REMOTE CHOREOGRAPHY AND THE MONSTER: MOVING BEYOND THE HUMAN IN TRANSATLANTIC DANCE AND INTERDISCIPLINARY PERFORMANCES OF THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY (1750-1914)

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines four nonhuman discursive constructs materialized in transatlantic dance and interdisciplinary performances of the long nineteenth century (1750-1914). Turning to these performances as case studies, I demonstrate that the transgressive movements of creaturely others in theatrical performance served as the fulcrum by which state-sanctioned and culturally acceptable norms pertaining to the human were repeatedly negotiated and reassembled.

My fundamental premise is that not only did choreography intersect with discourses of the normative in the production of the nonhuman 'other' on the theatrical stage, but choreography, as patterned movement, was a cardinal axis by which the human's 'other,' the nonhuman, was generated and performed. Unearthing findings both archival (text, aural and visual records) and ethnographic (interviews with human participants) pertaining to this diverse assemblage of interdisciplinary performances, I argue that the movement qualities of creaturely others deemed peripheral enabled in each case, a choreographic reconsideration of the parameters of the normative human. Three of the case studies (the automaton, the sylphide and the yogi) are situated firmly within the long nineteenth century, while the fourth and final construct of the ghost straddles the nineteenth century and the twenty-first, drawing links between precedent performances of the ghost and instantiations of the virtual within dance and performance studies.

The primary contribution of this dissertation resides in its singular approach to the historiography of the nonhuman (and the monster in particular) as choreographic constructs. Supplementing existing understandings of the monster produced in literary studies, anthropology, religious studies and other disciplines, it posits that the perturbing difference constituted by the monster in particular, obtains not solely from its morphology, but from its aberrant mobility, i.e. those provocative motions choreographed to represent its distance from the human. Choreographed movement, I argue, is the cardinal axis of the monster's magnified, 'kaleidoscopic' difference.

My findings reveal that the dissertation's discursive constructs are related through a common subset of artistic techniques and technologies that deploy 'remoteness.' Accordingly, I advance 'remote choreography,' a theoretical paradigm that addresses the nonhuman as 'illegible' recruit, a surrogate situated to perform and make visible the nonhuman's distance from the normative through movement. These displays of difference I contend, respond to the presence of real historical actors deemed to likewise transgress or exceed the human. As a result, the nonhumans examined are also marked by a polysemy observable through conflations and continuities in the performance of difference across separate chapters.

Proceeding from this, I argue that the nonhuman is a hypothetical other, a palimpsest repeatedly materialized in relation to discourses of legitimacy (and the human) developed not only in politico-philosophical, religious, biomedical and artistic contexts, but also under normative frameworks of the law. Accordingly, the choreographic representation of the nonhuman in multiple disciplines (dance, theatre, performance studies, religious studies) is shown to intersect crucially with tangible socio-political realities, impacting discourses pertaining to human rights, disability, technosensuality and biopower. In this way, 'remote choreography' used as a theoretical paradigm, advances knowledge of not only the socio-political function of nonhumans in multiple disciplines (dance, theatre, religious studies), but also identifies choreography as a powerful tool that may be used to actively intervene in changing historical understandings of the human.

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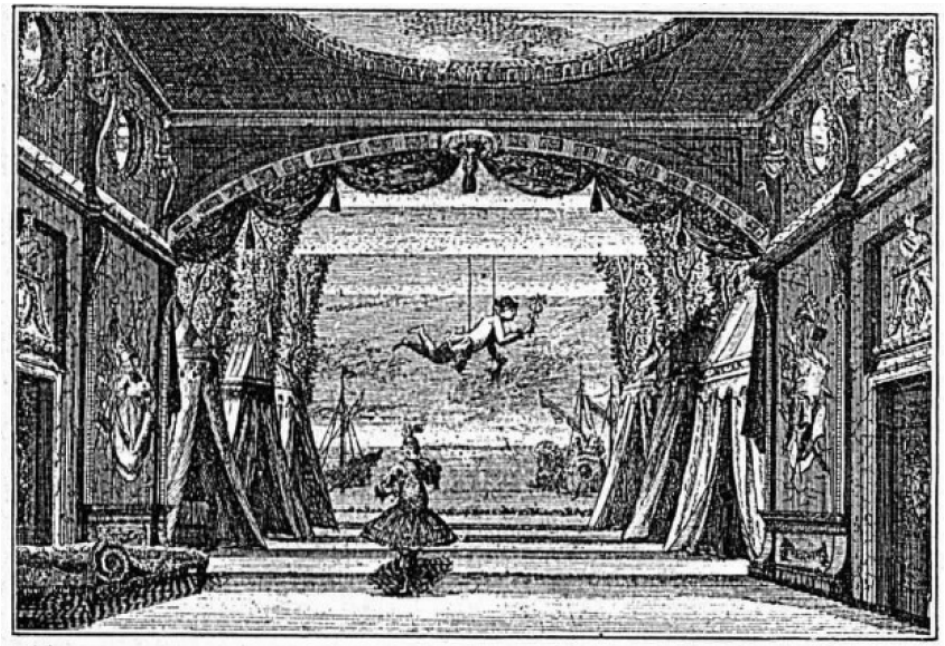
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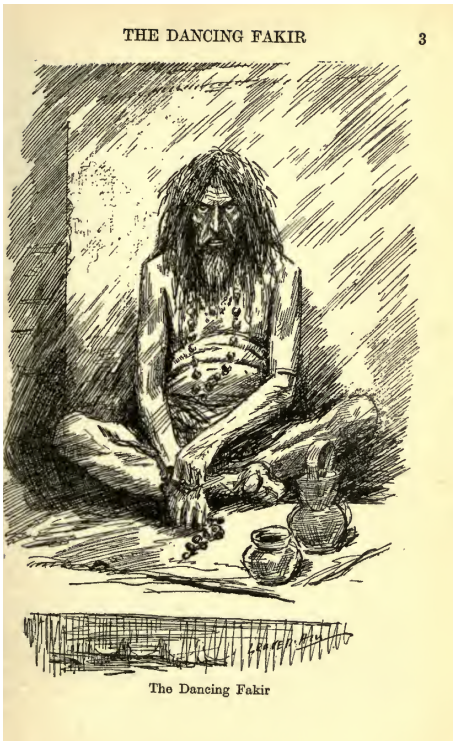


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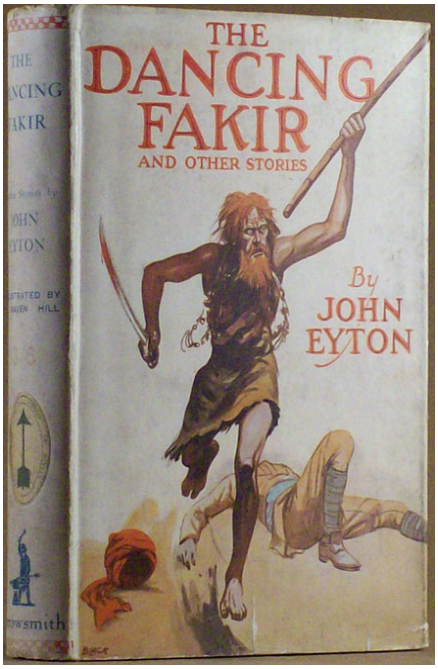
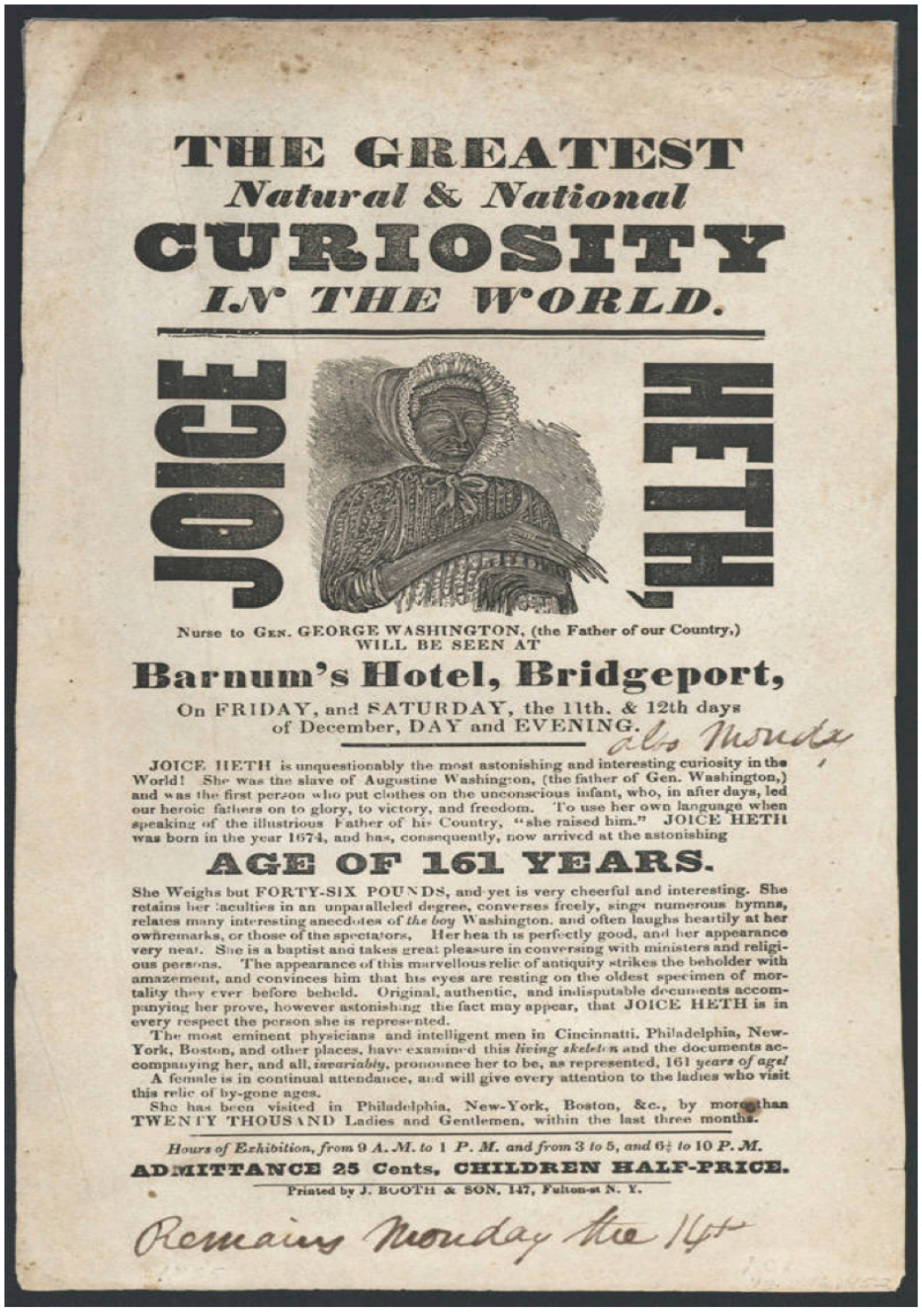


