶ See Lopoukov, et al., *Character Dance*, 99.

¹⁶⁷ The *palotas*, or “palace” dance, was a fifteenth-century Hungarian court dance traditionally performed in the presence of the king. It became the traditional opening dance of Hungarian balls. The czardas developed in the nineteenth century and is considered to be the national dance of Hungary.

¹⁶⁸ A printed program for a performance of *Raymonda* at the Mariinsky Theater on 12 October 1903 lists 12 women and 12 men who danced in the *Palotas* ensemble. See MS Thr 245 (247).

¹⁶⁹ “Although the characteristics of Hungarian dance are very obvious, those appearing in the old classical ballets are very much influenced by the technique of A[lfred] Bekefi, the great character dancer, who performed at the Mariinsky from 1883–1914 as well as with Diaghilev and then taught until his death. He was Hungarian by birth and his particular style was greatly envied and copied. It is those steps which were so associated with his dancing that are given here.” Lopoukov, et al., *Character Dance*, 80.

stage. The men and women of each couple change places (“cross”) four times, sliding their feet on the floor as they perform a *detourné* (a complete turn) with each crossing.

The block of dancers moves upstage backward while performing “Hungarian” then change to a czardas step as they return downstage and disperse to the sides, where they again perform “Hungarian” as they travel upstage and back (Ex. 3.10a). Next, they “simply stand”—“Bekef[i]” is written on this same ground plan, likely indicating the soloists’ entrance.

Despite the reference to Bekefi in the notation of the ensemble’s dance, the CN records the performances of Maria Rutkovskaya and Nikolai Kremnev. After walking to center, holding hands, the couple clicks heels and travels in a zigzag pattern downstage with a “promenade” step, finishing with a *bokázó* break (the steps are notated and the ground plan contains the annotation “in place *pas*”). Making a *soutenu* turn to opposite sides, they step to *demi-arabesque* then move back to center with two *holubetz* (Ex. 3.11a) This enchaînement is performed three times and concludes with two more *holubetz* that bring the couple slightly upstage, where they perform another *bokázó* break (“in place *pas*”).

The cavalier offers a scarf to the lady. Each dancer holds one end with their upstage hand as they first turn away from each other into a lunging *arabesque par terre* then turn back with a small *temps levé* and *demi-arabesque fondu* followed by another *bokázó* break (“in place *pas*”). This is performed three times. Next, after a series of “Hungarian” steps, performed as the couple travels backward upstage, they begin a diagonal enchaînement of “2 czardas and *cabriole* and in place *pas*” three times. A short series of *pas marché* to alternating sides (bringing the feet together with each step) brings the *lassú* to a close.

¹⁷⁰ See Lopoukov, et al., *Character Dance*, 80–83, nos. 1–4, for various examples of “promenade” steps.

The *friss*, marked “All[egr]o” in the CN, begins with the cavalier holding the woman by the waist as the two travel backward upstage at center (Ex. 3.12a). They perform “Hungarian” and a “break” step three and a half times followed by a series of “side *pas*” as they move around the stage—sometimes switching places, other times facing each other—often holding hands or waists. Various combinations of “side *pas*” and “Hungarian” follow—at one point, the dancers extend and flex their foot with the heel touching the floor. At the end, following another “side *pas*” sequence, the couple holds right hands as the woman makes a turn.

Meanwhile, the ensemble dances at the sides for the remainder of the *Grand pas hongrois*. Their steps include “Hungarian,” czardas, and *holubetz* combined with academic vocabulary—*soutenu* turns, *temps levés en demi-arabesque*, and *balancés*. At the end, mirroring the soloists, the men turn the women by the hand.

Mazurka

At this point in the divertissement, Petipa inserted an existing mazurka by Glazunov. Like the added waltz in Scene Two, this is a movement from Glazunov’s *Scènes de Ballet*. The addition of this dance provided Petipa an opportunity to feature his daughter Marie, who was paired with Iosif Kshesinsky, son of Felix Kshesinsky. (The elder Kshesinsky, “king of the mazurka,” had brought the house down at the premiere of the revival of *Swan Lake* three years earlier, in which both the mazurka and czardas had great success.¹⁷¹)

¹⁷¹ About the *Swan Lake* premiere, the critic Nikolai Bezobrazov wrote, “The appearance of Mr. [Felix] Kshesinsky I, the king of the mazurka, created an absolute sensation.” Both the mazurka, led—in the words of another critic—by “the incomparable mazurist Kshesinsky I,” and the czardas were repeated. Nikolai Bezobrazov, *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti*, 17 January 1895, 3, tr. in Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*, 266. About Felix Kshesinsky, the FCD authors write, “The elements of Polish Dance as used in the late nineteenth century ballets were greatly influenced by the famous character dancer Kshessinsky [sic], whose brilliant performances inspired so many artists and audiences. The importance of his work was to insist on the exact timing and phrasing of the various steps thus ensuring that the dancers

Like the previous *Grand pas hongrois*, the mazurka was danced by a solo couple and an ensemble (here, twelve couples), and their choreography is again notated separately. The CN provides clear ground plans that nearly always include the number of bars allotted to each notation box. Fewer steps are notated than for the preceding *Grand pas hongrois*, with Sergeyev relying almost exclusively on step names written in the ground plan.

The ensemble begins with mazurka steps as couples travel downstage in lines along each wing. Having formed two rows across the stage, they travel upstage performing unspecified turns before returning to the sides with *pas de basque* and leaving the center of the stage open for the soloists' entrance.

The soloists begin sixteen bars into the dance. Their steps include primarily *chassé* and mazurka, but in one instance also *holubetz* for the woman. Annotations in the CN suggest an active rapport between the couple—she calls him, he gives her his hand, and she turns in place. Later, in a flirtatious exchange, “He gives her his hand, but she says no. Two times she gives her hand. He tries to catch it, but she takes it away.”

The ensemble, meanwhile, is positioned in lines on each side of the stage, where the couples perform *cabrioles* to either side before traveling upstage and down, alternating mazurka and turns. When they stop travelling, the men and women exchange places four times with a turning figure, then all perform *balancés* in place. The women move toward center and back, then the men join them for the same pattern. After returning to the sides, the women cross the stage and back twice, and eventually the couples circle the stage. Again at the sides, the ensemble performs turns, *balancés*, *holubetz*, and *cabrioles* before changing to mazurka and forming two rows behind the soloists. Finally, everyone travels downstage together with turns in

preserved most of the characteristics exclusive to Polish folk dance.” Lopoukov, et al., *Character Dance*, 93.

the air and *temps levés en demi-arabesque* before striking a final pose, the ground plan suggesting they hold each other around the waist.

Pas classique hongrois

Pas classique hongrois is both the collective title used in the program to indicate Petipa's seven-movement suite of classical-cum-character dances for Raymonda, Jean de Brienne, and an ensemble of eight couples as well as the title in the musical score for the second number in this sequence (the adagio).

Entrée. The first number ("Entrée" in the score, "Grand Hungarian *pas*" in the CN) is begun by four couples who are joined by four more couples and finally Raymonda and Jean de Brienne. These entrances set up the subsequent *Pas classique hongrois*, the adagio danced by all nine couples.

The opening enchaînement performed by the first four couples is not notated at the beginning of the dance. However, they likely performed the same steps notated for Raymonda and Jean de Brienne in their later entrance: *temps levé en demi-arabesque* and two steps forward. A pair of couples begins from each upstage corner. The quartets cross once at center while traveling downstage in a zigzag pattern, performing their enchaînement three and a half times to alternate sides. They next form two rows, the men behind the women, and exchange places two times before the rows split and two couples move to each side. A second group of four couples makes a similar entrance, but instead of tracing a zigzag pattern, the dancers pass each other at center and make a circular sweep of the stage. Like the first group, they form two rows. After being lifted by the men, the women perform an "in place *pas*," this time an enchaînement of classical steps: *entrechat six*, single *pirouette* from fifth position, and three *relevés petits passés*.

The lift and enchaînement are repeated. The men next “lift the lady 2 times,” the ground plan indicating that they make a complete turn as they lift, followed by another “in place pas” — *tombé, chassé, cabriole devant, tombé*, two steps forward, *jeté en avant*. Finally, the dancers perform *holubetz* and a turn as they move to the sides to join the first group.

Raymonda and Jean de Brienne enter upstage left and make a counterclockwise circle around the stage as they performed repeated *temps levés en demi-arabesque* on alternate legs. When they reach center, all nine couples perform three *tours jetés* as they travel upstage. The ensemble assembles upstage of Raymonda and Jean de Brienne, and all run forward. No final pose is given.

Pas classique hongrois (the adagio). Like the *Entreé*, the adagio is sparsely notated, but the information given in the CN corresponds in large part to the choreography as it has been handed down by oral tradition and seen in modern productions. The dance begins with *sous-sus* and a supported *développé à la seconde* to *attitude croisé devant* for the women (Ex. 3.14a). The cavaliers next lift the women, who draw up their legs slightly, and lower them to their knee before lifting them again. This time, carrying the women “on the side” (that is, each woman is lifted and held against the side of man’s body), the men walk backward upstage.

Next, at least three women—only three are drawn on the CN ground plan—hold each other around the waist as they perform “arabesque,” after which all run to the side. Raymonda poses with her hands behind her head before performing a supported *double pirouette* from fourth position. The dancers at the sides now cross the stage, the men again lifting the women, while Raymonda performs a supported *sissonne ouverte* to *arabesque fondu* followed by *relevé fouetté* to *effacé devant*. The movements of Raymonda and the ensemble are repeated, then the ensemble forms a semicircle—the men in a row in front of the women—as Raymonda holds a

supported *arabesque* on *pointe*. All of the women run around their cavaliers then perform a *pas de chat* to fourth position *plié*.

Accompanied by solo flute, Raymonda *bourrées* downstage in a zigzag pattern punctuated by *double pirouettes*, in which she is supported by the nearest cavalier. The fourth time, she is supported by Jean de Brienne downstage left. She then “simply walks” to center for a supported *double pirouette* from fourth position, followed by what appears to be an unsupported *tour de promenade à plat*—during which she moves her working leg from *arabesque* to *à la seconde* to *devant*—followed by a *relevé*. She finishes the dance with a supported *tour de promenade à la seconde* on *pointe* and a supported *double pirouette* from fourth position as the ensemble continues to frame Raymonda and Jean de Brienne in a semicircle.

Variations. Four variations follow. The first is recorded twice, documenting the performances of Olga Chumakova (the CN includes ground plans, annotations, and notation for legs and feet) and Evgenia Obukhova (the CN includes the sparsest of ground plans and only a few annotations). As with earlier variations in the ballet, *pointe* work is strongly featured, although here turned-in movements and step vocabulary already performed in the preceding *Grand pas hongrois* are combined with academic dance. The opening enchaînement highlights this fusion: traveling downstage on the diagonal, Chumakova extends her right foot to the side—turned in and on *demi-pointe*—before bringing it front to *tendu devant*, now with a turned-out leg. She continues with *relevé en cou-de-pied devant*, *coupé dessus*, *piqué en cou-de-pied devant*, *coupé dessus*, and *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe* to fifth position *plié*. The entire enchaînement is performed four times.

Traveling backward on the same diagonal, she does *pas de bourrée en arrière* on *pointe* four times, raising the working leg to *cou-de-pied* on the first step of each *pas de bourrée*, then

moves forward with four *piqués en demi-arabesque*, all performed twice. Arriving at center, she performs multiple *relevés petits passés*, traveling upstage in what could be considered a variation of “Hungarian.” She travels directly downstage with “side *pas*”¹⁷² then returns upstage with a further variation on “Hungarian”: *entrechat quatre* alternating with *relevé petit passé* six times.

The final enchaînement, during which the dancer traces a zigzag pattern from upstage left, begins with *holubetz* followed by a *temps levé en demi-arabesque* on the right foot, *pas de bourrée*, *temps levé en demi-arabesque* on the left foot, three steps forward into first position (which may be a variation on a *bokázó* “finishing” step), and a final series of unspecified turns on *pointe*.

The second variation is the well-known men’s *pas de quatre*. While not notated in the CN, the dance is included in a list of the three variations that follow the adagio: “2nd Variation 4 Cavaliers.”¹⁷³ Rather than dancing a solo variation, Jean de Brienne performed as one of the four men in this *pas de quatre*, joined by Bernard and Béranger, and a fourth cavalier who was drawn from the ensemble (Alexander Gorsky in the 1898 premiere).

The third variation, intended for a female dancer, was cut by Petipa, likely before the premiere.

The famous piano variation for Raymonda is the fourth and final variation of the *Pas classique hongrois*. The Hungarian-Roma style of its music and the improvisatory quality of Petipa’s choreography were tangible features that were likely not lost on the dancers who performed it.¹⁷⁴ In an interview late in her life, Alexandra Danilova recalled this particular

¹⁷² The ground plan calls for “side *pas* 6 times,” while an annotation on the notation staff indicates “side *pas* 8 times.”

¹⁷³ Volynsky noted “...Viktor Semenov’s femininely light turns in the air.” Volynsky, “*Raimonda*,” tr. in *Ballet’s Magic Kingdom*, 35.

number: "...I remember this variation exactly how it was done in Russia. It is a beautiful variation. But you have to give the style—the Hungarian style. It's like talking to all the gypsies around you."¹⁷⁵

The variation is characterized by long, continuous *bourrées* that trace patterns around the stage, complementing the winding lines of the solo piano, which are clearly meant to evoke the sound and style of Hungarian-Roma cimbalom music (Ex. 3.14b).¹⁷⁶ The CN provides a clear ground plan and notated choreography for feet and legs. After an opening zigzag and circle of *bourrées*, Raymonda comes down the diagonal with *pas de bourrée* punctuated by *piqués en demi-attitude devant* (CN: "throws leg sideways"). She runs downstage right and performs *sous-sus*, arms opened to the sides. The *bourrées* begin again. This time she travels diagonally upstage, tracing small circles in a clockwise direction as her "[b]ody leans forward and up." The ongoing *bourrées* are next decorated with *soutenu* turns as Raymonda again travels downstage right.

Midway through the variation, the music gains in intensity and rhythmic impulse, and Petipa responded with a complementary enchaînement: four *piqués de côté en cou-de-pied devant* and *fondus, pas de bourrée on demi-pointe* twice, all performed two times. Raymonda moves backward toward upstage left with a series of *piqués de côté en demi-arabesque* alternating with *piqués en arrière*. Her final diagonal comprises what the CN calls "Hungarian forward" (three *relevés petits passés*), *battement dégagé de côté*, *pirouette* from fifth position,

¹⁷⁴ Volynsky: "Preobrazhenskaya's variation is built entirely on dancing à terre without any particular choreographic difficulties." Volynsky, "Raimonda," tr. in *Ballet's Magic Kingdom*, 35.

¹⁷⁵ Doug Fullington, "Alexandra Danilova on *Raymonda*," *Ballet Review* 26, no. 4 (Winter 1998), 74. Danilova's final sentence in this quotation is from an unpublished conversation with Doug Fullington.

¹⁷⁶ Liszt similarly evokes this sound in his *Hungarian Rhapsody* No. 2, bars 143–178.

tombé, pas de bourrée on *demi-pointe* three times—a brilliant final amalgam of classical and character dance. The variation concludes with *chainés* on *demi-pointe*. (Notet that the traditional claps that Raymonda performs at the beginning and end of the variation are not mentioned in the CN.)

Danilova summarized the ballerina role in her memoir: “...*Raymonda* contains marvelous dancing. For a ballerina, it’s a wonderful opportunity to show every facet of your talent, with several variations in widely differing styles.”¹⁷⁷ This final variation represents the culmination of a wonderfully comprehensive role.

Coda. The sparsely notated coda is danced by all nine couples. Four couples begin, as they did for the *Entrée*, with the quartets crossing and recrossing in a zigzag pattern before forming two rows upstage then traveling downstage and to the side (Ex. 3.15a). Two more pairs enter. They trace a similar pattern, but this time their steps are notated: a variant of *demi-valse* is followed by two *holubetz* and a variant on the “finishing” step that is similar to the one performed by Chumakova in her variation. They continue with *temps levé en demi-arabeque en tournant, ballotté, saut de basque*. The entire enchaînement is repeated, then they continue with more *holubetz* as they move to the sides. A seventh couple enters upstage left and performs “side *pas*” and *saut de basque* on the diagonal toward downstage right. The eighth ensemble couple enters upstage right and repeats the same steps to the other side.

Finally, Raymonda and Jean de Brienne (“Preob[razhenskaya] and Legat”) make their entrance, but only Raymonda is shown on the ground plan (Jean is included later, just before the end of the number). From downstage center, she performs “Hungarian backward 24 times” followed by “side *pas*” as she returns downstage (Ex. 3.16a). Next, traveling upstage on the

¹⁷⁷ Alexandra Danilova, *Choura: The Memoirs of Alexandra Danilova* (New York: Knopf, 1986), 160.

diagonal, she performs four turns to the right—these are indicated on the ground plan, while a variant of *demi-valse* is notated on the stave below. She returns downstage once more with “side *pas*” then finishes her first coda entrance with turns on *demi-pointe*.

Recalling the *Entrée* again, everyone performs what appears from the ground plan to be two *tours jetés* traveling upstage, where the ensemble forms two rows, women in front of men. All travel downstage with “side *pas*” and return upstage with “Hungarian.” Next, the women move downstage and to the sides with “side *pas*” and turns, and the men perform an unspecified “in place *pas*” twice to alternate sides. The women run to join them “after the 2nd time” for unspecified “turns with cavalier.”

The ensemble disperses to the sides as Raymonda and Jean make their second entrance at center stage. They (or possibly only Raymonda) perform *pas de cheval*, *pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe* to each side as the ensemble performs “side *pas*” while moving to center. Encircled by the couples, “Legat lifts Preobrazhenskaya and holds her on his chest” —he “lifts her by the waist” as she draws her knees up slightly. The ensemble moves upstage from its circle formation and forms two rows behind Raymonda and Jean de Brienne.

The final moments are sparsely notated. The ground plan and annotations suggest Raymonda (possibly joined by the ensemble women) walks “around [her] cavalier,” while holding his hand. All travel upstage with “Hungarian” then run forward. Raymonda performs a supported *double pirouette* downstage center to end the dance.

Galop

The final galop is a *danse générale* for all participants (106 of them are listed by name in the *Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters*).¹⁷⁸ Two lines of couples flank the sides of the stage (RN 369). Each line circles the stage in a mirror image of the other, performing “chassé” (this is likely a reference to the galop step), and eventually forms two circles that travel in clockwise motion. After they disperse to the sides, another group of couples enters (RN 372). After circling the stage, they perform turns as they move to the sides, where they join the other couples in lines. The dancers now cross to the opposite sides of the stage and back, then the women form five rotating circles, leaving the men in their lines. Next, the men form five rotating circles, and eventually all dancers return to the sides of the stage. The couples travel in two opposing lines, crossing downstage as they move around the stage in a circular pattern, then assemble in a block formation of four rows. The group travels downstage and back two times. No final pose is given as the ballet’s final dance comes to its conclusion.

Apothéose

The brief apotheosis, with music based on the theme of the Act Three *entr'acte*, depicts a tournament (it is subtitled *Le tournoi* in the score), a final reminder of the heraldry and ceremony that laced the ballet’s fragile narrative. The episode is omitted in the CN, but a sketch by Petr Lambin (dated 1899) that was published in the *Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters* features at least six knights holding jousting lances astride horses that are rearing and pawing.¹⁷⁹ The production documents detail the lavish costumes and properties for four men on horses as well as

¹⁷⁸ *Ezhegodnik* (1897–1898), 266–267.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 270.

for additional men who took part (the number of men on horses was apparently reduced by half in 1900):

For the apotheosis is prepared:

On the right side: 2 horses with knights[:]¹⁸⁰
1) White horse, *drap de dames* blanket with lilies, on the knight a helmet and steel cuirass with wool [*garusniye*] feathers, in his hands a lance. No. 567
2) Piebald horse, green blanket; on the knight a white costume, steel cuirass and helmet with feathers, in his hands a lance. No. 565

Ballet men:

2 shields [from the] op[era] *Aldona* (with eagles)
2 swords from the same opera without scabbards
1 grey spear
1 yellow banner [from the] op[era] *Faust*

On the left side: 2 horses [with knights]:
1) Black horse, golden brocade [*glazet*] blanket, on the knight a costume of the same kind, steel leg cuffs and handcuffs, helmet with horns and a lion. No. 568.
2) Black horse, blanket out of brown *drap de dames*, costume on the knight of golden brocade [*glazet*]; copper leg cuffs and handcuffs, helmet the same. No. 566.

[Ballet men:]

1 sword [from the] op[era] *Aldona* crosspiece
1 shield the same
1 banner [from the] op[era] *Faust*
1 marshal's baton with a small lily

The source documents for *Raymonda* afford us an invaluable opportunity to discover Petipa's plans for the ballet and the way they were realized for the stage. They also bear witness to Petipa's many achievements as a choreographer who had mastered a great variety of dance

¹⁸⁰ In the right-hand margin: "From 1900 is given one horse per side."

forms. In *Raymonda*, we see Petipa's longterm fascination with Spanish dance, his ability to amalgamate Hungarian and academic dance, his willingness to incorporate newer Italian technique and step vocabulary, and his commitment to the multi-movement *pas d'action*, to name only several features of the ballet's choreography and structure.

Finally, the sources help us to understand *Raymonda*'s place in Western dance history as a pivotal work, with one foot in the tradition-steeped nineteenth century and the other in the twentieth, with its growing interest in what would become the plotless ballet. *Raymonda* maintains the traditional balance of classical dance, character dance, and mime. But the story is told in a streamlined fashion: mime conversations are not long, and a greater proportion of the ballet's running time is filled with dance sequences, both character and classical. Yet the action of the ballet is not superfluous. In her miming as well as her dancing, *Raymonda* is revealed as a character of stature and a worthy heir to heroines in the older canonical ballets—Giselle, Paquita, Medora, Nikia. She experiences joy, fear, love, and anger; she is both stalwart and faithful. That the expression of these emotions is less overtly presented through mime does not diminish *Raymonda*'s personality, but it does place the ballet *Raymonda* farther along the continuum of aesthetic change—change embraced by Petipa in his eightieth year.

***Raymonda* in the West**

Raymonda was popular with the younger generation of Mariinsky dancers—the ballet was new, included multiple substantive solo roles, and was felt to have a superior score in the music of Glazunov.¹⁸¹ Many who received performance opportunities in *Raymonda*'s early

¹⁸¹ Within an otherwise bitter review of his early Imperial Ballet roles, Mikhail Fokine allowed, "The exception in my repertoire was the role of Bernard de Ventadour in 'Raymonda,' one of the best of Petipa's ballets, to the music of Alexander Glazounov." Fokine, *Memoirs*, 43.

seasons were among the host of Imperial Ballet dancers who eventually toured and emigrated to the West, bringing the Russian repertory with them. For example, the ensemble that danced the *Pas classique hongrois* in the 11 November 1907 Mariinsky performance of *Raymonda*, featuring Preobrazhenskaya and Fokine, included Karsavina and Egorova as well as Elizaveta Vill, Lydia Kyaksht, Elena Smirnova, Ludmilla Schollar, Vaslav Nijinsky, Adolf Bolm, and Leonid Leontiev, all of whom would go on to have careers in Western Europe, the United States, and elsewhere.

Raymonda came West in excerpted form, and the complete ballet was not performed outside of Russia until thirty-five years after its St. Petersburg premiere. Serge Diaghilev wanted to present the complete *Raymonda* in Paris during the Ballets Russes' premiere season at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris in 1909, and he invited Gerdt to reprise his role as Abderrakhman. Those plans fell through, but even though Diaghilev abandoned the idea of mounting the entire ballet, he did include the Act Three *Pas classique hongrois* as part of *Le Festin*, a pastiche of dances from several ballets.¹⁸² Vera Karalli and Mikhail Mordkin danced the leading roles joined by an ensemble of sixteen that included Nijinsky, Bolm, Bronislava Nijinska, Alexandra Baldina, and Schollar.¹⁸³

¹⁸² The *Pas classique hongrois* was added to *Le Festin* for the company's second performance on 21 May 1909. Thanks to Andrew Foster for this information. About Diaghilev's plans to present *Raymonda*, see Sergey Laletin, "'Raymonda' i S.P. Dyagilev: nesostoyavshayasya postanovka baleta M.I. Petipa v 'Russkikh sezonakh' 1909 goda" ["'Raymonda' and S.P. Diaghilev: the failed production of the ballet by M.I. Petipa in the 'Russian Seasons' in 1909"] (Moscow, 2018), available online at <https://theatremuseum.ru/naukpubl/laletin>.

¹⁸³ *Le Festin* also included a "Czardas," presumably also from Act Three, featuring Sophia Fedorova and Mikhail Mordkin dancing choreography by Alexander Gorsky. See Boris Kochno, *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes*, tr. Adrienne W. Foulke (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 30. *Le Festin* was an umbrella title used by the Diaghilev company throughout its twenty-year existence. The excerpted ballets and short numbers that were presented under the title *Le Festin* varied, but the *Pas classique hongrois* from *Raymonda* was often among them.

Anna Pavlova performed the fiery *Panadéros* on tour in Helsinki in 1908 and Berlin in 1909.¹⁸⁴ Several years later, she and her Ballet Russe premiered a two-act production of *Raymonda* at the Century Opera House in New York on 2 February 1915. Staged by Ivan Clustine after Petipa, the ballet included both scenes from Act One.¹⁸⁵

The first complete production of *Raymonda* in Western Europe was toured by the Ballet of the Lithuanian National Opera in 1933.¹⁸⁶ The choreography was attributed to Petipa and arranged by Nicolas Zvereff, the troupe's ballet master, who also performed the role of Abderrakhman. The printed cast list and libretto (given in both French and English) for a performance in Monte Carlo on 18 January 1935 closely match the Mariinsky's Petipa production, albeit without the children's dances or the Act Three mazurka. The variation cut by Petipa in Act Three before the premiere also appears to have been included. Vera Nemtchinova danced the role of Raymonda, partnered by Anatole Obukhov as Jean de Brienne.¹⁸⁷

George Balanchine retained a special affection for *Raymonda*. As a student in St. Petersburg/Petrograd, he performed the role of an Arab boy in Act Two, and he likely performed other roles during his years in Russia and his tours with the Ballets Russes.¹⁸⁸ He may have choreographed the *Grand pas espagnol* as a *pas de deux* in 1923,¹⁸⁹ and he re-staged the Act

¹⁸⁴ Thanks to Andrew Foster for this programming information.

¹⁸⁵ Pavlova had danced the role of Henriette as well as the lead in the Spanish dance at the Mariinsky. See Lazzarini, *Pavlova*, 52, 80, 156–157. See also Sergey Konaev, “*Raymonda* dopo Petipa,” tr. Carla Muschio, in *Raymonda* program book (Milan: Teatro alla Scala, 2011), 93.

¹⁸⁶ The production also toured to Monte Carlo and London. For a brief discussion of this and other post-Petipa productions of *Raymonda*, see Vaughan, “Nureyev's ‘Raymonda,’” 32. See also Anton Dolin, *Ballet Go Round* (London: Michael Joseph, 1938), 144–149.

¹⁸⁷ Printed program courtesy of the collection of Robert Greskovic.

¹⁸⁸ Katz, et al., eds., *Choreography by George Balanchine*, 320.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

Three divertissement for Diaghilev in 1925.¹⁹⁰ Balanchine also staged and choreographed four ballets using music, and sometimes elements of Petipa's choreography, from *Raymonda*. These included a nearly full-length *Raymonda* staged with Alexandra Danilova for the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo in 1946 and three one-act ballets choreographed for New York City Ballet: *Pas de Dix* (1955), *Raymonda Variations* (1961, originally titled *Valses et Variations*), and *Cortège Hongrois* (1973).¹⁹¹ Although Balanchine did not produce a full-length *Raymonda* during his New York City Ballet years, he choreographed most of the ballet's dance numbers. The one-act ballets demonstrate his preference for distilling story ballets into short, plotless works.

The 1946 Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo production staged by Balanchine and Danilova featured choreography based on Petipa. (This was the pair's first collaborative revival of a nineteenth-century ballet—the second was their 1974 staging of *Coppélia* for New York City Ballet.) Much of the mime was eliminated, the story abbreviated, and some new choreography added by Balanchine.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 172–173.

¹⁹¹ On the 1946 *Raymonda*, see Lynn Garafola, “*Raymonda*, 1946,” *Ballet Review* 47, nos. 1–2 (Spring–Summer 2019): 151–160. For a description of Balanchine's *Raymonda* ballets, see Doug Fullington, “*Raymonda* at 100,” *Ballet Review* 26, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 77–86. See also Katz, et al., eds., *Choreography by George Balanchine*.

¹⁹² The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo program book for the season 1946–1947, includes the following: “*Raymonda* was first presented at the Maryinsky Theatre, St. Petersburg, in 1898 and the present version differs from the original merely in the omission of long passages of miming for dramatic action and fascinating and demanding choreography. The current version is the result of collaboration of Alexandra Danilova and George Balanchine both of whom appeared in the Russian production of this ballet some years back. The story of this ballet is concerned with a girl named Raymonda, who is betrothed to a knight of the Crusades. After his departure to war, the unexpected arrival of a Saracen Knight is heralded. The Saracen Knight pays court to Raymonda, and when she refuses him, he attempts to carry her off—just as Raymonda's fiancé arrives and kills the Saracen Knight. There is a wedding and colorful divertissements ensue. The score of Alexander Glazounov, famous Russian composer, was written especially for this ballet, and beautifully supports the brilliant choreography of Petipa. The sumptuous designs of décor and costumes are by Alexander Benois of Diaghileff fame, and the dean of Russian theatrical art.”

This “complete” *Raymonda* was performed by Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo for three seasons, but danced numbers and pantomime were deleted bit by bit, as was the character of the White Lady. By the 1949–1950 season, only the third act remained, and the full-length version was dropped from the repertory. The company was still performing Act Three as late as the early 1960s.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ A large number of items relating to the Balanchine-Danilova *Raymonda* are housed in the Jerome Robbins Dance Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, including substantial filmed excerpts of the ballet.

Chapter Four

The divertissement *Le jardin animé* from *Le Corsaire*

When Joseph Mazilier added a new divertissement to the 1867 Paris Opéra revival of his ballet *Le Corsaire*, he likely had little thought that his suite of dances would have a life beyond its current purpose, which was to feature a new ballerina in the lead role of Medora. That *Le pas des fleurs*—albeit redacted, rechoreographed, and renamed *Le jardin animé*—would be preserved in one of the most detailed documents of nineteenth-century dance notation was the happy result of Marius Petipa’s curatorial approach to the repertory of the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet.¹ Thanks to a variety of extant sources documenting this divertissement in its various iterations, we have the unique opportunity to follow the changes the ballet underwent through Petipa’s evolutionary work over the course of nearly forty years. We also will encounter, as we did in *La Bayadère*, complex choreographic polyphony, an important feature of Petipa’s *oeuvre*.

Le Corsaire in Paris: 1856

A ballet-pantomime in three acts, with music by Adolphe Adam and choreography by Joseph Mazilier, *Le Corsaire* was first performed by the Paris Opéra on 23 January 1856 at the Salle Le Peletier. Devised by the librettist Vernoy de Saint-Georges (who had assisted Théophile Gautier in bringing the *Giselle* plot to life in 1841), the ballet’s story was based very loosely on Lord Byron’s tale in verse, *Le Corsaire* (1814), which supplied a rich set of topics dear to the heart of mid-century theater-goers: harem women, pirates, Turkish potentates, and seagoing

¹ I use the term “curatorial approach” to mean Petipa’s practice of maintaining revivals of older works in the repertory alongside new ones.

vessels, which were “adored by Parisians, who have always had a maritime obsession.”² Set in the Turkish city of Adrianople, the ballet’s melodramatic plot follows the adventures of the pirate chief Conrad and his beloved Medora, who is sold to a wealthy Pasha.³ Romance, adventure, humor, and intrigue culminate in a spectacular onstage shipwreck. The cast featured Italian dancers Carolina Rosati as Medora and Domenico Segarelli as Conrad, both excellent mimes. Indeed, the ballet featured extensive mime scenes; Segarelli appears to have performed little dancing, if any.

The production was a huge success for the Opéra, as many reviews attest. Here are two examples:

The Opera has just won a magnificent victory. This Corsair ballet is a sumptuous féerie [spectacle] ending in a devastating tragedy. An admirable *danseuse*, picturesque sets, costumes that seem to be borrowed from the Queen of Sheba's closet, a final storm that could put the Ocean itself to shame—nothing is lacking in this success, which is already the talk and the event of the city.⁴

The success of *Le Corsaire* is reaching colossal proportions. All of Paris wants to see this splendid staging, these magical settings that go beyond anything the imagination can dream of. The vessel engulfed in waves in the third act forms the most moving and grandiose spectacle. It is the perfectly successful imitation of a dreadful reality.⁵

Further proof of the ballet’s success is found in its prominent place in the Opéra’s repertory for nearly three years: *Le Corsaire* was given at least sixty-three performances between

² Théodore de Banville, “Mouvement dramatique et littéraire,” *L’Artiste* (1 March 1865): 104, tr. by Gabriela Cruz in *Grand Illusion: Phantasmagoria in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 139.

³ Today, Adrianople is called Edirne.

⁴ Saint-Victor, *La Presse*, 27 January 1856, available online at <http://corpsetgraphies.fr/s-le-corsaire-1.php>.

⁵ L. Chérié, *Le Mercure Parisien*, no. 22 (*Nouvelle Série*) 4e année, January 1856, available online at <http://corpsetgraphies.fr/s-le-corsaire-1.php>.

January 1856 and October 1858, featuring Rosati and Segarelli each time. It left the repertory when its two stars departed, Segarelli returning to Naples and Rosati going to Russia.⁶

***Le Corsaire* in St. Petersburg**

With its combination of melodrama, exoticism, and sensational shipwreck, *Le Corsaire* proved irresistible to the Imperial Theaters. Two years (nearly to the day) after its celebrated Paris premiere, the ballet was staged in St. Petersburg by Jules Perrot. The premiere was given at the Bolshoi Theater on 9 January 1858 as a benefit performance for Perrot, who performed the role of Seyd-Pasha. The cast also featured the young Ekaterina Friedberg as Medora and Marius Petipa as Conrad.⁷

Although Friedberg received mixed reviews, the production was praised, particularly the ballet's final moments:

All the new scenery in *Le Corsaire* is good, but the scenery for the last scene is arranged with extraordinary skill, where a ship appears in front of the audience in the middle of a rough sea. Storm, thunder, and lightning have been produced by new means, and very successfully. The doom of the ship in the waves and then the appearance on stage of Conrad and Medora, with lighting the likes of which has never been seen before, is the crown of the present art in ballet performances!⁸

⁶ Rosati revisited the role of Medora in 1859 in Jules Perrot's staging of *Le Corsaire* for the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet. In 1862, she created the role of Aspasia in Marius Petipa's *The Pharaoh's Daughter*.

For an excellent full-length study of *Le Corsaire* in Paris, Collins, "Adolphe Adam's Ballet *Le Corsaire* at the Paris Opéra, 1856–1868: A Source Study." See Chapter 2, note 124. See also Ivor Guest, *Ballet of the Second Empire 1847–1858* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), 96–102.

⁷ *Khronika III*, 59–60.

⁸ *Severnaya Pchela*, 18 January 1858, qtd. in *Khronika III*, 60.

As Conrad, Petipa was in his element, performing a non-dancing role that showcased his dramatic abilities. Ekaterina Vazem, who would assume the role of Medora in the late 1860s, praised Petipa's acting prowess and vividly remembered his account of Conrad:

The crowning glory of Petipa's art as a dancer was his miming ability. In this he was matchless. With his dark, burning eyes, his face mirroring a whole range of mood and emotion, and with broad, clear, convincing gestures and a deeply-penetrating understanding of his role (through which he achieved a veritable transformation into the character that he portrayed), Petipa attained the very pinnacle among 'silent actors', and was equalled by only a very few of his colleagues. His acting excited the greatest admiration in his audience. ...I danced with him in *Le Corsaire* in the spring of 1868, in my first season on the stage; this was, in fact, Petipa's last appearance as a dancer. His performance as Conrad, the corsairs' leader, was quite unforgettable: his every movement indicated that he was accustomed to rule and command. At the same time, one was conscious of his mastery of gesture and his complete confidence. He never employed meaningless gesticulation, as I have often witnessed in other dancers in the role of Conrad. One could learn a good deal from his acting, but not by slavish imitation, as Petipa put too much of his own artistry into his interpretation. Thus, in the courtship scene in the Grotto, Petipa, while making love to Medora, was so carried away that he embraced her, shaking and shuddering with emotion, and whispering: 'Je t'aime, je t'aime ...'. I was then a very young girl, and was shocked by this naturalistic acting. At rehearsals, when he was directing some scene, Petipa would act out every role, always with the utmost expressiveness.⁹

The Petersburg production of *Le Corsaire* was not a restaging of the Paris original, although the story remained the same. Adam's score, likely re-orchestrated using a *répétiteur*, was supplemented with music by Cesare Pugni, who received equal billing with Adam. Perrot was credited with new stagings of all the dances, although Ivor Guest assumed he had seen Mazilier's production and was naturally influenced by it.¹⁰

Petipa's first opportunity to supervise the Petersburg *Corsaire* came with the ballet's revival given on 24 January 1863. The ballet master continued to perform the role of Conrad, this

⁹ Ekaterina Vazem, "Memoirs of a Ballerina of the St Petersburg Bolshoi Theatre," tr. Nina Dimitrievitch, Part 2, *Dance Research* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 18–19. The performance cited by Vazem was not Petipa's last; that came the following season, on 4 May 1869.

¹⁰ Ivor Guest, *Jules Perrot: Master of the Romantic Ballet* (London: Dance Books, 1984), 305.

time opposite his wife, Maria Surovshchikova-Petipa, who made her debut as Medora. Ivan Bocharov praised the broad accessibility of the production in *Yakor*: “Here is a ballet that absolutely pleases all ages and caters to all tastes.”¹¹ The poster notes that *Le Corsaire* was now given in four acts, though still in five scenes. Following a general acknowledgement of Saint-Georges and Mazilier, the credits state merely that the revival was newly staged by Petipa (“nouvellement mis en scène par M-r Petipa”).

Just five years later, Petipa returned to *Le Corsaire* a second time with another revival presented on 25 January 1868 as a benefit performance for the ballerina Adèle Grantzow.¹² The highlight of the production was the addition of the divertissement *Le jardin animé* (with music by Léo Delibes) that had been added for the Paris revival of *Le Corsaire* a year earlier under the title *Le pas des fleurs*. Grantzow, who was praised especially for her miming abilities in the role of Medora, was joined by Petipa as Conrad.¹³ Petipa revived *Corsaire* a third time on 30 November 1880 for the benefit performance of Evgenia Sokolova, who made her debut as Medora alongside Lev Ivanov as Conrad. The shipwreck finale was deemed the “height of perfection” in a production that featured new scenery and costumes.¹⁴ Finally, on 13 January 1899, Petipa revived *Le Corsaire* for a fourth and last time. The occasion was a benefit performance for the celebrated Italian ballerina Pierina Legnani, who only a year earlier had created the title role in *Raymonda*. Here, she made her debut as Medora opposite Pavel Gerdt as Conrad.¹⁵

¹¹ Ivan Bocharov, *Yakor*, 14 September 1863, qtd. in *Khronika III*, 100.

¹² Grantzow’s name is variously spelled Grantzow and Granzow in sources.

¹³ See *Khronika III*, 133–134.

¹⁴ *Minuta*, 2 December 1880, qtd. in *Khronika III*, 209–210.

Before exploring Petipa's various stagings of the divertissement *Le jardin animé*, which was included in all of the Petersburg revivals that followed its 1868 premiere, we return to Paris and the original *Le pas des fleurs*.

***Le pas des fleurs* in Paris: 1867**

The revival of *Le Corsaire* at the Opéra on 21 October 1867 was produced near the end of the Exposition Universelle. Held in Paris from April through the beginning of November, this exposition was one of many such lavish public events staged by the Emperor Napoleon III, the Empress Eugénie, and a government determined to arouse and consolidate popular support for their regime.¹⁶ It featured more than fifty thousand exhibitions and attracted more than six million visitors to the French capital, including the Ottoman Sultan Abülaziz, King William and Otto von Bismarck of Prussia, a brother of the Tokugawa Shogun, the Khedive of Egypt Isma'il, Prince Metternich and Franz Josef of Austria, and Tsar Alexander II.¹⁷ Rather than premiere a new ballet for the occasion as he did an opera (none other than Giuseppe Verdi's *Don Carlos*),

¹⁵ See *Khronika III*, 233.

¹⁶ Spectacular crown-sponsored displays included the baptism of the Prince Imperial in June 1856 (in a ceremony "worthy of a coronation" and costing 150,000 francs) and the welcoming home to France of a procession of 60,000 French soldiers (after a successful Italian campaign) who entered the city and walked to the Place Vendôme "under triumphal arches, and amidst trophies and decorations innumerable." Thomas Wright, *The History of France: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, vol. 3 (London: London Printing and Publishing Company, 1862), 823. Further, "[e]very new railway station built or boulevard opened up as part of [Napoleon III's] urban redevelopment scheme was celebrated with a ... wonderland of painted wood and canvas constructions." Yves Badetz, Guy Cogeval, Paul Perrin, and Marie-Paule Perrin, eds. "Spectaculaire Second Empire, 1852–1870," Musée d'Orsay, 2016–2017, <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/expositions/spectaculaire-second-empire-1852-1870-196105>.

And perhaps most controversially, Napoleon III reinstated the Feast of St-Napoleon, which had taken place every August 15th during the regime of Napoleon I (coinciding with the centuries-old Feast of the Assumption) and calling for public display. Sudhir Hazareesingh, "Religion and Politics in the Saint-Napoleon Festivity 1852–70: Anti-Clericalism, Local Patriotism and Modernity," *The English Historical Review* 119, no. 482 (2004): 621.

¹⁷ Bela Menczer, "Exposition, 1867," *History Today* 17, no. 7 (July 1967): 429–436.

Émile Perrin, the Opéra's director, turned to recent works and reliable repertory: *La Source* (which had premiered the year before to mediocre reviews but became a genuine success when Adèle Grantzow assumed the title role in May 1867) and, in performances for visiting dignitaries, the second act of *Giselle*. He also commissioned a new production of the 1856 swashbuckler, *Le Corsaire*.

Mazilier was called out of retirement to stage the ballet. The cast featured Grantzow as Medora and Louis Mérante as Conrad.¹⁸ New scenery and costumes were designed and built, the originals having been destroyed in a warehouse fire in 1861. *Le Corsaire* was given ten performances in 1867 and five in 1868 before being permanently dropped from the repertory. Mazilier died on 10 May 1868 at the age of seventy, seven months after the revival.

Ivor Guest suggests Mazilier rechoreographed much of the production. Willa Collins, however, points out that because Mazilier was called in just five months before the premiere and had access to the original libretto and very likely a *répétiteur* for the first production and possibly other materials, the choreography may very well have resembled that of the original.¹⁹

The additions made to the new production, certainly added as vehicles for Grantzow, included a variation and a divertissement, *Le pas des fleurs*. Both were composed by relative newcomer Léo Delibes, a former student of Adolphe Adam who recently had provided music for two scenes of *La Source* with success.²⁰ Various musical revisions were made to Adam's

¹⁸ Collins provides substantial biographies for Grantzow and Mérante. See Collins, "*Le Corsaire*," 266–273.

¹⁹ See Guest, *Second Empire 1858–1870*, 102, and Collins, "*Le Corsaire*," 279.

²⁰ Adam died in 1856. About Delibes, see Collins, "*Le Corsaire*," 273–277.

original score to accommodate *Le pas des fleurs*. Collins suggests these as well as other musical changes were likely handled by Delibes.²¹

Because the ballet was a revival, the 1867 *Corsaire* received relatively little press. Nevertheless, in addition to extant musical scores, several sources offer details of what took place on stage. The libretto, for example, while including the same scenario as in 1856, provides a cast list for the revival and designates the insertion of the new divertissement into Act Two, Scene Six.²²

The idea of a *pas des fleurs*, performed by dancers carrying garlands or the like, was well established by 1867.²³ Flowers are also featured in the plot of *Le Corsaire* (including a bouquet symbolizing Medora's love for Conrad and a drugged lotus blossom), and we already have seen how flowers (garlands included) figured in *La Bayadère* and *Raymonda* as well.

The Music

The Library of Congress holds three items related to the 1867 revival of *Le Corsaire* as part of a large collection of Delibes manuscripts.²⁴ These include the variation composed for

²¹ For a description of the revisions made to the score of *Le Corsaire* for the 1867 revival, see Collins, "Le Corsaire," 287–313.

²² See Collins, "Le Corsaire," 280–287, which includes reproductions of several pages of the 1867 libretto, including the title page, cast list, and list of dances.

²³ See Collins, "Le Corsaire," 320–322. See also Nathalie Lecomte, "Dans le sillage du *Corsaire*: de Paris (1856) à Saint-Petersbourg (1899)," *Slavica Occitania* 43 (2016), 159–160. On garland dances, see Edmund Fairfax, "The Eighteenth-Century Garland Pose," *Eighteenth-century Ballet* (blog), October 18, 2020, <https://eighteenthcenturyballet.com/blog/>, and Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet*, 104 and 316n28. For images and examples, see Madison U. Sowell and Debra H. Sowell, *Il Balletto Romantico: Tesori della Collezione Sowell* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2007), 65, 70–71, 76, 160.

²⁴ Léo Delibes music manuscripts, 1857–1890, ML96.D39, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Grantzow, a revised passage of music by Adam, and *Le pas des fleurs*.²⁵ Delibes' autograph score for this third item is titled "Divertissement pour Le Corsaire | Le pas des fleurs" and signed at the end in ink: "Leo Delibes | 7bre 67 [September 1867]." The divertissement consists of eight discrete sections, preceded by a four-bar introduction.²⁶

The opening *mouvement de valse* (waltz) in A-flat major is one of two substantial numbers out of the eight, with a total of 146 bars. The tripping primary melody has a broad sweep in its rising and falling lines (Ex. 4.1a). A contrasting secondary melody features accents, syncopation, and a brief move to E major (Ex. 4.1b).

²⁵ The three pages of revisions to Adam's score are from the end of Act Two, at the point in which Medora identifies Birbanto as her kidnapper. The Library of Congress pages match four pasted-over pages in the Paris copied full score of *Le Corsaire*, Act Two (A.590, vol. 2, 213–216, Bibliothèque-Musée l'Opéra, Bibliothèque nationale de France). The pasted-over pages substitute for what is a fairly large cut in the score. See Collins, "*Le Corsaire*," 301. The numbers are also included in the extant orchestra parts, MAT-395.

A piano reduction of Adam's score for *Le Corsaire* as well as a selection of interpolated numbers (including Delibes' variation and *Le pas des fleurs*) has recently been published: Adolphe Adam, *Le Corsaire*, ed. Yury Burlaka (St. Petersburg, Compozitor, 2021) [hereafter: Burlaka, ed., *Le Corsaire*]. The piano reduction is by Alexander Troitsky. In addition to the score of the 1856 Paris production, a lengthy appendix includes numbers subsequently added to the ballet in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Moscow. The volume also includes Russian and English translations of the 1856 Paris libretto, a biography of Adam in Russian and English and a brief analysis of the music ("Muzykal'naya biografiya 'Korsara'" [Musical biography of *Le Corsaire*]) in Russian, both by Anna Grutsynova, and a Russian-language summary of Ivor Guest's writings on *Le Corsaire* in Paris (1856 and 1867) and St. Petersburg (1858). No source citations are provided, neither for music sources nor for other sources used to date the various interpolations.

The 1867 version of the score, including the additions by Delibes, was recorded in 1990 by Richard Bonyngne and the English Chamber Orchestra (Decca 430 2862) and re-released by Eloquence Classics (Decca 4828605) Australia in 2018.

²⁶ A piano reduction of the 1867 Paris score for *Le pas des fleurs* is published in Burlaka, ed., *Le Corsaire*, 318–336. For further analysis of *Le pas des fleurs*, see Collins, "*Le Corsaire*," 329–364.

Ex. 4.1a *Le pas des fleurs*, Waltz, bars 5–11

Mouvement de Valse

The musical score for Ex. 4.1a consists of two systems of piano music. The first system covers bars 5-7, and the second system covers bars 8-11. The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The first system begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The melody in the right hand features eighth and sixteenth notes, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and single notes. The second system continues the melodic and harmonic development, ending with a final chord in bar 11.

Ex. 4.1b *Le pas des fleurs*, Waltz, bars 36–43

Tutti

Str.

dim.

Ww.

p

The musical score for Ex. 4.1b consists of two systems of piano music. The first system covers bars 36-39, and the second system covers bars 40-43. The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The first system begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a 'Tutti' marking. The melody in the right hand is marked with 'Str.' (string) and 'dim.' (diminuendo). The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment. The second system continues the melodic and harmonic development, ending with a final chord in bar 43. A 'Ww.' (woodwind) marking is present above the first staff of the second system.

The waltz modulates at its end to introduce the subsequent *andante*, which serves as the divertissement's adagio movement. Over a light texture of harp and strings, including cellos

divided four ways, a solo oboe plays a wide-ranging melody that Delibes would return to eight years later when composing the violin solo for the third act of his ballet *Sylvia* (Ex. 4.2).

Ex. 4.2 *Le pas des fleurs, Andante*, bars 3–6

The musical score for Ex. 4.2, 'Le pas des fleurs, Andante', bars 3–6, is presented in 3/4 time. It consists of two staves. The top staff is for the Oboe solo (Ob. solo) and the bottom staff is for the piano (p). The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The piano part begins with a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic. The oboe part features a wide-ranging melody with slurs and accents. The piano part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Generally soft throughout (despite the *mezzo forte* designated for the oboe at the beginning), the number builds only at the end, with a *crescendo* to *fortissimo* in the last three bars, scored for full orchestra.

The following section, forty-three bars in 3/4 time, which I will call Interlude 1, serves as an extended introduction to the subsequent variation. Marked “1° tempo un peu plus animé” and based on the waltz melody, the interlude modulates several times, moving away from G major (the dominant of the preceding C major of the *andante*) to eventually settle on the dominant seventh of E-flat major (Ex. 4.3).

Ex. 4.3 *Le pas des fleurs*, Interlude 1, bars 3–13

Tempo I

The fourth section is the first of two variations (Variation 1), this one comprising forty-nine bars and likely performed by Angelina Fioretti, who danced the role of Gulnare, a member of the Pasha's harem who befriends Medora. With the melody in the flute doubled by clarinet an octave below, the scoring builds on the flute-solo genre that was popular for female solos in mid-century ballets such as *Giselle* and *Paquita* (Ex. 4.4).

Ex. 4.4 *Le pas des fleurs*, Variation 1, bars 1–6

The musical score for Ex. 4.4 is in 2/4 time, E-flat major, and Allegretto. It consists of six bars. The piano part (bottom staff) begins with a pizzicato (pizz.) instruction and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and quarter notes. The woodwind part (top staff) is for Flute and Clarinet (Fl., Cl.) and features a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes, often beamed together.

Interlude 2, as I will call it, consists of twenty-six bars in E-flat major. Despite the languid quality of its opening, the tempo is *moderato sans lenteur* (Ex. 4.5). Like Interlude 1, this number serves to set up the following variation. Lyrical melodies in the violins and cellos lead to a staccato passage, followed by the return of the opening material in the winds and a modulation to C-flat major.