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J. S. Eyton, *The Dancing Fakir, and Other Stories.* London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922.



THE GREATEST
Natural & National
CURIOSITY
IN THE WORLD.

JOICE HETH

Nurse to GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON, (the Father of our Country,)
WILL BE SEEN AT

Barnum's Hotel, Bridgeport,

On FRIDAY, and SATURDAY, the 11th. & 12th days
of December, DAY and EVENING. also Monday

JOICE HETH is unquestionably the most astonishing and interesting curiosity in the World! She was the slave of Augustine Washington, (the father of Gen. Washington,) and was the first person who put clothes on the unconscious infant, who, in after days, led our heroic fathers on to glory, to victory, and freedom. To use her own language when speaking of the illustrious Father of his Country, "she raised him." JOICE HETH was born in the year 1674, and has, consequently, now arrived at the astonishing

AGE OF 161 YEARS.

She Weighs but FORTY-SIX POUNDS, and yet is very cheerful and interesting. She retains her faculties in an unparalleled degree, converses freely, sings numerous hymns, relates many interesting anecdotes of *the boy* Washington, and often laughs heartily at her own remarks, or those of the spectators. Her health is perfectly good, and her appearance very neat. She is a baptist and takes great pleasure in conversing with ministers and religious persons. The appearance of this marvellous relic of antiquity strikes the beholder with amazement, and convinces him that his eyes are resting on the oldest specimen of mortality they ever before beheld. Original, authentic, and indisputable documents accompanying her prove, however astonishing the fact may appear, that JOICE HETH is in every respect the person she is represented.

The most eminent physicians and intelligent men in Cincinnatti, Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and other places, have examined this *living skeleton* and the documents accompanying her, and all, *invariably*, pronounce her to be, as represented, 161 *years of age!*

A female is in continual attendance, and will give every attention to the ladies who visit this relic of by-gone ages.

She has been visited in Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, &c., by more than TWENTY THOUSAND Ladies and Gentlemen, within the last three months.

Hours of Exhibition, from 9 *A. M. to* 1 *P. M. and from* 3 *to* 5, *and* 6½ *to* 10 *P. M.*

ADMITTANCE 25 Cents, CHILDREN HALF-PRICE.

Printed by J. BOOTH & SON, 147, Fulton-st N. Y.

Remains Monday the 16th

Figure 10. *Joice Heth Poster.* 1835. Somers Historical Society, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media. http://chnm.gmu.edu/lostmuseum/lm/100/ (accessed April 3, 2014). Public domain.

Chapter One:

Introduction

1.1 Background: Monsters, Mobility and the Law

> Q: Can you, sir, take a step forward without moving your shoulders?
> A: Can I take a step forward?
> Q: Yeah. Can you do that?
> A: I don't know. I don't know.
> Q: Holding a stapler in a brandishing way, can you do that without moving your shoulders?
> A: Take a step forward without moving your shoulders?
> Q: Yeah.
> A: I know what the appearance gives, but I'm telling you what I saw.
> Q: Well, my question is this: Can you do that?
> A: Can I move forward --
> Q: Can anybody move forward --
> A: No, there's going to be movement in it.
> Q: Yeah. There's going to be shoulder movement, isn't there?[1]

Early in the morning on 14 October 2007, four law enforcement officers led by Constable Kwesi Millington opened fire multiple times at forty-year old Robert Dziekanski with a taser stun-gun, and less than a day after his arrival at Vancouver International Airport, the "distraught"[2] Polish immigrant whose "uncooperative"[3] behaviour had putatively signalled the need for repeated use of the taser-gun, suffered a fatal cardiac arrhythmia and plummeted to the ground. As transcripts from the Braidwood Hearings for the Djiekanski trial reveal, while law enforcement officers failed to detail with any precision Djiekanski's physical transgressions, it was clear that Djiekanski's ambiguous and unpredictable gestures had become the focus of police testimony. Depicted as a monstrous threat to airport security,[4] Djiekanski's transgressive physical motions were repeatedly invoked as the *motivum*[5] for forceful intervention.

So it was, that the minutiae of each individual's motions (detailed in the passage above) were reconstructed by the crown prosecution as critical to the 'scene' in question. The precise placement of the plaintiff's shoulder, the turn of the law enforcement officer's step, as interpreted through a series of

choreographic dialogues between crown and defense, would comprise the process by which questions regarding the limits of normative, acceptable behaviour would be negotiated and performed, revealing that the armatures of the law that enforce the normative are not only textual, but are, (in keeping with choreographic practices) interlocutory, expressive and gestural.

Like many Canadians confronted with the details of this high-profile news story, I wondered: If there is a pattern by which normativity can be discerned, which movements and gestures had accidentally or otherwise moved Robert Djiekanski beyond the range of legible communication with law enforcement officials? How precisely could the movements of a citizen be parsed using the evidence provided (in this case, notes made by the officers, their testimony, and video of the encounter from a bystander),[6] and what interpretative tools were investigators using to understand them? Just how central is movement and more precisely, choreography to constructions of normativity and/or monstrous difference? How do these choreographic constructions serve to distinguish the human from those deemed to be our nonhuman counterparts?

This was not the first time that such choreographic provocations had sprung to mind. I was a little over the age of two when I began to study Bharata Natyam with my first teacher. With flashing eyes and precise feet, she rapidly became a mythical figure in my mind, facilitating like Terpsichore or Urvaśi,[7] my first brushes with choreography. There was certainly something both hallucinatory and enduring even in those early chains of repetitive motion, garlands of intricate rhythm in which we would get lost; and, it seemed to me that out of those persuasive motions could be woven a labyrinthine wonderland in which gods would turn to monsters, and monsters would in turn, be occasionally indistinguishable from celestial beings.

It was clear to me then (monsters being the province of children), that it's not always easy to tell the monsters from the gods, or humans from a host of illegible, creaturely others. So it was, that Narasiṃha (literally, the man-lion)[8] was routinely choreographed in our dance-dramas, erupting from an inert pillar and leaping at King Hiraṇyakaśipu, staging a revolution that would transfer power into the

hands of the young, devout Prahḷāda, who in my own mind had come to symbolize the plight (and forgotten rights) of children everywhere.

This dissertation examines choreography as a critical paradigm in the social sciences that can help parse how performances of the nonhuman in theatrical performance arbitrate changing conceptions of the normative (and therefore legitimate) human in social, political and artistic contexts. My fundamental premise is that not only does choreography intersect with state-sanctioned and culturally acceptable discourses of the normative in the production of the nonhuman 'other' on the theatrical stage, but choreography, as patterned movement, is a cardinal axis by which the human's 'other,' the nonhuman, is generated and performed. More precisely, I contend that the nonhuman is choreographed through what I term, a 'remote choreography,' a specific arsenal of performance techniques that rely on making visible by way of motion and morphology, the nonhuman's distance from the normative.