Ex. 4.5 *Le pas des fleurs*, Interlude 2, bars 1–4

The musical score for Ex. 4.5 is in 4/4 time, E-flat major, and Moderato sans lenteur. It consists of four bars. The piano part (bottom staff) features a melodic line with eighth notes and quarter notes, often beamed together. The woodwind part (top staff) features a staccato passage with eighth notes and quarter notes.

Variation 2, a 33-bar *allegretto* in A-flat major, breaks Delibes' pattern of beginning the movements of the divertissement at a soft dynamic by opening forthrightly and with full orchestra playing *fortissimo* (Ex. 4.6a).²⁷ An annotation in the copied full score, "Granzow,"

²⁷ "Allegretto" is struck through in the autograph score and replaced with *moderato marcato*.

confirms this variation was intended for Medora.²⁸ The music projects strength and perhaps even a sense of majesty in its orchestration, dynamic, and sweep of phrase. A contrasting middle section maintains breadth while introducing lyricism (Ex. 4.6b). The variation ends with a brass fanfare and flourishes (Ex. 4.6c).

Ex. 4.6a *Le pas des fleurs*, Variation 2, bars 1–5

Allegretto

The musical score for Ex. 4.6a, Variation 2, bars 1–5, is presented in two systems. The tempo is marked **Allegretto**. The key signature has three flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is 6/8. The piano part begins with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The first system consists of two measures, and the second system consists of three measures. The piano part features a series of chords and eighth-note patterns in both hands. The piano part is marked with *ff* (fortissimo) in the first measure of the first system.

²⁸ A.590, vol. 3, 153.

Ex. 4.6b *Le pas des fleurs*, Variation 2, bars 10–13

Ex. 4.6c *Le pas des fleurs*, Variation 2, bars 26–33

Un peu plus animé

The seventh movement, a galop, comprises 160 bars in E-flat major and functions as a coda. Following fifteen bars of anticipatory introduction, the melody rushes forward in cascading phrases (Ex. 4.7a).

Ex. 4.7a *Le pas des fleurs*, Coda, bars 16–23

Allegro vivo

mf

Typical of coda movements by Delibes, the number builds to a modulation featuring a broad melody that accompanies an entrée for a leading dancer. Here, the number modulates to C-flat major for eight bars, followed by a four-bar transition back to E-flat (Ex. 4.7b).

Ex. 4.7b *Le pas des fleurs*, Coda, bars 107–114

f

The final movement, a return to the opening waltz melody, may have been intended as a *sortie*, providing music to accompany a large group of dancers as they leave the stage. This number is preserved with two endings: both indicate a *diminuendo* just ahead of *fortissimo* final

chords. The second ending is more substantial in impact by virtue of a *crescendo* preceding the final bars.²⁹

Although the music is preserved in Act Three of the Paris full score, the new suite of dance appears to have been performed in Act Two, replacing No. 4 and No. 4 *bis*, the original divertissement in the second act.³⁰ This is confirmed by the placement of *Le pas des fleurs* in the extant orchestra parts.³¹ The order of its various numbers in the Paris full score is the same as in Delibes' autograph: Waltz – *Andante* – Interlude 1 – Variation 1 (presumably for Fioretti) – Interlude 2 – Variation 2 (Grantzow) – Coda – *Sortie*. Whereas the original 1856 divertissement combined dance and action—the women of the Pasha's harem teased Conrad, who was disguised as a dervish as part of his plan to rescue Medora—*Le pas des fleurs*, which is twice as long, appears to have been a pure dance suite performed by Medora, Gulnare, and the Pasha's court after Conrad reveals his identity to Medora.

The libretto's cast list indicates sixty-two participants—Grantzow, Fioretti, twenty women, twenty extras (*comparses*), and twenty little boys³²—however, an inventory list includes the names of twenty-five female dancers as part of the ensemble.³³ Sixty costumes were built for the divertissement.³⁴

²⁹ Both endings are also included in the Paris full score.

³⁰ A.590, vol. 3, 65–223. See Collins, “*Le Corsaire*,” 316–317 and 329n118.

³¹ Collins, “*Le Corsaire*,” 477n60.

³² According to the libretto, the boys portrayed “petits Nègres” (little Black males). See Collins, “*Le Corsaire*,” 285. In his 1868 and 1880 plans for *Le jardin animé*, Petipa refers to the roles of the student boys as “nègres.”

³³ Collins, “*Le Corsaire*,” 286–287.

Several sources give us an idea of the scenery and properties used to depict a living garden on stage. Rehearsal notes refer to garlands, and accounting records list baskets as properties.³⁵ A single-page set of annotated humorous caricatures by Félix Rey features highlights from the production.³⁶ One of the drawings depicts a woman holding a garland, another depicts an elaborate configuration of what look to be flower baskets, a likely reference to the ground plan of the new *pas de fleurs*, and yet another shows a man (possibly an extra) with a small boy standing on his head.

A sketch by scenic designers Auguste Rubé and Philippe-Marie Chaperon reveals the plan for the onstage garden with greater clarity.³⁷ Collins describes the drawing, in which a central circle is surrounded by two square formations, the second, larger square encompassing the first:

...the scenographers envisioned a garden, probably using geometric hedges similar to those found in the gardens of Versailles, filled with red peonies (*pivoines rondes*), pink and white rose bushes (*rosiers roses, fleurs blanches rosiers*), and an assortment of round, square, and oval baskets (*corbeilles ovales et carrés; corbeilles rondes*).³⁸

Indeed, the sketch features components of formal seventeenth-century French garden design: the entirety is arranged around a central axis that is crossed by perpendicular alleyways (*allées*). Flower beds (*parterres*) of varying shapes are placed symmetrically around the axis and contain

³⁴ Ibid., 319–320n109.

³⁵ Ibid., 320.

³⁶ The document is signed “Félix Y.” See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque et Musée de l’Opéra, ESTAMPES SCENES Corsaire (3), “*Quelques croquis sur Le Corsaire à l’Opéra – (1867): [estampe] / Félix Y. [sig.]*,” available online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8437126n>.

³⁷ See Collins, “*Le Corsaire*,” 322, Fig. 4.8. The set plan is preserved at the Archives nationales (Paris), AJ/13/506.

³⁸ Collins, “*Le Corsaire*,” 319.

flowers of a limited range of colors, here pink, white, and red. Whether the garden was in place for the entire *divertissement* or assembled midway through, as we will find in the St. Petersburg production, these documents do not tell us.

From the sources consulted, we can know at what point during *Le Corsaire* the *pas des fleurs* was danced, how many performers participated, and that they wore newly made costumes, carried various properties, and danced within a specially designed stage framework which represented a well-manicured garden. However, we find little more than tantalizing mention about the dances themselves. Grantzow's name appears at two points within the *divertissement* in the Paris full score, suggesting a solo *entrée* and variation, and an early press notice announcing the revival commented on the pairing of Grantzow and Fioretti in the new *pas des fleurs*:

In a *grand divertissement* added to the second act, a *pas de deux* will bring together Mlle Granzow and Mlle Fioretti, and will show us, in the most piquant way, a kind of contest between the two *danseuses*. It is M. Delibes, one of Adam's most distinguished pupils, who is responsible for writing the music of the *pas* and the added *divertissement*.³⁹

The revival of *Le Corsaire* and its new *pas des fleurs* were well-received.⁴⁰ St. Petersburg, as always, was watching and would soon acquire the new *divertissement* for its own production.

***Le jardin animé* in St. Petersburg: 1868**

Le pas des fleurs, renamed *Le jardin animé*, was first added to the St. Petersburg *Corsaire* less than four months after its Paris premiere. In addition to Grantzow as Medora, the

³⁹ *Le Figaro*, 23 August 1867, 4.

⁴⁰ See Guest, *Second Empire 1858–1870*, 103.

cast featured joined by Lubov Radina as Gulnare. Surely Grantzow brought the divertissement with her from Paris to enhance her Petersburg debut in the role. Whether she danced choreography created for her by Mazilier or newly devised steps by Petipa, the sources do not reveal. Whatever the case, *Le pas des fleurs* found a permanent home in St. Petersburg as *Le jardin animé* in the third scene of *Le Corsaire*.

The new dance was described in a review published in *Golos* that provides details about the staging and choreography:

The audience was also impressed by the *pas* “Le jardin animé” (in the third scene), staged by M. Petipa to the rather colorless music of Delibes. In the *pas*, Mlle Grantzow simply does miracles: for example, she draws whole patterns with her feet, without leaving the flower garlands laid on the floor, then rushes across the stage with the swiftness of a doe, finally jumps onto a large basket filled with flowers, does an *arabesque* and, making several slow turns, standing on one leg, throws bouquets from the cornucopia. The masses of the corps de ballet (in very graceful costumes) here depict lively flowers and whole flower beds, illuminated by electric light, forming a real magical garden from *One Thousand and One Nights*. In general, the groups of the “lively garden,” which include 80 artists ...just ask for an artist’s canvas and do honor to the choreographer who composed them.⁴¹

The reviewer confirms that eighty artists participated in the divertissement, garlands at one point were laid on the stage, and Grantzow threw bouquets from a large basket.⁴² The “very graceful costumes” were designed by Adolf Charlemagne, whose sketches for the revival include designs for eleven different kinds of flowers.⁴³ Grantzow reigned supreme as “La Rose Centefeuelles”

⁴¹ *Golos*, 27 January 1868, qtd. in *Khronika III*, 134. Italics added.

⁴² In an 1868 letter to his colleague Karl Valts, Matvey Shishkov, decorator of the Imperial Theaters, described how Grantzow was lifted on a trap into the middle of a large flower basket, surrounded by the rest of the performers. See Yury Burlaka, “Grand Pas iz baleta ‘Pakhita’ i Grand Pas ‘Ozhivlennyy Sad’ iz belta ‘Korsar’: Sravnitel’nyy analiz” [*Grand Pas* from the ballet “Paquita” and *Grand Pas* “The Lively Garden” from the ballet “Korsar”: A Comparative Analysis], *Vestnik Akademii Russkogo baleta imeni A. Ya. Vaganovoy* [Bulletin of the Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Ya. Vaganova], 2 (2017): 77.

⁴³ St. Petersburg State Theater Library (SPbGTB), inventory number Э1608.

(The Rose of a Hundred Petals—or Leaves), as her costume design is titled. The other multi-colored, whimsical designs are labeled thus: “Le Gamieriers | fleur des Alpes,” “L’Astre,” “La Rose,” “La Campanule,” “Le Bluet,” “Le Coquelicot,” “Le Liseron,” “Le Muguet,” “L’Eglantier,” and “La Pensée.” Alongside this visual luxury, the music of Delibes, a composer new to the St. Petersburg stage, was deemed “colorless”!

Vazem recounts Arthur Saint-Léon’s own proposal of luxury, an indication that the ballet master was involved in the production:

Saint-Léon liked to try out original ideas. For the Petersburg production of the *divertissement The Living Garden* (from the ballet *Le Corsaire*), which was so popular in Paris, he wanted to place enormous machines on stage to spray the audience with perfume, so that they would feel themselves transported into a garden with scented flowers. This, however, he was not allowed to do.⁴⁴

Extant source material provides a rare opportunity to trace Petipa’s ongoing conception of *Le jardin animé*, beginning with the 1868 revival of *Le Corsaire* and continuing into the first years of the twentieth century. Here we find early examples of the elaborate groupings Petipa devised that were so pleasing to his audience. We also discover passages of truly polyphonic choreography, featuring multiple groups of dancers performing different enchaînements simultaneously. Finally, we see Petipa’s preference in working with groups of twelve dancers (or even twenty-four). Similar numbers can be found in Petipa’s productions of *Giselle* (twenty-four Wilis), *Paquita* (twelve couples in the *Pas des manteaux* and children’s mazurka), and other

⁴⁴ Ekaterina Vazem, “Memoirs of a Ballerina of the St Petersburg Bolshoi Theatre,” tr. Nina Dimitrievitch, Part 1, *Dance Research* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 9. Saint-Léon mentions *Le Corsaire* among the ballets contributing to his busy schedule in a letter to Charles Nutter on 14 September 1869. Arthur Saint-Léon, *Letters from a Ballet Master: The Correspondence of Arthur Saint-Léon*, ed. and tr. Ivor Guest (London: Dance Books, 1981), 110.

dances in *Le Corsaire* (twelve ensemble couples in the *Danse des corsairs* and twelve corps women in the 1899 *Grand pas des éventails* and *Entrée des odalisques*).

Notes and drawings in Petipa's hand help us understand his preparations for staging *Le jardin animé*.⁴⁵ Several of these appear to date from the 1868 production: the names of Grantzow and Radina are included in the sketches of ground plans.

Groupings. One drawing related to the 1868 production includes three groupings intended for the “adagio,” Petipa's term for the *andante*.⁴⁶ At the top of the page, the “1er groupe de l'adage” bears the description “très joli.” (This grouping corresponds to Group 1 of Petipa's later productions, discussed below.) Twenty-four *figurantes* (corps de ballet women) form a winding row across mid-stage.⁴⁷ Behind them are drawn a series of hoops—flower garlands were attached to stiff hoops in half-moon shapes, the ends of which were held in each hand. The hoops are clustered in a tight, central formation and likely represent the twelve men identified in subsequent groupings on the same page. Radina is at center, surrounded by what may be six student girls. On either side of Radina and her circle of students, three student boys are paired in rows with three *élèves* (student girls—an *élève* can be a boy or girl, but Petipa appears to indicate girls in this case).⁴⁸ On either side of these pairs are non-symmetrical formations of dancers: at stage right, two more boys are surrounded by eight “coryphées avec cerceaux” (though this

⁴⁵ A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theater Museum (GTsTM) *fond* 205 (Marius Petipa archive), *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 200–204 and 704–705. My discussion will refer to a selection of the materials preserved.

⁴⁶ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 705. This drawing is reproduced in the exhibition catalog *Dva veka Petipa* [Two centuries of Petipa], ed. Sergey Konaev (Moscow: Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum, 2018), 23.

⁴⁷ The accompanying annotation, “2 figurantes devant les grandes guirlandes,” appears to support this reading but for the “2,” which may have been intended to be “24.”

⁴⁸ In his 1868 and 1880 plans for *Le jardin animé*, Petipa refers to the roles of the student boys as “nègres” (Black males).

number was likely six in performance, matching the six coryphées at stage left); at stage left, no descriptors are given, but the same symbols as those used for stage right indicate three boys surrounded by six “coryphées avec cerceaux.” Finally, farthest downstage, three dancers flank a central figure on each side, with the annotation “they give roses to Grantzow.”

Petipa’s description of the grouping drawn at the bottom of the page is similar to the one at the top—it is labeled “2me groupe de l’adage | très joli”—and corresponds to Group 2 of later productions. Here, rows of dancers line the upstage area. A row of twelve men and twelve corps women is farthest upstage. The men are represented by squares which may indicate they are standing on tabourets, and the corps women (“12 f[igurantes]”) are placed “au milieu des hommes.” Twelve more corps women form a second row in front of the first: “12 f[igurantes] devant les hommes.”

Downstage of these rows, three colonnades are formed by lines of paired dancers. The central colonnade is created by six pairs of dancers. Each holds one end of her own hoop and one end of her partner’s hoop, thus creating an arbor between the “pillars” of the colonnade—in sum, they form an arcade. The hoops are drawn in a lowered position, their midpoints touching the floor at the center of the pathway. Though lacking descriptors, these dancers may be the coryphées designated in the first group, confirming their total number was twelve. Six additional coryphées are in diagonal rows, three women in each downstage corner (in later years, Petipa referred to these six women as “secondes danseuses”). Radina and Grantzow are placed at the upstage end of the central colonnade. The colonnades on each side are formed by six girls with hoops (“élèves de l’école | avec cerceaux”) along the outside and six boys along the inside (the same + sign is used to denote the boys in this grouping as well as in the grouping at the top of this page). These pairs also form arcades by sharing hoops held high.

The grouping drawn in the middle of the page is labeled “4me figure,” suggesting that the third adagio group is missing from the page.⁴⁹ Indeed, this grouping corresponds most closely to Group 4 of later productions. Here, a circular formation at center is flanked by arcades on each side. Grantzow is at center surrounded by an inner circle of twelve dancers depicted by squares and an outer semicircle of another twelve dancers depicted by hoops. These may be “les 24 figurantes”—this annotation is written directly above the formation. “Radina gives her hand to Grantzow” is written in the space between the circle and semicircle. The arcades along each wing are formed by colonnades of six coryphées on the inside and six *hommes* on the outside. Each holds one end of their shared, raised hoops. Six undesignated dancers stand in a line within each arcade. (An annotation below the drawing, “12 men holding baskets,” may refer to the “2me groupe,” at the bottom of the page, although it is written just above the line separating the grouping drawn in the middle of the page from the one at the bottom.)

A subsequent page includes two more groupings in this series.⁵⁰ Petipa’s “5me figure” also corresponds to Group 4 of later productions.⁵¹ The men (*figurants*) stand upstage center in a square formation. Each side of the square is three men deep—they face outward, holding hoops. On either side of the men are two arcades situated on the diagonal from the upstage corners. The inside colonnades are made up of *figurantes* and the outside colonnades are formed by coryphées. As in the previous figures, the dancers in each colonnade share a raised hoop, creating an arcade. Another line of dancers, possibly the boys, stand under the hoops within each

⁴⁹ However, the grouping at the top of the page includes a large “2” at the center of the drawing, and the grouping at the bottom of the page includes a large “3” (albeit written just above a smaller “2”) on the right side of the drawing. If the grouping formed at the end of the waltz, immediately preceding the adagio, is regarded as “1,” then this numbering would follow.

⁵⁰ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 705.

⁵¹ A second “5” at the top of the page is struck through in pencil and replaced with “3.”

arcade. Radina is placed downstage of the men and Grantzow is even farther downstage. Below her name, the following is written: “The baskets in front of Grantzow or else with the student boys.”⁵² The second drawing on this page, labeled “6me figure,” is similar to the other groupings but does not appear to exactly prefigure any single grouping from later productions (although it shares some formations with Group 2). The *figurantes* form two arcades upstage, made up of twelve dancers each. Between them are two colonnades labeled “Nèg[res] corbeilles.” Downstage, an inverted “V” is formed by kneeling dancers who either hold hoops themselves or share them with other dancers (the student girls?) who appear to be sitting on the knees of the kneeling dancers. Farthest downstage is a “V” formed by six dancers (I presume these are dancers who later are referred to as “secondes danseuses”). At its apex is a drawing of what appears to be a large basket. (Neither Radina nor Grantzow are named in this drawing.)

A sketch on yet another page documents one more elaborate grouping, perhaps also from the adagio, but it is different in detail from those we will find in drawings and ground plans of later productions.⁵³ Here, two central arcades are formed by pairs of dancers who share hoops held aloft to form an arbor over what appear to be additional dancers placed within the arcades. Diagonal lines of dancers at the sides include men (*figurants*) standing and coryphées kneeling. Students (*élèves*) kneel downstage in a “V” formation, with Radina at its apex. More coryphées are placed behind the students. A solitary figure placed farthest downstage at center may represent Grantzow. Annotations below the drawing provide further information, either about the drawing above or subsequent action: “The *figurants* carry the boys on their shoulders, the boys

⁵² “Les corbeilles devant Grantzow ou bien avec les nègres.”

⁵³ Ibid.

hold the large hoops | a *figurante* is in front, the *figurant[e]* is holding her skirt very open.”⁵⁴

Petipa concludes with a note to himself: “I have to see if this figure is good.”⁵⁵

Stage design. Another drawing provides the layout of the flower beds on stage, a plan similar to the elaborate Paris set plan: four central beds form a square with their outside perimeter.⁵⁶ An open circular area at their inside central meeting point surrounds a circular bed or platform. The stage space around the platform is accessible by alleys between the beds. Pairs of rectangular beds line each side of the large square. This arrangement of flower beds will remain constant in Petipa’s subsequent productions. Along the front of the stage, hoops—each representing a large flower petal—are placed on the stage floor, forming five large flowers of four petals each.

Annotations further our knowledge of the stage design, beginning with instructions at the top of the page explaining how the flower beds are to be brought on stage hidden from audience view: “[T]o place the garden, the *figurantes* hold their skirts very open to hide the garden.”⁵⁷ Drawings of figures accompanied by the annotation “in front of the garden” show how the dancers (presumably placed far downstage) hold their skirts wide to block the audience’s view of the stage as the flower beds are put in place, presumably by stage crew (later documents refer to “properties people”). Additional annotations describe the formation of the three central hoop flowers—“12 *figurantes* put these hoops on the floor”—and the hoop flowers on each side of the

⁵⁴ “Les figurants portent les nègres sur les épaules, les nègres tiennent les grands cerceaux | une figurante est devant, le figurant [sic] tenant sa jupe très ouverte.”

⁵⁵ “Je dois voir si cette figure est bien.”

⁵⁶ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 705.

⁵⁷ “[P]our faire mettre le jardin font sur les figurantes tiennent leurs jupes tres ouvertes pour cacher le jardin.”

central three—“these 4 hoops placed outside by 4 boys,” meaning four hoops are placed in the flower formation by the four student boys standing within it.⁵⁸ Annotations at the bottom of the page provide more detail: “The 6 coryphées [again, Petipa will later refer to these women as “secondes danseuses”] dance before. Then *figurants* and *figurantes* enter while the garden is set up as soon as possible. They quickly go into the 1st wing on the right and left. I must try to place the six dancers next to the coryphées.”⁵⁹

Cast size. Although the number of dancers depicted differs somewhat from group to group, the total cast represented in these drawings includes Grantzow, Radina, what appear to be eighteen coryphées (divided into two groups: twelve coryphées and what will be six *secondes danseuses*), twenty-four corps women (*figurantes*), twelve student girls (*élèves*), twelve men (*figurants* or *hommes*), and twelve student boys (*nègres*), for a total of eighty dancers, the same number as listed on the poster.

Taken together, the drawings reveal Petipa’s plan for groups of dancers to create a literal “living garden” during the adagio by assembling multiple tableaux within which Medora and Gulnare would dance. Later in the divertissement, another garden is formed, this one with scenic pieces—flower beds—freeing the ensemble to dance within its alleyways, an entire bouquet of flowers coming to life, as it were.

⁵⁸ “12 figurantes mettent parterre ces cerceaux” and “ces 4 cerceaux sans placés par 4 nègres.”

⁵⁹ “[A]vant les 6 coryphées dansant | ensuite les figurants et figurantes entrent en plançant sitot le jardin place | ils rentrent spontanément dans la lière coulisse a droite et à gauche. Les six danseuses je dois tacher de las places à côté des coryphées.”

The 1880 St. Petersburg revival of *Le Corsaire*

Petipa's next revival of *Le Corsaire* on 30 November 1880 featured Evgenia Sokolova as Medora and Marie Petipa as Gulnare.⁶⁰ Made in conjunction with this production are further detailed plans, also in Petipa's hand, that document the choreographer's revision of *Le jardin animé*.⁶¹ Petipa's heading notes the timing of their preparation: "Benefit of Mme Sokolova | November 1880" and "I revised this *pas* for the rehearsal [*répété*] and finished the *pas* on 22 October 1880."⁶² These statements confirm Petipa revised *Le jardin animé* for the 1880 revival of *Corsaire* and that he completed his work in rehearsal five and a half weeks before the premiere. His written plans also reveal that the role of the divertissement's second ballerina (which Radina, as Gulnare, danced in the 1868 production) was performed not by Gulnare, the role performed by his daughter Marie, but by Vera Zhukova ("Zhukowa" in Petipa's plans).⁶³ This casting is confirmed by the poster.⁶⁴

The plans also confirm the order of the divertissement, which represents a change from Delibes' original order: Waltz – Adagio (from hereon I adopt Petipa's term for Delibes' *Andante*) – Variation 1 (Zhukova) – Interlude 1 – Interlude 2 – Variation 2 (Sokolova) – Coda. The number of participants in the divertissement, twelve fewer than the 1868 production, can also be ascertained from symbols Petipa uses to indicate the various performers:

⁶⁰ See *Khronika III*, 209–210.

⁶¹ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 200–203.

⁶² GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 202, fol. 1r.

⁶³ Marie Petipa was not known for her abilities as a classical (academic) dancer. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 128–135. For a contemporary assessment of Marie Petipa's abilities, see Ekaterina Vazem, "Memoirs of a Ballerina of the St Petersburg Bolshoi Theatre," tr. Nina Dimitrievitch, Part 3, *Dance Research* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 39–40.

⁶⁴ Thanks to Olga Fedorchenko for providing this information.

Performers:	Symbol:
Sokolova	“S”
Zhukova	Two slanted hash marks with a cross
6 <i>secondes danseuses</i>	“O” or stick figures
12 coryphées	“X”
12 <i>figurantes</i>	“O” or stick figures
12 student girls	“O”, sometimes “X” or “small girls”
12 <i>figurants</i>	Squares
12 student boys	Filled-in circles

Total of 68 performers

Where the same symbols are used to depict multiple sets of dancers (*secondes danseuses*, *figurantes*, or student girls), Petipa provided prose descriptions as well. This additional prose primarily provides information about the order of entrances, the groupings of the dancers, the properties they hold, and occasionally the number of bars allocated to a given passage or grouping.

Petipa’s drawing showing the placement of the flower beds on stage corresponds with his similar sketch from 1868.⁶⁵ The flower-shaped configuration of hoops placed on stage is omitted from the drawing, but other elements and references to performers are included: a large basket (*corbeille*) at center surrounded by *secondes danseuses*, coryphées along the wings, little girls (*petites*) in the side alleys, and Zhukova at downstage center.

Because many of the details included in these plans are similar to those documented in the choreographic notation of *Le jardin animé*, I will discuss the two sources in tandem.

⁶⁵ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 202, fol. 2v.

The Stepanov notation of *Le jardin animé*

The choreographic notation (CN) of *Le jardin animé* that is filed with the rest of the notation of *Le Corsaire* in the Sergeyev Collection is one of the most detailed and beautifully executed examples of Stepanov notation, indeed, of all nineteenth-century dance notation.⁶⁶ Much of it is written in ink using a formal, calligraphic script. The elaborate document, consisting of eighty-eight pages that are bound in three gatherings, includes a two-violin *répétiteur* (CN Rep), ground plans, step notation—often with movements for the entire body—and detailed annotations.

The inclusion of a two-violin *répétiteur*, the use of ink, and the formal scribal hand suggest the notation is an early example of the practical use of the Stepanov system for ballet documentation, created at a time when enthusiasm for the project was high and effort was made to ensure that the notation document was itself a work of art. The paper is that used for the most detailed examples of Stepanov notation preserved in the Sergeyev Collection: oblong-format with two music staves at the top, below which are four sets of choreographic notation staves. Together, these staves create a complete system that includes music and can accommodate choreographic notation for up to four different groups of dancers performing simultaneously. Four boxes along the right margin of the page are intended for ground plans. The first bound gathering includes the Waltz; the second, the Adagio, Variation 1, and Interlude 1; and the third, Interlude 2, Variation 2, Coda, and *Sortie*. The lack of dancer names in the notation suggests the document may have been intended as a definitive record of the choreography rather than notes of a single cast's performance. Sadly, the initial scribes did not finish their work. The scribal hands for both the *répétiteur* and the choreography change after the second gathering; the *répétiteur*

⁶⁶ MS Thr 245 (1), Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

remains in ink, albeit in a heavier hand—likely Nikolai Sergeyev’s—but the choreography, annotations, and ground plans are in pencil.

Why was *Le jardin animé* chosen to be notated? *Le Corsaire* was out of repertory during the 1890s and not revived in full until 1899, three years after Stepanov’s death. The answer may lie on a page among the Bakhrushin Museum holdings that includes the following lone text in Petipa’s hand: “I submit *le jardin animé* for a performance excerpt [*spectacle coupé*]. Mlles Johansson and Kulichevskaya. 4 Sept[ember] 1894 at Theatre Michel.”⁶⁷ The *Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters* for the 1894–1895 season confirms the performance at the Mikhailovsky Theater on 4 September, which included the ballets *The Magic Flute*, *The Enchanted Forest*, *The Sacrifices to Cupid*, and a “Grand pas” from *Le Corsaire*.⁶⁸ Based on Petipa’s written statement, the *Grand pas* appears to have been *Le jardin animé*. Rehearsals for this performance would have provided an opportunity for the divertissement to be notated.

The scribe for the dance notation is unknown. The primary scribal hand is similar to that used to notate *The Awakening of Flora*, a ballet first performed on 25 July 1894. Also similar is the style and formatting of various features of the notation of *The Awakening of Flora*, a pencil notation that utilizes the same type of paper as *Le jardin animé*, includes a *répétiteur* in ink, was also unfinished by its initial scribe, and varies in level of detail provided throughout.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 200, fol. 1r.

⁶⁸ *Ezhegodnik* (1894–1895), 3.

⁶⁹ MS Thr 245 (45). Similar elements of style and formatting include the placement of annotations, stave headings, the format of ground plans, and the indication of dancers turning. In addition, the use of a rectangular (rather than circular) notehead for legs in “normal” position (that is, under the body) when a dancer is on *demi-pointe* or *pointe* is a feature of both the *Flora* and *Jardin* notations. The rectangular notehead is also used in Stepanov’s 1892 *Alphabet* and Gorsky’s *Tablitsa znakov* [Table of Signs] but is changed to a round notehead in Gorsky’s 1899 *Khoreografiia*: compare Stepanov’s *Alphabet* (see *Alphabet*, tr. Lister, 31, examples 94–96) and Gorsky’s *Tablitsa znakov* (*Table of Signs*, tr. Wiley, p. 20) with Gorsky’s *Khoreografiia* (*Choreography*, tr. Wiley, 37–38 ff., examples 60 and 67, ff). The use of the

I am tempted to attribute the notation of these two ballets to Stepanov himself. Based on the date of the performance of *Le jardin animé* that appears to have served as the model for the choreographic notation and the premiere of *The Awakening of Flora*, both in 1894, such attribution seems plausible.

The following number-by-number description is based on the CN, supplemented by notes from Petipa's 1880 plans. The CN Rep will be compared to the version of the divertissement that is preserved in a microfilm *répétiteur* of *Le Corsaire* (*Corsaire Rep*), which is also part of the Sergeyev Collection.⁷⁰

rectangular notehead in this manner suggests that the notation of *Le jardin animé* was made prior to the publication of Gorsky's 1899 *Khoreografiia*.

⁷⁰ MS Thr 245 (270), Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University. The missing pages are pages 89–104, 107–118, and 219–240. Arranged for two violins, the Rep comprises 254 pages, although fifty are missing from the microfilm (and, I assume, from the manuscript itself).⁷⁰ The title page reads “Ballet | *Korsar* | *Le Corsaire* | Music of Adam and of Mr Pugni” and is signed at the top by Nikolai Sergeyev. Although the Rep contains few annotations, it is a highly useful document—a compendium of original numbers by Adam and interpolations made over the course of the work's Petersburg performance history, spanning the years 1858 through, roughly, 1902 (the latter date arrived at by virtue of an interpolation in *Le jardin animé* for Julia Sedova).

Burlaka (see notes 24–25, above) provides a second complete piano reduction of Delibes' divertissement which is intended to represent the music used by Petipa for *Le jardin animé* in his 1868 staging of *Le Corsaire* (pages 352–379) and is described by Burlaka as follows: “The choreographer M[arius] Petipa revises the form of *Pas des fleurs* by J[oseph] Mazilier into ‘Le Jardin animé’ for the Petersburgian revival of [*Le Corsaire*] (1868) for the ballerina A[dèle] Grantzow. Petipa changes the form of the number and adds new variations.” Burlaka, ed., *Le Corsaire*, 352. This mixed collection of numbers, not all of which Petipa appears to have used, includes compositions and arrangements that post-date 1868 (some of which are not found in the CN or the Rep). This second piano reduction, for which no source citations are provided, consists of the following numbers:

Grand Valzer [Waltz]: While the sources I consulted indicate that Petipa used the opening waltz as composed by Delibes for the Paris production, Burlaka's reduction includes much of the piano solo version published in nineteenth-century Paris by Henri Heugel (no date), which features the incorporation of Variation 1 into the waltz. (See note 108, below, for the citation of the Heugel publication, the cover of which is reproduced in the Burlaka volume on page 317.) No sources I consulted suggest that the Heugel arrangement of the waltz was used in the Petersburg *Le jardin animé*.

Grand Adagio [Adagio]

Variation of Gulnare: The music for this variation is printed twice in the volume (on pages 363–364 and 400–401). In the first instance, Burlaka writes that it was composed by “A[lbert] Zabel for the performance of the ballet ‘Catarina ou la Fille du bandit’ by C[esare] Pugni for the ballerina V[irginia]

The title page of the choreographic notation reads “*Le Jardin Animé* an 2me acte du Ballet *Corsaire*.” Each member of the cast of sixty-eight dancers is assigned a number (separate sets of numbers are used for females and males). These are used both in the notation of the steps (dancers are identified by number in the margins next to the staves) and in the ground plans:

1	“Ballerina” (Medora)
2	“1st dancer” (Gulnare)
3–8	“6 dancers” (women, corresponding to Petipa’s <i>secondes danseuses</i>)
9–20	12 student girls
21–32	12 coryphées (women)
33–44	12 corps de ballet women (corresponding to Petipa’s <i>figurantes</i>)
1–12	12 student boys ⁷¹
13–24	12 corps de ballet men (corresponding to Petipa’s <i>figurants</i>)
Total	68 dancers (44 females, 24 males)

Zucchi in 1889” (page 363). (For an excerpt, see Ex. 8.15 in the present volume.) In the second instance, Burlaka adds that it was used in 1899 “as the variation of Gulnara in the divertissement ‘Le Jardin Animé’ with [Petipa’s] new choreography.” But in fact, the Rep includes an altogether different variation and it is for Olga Preobrazhenskaya, who danced the role of Gulnare in the 1899 revival (see Ex. 8.13). The *Catarina* variation appears to have been danced later by Vera Trefilova, possibly as early as 1901.

Female soloists’ variation: This variation is also included twice in the Burlaka piano reduction. On page 365, it is described as: “[Originally] written by R[iccardo] Drigo for the ballet ‘La Esmeralda’ by C[esare] Pugni for the ballerina A[nna] Johannson in 1899.” On page 430, the variation is further described as: “For the revival of ‘Le Corsaire’ in 1899 choreographer M[arius] Petipa used the variation from the ballet ‘La Esmeralda’ on the music by R[iccardo] Drigo for the ballerina A[nna] Johannson as the female soloists’ variation in the divertissement ‘Le Jardin Animé’ (III act) with his new choreography.” Neither the music nor any choreography or description of this number is found in the sources I consulted.

Intermezzo I [Interlude I]: Revised as in the Rep and CN.

Intermezzo II [Interlude 2]: Revised as in the Rep, with two bars of introduction (see below).

Variation of Medora [Variation 2]

Coda: Revised with repeated bars as in the Rep and CN.

Finale [*Sortie*]: While the version of this final movement included in the CN’s *répétiteur* matches the Paris version (using the first of Delibes’ two endings), the arrangement in the Burlaka edition includes an opening seven bars that are derived from Delibes’ music for the ballet *La Source* (1866) and taken from Franz Doppler’s 1878 arrangement of *Le pas des fleurs*, titled *Intermezzo (Pas des fleurs, grande valse) aus dem Ballet Naila*. See below, especially note 94. As with the divertissement’s opening waltz, nothing in the sources I consulted suggests that this arrangement was used in the Petersburg *Le jardin animé*.

⁷¹ The CN refers to “student boys” and does not use the term “nègres” that Petipa had used in his plans for 1868 and 1880.

Each constituency is allotted its own set of staves unless two groups are dancing the same steps, in which case both groups are listed in the left margin next to the respective stave set.

Where a group of dancers is divided between sides of the stage, the stage left side is notated; a box is drawn around the numbers corresponding to the dancers on stage right, indicating they should perform the steps to the opposite side and on opposite legs.

Nothing is notated for the four bars of introduction that precede the waltz.

Waltz

“*Allegro* – beginning of the *pas* of *Corsaire*.” So wrote Petipa in his 1880 plans.⁷² Six coryphées begin, three in a row at each downstage side. They travel toward center with *ballonné*, *piqué en arrière en cou-de-pied devant*, arms overhead, twice, followed by *pas de valse en tournant*. As the dancers reach center, a second group of six coryphées enters upstage of the first group. As the first six repeat the opening enchaînement, traveling back toward the wings, the second six perform the same as they move toward center. Both groups repeat the sequence twice more, their rows crossing on their respective sides of the stage. All perform *pas de valse en tournant* to the wings during the final repetition and form a line along each side.

Next, twelve student girls enter upstage of the coryphées, six from each side, in two rows of three dancers each. All perform *pas de basque* as the girls travel to center and the coryphées move upstage and form a semicircle. After four *balancés* in place, they resume *pas de basque*, half of the girls turning and traveling upstage and back, the other half traveling downstage and back, the coryphées returning to the downstage sides.

⁷² GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 202, fol. 1r.

Twelve student boys run in, six from each upstage corner, and a series of groupings follows. In the first, the boys form a large, inverted semicircle across the stage. The CN instructs, “they are sitting on the floor having brought under their legs.” Behind them, the girls, in two lines, also form inverted semicircles, standing in first position, arms overhead. The coryphées line the wings, downstage of the boys, standing in *tendu croisé derrière*, arms in fourth position. All run to the second group, for which only a ground plan is given: the girls move upstage into two rows, the boys move to the sides, and the coryphées form a semicircle at center, their backs to the audience. The ground plan indicates the coryphées either hold hands or, if they are also kneeling, hold each other by the waist. All run back to the first group, where they remain for the duration of the waltz.

The rest of the number is given over to the “1st dancer” (I will refer to her as Gulnare) and “6 dancers.” As the music transitions to a return of the opening melody, Gulnare enters upstage left. She performs a series of *piqués en arabesque* as she travels downstage on the diagonal. A *bourrée* brings her back to center, where she poses in *tendu croisé derrière*, arms overhead, until the waltz melody begins. The six dancers enter, three from each side, and form a line at each wing, opposite Gulnare. Petipa’s annotations accompanying his sketches confirm this order of events, beginning from the first grouping of students and coryphées: “1st [group] | 2nd [group] | Then to the 1st group again | Then the entrance of Mme Zhukova then the entrance of the six second *danseuses*.”⁷³

As the waltz resumes, Gulnare lowers her arms while performing a deep *fondue* in a lunging fourth position over the course of four bars. She waltzes in place, repeats the lunging pose, then waltzes upstage. She returns down center with three *pas de basque, piqué en*

⁷³ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 202, fol. 1v.

arabesque, arms overhead, twice. Throughout, Gulnare is flanked by the six dancers, who travel to center and return to the wings with a series of *pas de basque* and *piqué en arabesque, faille* then move upstage and back with a series of *pas de valse en tournant* and *ballonné*.

As the music approaches its final climax, Gulnare runs forward on the diagonal and performs *piqué en arabesque, failli*, wrists crossing overhead, then repeats the same to the other side, waltzes upstage, and repeats the entire enchaînement. The six dancers, having formed a single row upstage of Gulnare, perform a series of *entrechat cinq, piqué dégagé demi-seconde*, and *pas de valse en tournant* in place.

Gulnare travels directly downstage a final time with *pas de basque*, joined by the six dancers. The rest of the ensemble, including an additional twenty-four dancers who now enter from the wings at either side, moves into a grouping during the final chords of the waltz. The CN provides the following instructions for each set of dancers:

12 female corps de ballet dancers come on stage with baskets.

12 male corps de ballet dancers come on stage with garlands.

The girl students go behind the curtain past the people with the garlands [that is, they each get a garland in the wings] and they arrive and come to the group.

The boy students come straight to the group.

The coryphées go behind the curtain past the people with the garlands [that is, they each get a garland in the wings] and they arrive and come to the group.

The ground plan indicates a large semicircle upstage, four rows deep, the front row extended farther downstage by the addition of a line of six coryphées at each end. Detailed instructions are given for the group pose:

12 boy students [first row] sit having brought under their legs

12 girl students [second row] stand on one knee [that is, they kneel; they also hold garlands]

12 female corps dancers [third row] hold baskets

12 male corps dancers [fourth row] hold garlands

12 coryphées are holding garlands

At center, the six dancers surround Gulnare: “they stand [that is, kneel] on the left knee embracing one another around the waist.” Gulnare stands within the circle in *tendu croisé derrière*, arms overhead. Petipa’s sketches show a similar grouping, the only difference being the placement of the corps women and boys outside of the large semicircle, six of each on either side of the stage.⁷⁴ He also notes that the six dancers kneeling around Zhukova should hold each other’s hands rather than waists.

At the final chord, “everyone goes to the first adagio group.”

Adagio

The adagio features five elaborate groupings for the ensemble, within which Medora dances. As we have seen in the surveys of *La Bayadère* and *Raymonda*, large groupings of dancers were a feature in many of Petipa’s ballets. Groupings distinguished by a particular innovation—whether properties held by dancers, tabourets or other raised platforms on which they stood, a variety of participants, or the eccentricity or beauty of the costumes—were regularly noted in the press.

⁷⁴ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 201, fol. 2v.

The particulars of these groupings comprise the bulk of Petipa's notes and sketches relating to *Le jardin animé* in 1880. The CN also includes ground plans documenting the groupings. These are accompanied by charts, the columns of which detail the poses of each group of dancers using a combination of notation and prose descriptions. The number assigned to each dancer in the ground plans informs us of their placement in any given grouping, although their traveling path from one grouping to the next is not provided.

*Group 1.*⁷⁵ The first formation features three sets of dancers kneeling in circles who create three hoop flowers—the garland hoops they hold create the impression of petals. One hoop flower is placed at center (formed by six kneeling girls surrounding Gulnare, who stands with arms held overhead), the others at both downstage corners (each comprising six kneeling coryphées surrounding three boys—two kneeling, one standing). The rest of the ensemble is deployed symmetrically on stage. In a revision of Petipa's 1868 sketch, four lines of three men span the upstage area. In front of them, corps women stand in a semicircle holding baskets. On either side of the central hoop flower, three girls stand behind three kneeling boys. (In Petipa's 1868 plans, the boys are behind the girls;⁷⁶ according to his 1880 sketches, the girls sit on the boys' knees.⁷⁷) At downstage center, the six dancers, each holding a "bouquet," stand in an inverted "V" formation. Medora enters downstage left and runs to its apex.

Taking the hand of the coryphée on either side of her, Medora steps onto the left *pointe* and raises her right leg in *attitude devant*. Lowering it, she *bourrées*, taking a flower from each of the two coryphées. She turns two circles in place as the others pass their bouquets farther up

⁷⁵ I use Petipa's system of numbering groups found in his sketches of the 1880 production. This group is labeled "I Group A" in the CN.

⁷⁶ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 705.

⁷⁷ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 201, fol. 2v.

the line. She repeats the enchaînement, during which she presumably takes the rest of the bouquets from the coryphées. Petipa describes the action thus: “6 second *danseuses* have a rose in their hand. Sokolova runs to get on the 2 *pointes* in the middle, holding the 2 roses in each hand. The second [*danseuse*] on each side passes the rose to the 1st, who passes to Sokolova, who ends up having a bouquet [*qui finit par avoir un bouquet*].”

As Medora continues her *bourrée*, “everyone goes” to the next group. Medora runs upstage.

*Group 2.*⁷⁸ The coryphées form an arcade at center, each pair of dancers joining garlands together to create an arbor. Two more arcades are formed along each wing by the girls, standing on the inside and holding one end of their garlands, and the boys, kneeling and holding the other end of the girls’ garlands (a reversal of their placement in 1868). Behind them, the corps women stand in a row across the stage in front of the men, who stand on tabourets. The six dancers, still in diagonal rows of three, have moved closer to each wing, opening up space downstage center. Gulnare is not included in the ground plan, but she is given two poses in the accompanying chart of notated poses and instructions for each set of dancers. Gulnare (Zhukova in 1880) is included in sketches from both 1868 and 1880, placed at the upstage end of the central arcade, next to Medora.⁷⁹

The coryphées lower their garlands so that Medora, beginning upstage, can perform *jetés* over them as she travels through the arcade. (Petipa notes that Medora reaches the upstage end of the arcade by passing through it—garlands are raised—on *pointe*.) Reaching the downstage end, she performs a *piqué en arabesque* at the height of the musical phrase (Ex. 4.8, bar 12, beat 3).

⁷⁸ Labeled “II Group B” in the CN.

⁷⁹ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 705 and 200, fol. 2r, respectively.

Ex. 4.8 Adagio, bars 11–14 (source: *Corsaire* Rep)



As Medora performs her *arabesque*, the coryphées raise their garlands and the six dancers, who have been standing in *tendu effacé derrière*, change their hip direction and make the same pose on the other leg. Medora returns upstage by running beneath the raised garlands. (Again Petipa notes that Medora returns upstage beneath the raised garlands on *pointe*.) The entire enchaînement is repeated, after which “everyone goes” to the next group.

*Group 3.*⁸⁰ The third group features a diagonal formation, five dancers deep, at stage right. The ensemble is arranged in the following order: the girls (front row), “kneeling, having placed their own garlands on the floor” in front of them; the boys (second row), “standing, having crossed their arms on their chests”; the coryphées (third row), “holding their heads in the garlands,” that is, holding their garlands in such a way that they frame their faces; the corps women (fourth row), “standing with baskets”; and the men (fifth row), “holding the garlands high.” Three of the six dancers extend the third row downstage, while the three others stand in a

⁸⁰ Labeled “III Group C” in the CN.

row to the left of the upstage end of the diagonal. Gulnare waits for Medora downstage right.

Petipa notes, “I must make a group in the middle with Sokolova – Zhukova and 6 second *danseuses*,” although his sketch indicates both Sokolova and Zhukova at the upstage end of the diagonal and the six second *danseuses* in two rows of three at the downstage end.⁸¹

Beginning upstage as the music returns to its opening theme (see Ex. 4.2), Medora “goes through the garlands” laid on the floor by the girls. Holding her left arm overhead and her right arm side, she performs a *piqué en demi-arabesque* on the right foot in each of the first six garlands—one garland per bar of music. For the final six, she quickens her pace, performing a *piqué* on the left foot in each garland followed by a step on the right foot—one *piqué* per quarter note for two bars. Reaching the downstage end of the diagonal, Medora performs another *piqué en arabesque* on the right foot, “taking the hand and shoulder of the 1st dancer,” as “everyone goes” to the fourth group. Petipa’s plans call for somewhat different choreography, in which Sokolova is partnered by Zhukova: “Sokolova does *petits battements* and holds the arm of a second *danseuse* [sic], and she goes down [downstage, that is, along the diagonal] on *pointe* while passing through the garlands after she does *petits battements*.”

*Group 4.*⁸² The fourth group features two arcades, formed by the boys kneeling on the outside and the coryphées standing on the inside, situated on the diagonal from each upstage corner. Their shared garlands form arbors under which six corps women stand in a line within each arcade. (According to Petipa’s plans, the boys are placed within the arcades and the corps women hold one end of the garlands that create the arbors.) The men form a cross upstage center

⁸¹ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 200, fol. 2v.

⁸² Labeled “II Group B” in the CN. This is the same label that was used for Group 2. If the scribe had continued the pattern used for labeling the first three groups, this group would have been labeled “IV Group D.”

between the arcades, a configuration perhaps borrowed from the first adagio group of the 1868 sketches; three men make up each segment of the cross, all twelve facing away from its axis. Downstage, the girls kneel and form an inverted triangle. The six dancers flank the stage in rows of three by each wing, posing in *tendu effacé derrière fondu*.

Medora and Gulnare run to the downstage apex of the girls' triangle and pose together. Gulnare's body position is not notated, but the ground plan indicates she faces downstage. Medora, facing stage left and kneeling on her left knee, stretches her right leg behind her, her arms in fourth position. Her "body lies on the left knee of the 1st dancer," suggesting Gulnare kneels on her right knee. Petipa's plans present a different idea: Sokolova lies across the knees of six girls who are kneeling in a tight row, with Zhukova placed upstage of the other six girls, who also kneel and hold their garlands high.⁸³

*Group 5.*⁸⁴ The ensemble forms the final group nine bars before the end of the adagio and maintains their pose until its conclusion. The ground plan indicates a square-shaped platform at center (no information is given as to how the platform is either brought on stage or raised from the stage floor) on which Medora stands in first position, facing right of center, arms held high, head turned left. Behind her, the men form a semicircle across the stage. In front of the men, the six dancers form a smaller semicircle. The corps women flank Medora in two rows of three on each side of the platform, facing inward and holding their baskets high. The rest of the ensemble forms three rows downstage of Medora. The coryphées stand, holding their garlands. In front of them, the girls kneel, their garlands framing their faces. Finally, the boys sit with crossed legs along the front of the stage. Gulnare kneels at center, the farthest downstage.

⁸³ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 201, fol. 2r.

⁸⁴ Labeled "V Group C" in the CN. If the scribe had continued the pattern used for labeling the first three groups, this group would have been labeled "V Group E."

Petipa's sketches indicate an inverted semicircle involving all of the dancers except the men (who form a row upstage, as in the CN) and the six second *danseuses* (in diagonal rows at either downstage corner, as in the CN's Group 4).⁸⁵ Sokolova is at center stage, but no platform is indicated. Petipa has drawn the coryphées (denoted with "X"s) as though they have crossed their arms, thus bending their hoops and creating a smaller circle with which they frame their faces.

Variation 1

The first variation in the CN is not set to Delibes' music, but instead to a 37-bar interpolation by an unidentified composer (Ex. 4.9). (Yury Burlaka attributes the variation to Pugni and sets its date of interpolation into *Le jardin animé* as 1869.⁸⁶)

Ex. 4.9 Interpolated Variation 1 (attr. Pugni), bars 4–9 (source: CN Rep)



The CN provides no information besides “Variation Mlle ...,” but Petipa confirms the variation performed at this point in the divertissement is intended for the “1st dancer” (Gulnare): “... after

⁸⁵ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 201, fol. 1v.

⁸⁶ “The choreographer M[arius] Petipa staged a new variation of Gulnara on the music by C[esare] Pugni (in the divertissement ‘Le Jardin Animé’) for the Petersburgian performance (1869).” Burlaka, ed., *Le Corsaire*, 388.

this group [the final grouping of the adagio] – comes the variation of the second *danseuse* [Zhukova].”⁸⁷

During the three-bar introduction, “all disperse.” Petipa’s plans, however, suggest at least some of the dancers remained on stage: “Must have a group in place while Mme Zhukova dances her variation.”⁸⁸

Beginning upstage left and traveling on the diagonal, Gulnare performs *piqué en arabesque, pas de bourrée en avant on pointe, piqué en cou-de-pied devant*, two *entrechats quatre, soubresaut, relevé développé devant* twice. From this point, no further ground plans are provided for the variation.

She continues with *tour jeté, relevé à la seconde on demi-pointe, fouetté arabesque fondu* four times followed by small jumps in place: two *soubresauts* and four *demi-emboîtés devant*, all performed four times. At the return of the main melody, the jumping sequence becomes more complex: *glissade, entrechat cinq* twice then *assemble derrière, entrechat quatre*, and a quick *soubresaut* followed by *développé devant* with the right leg (the left leg *à plat*). Gulnare repeats the two *glissades* and *entrechats cinq* and, after a quick run, finishes the variation with *piqué en arabesque* and a pose in fourth position *fondu*.

Interlude 1

The first interlude, which now follows rather than precedes Variation 1, features the six dancers, who are later joined by the ensemble as the flower beds are put in place for the remainder of the *divertissement*.