In order to test this hypothesis, this dissertation deploys four case studies of discursive constructs performed between 1769 and 2012 that reveal the nonhuman as the fulcrum by which a normative centre was repeatedly negotiated and reassembled. That is to say, my purpose in undertaking this historical research has been to pursue the ways in which choreographed representations of nonhuman difference enabled a reconsideration and/or recreation of the state-sanctioned and culturally acceptable limits of the human. Focusing primarily on what historians have termed 'the long nineteenth century,'[9] the findings detailed in ensuing chapters probe a diverse assemblage of interdisciplinary transatlantic performances associated with four discursive constructs: the automaton, the sylphide, the yogi and the ghost. In so doing, I make four main contributions to the field of dance/theatre and performance studies. 1) I demonstrate the ways in which the nonhumans revisited/revised state-sanctioned and culturally acceptable parameters of the human. 2) I identify a common ancestry of transatlantic performance techniques pertaining to the manufacture of the figures examined. 3) I turn to these techniques in order to demonstrate the nonhuman's historical significance as a transformative mechanism, a device used to display the distance between self and other. I argue that the nonhuman not only mobilized or curtailed a series of critical shifts and renewals to existing notions of the normative human during the long

nineteenth century, but in some cases also propelled understandings of the human that have persisted into the twenty-first century. 4) I offer a new theoretical paradigm ('remote choreography') that addresses the intersection of choreography and nonhuman subjects.

Since the Act of *Habeas Corpus* (Latin "You have the body") of 1679,[10] ownership of a body has been central to being recognized as an autonomous citizen in western judicial contexts. As dance historian Gerald Siegmund reminds, "To be in possession of a body that can face the law is part and parcel of being a legal person."[11] In other words, the subject of politics is the corpus. The law needs the body in order to be enforcable, and by extension, the body must be cared for, curated by the law. In this vein, Siegmund has suggested that "the decisive point of intersection between the body and the law"[12] is choreography.

Certainly, what transpired between law enforcement officials and Dziekanski in 2007 is a potent reminder that the body's performances, its ability to communicate through complex choreographies (i.e. patterned movement and gestures) confirms it as a locus of both normativity and resistance, as both a repository of learned behaviours and as an organism who bears the vulnerability and agencies that disrupt those same "twice behaved behaviours."[13] The Djiekanski case also clarifies how choreography (especially in the absence of a common language) is used to render the body legible. Used by law enforcement, it can function as a disciplinary force that intervenes in the body's volatility, calibrating those erratic missteps that risk inviting the partial or perhaps total eclipse of norms established by the law.

As French author Honoré de Balzac astutely determined in his *Théorie de la démarche* of 1833, the display of an aberrant mobility signalled a being whose commotions and unruly gestures represented a monstrous threat, a dangerous, unrecognizable pathology to the existing social order. In that treatise, which offers an anecdotal recollection of a man stumbling upon leaning forward to exit a carriage to reach an acquaintance, it is the body's missteps, its divergences from the tact and intricate elegances of the nineteenth-century relationship between self and other that constitute the hallmark of "precisely that moment where any natural, palpable social order is lost."[14] Concomitantly, the reconstruction of that very social order was, according to Balzac, dependent on this loss of footing that resulted in the need for the body to retract, measure its balance, and once again find the ground.

Balzac, in contrast with many studies on the monstrous that have emerged in the disciplines of literary theory, anthropology, religious studies and theatre studies in the last thirty years, understood divergences in motion as the *motivum* of a normative order that might be revised or reconstrued. In fact, despite the text's attention to the body's elegance, Balzac foregrounds in equal measure, the body's parapraxia, pointing to the body's stumblings that are the result of being obliged to "move continually...[with] a thousand passions, a thousand ideas...[that are] so scarcely proportionate to the extent of his actions that at every moment he is in danger of being taken in a moment of weakness,"[15] as the very foundation of normative reconstruction. In this sense, attention to choreography (as the patterning of motion) constituted for Balzac, a means by which the "borderline between nature and culture, animal and human being,"[16] might be announced and manipulated.

This tradition of choreography as a civilizing force was however, elaborated even earlier in the work of Balzac's sixteenth century predecessor, the French dance master Thoinot Arbeau whose *Orchésographie* (1589) positioned the moving body, perfected by training regimens and choreographic expertise as a means of regulating the social and political body. Aiming at what was deemed "correct social intercourse,"[17] Arbeau's discourses (which transcribe the contents of a dialogue between dance master and pupil regarding the purposes of dance training), salvaged the neophyte "Capriol's body from becoming a hybrid monstrous body, half man, half animal,"[18] emphasizing that to learn to dance was to guarantee civility, enabling the separation of oneself from those monstrous others who had exceeded the social norms of French nobility.

Yet, if choreography has a long history as a training system designed to civilize and recreate, then what do the choreographed motions of creatures beyond the human designate? What is the purpose of those nonhumans that have been a mainspring in western theatrical performance? Do they too articulate a social order, revising the parameters of being? Do they recreate and renovate the very order they spring from, fashioning the human out of difference? Out of whose existing rib[19] were these new 'others' created? Why were these monsters made and what techniques were used to make them?

1.2 Literature Review: Nonhuman 'Others'

If, as French painter Georges Braque was known to have said, "Science reassures, art is made to disturb," then the case studies that follow argue that it is in the chronic disturbances of human form and mobility that the sociopolitical, technological and legal parameters of the human were repeatedly negotiated during the long nineteenth century, its vestiges persisting into the twenty-first. To this end, this dissertation's understanding of the liminal, nonhuman morphology depends, in part, on that discursive construct known as the 'monster.' A word that proceeds from the Latin *monēre*, (a word whose literal meaning is "to warn")[20] the cautionary tale that continues to be told by the monster is bound not only on the monster's creaturely otherness and provocative difference, but also its determination to speak to its creators. As a treasury of literary tropes illustrates, the monster is not silent; rather, as heard in the words spoken below by Bruno Latour's failed subway creature Aramis,[21] the monster continues to ask us questions about the meaning of its existence, ever pointing to our desires to reshape ourselves as the cause of its disfigurations and aberrant motion, its unrecognized being:

> If you did not want me, why did you keep me alive, year after year, in that glacial limbo, attaching me to dozens of poor devils who sacrificed their nights and their ardor to me? If I have been badly conceived, why not conceive me again? Why not take trouble to reshape me?...Who has committed the inexpiable crime of abandoning a creature drawn out of the void?[22]

Not unlike Bruno Latour's Aramis, in *Aramis, or The Love of Technology* whose lament is reproduced above, the corporeal morphologies included in this dissertation are Janus-faced creatures that respond not only to a gestalt of technosensual futurity, but to a narrative past that is as much heir to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, as it is to Arthur St. Léon's choreography for the ballet, *Coppélia* (1870). Certainly, all four nonhuman figures considered in this dissertation (the automaton, the sylphide, the yogi and the ghost) share a kinship with the monster. As the embodiment of age-old warnings about the dangers of being unrecognized and abandoned by one's maker or humankind, these creaturely others (like the aberrant creature crafted by Victor Frankenstein) are in Derridean terms, 'hauntologies.[23] Reminders of the past as much as they are portents of the future, they are looping repetitions that with each

successive performance demand from their creators an explanation for their glacial existence at the margins of the human: Why fashion these distant, illegible bodies whom we do not comprehend, that we cannot love?[24]

In answer to this question, historian of religions David G. White has commented that monsters and marginals that are "condemned to a damned and meaningless existence in the chaotic space beyond the pale of civilization..."[25] nonetheless bear "meaning for the self-proclaimed center with which they were contrasted."[26] Being the very fulcrum of subjectivity, these sidelined abandoned creatures that are our creations represent "the other [that] gives rise to self."[27]

In other words, as American philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler has proposed, "there is a certain departure from the human that takes place in order to start the process of remaking the human."[28] In her reconsideration of gender performativity in *Undoing Gender* (2004), Butler implies that the monster, distant and creaturely as it might be, is neither without purpose nor is it an entirely undesirable being. A transformative construct, the nonhuman is the pivot around which the material body performs and reinvents itself, transmogrified by its shifting relationship to ideations, fantasies and discursive constructs. In other words, the continual reconstruction of a human being is dependent on regular dialogue with those monstrous others situated at its periphery:

> ...for the human to be human, it must relate to what is nonhuman, to what is outside itself, but continuous with itself by virtue of an interimplication with life. This relation to what is not itself constitutes the human being in its livingness, so that the human exceeds its boundary in the very effort to establish them.[29]

In keeping with Butler, White and others, literary theorist Julian Wolfreys likewise foregrounds the monster as a reservoir of creative transfiguration.[30] Arguing that monsters are intrinsically neither radical nor conservative, Wolfreys proposes that one might see the creaturely, nonhuman as a discursive construct that enables the strategic interruption of norms in ways that are simultaneously transgressive and authorized, critical of social order and complicit with it.

By extension, one might consider that discursive constructs are in fact devices that may be deployed in performance to invite and/or signal substantive socio-political and/or material change. As

Butler has suggested, "fantasy is not simply a cognitive exercise…fantasy structures relationality, and it comes to play in the stylization of embodiment itself."[31] In fact, in *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance,* theatre scholar Joseph Roach contends that there is a 'kinesthetic imagination' that is invoked in performances of the monster that is uniquely potent for its forays into the virtual and the "truth of simulation, of fantasy, or of daydreams, [whose] effect on human action may have material consequences of the most tangible sort and the widest scope."[32]

By this reasoning, it follows that when a human exceeds what Butler has called "its categorical definition"[33] then he/she tangibly forces open a new category into a new future. Pointing to the example of writer/philosopher Frantz Fanon who claimed to no longer write as a human because the black man was not human, Butler argues that assuming the status of nonhuman offered an expanded range of those boundaries that constrained humanhood. In this sense, one might suggest that assuming the shroud of a non-human in performance offers a strategic opportunity to exploit illegibility, co-opting the qualities of creaturely others that are deemed beyond recognition, in order to transform those designations altogether.

Here, it is worth recalling the etymological link between the word legitimacy and those legal discourses (deriving from the Greek root *lex*) that enable a human to be recognized under the law. As Roach contends, there are, in the manufacture of illegible others on the performance stage, important legal dimensions to be addressed, particularly those that pertain to the creation of a 'body politic.'[34] As Roach reasons, "The body so marked becomes an effigy by way of example, performing the law, so to speak, enacting the body politic in the materiality of the natural body...."[35]

Roach's study clarifies how "through the magical sway of legal fictions such as 'the reasonable man,' the law transmits effigies — constructed figures that provide templates of sanctioned behaviour — across generations."[36] Through this creation of discursive constructs, the effect of law on performance is fluid, generative and innovative, fluctuating through partial eclipses that test "the margins of legal sanction."[37] In this sense, where there is law, there is always transgression or the attempt to test the limits of definitions of the human through performance. Situated at the seismic centre of change, the monster is frequently used to denote these limits, making visible the perturbing possibility that the normative order

of civilization might be disrupted by "marginal groups that haunt the boundaries of human, civilized space."[38]

The popularity and longevity of the monster in myth, literature and political history then points to the crucial role the nonhuman plays in inviting substantive social and political transformation. As literary theorist Frank Botting points out, monsters have a long and established European literary and political history, having been integral discursive constructs in Shakespeare's texts and English revolutionary politics. Considering that the monster is "regularly invoked as a figure of resistance to established authority and this resistance engenders many significant transformations,"[39] Botting reminds that the monster tends to rear its head, making itself most visible during periods of political, economic and social crisis.[40]

To demonstrate his point, Botting cites Marxist historian Christopher Hill's meticulous research on the emergence of the many-headed monster during the late Tudor period as a marker of the social and political unrest caused by divisions amongst the ruling Tudor class who rampantly characterized the lower orders as 'monsters.'[41] In turning his attention to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein,* Botting likewise proceeds to delineate the cautionary function of monsters born of sociopolitical upheavals who, as markers of change, often herald dangers not only to norms and social codes, but may also pose a threat to 'being' altogether.

In *The Frankenstein of 1790 and Other Lost Chapters from Revolutionary France,* historian Julia Douthwaite documents the material impact of literary monsters on sociopolitical contexts in revolutionary France, as she traces the formative influences behind the stylistic and literary innovations of monsters in the work of authors Mary Shelley and E.T.A. Hoffmann to the creative foment that characterized the period between 1789 (when the Bastille fell) and 1804 when Napoleon declared an end to the Revolution. Douthwaite relates that during this period more than 1200 novels were published, many of which anticipated the revolutionary tumult, and accordingly articulated concern for a new monster, the "life-size artificial man,"[42] a mechanical surrogate for the human. Douthwaite thus remarks that themes regarding the new socially engineered human being unearthed in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* reveal the French

Revolution's visceral upheavals as the source of a host of conceptual changes that were performed on the human body through fiction. Accordingly, Douthwaite also confirms the historical correspondence between anthropoid creatures (such as automata) and their monstrous predecessors.

Along these lines, scholars in several disciplines (comparative literature, religious studies, anthropology and dance studies) have done much to discern how tropes of exotic historical actors in literature (as metonyms for remote imperial destinations, geographies and regions), might share resonances with the cautionary monster, thereby establishing or reaffirming (through implicit cultural contrast and comparison with the normative) existing notions of the human, of identity and nationhood. As historian of religions Jonathan Z. Smith comments,

> In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, growing out of Western imperialist and colonialist experience and ideology, we have distinguished between those who have history and those who have no history — or, to put it more accurately between those who make history whom we call human or visible beings and those who undergo history whom we call nonhuman or invisible beings.[43]

In addressing the relationship between the nonhuman and real historical actors, historians have analyzed the ways in which the literary construction and dramatic allegorization of marginalized peoples as exotic nonhumans (and therefore, as monstrous) in theatre, dance and performance was ostensibly related to nationalist efforts to generate the 'new man.' Here, the study of ballet on the French stage has benefitted from the insightful analyses of art historian Anne Sharp (2006) and anthropologist John McCannon (2004), who query the extent to which key players in Diaghilev's Ballets Russes exploited the perception of a distant Russian Silver Age and its exotic peoples, thereby serving to configure both themselves and the wider movement of the French avant-garde in the twentieth century as 'modern.' Likewise, historian of religions Stephanie Lin's "Image (and) Nation: The Russian Exotic in 19th-century French Travel Narratives," pinpoints how representations of the Russian peasant toiling under the tyrannical Tsarist regime in French travelogues constructed a potent 'other' around whose illegible body, liberal, enlightenment values were reinforced in post-Revolutionary France.[44]

Nonetheless, as a creature defined by its remoteness, the nonhuman may also roam flexibly and dangerously beyond the confines of a temporal existence, beyond the confines of history itself. Historian of religions Jeffrey Kripal for instance argues that constructs associated with those futuristic mythologies generated by science fiction, such as Superman (who first appeared in American action comics in the summer of 1938), are frequently represented by their authors as preternaturally ahistorical and transcendent, wherein "the past is precisely what one wants to leave."[45] Yet, despite the ahistorical narratives that accompany such creatures, Superman's popularity (following the general outline of other tales of superheroes and monsters) Kripal remarks, nonetheless "peters out after the war."[46] In this way, Kripal postulates that Superman is not capable of living entirely beyond the bounds of history. Instead, his necessary literary denouement was as correlated with sociopolitical upheaval as his intervening ascent in the heroic discourses of the Second World War.

Nevertheless, one could argue that by virtue of its putative transcendence, the nonhuman is a construct designed to represent the perennial. So easily transposed across the ages, the vestiges of its archaic past appear in the mutated, futuristic forms associated with technocorporeal cyborgs, robots, drones and automata. In his book *Authority, Liberty and Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe,* historian Otto Mayr accordingly demonstrates that creaturely others developed with the aid of various technologies (such as automata and ghosts, for instance) in the twenty-first century are not new; instead, the fascination with what we might term 'technosensual' others morphed out of previous contexts, over a broad swath of history that spans the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, its roots reaching further back to a preoccupation with artificial life in Greek antiquity.[47]

Indeed, chronological surveys of the development of technological mechanisms by Mayr and others yield evidence that many technological devices such as automata (and related technological mediations that have come to be regarded as characteristic of modernity), far predate the cybernetic discourses of Norbert Wiener and his 1950s counterparts, having been known and used in antiquity, and later surviving through the golden age of Islam and into the thirteenth century.

As visual arts historian Caroline Jones notes, the Latin word sensorium (a word closely associated with twenty-first century inquiry into the theoretical parameters of perception in the visual and new media arts) connotes, "ancient (and often theological) debates about mind and body, word and flesh, human and artificial, nominal and phenomenal knowledge."[48] As historiographies offered by Modern, Gordon, Crary and Howes likewise document, these inherited technological discourses account for a preoccupation with the spectral and the mediated sensorium during the Victorian era that queried the limits of human agency and the potential of extra-sensory perception in contexts both theatrical and religious.

As a consequence, theatre studies scholar Kara Reilly reminds, the word automaton (which derived from the Greek *automatos* as an object that is "acting of itself,"[49] and referred to automated moving figures of animals or human beings) was frequently associated with performances that animated the limits of human agency. As Jane Goodall has likewise stated in "Transferred Agencies: Performance and the Fear of Automatism," constructs such as the automaton or the ghost aid in the production of a cultural anxiety around the "borderline between the agentic and the automatic,"[50] in ways that serve to periodically discern fissures between the human from a host of monstrous others. Accordingly, Douthwaite details the development of disparaging historical characterizations of automatons that actually served as surrogates for the aristocracy during the French revolution. Symptomatic of a time during which "whoever failed to fight for the right cause was deemed an automate,"[51] Douthwaite concludes that the term "automate" in French literature and philosophy during the revolutionary era was commonly used to describe and disparage the transgressive political machinations of the counter-revolutionary.[52]

Taken as a whole, the abundance of existing literature devoted to the history of nonhumans in text and performance points to the strong possibility that the widely observed kinship between seemingly unrelated figures in transatlantic performance is correlated with their strategic social and political utility to display difference. That is to say, these remote, creaturely others exist under a common umbrella of transgressive performance techniques that make visible, during moments of social and political shift, revisions and regenerations of a normative centre, i.e. the human. As a consequence, the aforementioned studies when understood in sum, bolster my hypothesis that far from being a mere aesthetic creation, the

nonhuman in literature and on the theatrical stage participates in tangible sociopolitical realities that invite material consequences. In short, the nonhuman 'other' is a plastic ever shifting assemblage whose vectors reach into areas beyond art and aesthetic discourse, and into the culturally specific and ever-evolving contexts of social, religious and political life.