⁸⁷ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 201, fol. 1v.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Starting at opposite wings in lines of three, the dancers travel to center with *temps levés en arabesque*. Meeting at center in pairs, they circle each other and continue to the opposite wing with *demi-emboîtés devant*. They repeat the enchaînement from the beginning, but arriving at center they cross and travel upstage, forming a single row. The dancers move directly downstage with *cabrioles derrière* and return upstage with *pas de valse en tournant* as the corps men and women enter in pairs, six couples from each upstage side, and travel toward center with *pas de basque*. Moving *en masse*, the group travels downstage with *pas de basque* as “the props people take out [presumably from the wings] the baskets and grassy beds [*kurtinki*].” Arriving downstage, the ensemble continues with four *balancés* in place before they “disperse to the sides and leave behind the wings.”⁸⁹

Petipa provides additional detail in his plans: “After Mme Zhukova’s variation, the 6 second *danseuses* dance 20 measures alone. They finish at the back [upstage] and go downstage with the mass [ensemble]. The mass in 3 lines [rows] goes downstage for 12 measures, then they *balancé* in place for 8 [sic] measures and return to each side into the wings. (quickly) | 1st coryphées – 1st wing. *Figurantes*, second wing. *Figurants*, 3rd wing. The 6 soloists return into the wings.”⁹⁰

The rest of the divertissement is danced within the framework of the flower beds. The garden’s design in the CN matches those in Petipa’s plans for both the 1868 and 1880 productions. The CN’s ground plan for the garden indicates where twenty-four “baskets with flowers” are placed within the beds by denoting each of them with an “X.”

⁸⁹ A bar of music has been added to the end of Interlude 1 in both the *Corsaire* Rep and the CN Rep. The chords in the two preceding bars have been revoiced, but the harmony remains unchanged. The voicing of the chords is different in each Rep.

⁹⁰ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 200, fol. 1v.

Interlude 2

The girls, holding garlands, enter at mid-stage, six on each side.⁹¹ They perform a series of *piqués en arabesque* on *demi-pointe* as they travel downstage through the side alleys then upstage through the central alley, returning down the side alleys and then across the front of the stage and back, passing each other twice.

At the same time, the six dancers enter from opposite downstage corners, three on each side. Performing the same steps as the girls, they enter the garden at downstage center, travel upstage, and circle around the back of the central platform. They perform a slight variation of their step four times in place then revert to the original step, exit the garden at mid-stage, and return downstage along the wings. Reaching the downstage corners, they perform *ballonnés* on *demi-pointe* then pose at the end of the number in *tendu effacé derrière*.

Meanwhile, the girls, having crossed the front of the stage twice, cluster in three groups of four and “put down the garlands,” their hoops forming three flowers with four petals each. They “run away to the sides,” where they stand in lines along the wings, awaiting Medora’s entrance.

Here again the CN conforms to Petipa’s plans. Under the heading “Variation of Mme Sokolova,” Petipa writes: “1st coda [the subsequent description confirms he is referring to Interlude 2] | 12 little girls with garlands come downstage from the back to the middle of the path dancing – The 12 coryphées dance in the paths. The children finish the dance. The children place the hoops in front of the garden thus.”⁹² Here, Petipa has drawn three hoop flowers, each formed by four hoops. The stage is set for Medora’s solo.

⁹¹ A single-bar introduction has been added to the CN Rep. Two identical bars of introduction are added to the *Corsaire* Rep, but the second bar is struck through.

⁹² GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 200, fol. 1v, and 201, fol. 1r.

Variation 2

Beginning stage left of the three hoop flowers, Medora runs and performs a *grand jeté en avant*, landing in *arabesque fondu* inside the first flower, followed by *relevé en cou-de-pied devant*. She repeats this enchaînement two more times as she leaps into the other flowers. Finishing at stage right, she runs back to the central flower.

The middle of the variation comprises a repeated series of *relevé pas de cheval* to *tendu devant fondu*. Medora extends her right leg into each hoop flower petal with each *tendu* and makes a quarter turn to the right with each *relevé*. After completing two full revolutions, she runs out of the central flower to far stage right for her final enchaînement, a more complex journey through the flowers. Running forward, she performs a *tour jeté*, landing inside the first flower in *arabesque fondu*, followed immediately by *relevé en arabesque*. After two more repetitions in the remaining flowers, she returns to the central flower. The CN Rep ends here, indicating that the music for the variation was cut short (Ex. 4.10a). Petipa's description of the variation, which calls for *cabrioles* rather than *jetés*, appears to suggest the same ending point: "Mme Sokolova does *cabrioles* then passes into the hoops. She goes toward the middle making *cabrioles*, enters into the middle hoops, turns on two *pointes* and finishes in the middle of the hoops."⁹³

Ex. 4.10a Variation 2, bars 23–26 (source: CN Rep)



⁹³ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 201, fol. 1r.

Returning to the CN, however, we find that the bar in which the final pose would have been notated (that is, the final bar of Ex. 4.10a) has been struck through in red pencil. A subsequent page of notation includes five added bars of choreography and music, both of which appear to be written in the same hand as the rest of the variation (Ex. 4.10b). Here, remaining within the central flower, Medora perform steps in place on *pointe* whose rhythm matches the music: downbeats are punctuated by quick poses *en cou-de-pied* and rushing upward scales by *bourrées* and runs. During the first scale, Medora *bourrées* and turns in place; during the second, she runs out of the flower and finishes the variation, like Gulnare, with a *piqué en arabesque* and a pose in fourth position *fendu*.

Ex. 4.10b Variation 2, replacement bar 26 and bars 27–30 (source: CN Rep)



Coda

The coda features a series of entrées for Gulnare and Medora, separated by the re-entry of the varied sets of dancers that make up the ensemble, until the entire cast of the divertissement is

on stage together. Here we encounter the aforementioned choreographic polyphony, as the various groups of dancers perform discrete enchaînements simultaneously.

During the introduction, two short musical phrases and one longer one, the girls run from the sides to their respective garland hoops lying on the downstage floor, and “let themselves down to one knee.” They “take the garlands,” “get up from their knees,” and return to their lines along each wing, traveling sideways on *demi-pointe*. Petipa writes: “2nd Coda | The little girls who have finished on each side arrive by 4 [inserted: “2 on each side”] in the middle taking the 4 hoops. The 4 on each side go near the hoops that they take – all turn and go to their places by 6 to each side.”⁹⁴

On the downbeat of the main theme, Gulnare begins a winding path around the downstage flower beds (Ex. 4.7a). Petipa writes: “Mme Zhukova must start the galop alone – for 24 measures.” Starting in front of the central platform, she performs a sequence of *temps levés en arabesque* and *demi-emboîtés devant*. Twenty-four bars later, she finishes downstage center, posing in fourth position *fondue*, arms in fourth position, back arched.

The six dancers enter next to the accented chords of the second motif, three on each side of the stage, traveling downstage through the side alleys with a series of *temps levés en arabesque* (Ex. 4.11a). According to Petipa, “The 6 second *danseuses* dance in the paths for 31 measures – They finish in the paths near the wings.” Indeed, the two trios meet downstage center and split again, forming a row behind the downstage flower beds on each side. Once there, they perform a repeated combination in place: *tombé de côté*, *fondue en cou-de-pied derrière*, and two steps *en arrière* on *demi-pointe*. Just before the return of the main theme, they *bourrée* to the downstage corners, forming a diagonal row at each side.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Ex. 4.11a Coda, bars 40–47 (source: *Corsaire* Rep)



At the same time that the six dancers enter, the girls begin dancing in place in their rows along each wing. Facing each other across the stage, they begin with the *tombé* enchaînement performed by the six dancers before breaking into a rocking sequence alternating *temps levé en demi-arabesque* and *temps levé en demi-attitude devant*. They revert to the *tombé* enchaînement, joining the six dancers until the end of the passage.

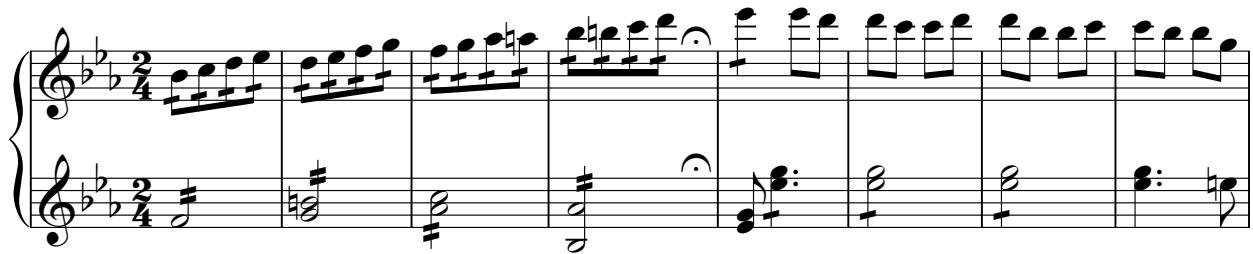
At the return of the main theme, Medora begins her first *entrée*, entering the garden mid-stage right. She travels with *demi-emboîtés devant* along a diagonal path and performs a *grand jeté en avant*, leaping over the flower bed at downstage left. Tamara Karsavina recalled this unique moment in her description of the scene:

The choreographic climax of *Corsaire* was reached in the third act, called *Jardin Animé*. The curtain falls on the Pasha's seraglio. A short action goes on in front of the curtain. It is raised within a minute. The stage by now is a garden, complete with flower-beds. The *corps de ballet* in white tarlatans, wearing wreaths of roses, lead a graceful saraband. The daring effect is reserved for the ballerina, who ends

a dance with a long leap over the front flower-bed. Naturally an impeccable line had to be kept in the air, or the effect would have smacked of the circus.⁹⁵

Medora continues with *emboîtés*, traveling to mid-stage and then down the opposite diagonal, jumping over the bed at downstage right. She makes her way to center with more *emboîtés*, passing behind the central basket and finally posing in front of it in *arabesque fondu*, coinciding with a *fermata* added to the score in both Reps (Ex. 4.11b at bar 90). Petipa wrote: “Entrée of Mme Sokolova who jumps over the strips [that is, flower beds] and ends by turning around the basket, finishing in front *en arabesque*.”⁹⁶

Ex. 4.11b Coda, bars 87–94 (source: *Corsaire* Rep)



To a third musical motif, the coryphées enter mid-stage, six from each side (Ex 8.18, bar 91 ff.). They travel to the central basket with a series of *ballonnés*. Having circled the basket, they perform *balancés* in place before resuming the traveling *ballonnés*, their circle revolving around the basket. These same steps are also performed by the six dancers, who travel back to the downstage beds before returning to their corners. The girls, meanwhile, have resumed their rocking *temps levés*, alternating with *balancés* in unison with the others.

⁹⁵ Tamara Karsavina, *Theatre Street: The reminiscences of Tamara Karsavina*, rev. ed. (London: Dance Books, 1981), 216.

⁹⁶ GTsTM *fond* 205, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 201, fol. 1v.

At the fourth motif, this one in C-flat major (Ex. 4.7b), Gulnare begins her second *entrée*, performing a series of *cabrioles* and *demi-emboîtés devant* down the central alley in front of the large basket. After four *cabrioles*, she continues with *demi-emboîtés en tournant*, traveling downstage left, where she poses in fourth position *fondue*. Petipa's description, "The 12 coryphées—the 12 little girls[,] the 6 second *danseuses*[,] and Zhukova in a large group," once again corresponds to the CN.⁹⁷ The six dancers and coryphées perform *temps levés* and *emboîtés* in their respective formations, the six dancers at one point making two turns in place as they perform *demi-emboîtés devant*. The girls continue their *temps levés* and *balancés* throughout.

At this point, both the *Corsaire* Rep and the CN Rep designate a repeat of bars 71–118, beginning with the first return of the main theme. This repeat increases the length of the coda by forty-eight bars and affords Medora and Gulnare one additional entrance each.

At the repeat, Medora begins her second *entrée*. Traveling down the diagonal from mid-stage left, she performs *cabriole devant*, *piqué en arabesque* four times. She returns upstage with *demi-emboîtés devant*—doubling the tempo after the first four—and repeats the *cabriole* sequence. She continues with *emboîtés* to the downstage right corner, where her final pose—in *tendu efface derrière*, left arm overhead, right arm side, back arched—again coincides with the added *fermata* (Ex. 4.11b).

At the repetition of the third motif, the six dancers and coryphées repeat their sequence of *ballonnés* and *balancés*, this time joined by the girls. The corps men and women are provided a set of notation staves in the CN at this point. Although the staves are empty—no steps are recorded—their presence informs us that the stage is now filled with an additional twenty-four dancers.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

Gulnare returns for a near-repeat of her second entrée—her arms are held differently for the *cabrioles*, and she finishes with four *piqué tours en dedans*. Meanwhile, the ensemble continues with *ballonnés* and *balancés*, although the notation for the coryphées and girls ends just five bars into Gulnare’s entrance.

From this point forward, only the six dancers are provided with notated steps. They continue for sixteen bars following the completion of Gulnare’s third entrée. At bar 183, “general group” is written across the notation staves, followed by an erased annotation referencing the “Adagio,” possibly suggesting that one of the adagio groupings may also have been the final grouping of the divertissement or served as its model (Ex. 4.11c).

Other erasures are also visible enough to decipher. These include erased steps for the “ballerina,” notated on the staves above the six dancers’ remaining steps, that reveal a final sixteen-bar entrée for Medora. These bars are followed by an additional sixteen bars of erased steps for the six dancers and an erased annotation, “general group,” placed just ten bars before the end of the number, at bar 199.

Ex. 4.11c Coda, bars 183–190 (source: CN Rep)

The erased material continues the ever-increasing momentum of the dance. Like Gulnare's entrance before her, Medora's final entrée begins as a near-repeat of her previous one: *cabriole devant*, *piqué en arabesque* three times followed by "running," likely upstage. The *cabrioles* and *arabesques* are repeated another three times followed by *chaînés* on *pointe* and what appears to be a final pose (though the erased notations for it are indistinct).

The six dancers continue with fast *demi-emboîtés devant* followed by turns in place that appear to resemble what today are called "paddle turns," a variant of *demi-valse*. The *emboîtés* and turns are repeated, and the CN concludes with the aforementioned annotation, "general group," for which no ground plan or further information is given.

Sortie

The CN Rep includes the complete final *sortie* (utilizing the first of Delibes' two endings), but no ground plans, steps, or other information are recorded.

The 1899 St. Petersburg revival of *Le Corsaire* and beyond

Petipa's final revival of *Le Corsaire* in 1899 (see Chapter Seven) provided him with a further opportunity to revise *Le jardin animé*, and this he seems to have done to a certain extent. While the order of numbers in the divertissement appears to have been the same as documented in the CN, the *Corsaire* Rep includes a different interpolated variation for Gulnare, danced by Olga Preobrazhenskaya.

In addition to the three sets of bound folios that comprise the nearly complete notation of *Le jardin animé* (which from hereon I will call the "complete CN"), separate notations document much of the opening waltz, the students' choreography, three variations, and a coda entrance.

The separate notations of the students' choreography include Pierina Legnani's name and suggest that in 1899 she may have danced the version of Medora's variation that is notated in the CN (or a version that incorporates the same framework of garland hoops on the stage floor). The additional notations of other variations interpolated into *Le jardin animé*, however, take us beyond 1899 and suggest yet another revision to the order of numbers in the divertissement.

Additional notation of the waltz

The additional waltz notation includes no dancer names that could assist with dating its creation. However, the notation appears to be in the same precise hand, which I believe to be that of Sergeyev, as the choreographic notation of *La Bayadère*. That notation mostly documents the performances of dancers in the December 1900 revival of *Bayadère*, nearly two years after the January 1899 revival of *Le Corsaire* (see Chapter Two). The similarity in scribal hands suggests these two notations were made within the same relative time period and therefore that the additional waltz notation represents the 1899 production of *Le Corsaire*.

The notation documents the beginning of the waltz up to the entrance of Gulnare then skips ahead (omitting material danced in bars 67–85) to the return of the opening melody, when the six dancers begin dancing with Gulnare. The notation continues up to the point when the larger ensemble enters and moves to the grouping at the end of the number (bar 140). The notation is detailed—providing movements for arms, head, and torso in addition to the lower body—and nearly identical in substance to what is notated in the complete CN.

Why was this careful and precise notation of *Le jardin animé* begun but not completed? Perhaps the waltz (in particular, the choreography of the ensemble) was the only part of *Le jardin animé* intended to be preserved in this notation project of 1899. Or, perhaps, after this

document was begun, the older CN for *Le jardin animé* was rediscovered (or reconsidered) and determined to be sufficient to document the current production, resulting in the abandonment of this incomplete notation.

Additional notation of students' choreography

The content of the three additional pages of choreography for students suggests changes were made to the structure and steps of *Le jardin animé* in 1899. Medora's variation, however, continued to be danced in front of the garden, a feature of the divertissement we will see was later changed as evidenced by the order of music in the *Corsaire* Rep.

Labeled "b[allet] *Korsar* | *Garden* | Children," these three pages of notations are written in pencil on what are now very tattered sheets of oblong-format paper. The scribal hand appears to be Sergeyev's, suggesting the notations post-date the more formal complete CN that I suggest was made in 1894. This is confirmed by a reference to Legnani, who first performed the role of Medora in 1899. The notations consist mostly of ground plans followed by prose annotations and relatively few notated steps. Additionally, the ground plan perspective is reversed and drawn from the stage view rather than the audience view. That the notations contain only student choreography for the entire divertissement and that the information is crammed on the pages in an imprecise hand suggest the notations may have been made for use in rehearsal, where having the pertinent details of the choreography written on a few pages instead of many may have been a practicality.

The differences between what is found in these additional notations and the complete CN can be summarized briefly. Here, in the waltz, the girls enter in rows of six from opposite upstage wings. Their ground plan resembles that of the coryphées at the opening of the waltz:

they move to center (here, with *temps levés en demi-arabesque*) and waltz back to the wings (“switching hands | one up then the other”). The groupings with the boys midway through the waltz are also different: at one point, the boys form a complete circle at center. When the students move to form the grouping at the end of the waltz, the boys join the girls by running into the wings, where they get baskets and the girls get garlands. When the boys and girls return to the stage, they perform *pas de basque* as they move to their places.

Five groupings are recorded for the adagio. While they are similar to those in the complete CN, there are differences. For example, in the second group, the side arcades are situated on the diagonal. They are formed in part by the girls, who make up the inside colonnades, kneeling and holding one end of the shared garland hoops. The boys sit in lines within the arcades. The fourth group is a repeat of the second group. In the fifth group, the students form rows across the stage. The boys are behind the girls, who kneel and hold their garlands around their faces.

The layout of the flower beds is likewise similar but not the same as that found in the complete CN. The girls perform a slightly different step as they move through the garden during what is presumably Interlude 2: their repeated *piqué en arabesque* is here a *piqué en demi-arabesque* preceded by a *pas de basque*. The girls end up in lines along either wing, where they perform a step forward into *relevé en demi-arabesque, fondu*, and a step back into a *pas de bourrée en tournant on demi-pointe*. An annotation above this sequence instructs, “4 times in place” in large letters, below which is written, in smaller script, “the garlands are lowered to the floor after counting to four.” Two large question marks are drawn next to this annotation. Perhaps what is missing is an instruction for the girls to move downstage, where they presumably place their garlands on the floor for Medora’s variation.

The subsequent ground plan indicates that the girls run downstage from their lines at the wings, presumably at the beginning of the coda. This is followed by the annotation, “running after Legnani’s variation,” and a ground plan showing the girls in four lines of three. Under this is written, “1st time turning to [toward] the middle and 2nd time from [away from] the middle | in front of the garden,” accompanied by arrows indicating the girls turning in place. Next, the girls in the lines near the wings *bourrée* upstage on *pointe*, while those in the lines at center *bourrée* to their respective sides. This is followed by the annotation, “they run off in pairs with the motif.” The first and second sets of turns may correspond to the first two phrases of the introduction to the coda, and the *bourrée* or “run” may correspond to the longer third phrase.

This information does not confirm unequivocally that Legnani danced the variation notated in the complete CN, in which Medora dances in and around the garland hoops placed on the floor downstage of the garden. However, it does seem to confirm—in agreement with the complete CN—that Legnani’s variation was danced after the garden was installed on stage. The details provided here for the girls’ movements, though incomplete, confirm that they placed their garlands on the floor, ran downstage of the garden following Legnani’s variation, and returned to their lines along the wings.

The coda follows. After a trip around the side flower beds performing *demi-emboîtés devant*, the girls continue dancing in lines by the wings, much as they do in the complete CN. At one point, however, they perform four *pas de basque* as they travel downstage and meet at center, continuing with four *balancés* in place before repeating the entire enchaînement as they move back to the wings.

Two subsequent moments in the dance are preserved here that are not included in the complete CN: a final entrance for the boys and a final grouping for all the students. The ground

plan indicates that the boys enter from the upstage corners, six boys from each side, with the annotation, “they run to the baskets [sic],” followed by “the girls do *balancé* in place.” The final ground plan indicates that the twelve boys circle the central basket surrounded at a distance by the twelve girls, holding their garlands.

Before considering further additional notations, brief mention of the score of *Le jardin animé* as preserved in the *Corsaire* Rep is apt. The order of numbers in the divertissement, as preserved in the *Corsaire* Rep (Introduction – Waltz – Adagio – Variation 1 – Variation 2 – Interlude 1 – Interlude 2 – Coda), differs slightly from the order in the complete CN: here, Variation 2 precedes the interludes. Because the additional notation of the students’ choreography suggests Legnani danced Variation 2 after Interlude 2, the order of numbers in the *Corsaire* Rep likely post-dates Legnani’s performances as Medora in St. Petersburg, the last of which was given on 3 January 1901. As it was in earlier versions of the dance, the garden in the later version represented here was presumably in place by the end of Interlude 1 and remained in place during Interlude 2 and the coda. The final *sortie* is not included in the *Corsaire* Rep.

The music of *Le jardin animé*, like the rest of the score in the *Corsaire* Rep, is only sparsely annotated. For example, the adagio includes Roman numerals indicating the point at which groupings are formed. The numbers “II” (bar 11), “III” (bar 23), and “IV” (bar 35) correspond to the same group numbers and bars in the complete CN.

Interpolated Variation 1 in the 1899 production of Le Corsaire

Variation 1 in the *Corsaire* Rep is neither Delibes’ original nor the variation preserved in the complete CN. Rather, it is an interpolated variation from Petipa’s ballet *The Adventures of*

Peleas, first presented in 1876 with a score by Ludwig Minkus. The ballet was revived by Petipa in a one-act version, retitled *Thetis and Peleus*, with additional music by Delibes, on 28 July 1897.⁹⁸ The performance was given on Holguin Island, Peterhof, with a cast that featured Matilda Kshesinskaya, Pavel Gerdt, and Olga Preobrazhenskaya. The heading given in the *Corsaire* Rep—“Variation | Mlle Preobrazhenskaya | from the ballet *The Adventures of Peleas*”—therefore suggests that Preobrazhenskaya repurposed her solo from *Thetis and Peleus* as a variation for Gulnare in the 1899 *Corsaire* revival.

The number begins with a four-bar introduction featuring a cadenza for solo violin. Forty-nine bars of a polka follow, eight of which are cut in the Rep (Ex. 4.12).⁹⁹ Though I have not had access to a full score of the variation, I assume from the introduction that it continues as a violin solo. And while no composer is credited, the structure of the variation and writing style for the violin are similar to other Minkus violin solos discussed in this study (for example, the introduction to the *Paquita Grand pas* adagio and much of Nikia’s variation in *La Bayadère*’s Kingdom of the Shades (for the latter, see Exx. 2.43b and 2.43c).

⁹⁸ *Khronika III*, 340–341.

⁹⁹ A piano reduction of this variation is published in Burlaka, ed., *Le Corsaire*, 418–419.

Ex. 4.12 *Le jardin animé*, Interpolated Variation 1 (1899) from *The Adventures of Peleas*
(likely Minkus), bars 7–14 (source: *Corsaire Rep*)



Although no choreographic notation documenting Preobrazhenskaya’s performance of this variation has been identified in the Sergeyev Collection, notation of a variation performed by Elizaveta Vill may represent choreography set to this music. Several factors support this possibility. The notation is part of the *Corsaire* CN, wherein it is labeled “Variation Vill | b[allet] Korsar | slave” and filed with two other variations identified as part of *Le jardin animé*. Librettos, posters, and programs as far back as 1858 consistently refer to Gulnare as the “Pasha’s slave,” suggesting this variation, with its annotation referring to “slave,” may be intended for Gulnare.

Vill first performed the role of Gulnare on 19 September 1904. Her name is written in the *Corsaire Rep* at the end of bar 85 of the waltz, at the return of the main melody, corresponding to Gulnare’s entrée. The presence of Vill’s name in the Rep strengthens the likelihood that she danced Preobrazhenskaya’s variation because no other musical option for the variation is provided in the *Corsaire Rep*.

Finally, the notated choreography matches the structure of the *Peleeas* variation, although it would seem to require the inclusion of the previously mentioned eight bars that are struck through in the Rep. Beginning at upstage left, Vill runs down the diagonal then *bourrées* upstage, where she performs a *ballonné* on each foot, three *demi-emboîtés devant, tombé*. The *bourrée* and subsequent enchaînement are repeated twice, to alternate sides, after which Vill travels “simply on [*pointe* symbol]” toward upstage right.¹⁰⁰

Zigzagging down the opposite diagonal at the beginning of the second section of the variation, Vill continues with *pas de chat, pas de bourrée* on *demi-pointe*, and *temps levé sur la pointe en demi-arabesque*. During the *temps levé*, her body is first leaned forward and then raised up, back arched, as she lands the hop. This enchaînement is performed seven times on alternate legs. At the return of the opening melody, Vill travels upstage left with a series of *bourrées* and *demi-emboîtés devant*. Reaching the corner, she turns two circles in place on *pointe*. She begins her final diagonal with a series of steps that could be described as *ballotté par terre de côte*, continuing with two *piqué tours en dedans* and *chaînés* on *demi-pointe*. She finishes the variation with a pose in *tendu derrière*.