There are however, blindspots in existing literature on the nonhuman that are particularly relevant to the fields of dance and performance studies, and of critical interest to this dissertation. While many studies cited (especially those produced outside of dance studies) argue definitively that the nonhuman's difference is constituted by its illegible morphology, few studies published in the diverse disciplines named acknowledge or elaborate choreographic motion (rather than morphology alone) as critical to the representation of creaturely difference. Few point to choreographed motion as the site of the monster's warnings or cautionary tales.

For instance, while Reilly observes that "automata are central to debates about mimesis or the representation of reality in the historical period in which they exist"[53] neither she nor Douthwaite identify movement as the very axis of the nonhuman's representational power. Similarly, while Roach emphasizes the material impact of numerous imagined creatures (ghosts, witches, surrogates), and demonstrates how a collective repertoire of such imagined creatures may serve to demarcate the human within the normative parameters of the law, his contribution nonetheless speaks little about the movements of these illegible creatures. In this sense, the majority of publications pertaining to monsters across several disciplines reveal a peculiar visual (and by extension, one could argue, textual) emphasis on the monster's morphological difference as the primary, if not sole pivot of its disruptive/regenerative potential.

In contrast, a handful of publications in dance studies (and more particularly in the history of theatrical ballet) do give attention to the nonhuman on the performance stage, many citing movement as among the nonhuman's distinguishing characteristics. Dance historian Judith Hamera's exposition of an "interspecies relation"[54] between the critic/spectator and the labouring body of the dancer in "The Romance of Monsters: Theorizing the Virtuoso Body," provides a framework for understanding the ways in which alterity has long been inhabited and displayed through Enlightenment paradigms of

choreographic virtuosity. Offering a theoretical analysis of the monster's transgression as defined not only by morphology but also by motion, Hamera demonstrates how these stubborn normative parameters are routinely displaced by Los-Angeles based Japanese dancer/choreographer Naoyuki Oguri's monstrous movements.[55]

Similarly, Lynn Garafola's research on the sylph (1985, 1997) as well as analyses of the nonhuman contained in Deborah Jowitt's *Time and the Dancing Image* (1989) and Sally Banes' *Dancing Women: Female Bodies on Stage*, expose a link between aerial women in the French Romantic imaginary and the transgressions of the nonhuman in the performance of theatrical ballet. Expanding this line of inquiry, Joellen Meglin (2004) and Norma Sue Fisher-Stitt (2011) have respectively contributed new understandings about the way in which the aerial creatures in Romantic ballet may be emblematic of revolutionary tumult or framed as precursors to the virtual.

Still, it is worth noting that on the whole, beyond this line of inquiry opened by research on Romantic ballet, discourses pertaining to choreography have despite their interdisciplinary reach, been used rather narrowly to understand the human, its history and its behaviour, rather than as a theoretical platform used to systematically contextualize the construction of numerous nonhuman 'others' in performance. One might take dance historian Susan Foster's influential *Choreographing History, Choreographing Empathy* and *Choreographing Narrative* as exemplary of this general tendency. Congruously, a number of studies that detail the helix of choreography and the law including Andrew Hewitt's *Social Choreography: Ideology As Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* and Gerald Sigmund's essay "Negotiating Choreography, Letter, Law in William Forsythe" contained in *New German Dance Studies* (2012), that have helped to guide this dissertation's understanding of choreography as an arbiter of transgression, have nonetheless left the numerous discursive constructs regularly deployed in dance and theatrical performance out of the range of their discussions.

As a result of these gaps, there has been little sustained attention afforded to enumerating those particular performance techniques that permit the production of nonhumans in dance and performance.

Yet, without studies that examine those techniques that produce nonhumans in performance, unearthing their sociopolitical vectors is near impossible.

This dissertation responds to the aforementioned omissions with 'remote choreography,' a theoretical paradigm that foregrounds the ways in which choreography shapes the production of nonhuman difference. Addressing a common substratum of techniques used to materialize the nonhuman in transatlantic dance and theatrical performance during the long nineteenth century, I focus on the movement of four nonhuman figures (cyborgs, automata, yogis, sylphides), in order to contextualize constructions of alterity within shifting historical boundaries of the human.

It bears mention that my usage of the term monster across all chapters might suggest a reductive approach to obvious differences that exist between each creature. Nonetheless, I use this term to strategically expose the shared historical and aesthetic continuities between each of these cautionary, catalytic performance constructs. In turn, I examine how these provocative creatures deemed beyond socio-political, cultural and legal recognition were, since as early as the seventeenth century, systematically used in performance to reinforce, reify or redraw the parameters of human. In so doing, the dissertation establishes the importance of choreography in the production of creaturely difference, chronicling often overlooked intersections between monsters and normativity in the history of dance and theatrical performance.

1.3 Research Approach: Remote Choreography and Techniques of Distancing

> When people begin using their bodies in significantly different ways, because of either technological innovations or other cultural shifts, changing experiences of embodiment bubble up into language, affecting the metaphoric networks at play within the culture. At the same time, discursive constructions affect how bodies move through space and time, influence what technologies are developed and help to structure the interfaces between bodies and technology.[56]

According to critical posthumanist N. Katherine Hayles, discursive constructs such as the nonhuman are implicated in a dialogical network interfacing bodies and performance techniques, bodies and technologies. Yet, if discursive constructs "affect how bodies move through space and time,"[57] then it

stands to reason that how an object or body moves, that is, how it is choreographed in relation to its space and other objects/beings, reveals its discursive underpinnings, its relational network and its potential to invite or impact sociopolitical and cultural shift.

This dissertation conceptualizes the nonhuman as a 'remote choreography,' a discursive construct given not only material shape, but movement qualities that necessarily render it 'illegible,'[58] beyond recognition as a normative body. The nonhuman is thus understood to be crucially dependent on choreography, defined here as the patterning and arrangement of sequences of steps, gestures and movements of bodies in space. By extension, I propose that the choreographed movement of the nonhuman in performance contexts is what determines its significance as 'other.' In particular, it is by performing 'remoteness' and in inhabiting a palpable distance from the human, that the monster is constructed to represent the frontier, and by extension, to signify a normative centre that is defied by its oppositional margins and perimeters. In other words, remote choreography is the creation of patterns of motion that make visible an aberrant mobility, conceived as remote from the human, in order to performatively recreate the normative boundaries of the human.

Postulating a set of techniques that animate each of the creatures, my research demonstrates how the distance between human and nonhuman may be performed to revise or restructure conceptions of the normative that are inextricably bound with legal, social and political rights and recognitions attributed to the human. Accordingly, I argue that the construction of creatures that transgress the bounds of the human is predicated on performance techniques that involve distancing and prosthesis, thereby drawing a parallel between the nonhumans constructed in performance and the techniques by which they are brought to life. Predicated on a group of techniques and/or technologies associated with enabling a leap away from the human and its material body, each of the figures analyzed exemplifies the creation and/or maintenance of what cultural theorists Gabriel Brahm and Marc Driscoll have postulated are 'prosthetic territories' said to be active "when the border between the 'foreign' and the 'native' -- the cultural and the natural... can no longer be readily justified or perhaps even maintained…"[59] Remoteness is thus both part of the process of creating the nonhuman and is understood as an integral quality of its being.

My concept of remote choreography is also partially informed by digital media theorist Caroline Bassett's notion of 'remote sensing' which she postulates, "is a kind of interrogation at a distance."[60] Borrowing the term from scientific explorations of the earth (its geographies, oceans, weather patterns, built structures) as conducted by the Government of Canada's Canada Centre for Remote Sensing, Bassett argues that remote sensors make it possible to palpate objects at a distance, without direct contact. Bassett argues that this prosthetic touch, if you will, is not disengaged from the body; but rather, that engagement at arm's length is still a physical engagement. I argue accordingly, that 'remote choreography' might afford space within dance studies to consider the ways in which choreography explores notions of 'prosthetic reach,' and is not singularly confined to the topography of the human body.

As each of the chapters in this study clarifies, remote choreography is characterized by the presence of a number of techniques that enable the maintenance of such prosthetic territories and by extension, the manufacture of the nonhuman. As the case studies demonstrate, these techniques (all of which permit exaggerated displays of remoteness) frequently overlap, being used in combination with one another to produce a magnified, 'kaleidoscopic' alterity. They are as follows: 1) The use of toys and evocative objects to develop pretense and play in performance; 2) The use of traditional prestidigitatorial tricks, illusions or sleight of hand to manufacture an 'other;' 3) The use of fraud and/or impersonation to invite identity shifts and renewals; 4) The use of new technologies that augment sense perception to create a virtual or surrogate being, and thereby render the human 'extra-sensory,'[61] 'networked'[62] and 'technosensual.'[63] Each of these techniques (used alone or in combination) materialize and make visible a creaturely other whose transgression is not solely morphological, but enacted through motion.

Moreover, the following research postulates that the four nonhumans examined in this study are, as remote choreographies, more than mere fantasies. Instead, these figures are (according to the terms proposed by Judith Butler and the aforementioned Katherine Hayles), creatures that have far exceeded wan, cognitive exercises.[64] Rather, they have reimagined the human's corporeal boundaries, structuring relationality and impacting the stylization of embodiment itself.[65] As Johan Huizinga writes in *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture*, the appearance of nonhumans in performance

materialized through illusion, costuming and disguise (here one might also add prosthesis and expressions of 'technosensuality') can hardly be written off as materially insignificant, being instead, most tellingly intertwined with the capacity to construe order.[66]

In other words, I am less interested in determining what constitutes the human, than documenting how the nonhuman has regularly been used to stage and ideate material change (social, political, religious) through choreographed movement. In addition, I am concerned with how shifting representations of otherness have served to mirror concomitant visions of normativity as informed by interdisciplinary discourses that include law, religion, medicine, technology and politics. As a consequence, this study proposes that the human is a not an unchanging construct, but is instead a vascillating ecology defined by the many visions of difference and otherness that exist in juxtaposition.

As historian Jonathan Z. Smith narrates in his essay, "Map is not Territory," the existence of oppositional boundaries between the human and its other serves to both reinforce and invite transformative shifts to a normative centre. Using the example of an apprenticeship undertaken at an agricultural school, Smith describes how he was able to observe his mentor's routine preparations for each morning in which he would ritually clean his hands and then cover them with dirt before entering the fields. When questioned about this practice, the farmer replied, "Inside the house it's dirt; outside it's earth. You must take it off inside to eat and be with your family. You must put it on outside to work and be with the animals."[67]

The concept that dirt inside a house is not welcomed like soil outside in the fields serves to underscore that dirt and soil are fluid categories. Like the human and the nonhuman, dirt and soil are relational networks that exist in mobile opposition to one another, changing constructs that define difference and 'otherness' through relational flux, through negotiations made in performance. In this way, each of the nonhumans examined in this dissertation are visions of difference that point back to a normative centre, indications that the human too is but an example of a historically shifting variable. Thus, whatever commonalities can be seen across these case studies, they hang in a vulnerable network of

"situational or relational categories…"[68] as a patchwork quilt of "mobile boundaries that shift according to the map being employed."[69]

Lastly, while this study's emphasis on difference has been shaped by post-structuralist discourses on the body as the site of cultural and political norms imposed by imperial networks of power, it nonetheless contends that individual agency may yet be stimulated by such recruitments. As several chapters serve to illustrate, individual performers may nuance or disrupt displays of the nonhuman with their own aesthetic and political sensibilities, making it clear that the nonhuman is hardly a monolithic product of imperial hegemony, but is instead a palimpsest realized through myriad hands and numerous layers of ideation and redaction. By this reasoning, it follows that this research does not propose that all nonhumans displayed in transatlantic theatrical performances are as a rule, harbingers of transformative shift. Rather, it proposes that nonhumans whose bodies are crafted through recourse to specific performance techniques outlined in this dissertation emblematize a magnified vision of alterity capable of reinforcing and/or calibrating existing norms, or stimulating sociopolitical renewal. The 'twice-behaved'[70] behaviour of performance in this way is both restorative and prospective, quotation and invention.[71]

1.4 Methodology/Scope/Limitations

Archival research undertaken for this study relied on a variety of primary source materials consulted in the United Kingdom, United States and France between 2012 and 2013. The location and specifics of these archival materials are detailed within the introductory remarks of each chapter. Additional primary source texts, documents both visual and aural, and secondary sources pertaining to all four chapters are also individually detailed within each chapter. Finally, details regarding the collection of ethnographic data (conducted in compliance with current York University Senate policies for research involving human participants) are also carefully outlined at the beginning of chapter five.

While it might seem at first blush that the family of nonhumans examined shares but a loose kinship, there are common strands that unite their conspicuous choreographic transgressions. Performed in several locations and across several centuries (i.e. the Hapsburg Empire, Venice under German occupation during the Second World War, revolutionary France, Victorian England and between the

antebellum and early modern periods of American history) the four nonhumans share a common, albeit labyrinthine network of aesthetic discourses and religio-scientific innovations associated with 'the long nineteenth century,' proposed here as a period spanning 1750 and 1914.

Originally delineated by British Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm in his trilogy (*The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848*, *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875* and *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914*), the periodization of the long nineteenth century is marked by its beginnings with the French Revolution in 1789 and its close in 1914, with the dawn of the First World War. Equally compelling, recent scholarly amendments temporally demarcate the period's inception to 1765 or slightly earlier, thereby earmarking the French and American Revolutions' foment. Notably, this earlier date is significant for this study, which begins with an examination of the automaton chess player staged in 1769.

Despite inclusion in standard world history period lists since the 1970s, there have been strong critiques of this particular period designation over the last twenty years that pertain to its narrow focus on European history (as was originally proposed by Hobsbawm and others), rather than world history.[72] Notwithstanding these legitimate concerns, the periodization has served to foreground the shared historical conditions of four seemingly disparate creatures. We might include among those shared conditions: the unfolding of a hegemonic Enlightenment science, the ripening of a network of imperial interests that fuelled industrialism, the exploitation of colonial resources and the vectors of slave labour that comprised their support, and finally, the emergence of new middle class populations in several countries. A matrix of edifying diversions, performances and entertainments (based in part on an enthusiasm for new scientific technologies) was devised for these burgeoning middle classes. During this time, transatlantic communications between each of the locations examined also escalated, taking place in the form of exchanges, interactions, and negotiations between artists and performers on either side of the Atlantic.

A circuit traversed by millions of people, the transatlantic networks that link each of this dissertation's case studies represents a wide cross-section of peoples comprising migrant artists, political exiles, agents of empire, esoteric performers, slaves and indentured labourers, all of whom circulated

within the networks of power ordained by nations on either side of the Atlantic. Accordingly, many of the case studies are linked to one another through these migration and communications networks that permitted ideas and artistic personnel to move and exert their influence. Additionally, each of the studies is situated within an imperial epicentre, or geopolitical context associated with sociopolitical cataclysm, migration, upheaval and tumult that, in accordance with existing literature previously detailed, is correlated with performances of the monster. Accordingly, I argue that each of the figures examined in this dissertation emblematizes the provocative, cautionary nature of the monster in performance.

Notably, one case study (namely, the examination of a number of twenty-first century ghosts in chapter five) presents a divergence from this temporal delimitation. Despite this, it might be argued that the focal point of chapter five is its examination of a number of nineteenth-century spectral precedents to the virtual body that serve to foreground how transatlantic legacies pertaining to the communications networks, tools and technologies are still unfolding today. In this sense, while this dissertation's regional focus is broad, it nonetheless makes a specific contribution to the emerging area of transatlantic studies by mapping the routes and detours taken by a matrix of aesthetic, philosophical and religio-scientific ideas and their associated performance constructs, not only in its Anglophone regions (i.e. in Britain and the United States) but in France and the Austro-Hungarian empire.[73]

In this vein, each of the case studies identifies one or more nonhumans in performance as imperial recruits or surrogates used to display and contest the normative bounds of the human being, and its legitimacy within existing power structures. Accordingly, each creature is exposed as a plastic construct capable of traversing temporal and geographic contexts, reappearing in multiple chapters as a product of the nimble migratory networks of artistic performance. Along these lines, discourses pertaining to the eighteenth century automaton in the second chapter are for instance, not hermetically sealed from subsequent iterations of the nonhuman on the performance stage in the twentieth century. Instead, I focus on how the Hapsburg automaton continued to exert an impact on the development of representations of alterity in modern America, indirectly influencing the ways in which the yogi-fakir complex was performed in the early twentieth century. As follows, while attentive to historical cause and effect, this

study does not offer a diachronic development of its creatures or historical contexts, but instead elucidates the performance of four unique discursive constructs in different historical moments, identifying their commonalities and in some cases, artistic ancestry with other creatures included in the dissertation's broad scope.

The research in this way offers a number of heuristic opportunities that are not without dangers. The broad cross-cultural scope of the research offers the possibility of seeing shared patterns in the choreographic manufacture of difference in performance. On the other hand, the use of the historical case study across broad transatlantic parameters renders the dissertation vulnerable to particular structural challenges. Analyses and interpretations can all too easily slip through the loosely woven warp and weft of its case studies, its central thesis thereby prone either to hegemonic oversimplifications or incoherence. As ballast for such universalistic generalizations, this research undertakes detailed descriptions of the social and political particularities of not only each discursive construct, but also each performance.

Arguably, with such cautions in place, there are good reasons for maintaining cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary breadth in research. Despite the fact that many fields in the social sciences have at one time suffered from totalizing studies that sought deep cross-cultural universals (in neglect of crucial differences pertaining to gender, race and culture), a strict avoidance of cross-cultural, comparative studies constitutes a myopic approach to history in which crucial symmetries are overlooked. Such forced assumptions of difference facilitate simple divisions between typologies, cultures and between disciplines that left undisturbed and unexamined, can render whole fields impermeable to future advances in scholarship. As a result, in keeping with historians in neighbouring disciplines (the work of historians of religion Hugh Urban and John Lardas Modern come to mind),[74] I contend that a discerning application of cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary comparative frameworks is critical to the advancement of knowledge. As this study exemplifies, such an approach addresses the ways in which automata and sylphides, yogis and ghosts may yet share a kindred web of relationship in spite of apparent historical differences.