Interpolated Variation 2 danced by Julia Sedova

Variation 2 immediately follows Variation 1 in the *Corsaire* Rep, an indication that it was danced prior to the placement of the garden on stage and thus much more open stage space was available to the performer. Although I believe that Delibes’ original variation for Medora may have been in use as late as 1901, it is replaced in the *Corsaire* Rep by a short variation from Petipa’s ballet *The Cyprus Statue, or Pygmalion*, first presented in 1883 with a score by Ivan

¹⁰⁰ The notation symbol denoting *pointe* is used in the quoted phrase.

Trubetskoy.¹⁰¹ After a brief introduction of two bars, the variation proceeds with sixteen bars in 6/8 meter followed by a faster final section of sixteen bars in 2/4 that are repeated with a second ending (Ex. 4.13). The first ending is struck through in the Rep, thus cutting half of the final section.

Ex. 4.13 *Le jardin animé*, Interpolated Variation 2 from *The Cyprus Statue, or Pygmalion* (Trubetskoy), bars 1–6 (source: *Corsaire Rep*)



A choreographic notation labeled “Variation Sedova | b[allet] *Korsar* | *Garden* | mus[ic] from the b[allet] *Pygmalion*” matches the score in the *Corsaire Rep*. Sedova first danced the lead in *Le jardin animé* on 2 December 1901 when the divertissement was included on the program of a benefit performance for Olga Preobrazhenskaya.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ A piano reduction of this variation, titled “Variation of Galatea from the ballet ‘THE CYPRUS STATUE, OR PYGMALION’ for J[ulia] Sedova,” is published in Burlaka, ed., *Le Corsaire*, 416–417. Burlaka asserts that the variation was interpolated into *Le jardin animé* for the 1899 revival.

¹⁰² *Khronika IV*, 26–27. Burlaka asserts that the *Pygmalion* variation was interpolated into *Le jardin animé* earlier than 1901, indeed for the 1899 revival. Burlaka, ed. *Le Corsaire*, 416.

Beginning upstage left, Sedova travels down the diagonal with a series of *grands jetés en avant*, *relevé grand battement en cloche*. She waltzes back to her starting point and continues with a zigzag downstage that includes *tombé*, *glissade*, *assemblé* four times to alternate sides. The third and final enchaînement, demonstrating the Italian influence in its extreme repetition, is a series of sixteen *ballonnés relevés* that travels across the stage from left to right on a shallow diagonal. Sedova finishes the variation on *pointe* with a final *relevé battement devant*.

Interpolated Variation I and coda entrées danced by Vera Trefilova

The final notated variation, labeled “b[allet] *Korsar* | 3rd Act | *Garden* | Trefilova,” includes no mention of a composer and does not match any musical numbers within the sources I consulted. However, the choreography appears to fit a variation from Jules Perrot’s ballet *Catarina, ou la Fille de bandit* that Burlaka has identified as being interpolated into *Le jardin animé*.¹⁰³ Attributed to Albert Zabel, solo harpist for the Imperial Ballet, the variation is believed to have been added to *Catarina* for the Italian ballerina Virginia Zucchi in 1889.¹⁰⁴ The notated choreography was danced by Vera Trefilova, who first performed the role of Gulnare on 22 April 1901.

Featuring solo harp, the number begins with a brief cadenza-like introduction followed by twenty-seven bars of an *allegro moderato* (Ex. 4.14).

¹⁰³ See note 69, above.

¹⁰⁴ Zucchi did not dance the role of Catarina during her years as guest artist at the St. Petersburg Imperial Theater, 1885–1888. However, she first performed the ballet in the Russian capital on 15 February 1889 at the Nemetti Theater in a production by her brother-in-law, the balletmaster José Mendez, while on tour with an Italian troupe. See Ivor Guest, *The Divine Virginia: A Biography of Virginia Zucchi* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1977), 121–132.

According to Maria Babanina, a Mariinsky Theater piano reduction of the variation is labeled, “Inserted variation in the ballet ‘Korsar’ | from the bal[let] ‘Katerina’ [sic] | Variation ‘Zucci’ [sic].” Personal communication.

Ex. 4.14 *Le jardin animé*, Interpolated Variation 1 (attr. Zabel), from *Catarina, ou la Fille de bandit*, bars 3–7 (Source: courtesy of Maria Babanina, Bayarisches Staatsballett)



From upstage left, Trefilova travels down the diagonal with a series of *piqués en arabesque* and *emboîtés sur les pointes*. Reaching center, she zigzags directly downstage with multiple *piqués en demi-arabesque* alternating with *pas de bourrée* on *pointe*. She *bourrées* left, turns a circle in place, and poses in *tendu derrière*. She continues, traveling upstage on the diagonal with a *piqué tour en demi-arabesque* and *balancé*, the middle step of which is on *pointe*. After repeating this, she steps to fifth position on *pointe* twice—the time first facing downstage right, the second time facing downstage left—then *bourrées* downstage left. The CN indicates “the last three plans [beginning with the *piqué tour*] are repeated 2 times.”

The final enchaînements travel across the front of the stage. Heading right, Trefilova steps forward into *tombé*, *coupé dessous*, *fouetté*, *chassé*, *tour jeté*, and two *pas marché sur les pointes*. The enchaînement is repeated to the other side, traveling left. The *tour jeté* is followed by *plié*, *sous-sus*, and a series of turns traveling right: the first several are on *pointe* followed by turns on *demi-pointe*. No final pose is given.

A “Coda I” is also notated for Trefilova that is similar to but longer than Gulnare’s first coda entrée in the complete CN. After *demi-cabrioles derrière* that zigzag downstage from mid-stage center, Trefilova runs back to her starting point and repeats the enchaînement. She runs upstage a second time and begins a final series of steps: traveling downstage left, she performs *piqué en cou-de-pied devant* on the left foot and *piqué en demi-arabesque* on the right foot followed by a run forward. This is repeated to the other side followed by turns on *demi-pointe*. After this entrée is the heading “2nd Coda,” but nothing more is notated.

In sum, while we know next to nothing about Mazilier’s choreography for the 1867 Paris *Le pas des fleurs*, we know a great deal about Petipa’s incorporation of the divertissement into the St. Petersburg *Corsaire* from his own notes as well as from the choreographic notations and *répétiteurs* that are part of the Sergeyev Collection. Renamed *Le jardin animé*, the dance preserved much of the structure of its Paris progenitor. Although Delibes’ music for the original variations came to be replaced by interpolations—a practice we have seen was common as a ballet maintained its place in repertory over time—Petipa retained the majority of the music that had been expressly written for this divertissement. And his only change to the order of the numbers was to move both variations ahead of the two interludes so that they could be danced on an open stage before the garden beds were put in place. Petipa also kept the Versailles-like formation of beds and alleyways seen in the set plan for the Paris revival. The orderly configuration surely appealed to his preference for symmetry and balance. Finally, we know that the cast size of the first 1868 Petersburg production of the divertissement was larger than that in Paris (eighty performers in Petersburg versus sixty-two in Paris—according to the 1867 Paris libretto), but by 1880 that number was reduced to a comparable sixty-eight.

The choreographic notations reveal yet another example of an important feature of Petipa's dance design in the coda of *Le jardin animé*: polyphonic choreography, a term I use to describe multiple enchaînements performed simultaneously by different groups of dancers. But although we have encountered this type of choreographic structure in the character divertissements in the second acts of *La Bayadère* and *Raymonda*, we have also seen that Petipa favored unison choreography as well, sometimes combining it with polyphonic choreography when creating for large casts. In *Bayadère*'s Kingdom of the Shades, the corps de ballet—forty-eight women strong—nearly always performs in unison (according to the notation representing the revival in 1900). And in *Raymonda*'s first-act *Valse fantastique*, a cast of at least forty-four women and student girls (divided into five discrete groups) performs an array of varied enchaînements in succession that culminates in a brief passage of polyphonic choreography before the group joins together to end the dance with unison steps.

Finally, we can recognize how Petipa's careful preparation enabled his prolific output. He was a planner, preparing detailed notes in advance that would allow him to work efficiently in rehearsal. Alexander Shiryayev gives us an idea of Petipa's methods in his memoirs:

Petipa managed his work as a *maître de ballet* as the perfect expert, which is certainly not surprising. He had developed this skill through some 10 years of regular work as *maitre de ballet*, a time when he developed his techniques of production. As a rule, Petipa went through the whole production of a new ballet at home, where he would usually call the pianist and the violinist. Forcing them to play several times over separate fragments of music, he planned the production on his table, using small dolls made from papier-mâché (especially for mass dances and groups). He moved them in various combinations, which he wrote down in detail, marking women with a zero and men with daggers, and different movements with arrows, hyphens, and lines, whose meaning only he knew. Thus, Petipa graphically created all his future productions.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Beumers, et al., *Alexander Shiryayev*, 108.

Shiryaev's account agrees with the detail we find in Petipa's sketches for *Le jardin animé*, which feature symbols denoting women, men, and students laid out in patterns and groupings. These are annotated with Petipa's prose notes, providing enough detail so that his meanings indeed can often be understood.

Postscript: The "Naïla" waltz

One remaining topic having to do with Delibes' music composed for *Le Corsaire* is the so-called "Naïla" waltz, an amalgamation of several numbers from *Le pas des fleurs* that was arranged in the nineteenth century. "When, and how, the name of Naïla became associated with the waltz tune from Delibes' *Pas des fleurs divertissement*, composed for the 1867 Paris revival of *Le Corsaire*, is uncertain."¹⁰⁶ So wrote Thomas D. Dunn in his 1980 article concerning Delibes' contribution to *La Source*, a ballet created by Arthur Saint-Léon. Indeed, "Naïla waltz" is the name that has been most associated with the music of *Le pas des fleurs* since it was composed.

Naïla, the spirit of the spring, is the name of the lead character in *La Source*, first performed by the Italian ballerina Guglielmina Salvioni (the role originally was meant for Adèle Grantzow). Following its Paris Opéra premiere in 1866, *La Source* spent a decade in repertory and also found a home in other cities, including St. Petersburg, where it was staged in 1869 by Saint-Léon under the title *Le Lys*, and Vienna, where, on 4 October 1878, Saint-Léon staged the ballet for the Vienna Court Opera (Wiener Hofoper) under the title *Naïla, oder die Quellenfee*.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Thomas D. Dunn, "Delibes and *La Source*: Some Manuscripts and Documents," *Dance Chronicle* 4, no. 1 (1981): 9.

¹⁰⁷ On the Paris production, see Guest, *Second Empire 1858–1870*, 93–99. *Le Lys* premiered on 21 October 1869 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Adèle Grantzow in the leading role. See

An arrangement by Franz Doppler of the waltz from Delibes' *Le pas des fleurs* was published in 1878 by Berlin-based Adolph Fürstner and titled *Intermezzo (Pas des fleurs, grande Valse) aus dem Ballet "Naila."* The work is credited thus: "by Léo Delibes | arranged and orchestrated for the K. K. Hofopertheater in Vienna by Franz Doppler, K. K. Hofopern – Kapellmeister."¹⁰⁸ Doppler (1821–1883), a well-known flutist and composer (in addition to music for flute, he composed fifteen ballets), was conductor of the ballet orchestra of the Vienna Court Opera when Saint-Léon made his staging. The title of the arrangement seems to confirm that it was interpolated into the score of Saint-Léon's *Naila, oder die Quellenfee*. The arrangement, in A major throughout, begins with an introduction based on a motif from *La Source* and continues with the entire waltz from *Le pas des fleurs*. Doppler's contributions include a countermelody that accompanies the main waltz theme as well as occasional melodic and rhythmic flourishes (Ex. 4.15). Instead of a transition to the subsequent *Andante* at the end of the waltz, the arrangement features a *pianississimo* conclusion.

Khronika III, 145–146. The premiere date of *Naila, oder die Quellenfee* is reported in *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* (published in Leipzig), 11 October 1878, 509. See also Dunn, "Delibes and *La Source*," 9.

¹⁰⁸ Léo Delibes and Franz Doppler, *Intermezzo (Pas des fleurs, grande valse) aus dem Ballet Naila* (Berlin: Fürstner, 1878).

Ex. 4.15 *Intermezzo (Pas des fleurs, grande Valse)* aus dem Ballet “Naila” (arr. Doppler), bars 32–47

Tempo di Valse

Vln.

Cl., Vc.

p

ppp

sf

p

f

pp

sf

sf

Other arrangements of the divertissement draw upon more of its numbers. For example, Paris-based Huegel published an uncredited piano arrangement titled *Grand Valse | Extraite du Pas des Fleurs, Divertissement intercalé dans Le Corsaire*.¹⁰⁹ The arrangement begins with the *Andante* in A-flat major, followed by the waltz in near entirety. A transition leads to Variation 1,

¹⁰⁹ Léo Delibes, *Grand Valse | Extraite du Pas des Fleurs, Divertissement intercalé dans Le Corsaire*, Paris: Heugel, n.d. Plate H. 8198.

arranged in waltz meter and in D-flat major. A second transition, consisting of newly composed material, ushers in a reprise of the waltz and a *fortissimo* finale.

These arrangements guaranteed Delibes' *Le pas des fleurs* a home in the repertory of salon music and light classical concert works. Moreover, Doppler's arrangement has been adopted for use in performances of *Le jardin animé* in *Le Corsaire* and other choreographies made to Delibes' music, and the Huegel arrangement was utilized by George Balanchine for his 1965 *Pas de Deux and Divertissement* (later incorporated into the 1969 revision of his *La Source*).¹¹⁰ The manuscript sources held by the Library of Congress and Bibliothèque nationale de France, however, provide us the opportunity to hear Delibes' original work in all of its colorful richness.

¹¹⁰ Katz, et al., eds. *Choreography George Balanchine*, 244–245 and 353.

Conclusion

In his mid-eighties, Petipa began to extricate himself from the daily goings-on at the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet. He very likely did not believe his ballets would live on in the Russian repertory, let alone assume their place in the global canon by the end of the millennium.¹ This study, limited though it has been to just three of Petipa's works, has made clear the transitory nature of ballet choreography. Petipa was constantly editing his work by replacing older dances with new ones, by revising existing dances, and by incorporating new dance technique and step vocabulary, particularly when new ballerinas took to the stage. This fact serves as an important reminder to researchers that a performance-related source documents only a moment in time in the life of these dances and does not represent a definitive version. The value of sources that include information about multiple versions of a ballet over a period of time (a *répétiteur* that was used over the course of several decades, for example) is magnified in light of this situation.

The sources that have enabled me to assemble detailed descriptions of *La Bayadère*, *Raymonda*, and *Le jardin animé* demonstrate Petipa's careful approach of mapping out the various scenes of a new ballet or a revival in detail, whether in notes made to assist himself or a collaborator. First, Petipa's handwritten notes, which together with the librettos of the ballets discussed here, reveal vivid stories and the presence of characters with distinct personalities as well as an imperialist model of depicting race. Petipa's plans for *La Bayadère* include descriptions of action and the framework of conversations in mime scenes, lists of participants in

¹ Two events that would have caused Petipa to doubt the longevity of his work include the 1902 St. Petersburg staging of Gorsky's revision of Petipa's *Don Quixote* (produced in spite of Petipa's protestations) and the 1903 failure of Petipa's last full-length ballet, *The Magic Mirror*. Throughout the development of the latter work, Petipa was at odds with the avant-garde designer Alexander Golovin. See Wiley, *Century*, 405–407 and 417–421.

a massive procession, and the order of entrances and dances in the Kingdom of the Shades scene as well as the names of ballets from which he drew inspiration. His instructions to Glazunov for *Raymonda* display his fluency in musical language and his ability to communicate his wishes to a novice composer for ballet. His preparatory notes for *Le jardin animé*, with their many plans for elaborate groupings, confirm Petipa's deft handling of dozens of dancers. They also allow for an assessment of his revisions of a single divertissement over the course of several productions.

Other important sources—the musical scores, choreographic notations, and mime scripts—reveal the realization of Petipa's plans. Taken together, they also demonstrate features of Petipa's ballets that distinguish his work from that of his predecessors. He developed the French *pas d'action* into the expansive multi-movement dance suite that we know today and used it strategically in his ballets. Both *La Bayadère* and *Raymonda* include a *pas d'action* at crucial points in their narratives. Petipa also responded to the influx of Italian dancers and teachers in St. Petersburg by incorporating their technique and steps into the vocabulary of French classical ballet over a period of more than a decade in the latter part of his career. *Raymonda*, with its emphasis on dance over story, is an excellent example of a ballet tailored by Petipa to the strengths of the Italian virtuosa Pierina Legnani. Petipa's composers, here the specialist Minkus and the internationally acclaimed Glazunov, responded to the ballet master's instructions with scores that supported both action and dance by utilizing well-used musical tropes and recurring motifs.

More features of Petipa's output are represented in the performance-related sources examined here, notably the various ways in which Petipa deployed large casts. He used processions as an orderly way to bring dozens of characters on stage, to allow the audience time to notice and appreciate their costumes and props, and to create a sense of occasion. Elaborate

groupings featured large casts as living scenery. Petipa arranged dancers to both frame the stage, as in *Bayadère*'s Badrinata divertissement and *Raymonda*'s vision scene, and to completely fill it, as in the adagio of *Le jardin animé*. When the large ensemble danced, Petipa created stunning effects with both unison movement, as in the Kingdom of the Shades, and polyphonic choreography, which we encountered in coda dances in all three ballets. Dances for children, an impressive demonstration of the St. Petersburg Imperial Theater School, were another element of each ballet.

The ballets in this study have also represented Petipa's extensive use of the three movement styles on which nineteenth-century ballet depended: classical dance, character dance, and mime. Whether mixed with another style or executed on its own, each mode of movement carries its own dramatic weight, meaning, and visual appeal. The many classical solo variations, *pas de deux*, and dances for small and large ensembles demonstrate the sheer variety of Petipa's choreography. His love of character dance as a performer continued when he became a dance creator as seen in the diversity of numbers explored in *La Bayadère* and *Raymonda*, which include historic dances, national dances, and "exotic" dances. The primacy of mime in Petipa's narrative works is affirmed by mime scripts and the documentation of mime conversations in the choreographic notations. The detailed mime scripts for the two scenes in *La Bayadère*, in particular, demonstrate the complexity of narrative interaction between characters. Finally, Petipa's synthesis of movement styles yielded particularly effective results, from his narrative-driven *pas d'action* that combined classical dance and mime to his combination of Hungarian national dance and *danse d'école* in *Raymonda*'s *Pas classique hongrois*.

Petipa's accomplishments, as the sources confirm them, are nothing short of astonishing. He maintained a large repertory of ballets, opera ballets, and divertissements for more than thirty

years as first ballet master, building on his twenty-plus years’ “apprenticeship” that had begun in St. Petersburg in 1847. (He served the Imperial Theaters for well over a half-century.) He was not only endlessly creative but—as his preparatory notes and instructions to composers attest—practical and well-organized. Despite the inevitable failures that every creative artist suffers, Petipa was able, year after year, to put works on the stage that were both pleasing to his audiences and artistically distinguished. He must be lauded particularly for his curatorial approach to repertory, for he conserved older ballets at the same time he was creating new ones in the amassing of the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet’s large body of works. A simple fact illustrates the scope of his achievement: the Yearbook for the 1901–1902 season lists an astonishing twenty-seven ballets in the active repertory (not counting opera ballets or divertissements), including all three of the ballets explored in this dissertation.²

Further avenues of inquiry

As more of Petipa’s ballets are explored in detail using performance-related sources, further features of his output will no doubt be revealed as well as additional examples of the features described in this dissertation. An ever-clearer picture of Petipa’s achievements and contributions will thus emerge. I will close this particular study with several suggestions for further avenues of inquiry.

- *Petipa’s pas d’action*: A study of Petipa’s *pas d’action* in all of his ballets in which he included one or more will broaden understanding of their structures, their narrative content, and the way their music supports the drama. Petipa did not always use the term *pas d’action* for multi-movement suites that function in this way, as is the case in

² *Ezhegodnik* (1901–1902), 46–47: *La Bayadère* (four performances), *Le Corsaire* (two performances plus one performance of only the first three acts), *Raymonda* (two performances).

Sleeping Beauty.³ If additional such instances can be identified, an even more pervasive use of the form throughout Petipa's work may be discovered.

- *Petipa's incorporation of Italian technique*: Further study of Petipa's incorporation of Italian technique may reveal ways Petipa worked with his ballerinas, the particular strengths of those dancers, and an even greater variety of Italian step vocabulary in use at the end of the nineteenth century. Ballets in this category include *Le Talisman*, created for Elena Cornalba in 1889, and the revival of Jules Perrot's *Esmeralda* for Virginia Zucchi in 1886. Individual variations designed for Italian ballerinas as interpolations into existing ballets can also be examined. One of the most famous is the now-canonical variation first added to *Fiammetta* for Cornalba in 1887 that came to be inserted into the first act of *Giselle*. Eventually, variations made for Russian dancers also included features associated with Italian technique, such as the variation danced in *Le jardin animé* by Julia Sedova in 1901 (see Chapter Four).
- *Petipa's character dances*: Far more can be learned of Petipa's various character dances. Areas of inquiry include Petipa's synthesis of national and academic dance (of the kind explored here in *Raymonda* Act Three) and his versions of historic dances (allemande, galliard, minuet, etc.), such as those found in *The King's Command* (1886).
- *Petipa's preparatory documents*: The large collection of Petipa's preparatory documents held at the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum and elsewhere can be compared to librettos, choreographic notations, and mime scripts to increase our knowledge of Petipa's creative process. His instructions for composers—from those

³ See Fullington, "Finding the Balance," for descriptions of *pas d'action* in *Sleeping Beauty* and several other Petipa ballets.

prepared for Minkus' predecessor Cesare Pugni for *The Pharaoh's Daughter* in 1862 to those made for Arseny Koreshchenko for *The Magic Mirror* in 1903, if indeed these have survived—will surely contribute to an understanding of Petipa's evolving musical preferences over the course of his career as a choreographer.

- *Petipa's repertory ballets*: Ballets that remained in the St. Petersburg repertory over long periods make excellent case studies for tracking Petipa's revisions. As we have seen, cuts and interpolations, particularly those made for leading dancers, kept ballets up to date with changing tastes and technique. An example is the St. Petersburg production of *Paquita*, which Petipa first staged with Pierre Frédéric Malavergne in 1847, then revived with significant interpolations in 1881, and was still rehearsing in 1904.
- *Petipa's late ballets and the ballet-féerie*: In addition to the integration of Italian technique into Petipa's choreography, other trends occurring in and around the 1890s included the development of a new genre, the ballet-féerie, which favored dance and spectacle over story.⁴ The extent to which the influence of the féerie contributed to the reduction of mime and the shortening of librettos in Petipa's late ballets has yet to be explored in detail.
- *Petipa's ballets in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries*: The descriptions included in this dissertation can be used as models for comparison of early versions of Petipa's ballets with later versions produced after his death, both in Russia (particularly the Soviet productions of the mid-twentieth century) and the West.

⁴ About the ballet-féerie, see Scholl, *Petipa to Balanchine*, 18–20, 32–35, and Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 195–198.

- *Use of additional cavaliers in the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet:* The practice of delegating dance responsibilities to younger male dancers, as we saw in the fourth act of *La Bayadère*, appears to have been instituted to allow aging dancers such as Lev Ivanov and Pavel Gerdt to continue performing leading roles without the rigors of virtuosic dancing. In some ballets, including *Sleeping Beauty*, the replacement dancers were women. The value placed on the presence of popular older dancers and their acting abilities seems to have outweighed the need for continuity of character.

More broadly, Petipa deserves to be accurately situated among his peers. These include his predecessors—the French ballet masters Perrot, Mazilier, and Saint-Léon, to name only three—and his successors, among whom are the Russian choreographers Alexander Gorsky, Mikhail Fokine, and certainly George Balanchine.

Exoticism, racism, and gender also deserve significant discussion in the context of the stories of Petipa's ballets and the way women and Others were presented as well as in the larger context of nineteenth-century social values. Musical exoticism in scores by specialist European composers Cesare Pugni and Ludwig Minkus could be compared with opera and ballet scores by Russian composers. Petipa's early exoticist ballets, *The Pharaoh's Daughter* and *Le Roi Candaule*, both by Pugni, are excellent initial candidates for such an investigation. Petipa choreographed dances in Russian operas by Mikhail Glinka (*Ruslan and Ludmilla*) and Alexander Dargomyzhsky (*Rusalka*), and he collaborated on ballets with Russian composers Arseny Koreshchenko (*The Magic Mirror*), Nikolai Krotkov (*The Caprices of the Butterfly* and *The Water Lily*), and Prince Nikolai Trubetskoi (*The Cyprus Statue, or Pygmalion*), in addition to his work with Tchaikovsky and Glazunov.

Further study of performance-related sources will doubtless lead to many more findings, theories, observations, arguments, counterarguments, and insights. The sources may also beckon to choreographers and performers wishing to stage scenes or mount revivals. And they may inspire closer study of revisions that these ballets have undergone in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to keep up with changing aesthetics, tastes, and values.

But I believe that the present dissertation in itself can be useful to anyone seeking to know what the audiences saw and heard when the curtain went up on *La Bayadère*, *Raymonda*, and *Le jardin animé*. I hope to have brought into sharper focus a historically grounded understanding of what made these ballets so popular and how they represent the work of Marius Petipa.

APPENDICES

Appendix A Selected list of ballets and operas cited

This selected list of ballets and operas cited in this dissertation includes select performance history and production credits for works performed by the Paris Opéra and the St. Petersburg Imperial Ballet. Data has been drawn from a variety of sources listed in the bibliography, including:

Boglacheva, Mirovana, Zozulina, eds., *Peterburgskiy balet. Tri veka: khronika*, vols. III–IV
Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets*
Garafola, ed., *The Diaries of Marius Petipa*
Gautier (ed. Guest), *Gautier on Dance*
Guest, *Ballet of the Second Empire 1858–1870*; Jules Perrot; *Letters from a Ballet Master*; and *The Paris Opéra Ballet*
Letellier, *The Ballets of Ludwig Minkus*
Meisner, *Marius Petipa*
Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of ‘Giselle’*
Wiley, *A Century of Russian Ballet*; *The Life and Ballets of Lev Ivanov*; and *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets*

Additional sources consulted include:

Boglacheva, Irina, ed. *Peterburgskiy balet. Tri veka: khronika. Tom II. 1801–1850* [The Petersburg ballet. Three centuries: A chronicle. Volume II. 1801–1850]. St. Petersburg: Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Y. Vaganova, 2014.