1.5 Content and Structure:

Subdivided into six chapters, the four case studies are inserted between the introduction and concluding chapters. Each of these case studies (numbered as chapters two through five) exists as a microcosm within the dissertation's overarching argument regarding the function of the nonhuman in performance. That is to say, each of the chapters addresses how a particular creaturely type functioned to reveal (through morphology and motion) the distance between cultural and state-sanctioned normativity (i.e. the human) and the transgressed (i.e. the nonhuman). Embedded within each case study is a brief literature review that contextualizes the bedrock of its research sources (historical and ethnographic, archival and secondary), and a concluding remarks segment that offers a summary of the chapter's findings. The one exception to this structure is the final chapter on the ghost, which undertakes a more lengthy literature review prior to making its main arguments. Endnotes for each chapter directly follow the case study's concluding remarks.

The second chapter, dedicated to the figure of the automaton, details the performances of Baron Wolfgang von Kempelen's Automaton Chess Player (1769-1854), contrasting it with later twenty-first century representations of the construct in Italian photographer and diorama master Paolo Ventura's 2012 publication, *The Automaton*. As evidenced by archival texts and letters pertaining to the automaton chess player, Wolfgang von Kempelen's life-size mechanical chess wizard functioned as a toy for the Hapsburg court, an evocative object that articulated the ideologies and aims of empire through a hypothetical rebuild of the human in the guise of the court's greatest adversary, the Ottoman Turk. Interpreting this era as a formative period, I use this chapter to illuminate as a signal 'moment,'[75] the heightened interest in the remote-controlled surrogate's intelligent motion, and the availability of a recruitable body.

The third chapter provides a detailed examination of the sylphide as performed in the original production of the ballet *La Sylphide* choreographed by Filippo Taglioni and performed at the Paris Opéra in 1832. Interpreted as 'kaleidoscopic' and hypermobile, archival findings are used to support a feminist historiography of the sylphide as monster and transformative device, a discursive construct critical in the regeneration of the new, bourgeois French male, the foundational citizen of the new French republic.

The chapter that follows examines the yogi-fakir complex in varied iterations in early modern American performance, placing particular emphasis on Ruth St. Denis' choreography of *The Yogi* (1908). A figure frequently conflated with numerous historical actors perceived as fraudulent 'others' within American society, the chapter demonstrates how a persistent association of the yogi-fakir complex with fraud invited myriad social, political and aesthetic renewals. In particular, findings related to Ruth St. Denis' *The Yogi* detail how an exaggerated display of the yogi's stillness was used to position America as a transcendent superpower (both industrial and spiritual), its arsenal of physical practices positioned to renew and recompose the American citizen.

The fifth chapter examines a diverse array of transatlantic ghosts in performance between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries, giving primary importance to the Tupac Shakur hologram performed at Coachella in 2012. Tracing the Shakur hologram's technosensual ancestry to the transatlantic discourses and performances of Anglophone scientists and spiritualists in the nineteenth century, it draws a parallel between the technosensual methods used to materialize the ghost in each tradition, demonstrating a genealogical link between the ghost, the disruptions of sense perception that are its underpinning, and iterations of the virtual body in dance and theatrical performance. As with the other case studies, the chapter details how representations of the disruptive motions of the twenty-first century ghost agitate not only for social and political renewal, but enable a renovation of the ontological boundaries of human sensoria altogether.

Chapter six offers a comprehensive review of the findings of all four case studies. Drawing from its findings, I enumerate the dissertation's interdisciplinary contributions, discuss its limitations and make recommendations for future research associated with its arc of inquiry. A bibliography follows the sixth and final chapter.

[1] "In the Matter of the Thomas R. Braidwood, Q.C., Commissions of Inquiry Under the Public Inquiry Act, SBC 2007, C. 9." http://robertdziekanski.com/transcripts/2009/BraidwoodHearingsMar24-09.html (accessed March 24, 2009)

[2] James Keller, "Bill Bentley Trial: Robert Dziekanski Police Notes Called 'Unbelievable,'" *The Huffington Post.* The Canadian Press, September 6, 2013. http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2013/06/09/bill-bentley-trial-robert-dziekanski_n_3412123.html (accessed March 24, 2009)

[3] Ibid. Testimony given Bill Bentley disclosed that Dziekanski who was first calm when officers first arrived eventually became "unco-operative." The British Columbia's Coroners Service subsequently determined that the death of Robert Dziekanski at Vancouver's airport in 2007 a homicide, a neutral term in a coroner's report that describes a death was caused by another person, yet one for which no party has been assigned blame.

[4] "In the Matter of the Thomas R. Braidwood, Q.C., Commissions of Inquiry Under the Public Inquiry Act, SBC 2007, C. 9." op. cit. I invoke the use of the word monster here to draw attention to the way in which Djiekanski's appearance and behavior were seen as aberrant. Witness Patricia Hunter when questioned by Associate Commission Counsel Patrick McGowan told the court that Djiekanski was the kind of person who would "stick out in your mind" because "he was just an unusual passenger."

[5] Andrew Hewitt, *Social Choreography: Ideology As Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 10. Latin *motivum* is used in literary contexts to describe motion as a narrative pivot that drives action.

[6] Darryl Dyck, "Judge Rules Against Dropping Perjury Charges for Mountie in Dziekanski Case," *CTV News.* The Canadian Press, January 28, 2015. http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/judge-rules-against-dropping-perjury-charges-for-mountie-in-dziekanski-case-1.2210350 (accessed February 15, 2015).

[7] Urvaśi was an apsara depicted in Vedic texts as a celestial being noted for her skills at dancing. In Sanskrit playwright Kāḷidāsa's fourth century Vikramōrvaśīyam, her existence beyond the realm of the human presented a cardinal challenge in her relationship with King Purūravas, cursed as she was by her love of the mortal king.

[8] One of the ten incarnations of the Hindu deity Viṣṇu.

[9] One might turn to British Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm in delineating the periodization of the long nineteenth century's beginning as the French revolution in 1789. Most historians designate the end of this period as the close of the First World War, in 1914.

[10] The Habeas Corpus Act is an act of the Parliament of England passed during the reign of King Charles II. It is, however, not the origin of the writ of habeas corpus which can be traced back to the Magna Carta of 1215.

[11] Gerald Siegmund, "Negotiating Choreography, Letter, Law in William Forsythe," In *New German Dance Studies* Ed. Susan Manning and Lucia Ruprecht (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 206.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Richard Schechner and Victor W Turner, *Between Theater & Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 36-37. Schechner offers the definition of performance as a restored behavior, always subject to reinvention. As a twice-behaved behavior, performance is rehearsed behavior. Theatre scholar Joseph Roach draws from this understanding of performance in suggesting that performance both reifies existing sociopolitical norms and reinvents them.

[14] Hewitt, op. cit., 86. Hewitt cites from *Théorie de la démarche et autres textes* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1990 [1833])

[15] Ibid., 87. Honoré de Balzac, *Théorie de la démarche et autres textes* (1833; repr., Paris: Albin Michel, 1990) "L'homme social est obligé d'aller continuellement du centre à tous les points de la circonférence. Il a mille passions, mille idées, et il existe si peu de proportion entre sa bas et l'etendu de ses opérations, qu'a chaque instant il est pris en flagrant délit de faiblesse."

[16] Siegmund, op. cit., 211.

[17] Gerald Siegmund, "Negotiating Choreography, Letter, Law in William Forsythe, " in *New German Dance Studies.* ed. Susan Manning and Lucia Ruprecht. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 210. See also Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography,* trans. Mary Stewart Evans (London: The Noverre Press), 2012.

[18] Ibid.

[19] *The Holy Bible, King James Bible,* Cambridge Edition: (1769; repr., King James Bible Online, 2015), http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/ (accessed February 15, 2015). I am referring to Genesis 2:22 in which man's other, Eve was built from Adam's rib: "And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; And the rib, which the LORD God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This *is* now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man."

[20] David Gordon White, *Myths of the Dog-man* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1. From the noun *monstrum* meaning "omen."

[21] Bruno Latour, *Aramis, Or, the Love of Technology,* trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996) p.157-158. In Latour's narrative, Aramis is a failed subway system meant to have existed in Paris.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 68. It is worth noting here that the hauntology is situated not only in ongoing 'being' but in future 'being.'

[24] I am indebted to literary theorist Jeffrey Jerome Cohen for his analysis of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* in which the Frankenstein demands that we hear his tale, "long and strange" as it is, told from the glacial reaches of the undesired. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, postscript to *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous,* Ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J Dendle (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 462.

[25] White, op. cit., 5.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 21.