Girard, Pauline. *Léo Delibes: Itinéraire d’un Musicien, des Bouffes-Parisiens à l’Institut*. Paris: Vrin, 2018.

Lajarte, Théodore. *Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l’Opéra. Catalogue historique, chronologique, anecdoctique*. Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1878.

Loewenberg, Alfred. *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978.

Volf, A[bram] I[akovlevich]. *Khronika peterburgskikh teatrov s kontsa 1826 do nachala 1855 goda* [Chronicle of St. Petersburg theaters from the end of 1826 to the beginning of 1855]. St. Petersburg, 1877.

Wiley, Roland John. “Dances in Opera: St. Petersburg.” *Dance Research* 33, no. 2 (Winter 2015): 227–257.

I also cite English translations of librettos, synopses, and substantial or notable discussions of some of the ballets. Note that Wiley's recent monograph on Petipa, *The Petersburg Noverre: Marius Petipa in Russia* (London: Anthem Press, 2022), which was published as this dissertation was nearing completion, contains additional translations of librettos and discussions of the works of Petipa.

Digitized copies of many French-language librettos and other source documents are available online at Gallica, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/Gallica>.

The National Library of Russia site provides links to digitized Russian-language librettos for select ballets by Petipa at http://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/petipa/program.php.

Printed sources of Russian-language librettos include:

Burlaka, Yury and Anna Grutsynova, eds., *Antologiya baletnogo libretto. Rossiya 1800–1917. Sankt-Peterburg. Blash, Val'berkh, Didlo, Dyupor, Sen-Leon, Le Pik, Malavern', Perro, Tal'oni, Tityus* [Anthology of ballet librettos. Russia 1800–1917. St. Petersburg. Blache, Walberch, Didelot, Duport, Saint-Léon, Le Pic, Malavergne, Perrot, Taglioni, Titus]. St. Petersburg: Planet Music, 2021.

——— *Antologiya baletnogo libretto. Rossiya 1800–1917. Sankt-Peterburg. Gerdt, Ivanov, Koppini, Kulichevskaya, N. Legat, S. Legat, Petipa, Romanov, Fokin, Chekketti* [Anthology of ballet librettos. Russia 1800–1917. St. Petersburg. Gerdt, Ivanov, Coppini, Kulichevskaya, N. Legat, S. Legat, Petipa, Romanov, Fokine, Cecchetti]. St. Petersburg: Planet Music, 2021.

——— *Libretto baletov Mariusa Petipa | Rossiya 1848–1904* [Librettos of ballets by Marius Petipa | Russia 1848–1904]. St. Petersburg: Compozitor, 2018.

Burlaka, Yury and Marina Leonova, eds., *Balety M.I. Petipa v Moskve* [Ballets by M. I. Petipa in Moscow]. Moscow: Progress-Tradition, 2018.

* * * * *

The Adventures of Peleas

Mythological ballet in three acts and five scenes, libretto by Marius Petipa, music by Ludwig Minkus, choreography by Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 18 January 1876 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Evgenia Sokolova and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. Revived by Petipa, in a one-act version titled *Thetis and Peleus*, with additional music by Léo Delibes and score supervised by Riccardo Drigo, on 28 July 1897 at Holguin Island, Peterhof, St. Petersburg, with Matilda Kshesinskaya, Pavel Gerdt, and Olga Preobrazhenskaya in leading roles. Synopsis: Letellier, *Leon Minkus*, 112–113.

Aida

Opera in four acts and seven scenes, libretto by Antonio Ghislanzoni, music by Giuseppe Verdi, first performed on 24 December 1871 at the Khedivial Opera House, Cairo. First performed by the Imperial Italian Opera on 19 November 1875 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with dances choreographed by Marius Petipa. First performed by the Paris Opéra on 22 March 1880 at the Théâtre national de l'Opéra (Palais Garnier).

Aldona (see I Lituani)

The Awakening of Flora

Anacreontic ballet in one act, libretto by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov, music by Riccardo Drigo, choreography by Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 28 July 1894, at Peterhof, St. Petersburg, with Matilda Kshesinskaya in the title role. Synopsis: Wiley, *Ivanov*, 257–258; see also 166–169.

The Bandits

Ballet in two acts and five scenes, with prologue, libretto and choreography by Marius Petipa, music by Ludwig Minkus, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 26 January 1875 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Ekaterina Vazem in a leading role. Synopsis: Letellier, *Minkus*, 110–111; see also 111–112. See *Khronika III*, 178–179.

La Bayadère

Ballet in four acts and seven scenes with apotheosis, libretto by Sergei Khudekov and Marius Petipa, music by Ludwig Minkus, choreography by Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 23 January 1887 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Ekaterina Vazem, Lev Ivanov, Maria Gorshenkova, Christian Johanson, and Nikolai Golts in leading roles. Revived by Petipa on 3 December 1990 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Matilda Kshesinskaya, Pavel Gerdt, Olga Preobrazhenskaya, Nikolai Aistov, and Felix Kshesinsky in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Century*, 291–303.

Carmen

Opéra-comique in four acts, libretto by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, music by Georges Bizet, first performed by the Opéra-Comique on 3 March 1875 at the Théâtre national de l'Opéra-Comique (Salle Favart), Paris. First performed by the Imperial Italian Opera on 16 February 1878 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with dances choreographed by Marius Petipa. See *Khronika III*, 194–195. Additional dances have been attributed to Petipa in connection with a performance given on 29 October 1882 at the Mariinsky Theater. See Wiley, “Dances in Opera: St. Petersburg,” 232–234.

Catarina, ou la Fille de bandit

Grand ballet in three acts and four scenes, libretto by Jules Perrot, music by Cesare Pugni, choreography by Perrot, first performed on 3 March 1846 at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, with Lucile Grahn and Perrot in leading roles. First performed by the Imperial Ballet, in a staging by Perrot, on 4 February 1849 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Fanny Elssler, Christian Johansson, and Perrot in leading roles. See Guest, *Jules Perrot*, 155–165 and 184–190. Revived by Marius Petipa on 1 November 1870 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with

Adèle Grantzow in the title role. Revived by Enrico Cecchetti in a version with two acts and five scenes, with additional music by Riccardo Drigo, on 25 September 1888 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Luigia Algisi in the title role. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 254–262.

Coppélia, ou La fille aux yeux d'émail

Ballet in two acts and three scenes, libretto by Charles Nutter, music by Léo Delibes, choreography by Arthur Saint-Léon, , first performed by the Paris Opéra on 25 May 1870 at the Théâtre Impérial de l'Opéra (Salle Le Peletier), Paris, with Giuseppina Bozzacchi and Eugénie Fiocre in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 483 – 487; see also 487 – 489. See Guest, *Second Empire 1858–1870*, 107–131, and Girard, *Léo Delibes*, 72–78. First performed by the Imperial Ballet on 25 November 1884 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, choreography by Marius Petipa, with Varvara Nikitina and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles.

Le Corsaire

Ballet-pantomime in three acts, libretto by Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges, music by Adolphe Adam, choreography by Joseph Mazilier, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 23 January 1856 at the Théâtre Impérial de l'Opéra (Salle Le Peletier), with Carolina Rosati and Domenico Segarelli in leading roles. Revived by Mazilier, revised and with additional music by Léo Delibes, on 21 October 1867, with Adèle Grantzow and Louis Mérante in leading roles. First performed by the Imperial Ballet in a staging by Jules Perrot, with additional music by Cesare Pugni, on 9 January 1958 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Ekaterina Friedberg and Marius Petipa in leading roles. Petipa revived *Le Corsaire* four times in St. Petersburg: on 24 January 1863, at the Bolshoi Theater, with Maria Surovshchikova Petipa and Marius Petipa in leading roles; on 25 January 1868, with additional music by Léo Delibes, at the Bolshoi Theater, with Adèle Grantzow and Petipa in leading roles; on 30 November 1880, at the Bolshoi Theater, with Evgenia Sokolova and Lev Ivanov in leading roles; and on 13 January 1899, at the Mariinsky Theater, with Pierina Legnani and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. Libretto: Collins, “*Le Corsaire*,” 406–429.

The Cyprus Statute, or Pygmalion

Ballet in four acts and six scenes, with apotheosis, libretto and music by Prince Nikolai Trubetskoi, choreography by Marius Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 11 December 1883 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Evgenia Sokolova, Felix Kshesinsky, Pavel Gerdt, and Lubov Radina in leading roles.

Le Délire d'un peintre

Divertissement, music by Cesare Pugni, choreography by Jules Perrot, first performed on 3 August 1843 at Her Majesty's Theatre, London, with Fanny Elssler and Perrot in leading roles. See Guest, *Romantic Ballet in England*, 68. First performed by the Imperial Ballet, staged by Perrot as *Le Rêve du peintre*, on 3 October 1853 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg with Louise Fleury and Perrot in leading roles. Presented in a new version (based on Perrot) on 29 July 1887 at the Arcadia Theater, St. Petersburg, music by Madolio, choreography by Enrico Cecchetti, with Cecchetti and Giovannina Limido in leading roles. See *Khronika III*, 261–262.

Le Dieu et la Bayadère, ou la Courtisane amoureuse

Opera in two acts, libretto by Eugène Scribe, music by Daniel François-Esprit Auber, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 13 October 1830 at the Théâtre de l'Académie royale de musique (Salle Le Peletier), with dances staged by Filippo Taglioni and Maria Taglioni in the leading role. First performed by the Imperial Russian Opera as *The Amorous Bayadère* (*Vlyublennaya bayaderka*) on 12 November 1835 at the Alexandrinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with dances staged by Antoine Titus. For a discussion of *Le Dieu et la Bayadère*, see Smith, *Ballet and Opera*, 138–149. About Taglioni in *Le Dieu et la Bayadère*, see Guest, *Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 2nd ed., 102–105, 233–235.

Don Quixote

Ballet in four acts and eight scenes, with a prologue, libretto (after the novel by Cervantes) and choreography by Marius Petipa, music by Ludwig Minkus, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 14 December 1869 at the Bolshoi Theater, Moscow, with Anna Sobeshchanskaya and Sergei Sokolov in leading roles. First performed in St. Petersburg in a revised version staged by Petipa on 9 November 1871 at the Bolshoi Theater, with Alexandra Vergina and Lev Ivanov in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 405–410. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 153–156.

Giselle, ou les Wilis

Ballet fantastique in two acts, libretto by Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges and Théophile Gautier, music by Adolphe Adam, with additional music by Friederich Bürgmüller, choreography by Jean Coralli and Jules Perrot, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 28 June 1841 at the Théâtre de l'Académie royale de musique (Salle Le Peletier), with Carlotta Grisi, Lucien Petipa, and Adèle Dumilatre in leading roles. First performed by the Imperial Ballet, in a staging by Antoine Titus, on 18 December 1842 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Elena Andreanova, Irakli Nikitin, and Tatiana Smirnova in leading roles. A production supervised by Jules Perrot was first performed on 8 October 1850 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Grisi, Christian Johanson, and Elizaveta Nikitina in leading roles. A production supervised by Arthur Saint-Léon was first performed on 8 November 1862 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, featuring Marfa Muravieva, Johanson, and Nikitina in leading roles. Revived by Marius Petipa on 5 February 1884 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Maria Gorshenkova, Pavel Gerdt, and Sofia Petrova in leading roles. Libretto: Smith, *Ballet and Opera*, 211–238.

Harlequinade (also called *Les Millions d'Arlequin*)

Harlequinade in two acts, libretto and choreography by Marius Petipa, music by Riccardo Drigo, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 10 February 1900 at the Hermitage Theater, St. Petersburg, with Matilda Kshesinskaya, Georgy Kyaksht, Olga Preobrazhenskaya, Sergei Lukyanov, and Enrico Cecchetti in leading roles. See Alexei Ratmanský, “Staging Petipa’s *Harlequinade* at ABT,” *Ballet Review* 47, nos. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 2019): 45–55.

La Juive

Opera in five acts, libretto by Eugène Scribe, music by Fromental Halévy, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 23 February 1835 at the Théâtre de l'Académie royale de musique (Salle Le Peletier), with dances staged by Filippo Taglioni. See Philarète Chasles, “Notice sur *La Juive*,”

in *Les Beautés de l'Opéra*, First performed by the German troupe of the Imperial Theaters, as *The Cardinal's Daughter*, on 11 October 1837 at the Mikhailovsky Theater, St. Petersburg.

King Candaules (also called *Le Roi Candaule*)

Grand ballet in four acts and six scenes, libretto by Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges and Marius Petipa, music by Cesare Pugni, choreography by Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 17 October 1868 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Henriette Dor, Felix Kshesinsky, Lev Ivanov, and Anna Kuznetsova in leading roles. Revived by Petipa on 24 November 1891 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Carlotta Brianza, Pavel Gerdt, Alexander Oblakov, and Giuseppina Cecchetti in leading roles, and on 9 April 1903 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Julia Sedova, Sergei Legat, Nadezhda Petipa, and Gerdt in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 400–405. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 150–153.

The King's Command

Grand ballet in four acts and five scenes, libretto by Marius Petipa and Albert Vizentini (after Edmond Gondinet), music by Vizentini, choreography by Petipa, first performed on 14 February 1886 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Virginia Zucchi and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. Revived by Petipa in a shortened version (two acts) titled *The Pupils of Dupré*, on 14 February 1900 at the Hermitage Theater, St. Petersburg, with Pierina Legnani in a leading role. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 203–205.

The Little Humpbacked Horse, or The Tsar-Maiden

Magic ballet in four acts and nine scenes, libretto and choreography Arthur Saint-Léon, music by Cesare Pugni, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 3 December 1864 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Marfa Muravieva in a leading role. Revived by Marius Petipa on 6 December 1895 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Pierina Legnani, Alexander Shiryayev, and Felix Kshesinsky in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Century*, 238–249; see also 250–275.

I Lituani (also called *Aldona*)

Opera in three acts with prologue, libretto by Antonio Ghislanzoni, music by Amilcare Ponchielli, first performed on 7 March 1874 at La Scala, Milan. First performed by the Imperial Italian Opera, in a revised version titled *Aldona*, on 8 November 1884 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with dances staged by Marius Petipa.

The Magic Flute

Comic ballet in one act, music by Riccardo Drigo, choreography by Lev Ivanov, first performed on 10 March 1893 at the Imperial Theater School, St. Petersburg, with Stanislava Belinskaya, Mikhail Fokine, Sergei Legat, and Agrippina Vaganova in leading roles. First performed by the Imperial Ballet at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, on 11 April 1893, with Anna Johansson, Pavel Gerdt, and Timofey Stukolkin in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 514–516, and Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 247–250; see also 150–155.

The Magic Mirror

Ballet fantastique in four acts and seven scenes, libretto by Marius Petipa and an unnamed collaborator (likely Ivan Vsevolozhsky), music by Arseny Koreshchenko, choreography by Marius Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 9 February 1903 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Matilda Kshesinskaya, Sergei Legat, Pavel Gerdt, and Marie Petipa in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Century*, 408–416. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 269–275.

Météora, ou as estrelas cadentes

Ballet fantastique in three acts and four scenes, libretto and choreography by Arthur Saint-Léon, music orchestrated by Santos Pinto, first performed on 9 May 1856 at the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon. First performed by the Imperial Ballet, as *Météora, or the Valley of the Stars*, with music attributed to Saint-Léon, Pinto, and Cesare Pugni, on 23 February 1861 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Nadezhda Bogdanova in the title role.

A Midsummer Night's Dream (Balanchine)

Ballet in two acts and six scenes, music by Felix Mendelssohn, choreography by George Balanchine, first performed by New York City Ballet on 17 January 1962 at City Center of Music and Drama, New York, with Melissa Hayden, Edward Villella, and Arthur Mitchell in leading roles. Synopsis: Balanchine and Mason, *Complete Stories*, 359–361. See the *Balanchine Catalogue*, <http://balanchine.org/03/balanchinecataloguenew.html>.

A Midsummer Night's Dream (Petipa)

Fantastic ballet in one act, libretto (after Shakespeare) and choreography by Marius Petipa, music by Felix Mendelssohn, with additional music by Ludwig Minkus, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 14 July 1876 at Peterhof, St. Petersburg, with Evgenia Sokolova and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. See *Khronika III*, 186, and Letellier, *Minkus*, 113–114.

Mlada

Fantastic ballet in four acts and nine scenes, libretto by Stepan Gedeonov, music by Ludwig Minkus, choreography by Marius Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 2 December 1879 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Evgenia Sokolova, Felix Kshesinsky, and Maria Gorshenkova in leading roles. Synopsis: Letellier, *Minkus*, 134–138; see also 138–140. See *Khronika III*, 204.

The Nutcracker

Ballet-féerie in two acts and three scenes, libretto by Marius Petipa (borrowed from the stories of E.T.A. Hoffman), music by Pyotr Tchaikovsky, choreography by Lev Ivanov, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 6 December 1892 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Antonietta Dell-Era and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 240–246; see also 132–149. See Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 193–241, and Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 229–233.

Orfeo ed Euridice

Azione teatrale in three acts, libretto by Ranieri de' Calzabigi, music by Christoph Willibald Gluck, first performed on 5 October 1762 at the Burgtheater, Vienna. First performed by the Paris Opéra, as *Orphée et Eurydice*, drame héroïque in three acts, libretto by Pierre-Louis Moline

(after Calzabigi), on 2 August 1774 at the Théâtre de l'Académie royale de musique (Seconde Salle du Palais-Royal). First performed by the Italian opera troupe of the Imperial Theaters on 24 November 1782 at the Theater at the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, with dances staged by Ivan Stackelberg. Revived by the Imperial Italian Opera on 15 April 1868 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with dances staged by Marius Petipa.

Paquita

Ballet-pantomime in two acts and three scenes, libretto by Paul Foucher, music by Édouard Deldevez, choreography by Joseph Mazilier, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 1 April 1846 at the Théâtre de l'Académie royale de musique (Salle Le Peletier), with Carlotta Grisi, Lucien Petipa, and Georges Elie in leading roles. First performed in St. Petersburg, staged by Frédéric and Marius Petipa, on 26 September 1847 at the Bolshoi Theater, with Elena Andreanova, Petipa, and Frédéric in leading roles. Revived by Petipa, with additional music by Ludwig Minkus, on 27 December 1881 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Ekaterina Vazem, Pavel Gerdt, and Felix Kshesinsky in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 183–188; see also 188–189.

La Péri

Ballet fantastique in two acts and three scenes, libretto by Théophile Gautier, music by Friedrich Burgmüller, choreography by Jean Coralli, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 17 July 1843 at the Théâtre de l'Académie royale de musique (Salle Le Peletier), with Carlotta Grisi and Lucien Petipa in leading roles. First performed by the Imperial Ballet, in a staging by Frédéric, on 20 January 1844 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Elena Andreanova and Christian Johanson in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 137–143. See Gautier, *Gautier on Dance*, 112–121 and 161–162, and Guest, *Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 2nd ed., 221–225.

The Pharaoh's Daughter

Grand ballet in three acts and nine scenes, with prologue and epilogue, libretto by Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges, music by Cesare Pugni, and choreography by Marius Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 18 January 1862 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Carolina Rosati in the title role. Revived by Petipa on 10 November 1885 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Virginia Zucchi and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles, and on 21 October 1898 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Matilda Kshesinskaya and Gerdt in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Century*, 217–237. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 99–106.

Prince Igor

Opera in four acts with prologue, libretto and music by Alexander Borodin (completed by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Alexander Glazunov), first performed by the Imperial Russian Opera on 23 October 1890 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with dances staged by Lev Ivanov. See Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 121–125. The “Polovtsian Dances” from Act Two of the opera were first performed under the title *Prince Igor* by Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, choreography by Michel [Mikhail] Fokine, on 19 May 1909 at the Théâtre du Châtelet, Paris. Fokine's choreography was first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 22 September 1909 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 560–564.

The Pupils of Dupré (see *The King's Command*)

Pygmalion (see *The Cyprus Statute, or Pygmalion*)

Raymonda

Ballet in three acts and four scenes, with apotheosis, libretto by Lydia Pashkova (from knightly legends), music By Alexander Glazunov, choreography by Marius Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 7 January 1898 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Pierina Legnani, Sergei Legat, and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Century*, 392–401.

Le Rêve du peintre (see *Le Délire d'un peintre*)

Le Roi Candaule (see *King Candaules*)

Roxana, the Beauty of Montenegro

Fantastic ballet in four acts, libretto by Sergei Khudekov and Marius Petipa, music by Ludwig Minkus, choreography by Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 29 January 1878 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Evgenia Sokolova and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. See *Khronika III*, 192–193, and Letellier, *Ludwig Minkus*, 131.

Sacountala

Ballet-pantomime in two acts, libretto by Théophile Gautier, music by Ernest Reyer, choreography by Lucien Petipa, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 14 July 1858 at the Théâtre Impérial de l'Opéra (Salle Le Peletier), with Amalia Ferraris and Lucien Petipa in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 361–365. See Gautier, *Gautier on Dance*, 281–287.

Sleeping Beauty

Ballet-féerie in three acts, with prologue, libretto by Ivan Vsevolozhsky, music by Pyotr Tchaikovsky, choreography Marius Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 3 January 1890 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Carlotta Brianza, Pavel Gerdt, Marie Petipa, and Enrico Cecchetti in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Century*, 360–372; see also 373–391. See Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 102–192, and Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 224–229.

La Source

Ballet in three acts and four scenes, libretto by Charles Nuitter, music by Ludwig Minkus and Léo Delibes, choreography by Saint-Léon, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 12 November 1866 at the Théâtre Impérial de l'Opéra (Le Peletier), with Guglielmina Salvioni, Eugénie Fiocre, and Louis Mérante in leading roles. See Gautier *Gautier on Dance*, 320–323; Guest, *Second Empire 1858–1870*, 93–99. First performed by the Imperial Ballet on 21 October 1869, in a revised version by Saint-Léon, titled *Le Lys*, at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Adèle Grantzow in the leading role. Also performed in Vienna in a staging by Saint-Léon in 1878 First performed by the Vienna Court Opera (Wiener Hofoper) on 4 October 1848 in a staging by Saint-Léon with the title *Naïla, oder die Quellenfee* (Naïla, or the Waternymph). Selections from *La Source* were choreographed by George Balanchine for a divertissement of the same name that was first performed with the title *Pas de Deux: La Source* by New York City Ballet on 23 November 1968 at the New York State Theater, New York, with Violette Verdy and

John Prinz in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 354–359, and Letellier, *Ludwig Minkus*, 75–77; see also 77–80.

The Star of Granada

Divertissement, music by Cesare Pugni, choreography by Marius Petipa (uncredited), first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 22 January 1855 at the Mikhailovsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Maria Surovshchikova-Petipa in the leading role. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 301.

Swan Lake

Grand ballet in four acts, libretto by Vladimir Begichev, music by Pyotr Tchaikovsky, choreography by Wenzel Reisinger, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 20 February 1877 at the Bolshoi Theater, Moscow, with Polina Karpakova and Victor Gillert in leading roles. 1877 libretto and poster: Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets*, 321–327 and 342–344; see also 25–91 and 242–274. See also Sergey Konaev and Boris Mukosey (eds.), *Lebedinoye Ozero, balet v 4-kh deystviyakh: Postanovka v Moskovskom Bol'shom Teatre 1875–1883: Skripchniy repetitor i drugiye dokumenty* [Swan Lake, ballet in 4 acts: Staged at the Moscow Bolshoi Theater 1875–1883: Violin *répétiteur* and other documents] (St. Petersburg: Compozitor, 2015). The ballet's second scene, choreographed by Lev Ivanov, was performed by the Imperial Ballet on 17 February 1894 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg. The complete ballet (ballet fantastique in three acts and four scenes), with music revised by Riccardo Drigo and with choreography by Marius Petipa and Ivanov, was first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 15 January 1895 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Pierina Legnani and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. 1895 libretto: Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 259–264; see also 170–183. See also Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 239–243.

Sylvia, ou La nymphe de Diane

Ballet in three acts and four scenes, libretto by Jules Barbier, music by Léo Delibes, choreography by Louis Mérante, first performed by the Paris Opéra on 14 June 1876 at the Théâtre national de l'Opéra (Palais Garnier), Paris, with Rita Sangalli and Mérante in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 489–496. See Pauline Girard, *Léo Delibes: Itinéraire d'un Musicien, des Bouffes-Parisiens à l'Institut* (Paris: Vrin, 2018), 151–169. First performed by the Imperial Ballet on 2 December 1901 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, choreography by Lev Ivanov (completed by Pavel Gerdt and Alexander Shiryayev). See Wiley, *Lev Ivanov*, 206–209.

Thetis and Peleus (see *The Adventures of Peleas*)

The Traveling Dancer

Episode in one act, libretto and choreography (some of both possibly borrowed from Paul Taglioni's 1849 *La Prima Ballerina, ou l'Embuscade*) by Marius Petipa, music by Cesare Pugni, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 4 November 1865 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Maria Surovshchikova-Petipa, Lubov Radina, and Timofei Stukolkin in leading roles. Petipa had prepared a revival of *The Traveling Dancer* (along with his last ballet, *The Romance of the Rosebud and the Butterfly*) for a performance at the Hermitage Theatre, St. Petersburg, on 23 January 1904. The performance was cancelled, but Olga Preobrazhenskaya

performed *The Traveling Dancer* as part of her benefit program on 9 January 1905 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, for which Petipa composed a new variation for the ballerina. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 278–280 and 287.

The Vestal

Ballet in three acts and four scenes, libretto by Sergei Khudekov, music by Mikhail Ivanov, choreography by Marius Petipa, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 17 February 1888 at the Mariinsky Theater, St. Petersburg, with Elena Cornalba, Maria Gorshenkova, Felix Kshesinsky, Pavel Gerdt, and Anna Johanson in leading roles. Libretto: Wiley, *Century*, 323–349. See Meisner, *Marius Petipa*, 212–218.

Zoraiya, the Moorish Girl in Spain

Grand ballet in four acts and seven scenes, libretto by Sergei Khudekov, choreography by Marius Petipa, music by Ludwig Minkus, first performed by the Imperial Ballet on 1 February 1881 at the Bolshoi Theater, St. Petersburg, with Ekaterina Vazem and Pavel Gerdt in leading roles. Synopsis: Beaumont, *Complete Book*, 417–422.

Appendix B
***La Bayadère* poster, 23 January 1877, St. Petersburg, Bolshoi Theater**

1877
Imperial Spb. Theaters

IN THE BOLSHOI THEATER.
On Sunday, 23 January.

BENEFIT OF DANCER
Mlle VAZEM.

For the 1st time:
L A B A Y A D È R E

Grand ballet in 4 acts and 7 scenes with apotheosis, by balletmaster M. Marius Petipa; music by M. Minkus; machines by M. Roller; costumes by M. Jurus and Mme Ofitserova, after designs by M. Panov; accessories by M. Gavrilov, headwear and flowers by Mme Magnus, wigs by M. Malishev, women's hairstyles by M. Michel, chemical lighting by M. Shishko.

MLLE VAZEM will perform the role of **NIKIA.**

Scene 1: **THE FESTIVAL OF FIRE.**
Scenery by M. Bocharov.

Scene 2: **THE TWO RIVALS.**
Scenery by M. Shishkov.

Scene 3: **THE DEATH OF THE BAYADÈRE.**
Scenery by M. Shishkov.

Scene 4: **THE APPEARANCE OF THE SHADE.**
Scenery by M. Andreyev.

Scene 5: **SOLOR'S DREAM.**
THE KINGDOM OF THE SHADES.
Scenery by M. Wagner.

Scene 6: **SOLOR'S AWAKENING.**
Scenery by M. Andreev.

Scene 7: **THE WRATH OF THE GODS.**
Scenery by M. Roller.
APOTHEOSIS.
Scenery by M. Roller.

Dances will be:

In the 1st scene:

1) FESTIVAL OF FIRE—Mlle VAZEM; Mlles: Predtechina, Zhukova 2, Tistrova, Olgina, Lezenskaya, Freytag, Gruzдовskaya, Kruger 2, Sokolova 2, Nikonova, Kuzmina 4 and Leonova; MM. Troitsky, Gerdt 2, Leonov, Bystrov, Nidt, Bizukin, Didichkin, Orlov, Litvinov 1, Students: Lukyanov, Voronkov, Konstantinov, Tatarinov, and other women and men dancers.

In the 2nd scene:

2) DJAMPE—Mlles: Madaeva, Tistrova, Zhukova 2, Kuzmina 4, Predtechina, Sokolova 2, Olgina, Nikonova and Lezenskaya.

In the 3rd scene:

3) SOLEMN PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE IDOL BADRINATH.

4) SLAVE DANCE—Mlles: Tistrova, Olgina, Gruzдовskaya, Freytag, Nikonova, Lvova, Selezneva, Sokolova 2, Leonova, Kuzmina 4, Ogolyit 2 and Lezenskaya; Students: Bogdanov, Konstnatinov, Voronkov and Puchkov.

5) HINDU DANCE—Mlle Radina 1; MM. Kshesinsky, Picheau, Leonov, Bystrov, Gerdt 2, Nidt; Students: Tatarinov and Lukyanov.

6) GRAND INDIAN DANCE—Mlles: Menshikova 1, Ushakova, Shamburskaya 2, Geltser, Kuzmina 1, Ivanova 3, Zhebeleva, Kemmerer 2, Kenchikova 2, Lomanovskaya, Larionova, Polonskaya, Stepanova, Kuzmina 2, Dolganova, Tsvetkova, Pavlovskaya, Shukelskaya, Prokofieva, Niman, Antonio, Savina, Sidova, Marzhetskaya, 12 small student boys, 12 medium student boys and 12 adult male corps de ballet dancers

7) TWO BAYADÈRES—Students: Petrova and Nikitina.

8) NATU—Mlles Ogoleit 1 and Glagoleva.

9) CLASSICAL DANCE—Mlles Gorshenkova and M. Gerdt 1.

10) MANU—Mlle Zhukova 1, Students Vishnevskaya and Nedremskaya.

11) GENERAL FINAL DANCE.

12) THE BAYADÈRE—Mlle VAZEM.

In the 4th scene:

13) SAKODUSA—DANCE OF THE INDIAN ASTROLOGISTS: MM. Troitsky, Bizukin and Tomas.

14) SHADOW DANCE—Mlle VAZEM and M. L. Ivanov.

In the 5th scene:

15) SHADES DANCES—Mlles: Vazem, Prikhunova, Shaposhnikova 1, Zhukova 1, Mr. L. Ivanov, Mlles Alexandrova, Zaitseva 2, Zest, Selezneva, Sokolova 2, Nesterenko, Zhukova 2, Tistrova, Gredtechina, Gruzдовskaya, Olgina, Kruger 2, Leonova, Ushakova, Geltser, Kemmerer 2, Menshikova 1, Ivanova 3, Shamburskaya 2, Niman, Polonskaya, Menshikova 2, Kuzmina 1, Zhebeleva, Lomanovskaya, Larionova, Pavlovskaya, Stepanova, Dolganova, Kuzmina 2, Tsvetkova, Shukelskaya, Prokofieva, Sidova, Zhikhareva, Olshevskaya, Ogoleit 2, Efimova, girl students: Andreeva, Fedorova 2, Simskaya, Moksheva, Vorobieva, Aleksandrova, Matveyeva, Potaikova, Kurbanova, Gorshenkova, Bunyakina and 16 small student girls, 12 small student boys.

In the 7th scene:

16) SIPMANADI: Wedding celebration.

17) LOTUS DANCE—Students: Voronova, Fedorova 1 and 24 small student girls.

18) PAS D’ACTION—Miles Vazem, Gorshenkova, Ogoleit 1 and Glagoleva, students: Petrova, Nikitina; MM. L. Ivanov, Gerdt 1, Johanson, Golts and Troitsky.

Will perform solo:

On violin—Soloist of His Imperial Majesty’s Court

M. Auer

CHARACTERS:

Dugmanta, rajah of Golconda
Hamsatti, his daughter
Solor, a rich and famous warrior
Nikia, a Bayadère
Great Brahmin
Madhavaya, a fakir
Toloragva, a warrior
Fakirs

Kshatriyas

Attendants of Hamsatti

Aiya, a slave

M. Johanson.
Mlle Gorshenkova.
M. L. Ivanov.
Mlle VAZEM.
M. Golts.
M. Troitsky.
M. Geltser.
M. Gerdt 2.
M. Leonov.
M. Bystrov.
M. Nidt.
M. Chistyakov.
M. Vishnevsky.
M. Shcherbakov.
M. Khamarberg.
M. Stukolkin 2.
M. Zelensky.
Mlle Nikulina.
Mlle Shamburskaya 1.
Mlle Natarova.

Brahmins, brahmacarins, sudras, servants, warriors, bayadères, fakirs,
pilgrims, Indian people, musicians and hunters.

The action takes place in India, on the slopes of the Himalayan mountains.

Starting at 7½ o’clock.

Tickets can be obtained at the Bolshoi theater box office from 9 a.m.

Appendix C
***La Bayadère* program, 3 December 1900, St. Petersburg, Mariinsky Theater**

1900

MARIINSKY THEATER

On Sunday, 3rd December,

BENEFIT
P. A. GERDT
(for 40 years of service).

Artists of the IMPERIAL theaters will present:

FOR THE 1ST TIME IN REVIVAL:

L A B A Y A D È R E

Ballet in 4 acts and 6 scenes, with apotheosis,
by **MARIUS PETIPA**, soloist of HIS MAJESTY.

Music by M. **Minkus**.

New Scenery:

1st act, scene 1.

THE FESTIVAL OF FIRE.
Scenery by M. A. Kvapp.

2nd act, scene 2.

THE TWO RIVALS.
Scenery by M. K. Ivanov.

Scene 3.

THE DEATH OF THE BAYADÈRE.
Scenery by M. P. Lambin.

3rd act, scene 4.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE SHADE.
Scenery by O. Allegri.

Scene 5.

SOLOR'S DREAM. THE KINGDOM OF THE SHADES.
Scenery by M. P. Lambin.

4th act, scene 6.
SOLOR’S AWAKENING.¹
Scenery by K. Ivanov.

APOTHEOSIS.
Scenery by K. Ivanov.

MACHINES: MACHINIST-MECHANIC N. A. BERGER. ACCESSORIES: SCULPTOR P. KAMENSKY. NEW COSTUMES BASED ON DRAWINGS BY STAFF ARTIST E. P. PONAMAREV. WOMEN’S—E. OFITSEROVA, MEN’S—D. CAFFI. HEADWEAR: WOMEN’S—MLLE TERMAIN, MEN’S—M. BRUNEAU. SHOES BY MLLE LEVSTEDT, WIGS BY G. PEDDER, METALWORK M. INGINEN, TIGHTS BY L. DOBROVOLSKAYA.

WILL PLAY THE ROLES:

“Nikia”—Mlle **Kshesinskaya 2**, “Hamsatti”—Mlle **Preobrazhenskaya**,
“Great Brahmin”—M. **Kshesinsky 1**, merited artist of the
IMPERIAL Theaters, “Solor”—M. **Gerd**t.

CHARACTERS:

Dugmanta, rajah of Golconda	<i>M. Aistov.</i>
Hamsatti, his daughter	<i>Mlle Preobrazhenskaya.</i>
Solor, a famous warrior	<i>M. Gerd</i> t.
Nikia, a bayadère	<i>Mlle Kshesinskaya 2.</i>
Great Brahmin	<i>M. Kshesinsky 1.</i>
Mahdavaya [sic]	<i>M. Bekefi.</i>
Toloragva, a warrior	<i>M. Gillert.</i>
Kshatriyas	<i>M. Barychistov.</i>
	<i>M. Volonin.</i>
	<i>M. Voronkov 2.</i>
	<i>M. Kiselev.</i>
	<i>M. Oblakov.</i>
	<i>M. Solyannikov.</i>
	<i>M. Titov.</i>
	<i>M. Yakovlev.</i>
Aiya, slave	<i>Mlle Solyannikova.</i>

Kshatriyas, Brahmacarins, Sudras, fakirs, servants, warriors, bayadères, pilgrims,
Indian people, musicians and hunters.

¹ The program states that the ballet is given in six scenes, rather than the original seven, because the very short “Solor’s Awakening” scene is cut. But the program mistakenly retains the title “Solor’s Awakening” and applies it to the ballet’s closing scene, which should be called “The Wrath of the Gods.” This error seems to have first been made on the 1884 poster (see Chapter Nine). The *Yearbook of the Imperial Theaters* for the 1900–1901 season nevertheless states that the ballet was given in seven scenes, as it was in 1877. *Ezhegodnik* (1900–1901), 161. The action of the omitted scene at the end of Act Three is described in the summary of the ballet’s story on pp. 171–172.

The action takes place in India, on the slopes of the Himalayan mountains.

WILL DANCE:

In the 1st scene:

1) THE FESTIVAL OF FIRE—Mlle Kshesinskaya 2, Lits, Shchedrina, Yakovleva 2, Shtikhling, Sprishinskaya, Georgievskaya; MM. Trudov, Gavlikovsky, Loboyko, Nikitin, Fedulov, Novikov, Stukolkin, Fedorov 1, Pashchenko 1, Smirnov 1, Fedorov 2.

In the 2nd scene:

2) DJAMPE—Mlles Ofitserova, Chumakova, Slantsova, Bakerkina, Vasilieva, Pavlova 1, Goncharova, Kasatkina, Konetskaya, Ilyina 3.

3) HINDU DANCE—Mlle Rutkovskaya and M. Shiryaev.

In the 3rd scene:

4) SOLEMN PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE IDOL BADRINATA.

5) DANCE OF THE SLAVES—Mlles Fonareva, Borkhardt, Gordova, Vaganova, Makarova, Belinskaya, Renina, Nesterovskaya, Vill, Matveyeva, Przhebyetskaya, Snetkova; MM. Alexandrov, Vasiliev, Medalinsky and Aslin.

6) GREAT INDIAN DANCE—Mlles Kshesinskaya 1, Bakerkina, Slantsova, Vasilieva, Pavlova 1, Kasatkina, Konetskaya, Shchedrina, Lits, Goncharova, Ilyina 3, Chernyavskaya, Dyuzhikova, Leonova 2, Dorina, Levina, Legat, Yakovleva 2, Stepanova 3, Georgievskaya, Radina, Sazonova, Shtikhling, Golubeva 2 and other female dancers, male dancers and boy students of the IMPERIAL Theater school.

7) BAYADÈRES—Mlles Leonova 1, Egorova 2, Mosolova and Andrianova.

8) MANU—Mlle Trefilova; Students: Lezgilye and Nesterovskaya.

9) HINDU DANCE—Mlle Petipa 1; MM. Lukyanov, Gavlikovsky, Novikov, Trudov, Nikitin, Loboyko, Chekrygin, Stukolkin.

10) GENERAL FINAL DANCE.

11) THE BAYADÈRE—Mlle Kshesinskaya 2.

In the 4th scene:

12) SAKODUSA—dance of the Indian astrologers. MM. Bekefi and Solyannikov.

13) LOVE SCENE—Mlle Preobrazhenskaya and M. Gerdt.

NIKIA'S SHADE—Mlle Kshesinskaya 2.

In the 5th scene:

14) DANCES OF THE SHADES – Mlle Kshesinskaya 2, Rykhlyakova 1, Pavlova 2, Sedova, Slantsova, Vasilieva, Bakerkina, Kasatkina, Goncharova, Lits, Shchedrina, Konetskaya, Erler 2, Leonova 2, Chernyavskaya, Urakova, Dorina, Golubeva 2, Stepanova 3, Legat, Levina, Radina, Chernetskaya, Sprychinskaya, Dyuzhikova, Rykhlyakova 2, Ilyina 3, Isaeva 1, Fedorova 1,

Laktionova, Przhebyletskaia, Frank, Sazonova, Yakovleva 2, Georgievskaya, Erler 1, Golubeva 1, Peters, Shtikhling, Picheau, Levenson 2, Golovkina, Isaeva 2, Bastman, Pakhomova, Alexandrova 2, Vertinskaya, Ilyina 2, Lobanova, Niman, Matyatina and girl students of the IMPERIAL Theater Schools.

In the 6th scene:

15) SIPMANADI: Wedding festival.

16) LOTUS DANCE—Girl students of the IMPERIAL Theatre School.

17) PAS D’ACTION: Milles Kshesinskaya 2, Preobrazhenskaya, Sedova, Pavlova 2, Obukhova, Egorova 2; MM. Gerdt, Kyaksht and Bekefi.

Will perform solo:

Court Soloists of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

On violin—M. **Auer**.

On harp—M. **Zabel**.

Also will perform solo:

On violoncello—M. **Loganovsky**.

On flute—M. **Stepanov**.

Conductor **R. Drigo**.

Beginning at 8 p.m.

Appendix D
Raymonda libretto (excerpt), 1898, St. Petersburg

RAYMONDA.

BALLET IN 3 ACTS (4 SCENES).

(Subject borrowed from knightly legends).

by Mme **L. Pashkova.**

Music by A. K. GLAZUNOV.

Dances and production by balletmaster **M. I. PETIPA.**

The role of “Raymonda” will be performed by Mlle Pierina Legnani.

New decorations: Act I, Scene 1, M. **Allegri**; Act I, Scene 2, Act III and the apotheosis, M. **Lambin**; Act II, M. **Ivanov**. Machinist, M. **Berger**. Costumes: women’s, Mme **Ofitserova**; men’s, M. **Caffi**; Headwear: women’s, Mme **Termain**; men’s, M. **Bruneau**. Accessories: **P. P. Kamensky**. Wigs and coiffures, M. **Pedder**. Footwear, Mme **Levstedt**. Metalwork, M. **Inginen**. Tricot, Mlle **Dobrovolskaya**. Flowers, Mlle **Revenskaya**.

Produced for the first time on the stage of the Imperial Maryinsky Theater 7 January 1898 (for the benefit performance of Mlle Pierina Legnani).

St. Petersburg.
Typographer of the Imperial Theatres, Mokhovaya, 40.
1898.

Permitted by the censor. St. Petersburg, 3 January 1898.

CHARACTERS:

Raymonda, Countess de Doris
The Countess Sybil, canoness, aunt of Raymonda
The White Lady, protector of the home of Doris
Clémence, girlfriend of Raymonda
Henriette, girlfriend of Raymonda
Knight Jean de Brienne, fiancé of Raymonda
Andrei II, King of Hungary
Abderrakhman, a Saracen knight
Bernard de Ventadour, a troubadour of Provence

Mlle Legnani.
Mme Cecchetti.
Mlle Svirskaya.
Mlle Kulichevskaya.
Mlle Preobrazhenskaya.
M. Legat 3.
M. Aistov.
M. Gerdt.
M. Kyaksh.

Béranger, a troubadour of Aquitaine
Seneschal in charge of the castle of Doris
Cavalier in the retinue of de Brienne
A Hungarian knight
Saracen knights:

M. Legat 1.
M. Bulgakov.
M. Yakovlev.
M. Gillert.
M. Tatarinov.
M. Voronin.
M. Baltser.
M. Bykov.

Women, vassals; Hungarian and Saracen knights; heralds, moors,
citizens of Provence, royal soldiers and servants.

In the First Act, First Scene:
LA FÊTE DE RAYMONDE.

1) **Jeux et danses:** Mlles Kulichevskaya, Preobrazhenskaya; MM. Legat 1, Kyaksht. Girl students: Petipa 1, Sedova, Belinskaya, Egorova, Andrianova, Grupilion. Boy students: Obukhov, Osipov, Fokine, Ogniev, Barışhistov, Ivanov.

2) **Entrée:** Mlle Legnani.

COURTLY WOMEN: Mlles Natarova, Alexandrova 2, Postolenko, Kil, Antonova, Efimova, Goryacheva, Semenova 2.

VASSALS: MM. Navatsky, Kunitsky, Solyannikov 2, Marzhetsky, Alexeyev, Fomichev, Panteleyev, Sosnovsky.

3) **Valse provençale:** Mlles Kasatkina, Erler 2, Bakerkina, Pavlova, Chernyavskaya, Kunitskaya, Vaganova, Matveyeva 3, Yakovleva 2, Vasilieva, Golubeva 2, Leonova 2, Yakovleva 1, Radina, Ilyina 3, Dyuzhikova, Shtikhling, Rykhlyakova 2, Przhebyletskaia, Erler 1, Sazonova, Stepanova 2, Stepanova 3, Matyatina; MM. Kusov, Gavlikovsky, Nikitin, Pashchenko 1, Fedulov, Fedorov 1, Aslin, Presnyakov, Voronkov 3, Chekrygin, Fedorov 2, Medalinsky, Sergeyev, Martyanov, Loboiko, Ponomarev, Maslov, Mikhailov, Smirnov, Kristerson, Ivanov 1, Balashev, Levinson, Dmitriev.

4) **Pizzicato:** Mlle Legnani.

5) **La romanesque:** Mlles Kulichevskaya, Preobrazhenskaya; MM. Kyaksht and Legat 1.

6) **Une fantaisie:** Mlle Legnani.

In the Second Scene:
VISIONS.

Mlle Legnani, M. Legat 3; **La renommée:** Mlle Nikolaidis; **Gloire:** Mlles Rykhlyakova 1, Geltser, Leonova 1, Mosolova, Ofitserova, Borkhardt, Trefilova, Chumakova, Repina, Vaganova, Chernyavskaya, Nikolaeva, Kasatkina, Pavlova, Kshesinskaya 1, Kuskova, Shchedrina, Kunitskaya, Lits, Egorova 2, Bakerkina, Kunitskaya, Erler 2, Ogoleit 2, Oblakova, Vasilieva, Leonova 2, Golubeva 1, Dorina, Konetskaya, Tsalison, Ilyina 3, Matveyeva 3, Slantsova, Golubeva 2, Andreyeva, Radina, Urakova, Levina, Dyuzhikova, Stepanova 2, Vsevolodskaya, Stepanova 3, Yakovleva 2, Przhebyletskaia, Lobanova, Rosh.

Les chevaliers: MM. Alexandrov, Titov, Romanov, Ivanov 2, Voronkov 2, Plessyuk, Vasiliev, Rykhlyakov, Voskresensky, Chernikov, Oblakov 2, Terpilovsky. *Les amours:* students of the Imperial Theater School.

Scène dramatique: Mlle Legnani, M. Gerdt. *THE WHITE LADY AND RAYMONDA'S* DOUBLE.

Farfadets: Girl and boy students of the Imperial Theater School.

In the Second Act:
COUR D'AMOUR.

1) **Pas d'action:** Mlles Legnani, Cecchetti, Kulichevskaya, Preobrazhenskaya: MM. Gerdt, Legat 1, Kyaksht.

2) **Pas des esclaves sarrasins:** Mlles Matveyeva 3, Savitskaya, Konetskaya, Leonova 2, Sheberg, Isaeva 1, Legat, Ilyina 3, Dyuzhikova, Nikolaidis, Yakovleva 2, Erler 1, Ryabova, Lobanova, Peters, Mikhailova, Yakovleva 1, Golubeva 2, Niman, Kuzmina, Ilyina 2, Golovkina, Rosh, Pakhomova, Kusterer, Levinson 2, Gorskaya, Temireva, Matyatina, Rakhmanova, Ilyina 1; MM. Nikitin, Kusov, Fedorov 1, Alexandrov, Gavlikovsky, Voronkov 2, Trudov, Fedulov, Usachev, Aslin, Ivanov 1, Loboiko, Chekrygin, Balashhev, Vasiliev, Romanov, Novikov, Pashchenko 2, Medalinsky, Kristerson, Rykhlyakov, Mikhailov, Levinson, Presnyakov, Pechatnikov, Fedorov 2, Dmitriev, Martyanov, Smirnov, Maslov.

3) **Pas des Moriscos:** Boy students of the Imperial Theater School.

4) **Danse sarrasine:** Mlle Skorsyuk and M. Gorsky.

5) **Panadéros:** Mlle Petipa 1, M. Lukyanov; Mlles Kshesinskaya 1, Makhotina, Lits, Kuskova, Shchedrina, Bakerkina, Radina, Urakova, Borkhardt, Kasatkina, Chernyavskaya, Pavlova, Vasilieva, Tsalison, Ogoleit 3, Vaganova.

6) **Coda:** all participants.

LES ÉCHANSONS: Girl students of the Imperial Theatre School.

7) **Entrée:** Mlle Legnani.

8) **Ensemble:** All participants.

9) **Dénouement:** Mlles Legnani, Cecchetti, Kulichevskaya, Preobrazhenskaya; MM. Gerdt, Legat 3, Aistov and others. **THE WHITE LADY.**

In the 3rd Act:
LE FESTIVAL DES NOCES.

1) **Rapsodie:** Boy and girl students of the Imperial Theater School.

2) **Palotás:** Mlle Preobrazhenskaya and M. Bekefi; Mlles Slantsova, Pavlova, Kasatkina, Kunitskaya, Bakerkina, Chernyavskaya, Tsalison, Golubeva 2, Radina, Dyuzhikova, Leonova 2, Egorova 2, Ilyina 2, Peshkova, Starostina, Peters, Gorshenkova, Tselikhova, Shtikhling, Kil; MM. Fedorov 1, Rakhmanov, Ivanov 1, Levinson, Kristerson, Loboiko, Martyanov, Smirnov, Medalinsky, Trudov, Pashchenko 1, Novikov, Balashev, Fomichev, Baltser, Voronkov 3, Usachev, Pashchenko 2, Legat 2, Panteleyev.

3) **Mazurka:** Mlle Petipa 1, M. Kshesinsky 2; Mlles Tatarinova, Nikolaeva, Ogoleit 2, Ogoleit 3, Kshesinskaya 1, Kuskova, Shchedrina, Urakova, Levina, Konetskaya, Golubeva 1, Nikolaidis; MM. Voronkov 2, Fedulov, Alexandrov, Yakovlev, Vasiliev, Titov, Ivanov 2, Ponomarev, Aslin, Presnyakov, Romanov, Rykhlyakov.

4) **Pas classique hongrois:** Mlles Legnani, Johanson, Rykhlyakova 1, Obukhova, Geltser, Ofitserova, Borkhardt, Chumakova, Vaganova; MM. Legat 3, Kyaksht, Oblakov 1, Legat 1, Gorsky, Kusov, Gavlikovsky, Nikitin and Sergeyev.

5) **Final:** All participants.

APOTHEOSIS.

TOURNEY.

Soloists of the Court of His Imperial Highness:

On the violin—*M. Auer.*

On the harp—*M. Zabel.*

Other soloists: on the harp—*Mlle Virginia Charlione*; on the celesta and pianoforte—*M. Griben.*

Conductor *M. Drigo.*

Archives and Collections

England

Royal Opera House, Covent Garden

France

Archives nationales

Archives du Théâtre national de l'Opéra, AJ¹³

Russia

A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum (GTsTM)

Fond 205 (Marius Petipa archive)

Fond 336 (Pavel Gerdt archive)

Museum of the State Academic Bolshoi Theater (GABT)

Fond 1 (Alexander Gorsky archive)

National Library of Russia

Fond 187 (Alexander Glazunov)

Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts (RGALI)

Fond 1657 (Sergey Khudekov archive)

St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music (GMTMI)

St. Petersburg State Theatre Library (SPbGTB)

United States

Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University

John Milton and Ruth Neils Ward Collection

Nikolai Sergeev Choreographic and Music Scores for the Ballet *Swan Lake*, 1905–1924
(MS Thr 186)

Nikolai Sergeev Dance Notations and Music Scores for Ballets, 1888–1944 (MS Thr
245)

Library of Congress

Léo Delibes music manuscripts, 1857–1890, ML96.D39

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