[28] Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 4.
[29] Ibid.,12.
[30] Julian Wolfreys, *Critical Keywords in Literary and Cultural Theory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 28-29.
[31] Butler, op. cit., 217.
[32] Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 27.
[33] Butler, op. cit., 12.
[34] Roach, op. cit., 55.
[35] Ibid., 58
[36] Roach, op. cit., 55.
[37] Ibid., 56.
[38] White, op. cit., 1.
[39] David Charles Botting, *Making Monstrous: Frankenstein, Criticism, Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991),139.
[40] Ibid., 140,
[41] Ibid.
[42] Julia V. Douthwaite, *The Frankenstein of 1790 and Other Lost Chapters From Revolutionary France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 59. Douthwaite's further reveals precursors eerily similar to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* in a number of fictional tales preoccupied with what she calls artificial creation that date back to the late 1700s. However, even more startling perhaps is Douthwaite's assertion that one such tale, Francois-Félix Nogaret's novella *Le miroir des événemens actuels, ou la belle au plus offrant: Histoire à deux visages (The Looking Glass of Actuality, or Beauty to the Highest Bidder: A Two-Faced Tale*; 1790), features an inventor named Frankenstein.
[43] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 294.
[44] Stephanie Lin, "Image (and) Nation: The Russian Exotic in 19th-century French Travel Narratives," *Dialectical Anthropology* 27, no. 2 (2003): 121-139. Lin's research as well as that of Ann Sharp and John McCannon demonstrate the extent to which theatrical ballet was implicated in the construction of national identity in nineteenth-century France. Their studies similarly serve to widen scholarly understandings of the performance of Russian-ness (especially by the Ballet Russes) in France during this time. As a consequence, these studies provide important details regarding the ways in which exotic outsiders were configured/displayed on stage during periods of political and social crisis.
[45] Jeffrey J. Kripal, *Mutants and Mystics: Science Fiction, Superhero Comics, and the Paranormal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 25.
[46] Ibid., 24. Superman has enjoyed a resurgence in Hollywood films since the 1970s; however, here I am referring to Kripal's research on textual representations of Superman during the Second World War. It also bears mention here that I do not include Superman (whom Krial characterizes as a mutant) among this dissertation's nonhumans.
[47] Otto Mayr, *Authority, Liberty, & Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), xviii. By way of example, Mayr cites Hero of Alexandria's *Pneumatics* (circa AD 60, and first printed in translation in 1575) wherein documentation of the use of feedback devices including "various automata, turbines, thermoscopes, vaccum devices" comprises evidence of that a diversity of popular tales about the inventor and his newly engineered human was both a "cause and a consequence of the values and norms of the society in which it flourishe[d]." On a related note, while the landscape of contemporary choreography is populated by hauntologies that plumb the body's relationship to its technological networks, (Crystal Pite's *Dark Matters,* 2012 is a good example) scholarly studies within dance have by and large, not yet named the relationship between the technocorporeal machine and the monster. Yet, creatures staged in ballets such as *Coppelia* to *Petrouchka* foreshadowed the postmodern cyborg. The cyborg (and its technosensual half-sister, the automaton) thus share a heritage with the monster.
[48] Caroline A. Jones, and Bill Arning ed., *Sensorium: Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art* (Boston: MIT press, 2006), 2.
[49] Kara Reilly, *Automata and Mimesis on the Stage of Theatre History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1.
[50] Jane Goodall, "Transferred Agencies: Performance and the Fear of Automatism," *Theatre Journal* 49, no. 4 (1997): 442.
[51] Ibid., 86.
[52] Ibid. Douthwaite reproduces a passage from a Jacobin novel written in 1792 that narrates the repentant tales of a counterrevolutionary who had reconsidered his position and revealed the tricks of the enemy's trade: the smuggling of jewels, gold and intelligence delivered through correspondence with aristocrats and nobility that had fled Versailles just days after the Bastille fell. The counterrevolutionary is referred to as an 'automate.' The derisive terminology used to describe the counterrevolutionary is indicative of a growing conflation of the automaton with surrogates and replicas whose bodies had transgressed normative boundaries.
[53] Reilly, op. cit., 1.
[54] Judith Hamera, "The Romance of Monsters: Theorizing the Virtuoso Body," *Theatre Topics* 10, no. 2 (2000): 147. Hamera cites virtuosity as one of the ways in which monsters demonstrate excess and otherness.
[55] One might cite in this vein, Stamatia Portanova's philosophical discussion of virtuality, nonhumans and objects in *Moving Without a Body: Digital Philosophy and Choreographic Thought* (2013), Val Scullion's "Kinaesthetic, Spastic and Spatial Motifs As Expressions of Romantic Irony in ETA Hoffmann's the Sandman and Other Writings," Peta Tait's *Circus Bodies: Cultural*

Identity in Aerial Performance or Karl Toepfer's "Twisted Bodies: Aspects of Female Contortionism in the Letters of a Connoisseur." However, each of these studies is delimited in scope, focusing more deviance in motion rather than the way in which normativity is constructed in light of these aberrations.

[56] Katherine Hayles, "The Materiality of Informatics," *Configurations,* vol. 1, no. 1, Winter 1993, pp. 164-165.

[57] Ibid.

[58] The notion of the illegible nonhuman is central to this dissertation and proceeds from the aforementioned judicial overtones of the etymology of the word 'legible,' designating that which is known and recognized in the eyes of the law. Note the root of legible (Latin *legere*), like the root of legal (Greek *lex*) reach back to the Sanskrit root *lag* meaning "word," "to attach," "bond," or "to obtain." Notably, the root of the *lex* is *logos* (Greek, meaning "divine word") also illustrates the semantic relationship between the word and understandings of the law.

[59] Gabriel Brahm, *Prosthetic Territories: Politics and Hypertechnologies,* Ed. Mark Driscoll (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 2.

[60] Caroline Bassett, "Remote Sensing," in *Sensorium: Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art.* Ed. Caroline A. Jones (Boston: MIT List Visual Arts Center, 2006), 6.

[61] I refer here to philosophical theories regarding sensory augmentation that are detailed in chapter five.

[62] The notion of a networked sensorium is proposed by John Lardas Modern whose work and its relevance to this research is detailed more carefully in chapter 5. See John Lardas Modern, *Secularism in Antebellum America: With Reference to Ghosts, Protestant Subcultures, Machines, and Their Metaphors: Featuring Discussions of Mass Media, Moby-Dick, Spirituality, Phrenology, Anthropology, Sing Sing State Penitentiary, and Sex with the New Motive Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

[63] Jones and Arning., op. cit., 2.

[64] Butler, op. cit., 217. "Fantasy is not simply a cognitive exercise, an internal film that we project inside the interior theatre of the mind. Fantasy structures relationality, and it comes to play in the stylization of embodiment itself. Bodies are not inhabited as spatial givens. They are, in their spatiality, also underway in time: aging, altering shape, altering signification - depending on their interactions - and the web of visual, discursive and tactile relations that become part of their historicity, their constitutive past, present and future."

[65] Ibid.

[66] Notably, Huizinga's study pertains to the concept of play and its capacity (akin to that of religious ritual) to intervene in material realities. For example, Huizinga contends that the play associated with ritual performance is not simply a representation, or mimesis of another, it is methexis, an embodied participation in an event. The correspondences between monsters in religious ritual and theatrical performance particularly dance, may be an area worthy of greater investigation. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1949), 15.

[67] Smith, op. cit., 291.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Richard Schechner and Victor W Turner. op. cit., 36-37

[71] Roach, op. cit., 6.

[72] Here, it is worth noting that efforts to widen the period's original frame of reference have been made by several historians over the last two decades. See Paul Gilroy's groundbreaking book, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993). For more on the area of transatlantic studies as intersects with the long nineteenth century, see Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York: Macmillan, 2006); *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000,* Edited by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R Seeman. (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007); *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal,* Edited by Jack P Greene and Philip D Morgan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Ian R. Tyrrell, *Reforming the World the Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) and Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (New York: Beacon Press, 2013).

[73] Joseph Roach's work falls under this rubric of the circum-Atlantic as does the work of Janet, Beer and Bridget Bennett. See Beer and Bennett, *Special Relationships: Anglo-American Affinities and Antagonisms 1854-1936* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[74] Hugh B. Urban, "Elitism and Esotericism: Strategies of Secrecy and Power in South Indian Tantra and French Freemasonary," *NUMEN* 44 (1997): 1-38. Hugh Urban makes a similar argument in his essay regarding the necessity of contextualized cross-cultural research.

[75] Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "Dances and Dancing in Tonga: Anthropological and Historical Discourses," in *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*, Ed. Theresa Buckland (Minnesota: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 26.

Chapter Two:

The Automaton

2.1 Remote Control and Expanding Radius of Empire: The Automaton Chess Player (1769-1854)

> If there is a species which is more maltreated than children, then it must be their toys, which they handle in an incredibly off-hand manner. Toys are thus the end point in that long chain in which all the conditions of despotic high-handedness are in play which enchain beings to one another, from one species to another — cruel divinities to their sacrificial victims, from masters to slaves, from adults to children, and from children to their objects.[1]

As French cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard astutely recognized, toys are evocative objects through which power, being materially borne and circulated by bodies, becomes "capillary."[2] As composites of ideas and ideologies made tactile, objects of play that carefully reunite aesthesis with the noetic, are hardly disconnected from the bodies that made them. Rather, libidinous with physical presence, objects used in performance generate transformative epistemological processes, helping us "make our minds, reaching out to us to form active partnerships."[3]

By extension, toys that animate uncertain thresholds of the human body, such as automata, marionettes and dolls are critical in the invention and reinvention of boundaries between the born and the created, between humans and all else. Little wonder then, that the toys described by Baudrillard in the preceding passage are reminiscent of surrogates for the human. As sacrificial recruits called to duty on the front lines, these manufactured creations that participate in the complex choreographies of play and leisure are the very embodiment of recalcitrant structures of power.

Widely considered the toy *par excellence* of its period, The Mechanical Turk, built in 1769 and finally destroyed in 1854, was the quintessential 'evocative object'[4] of its day, a courtly trinket fashioned in fulfillment of a promise made to the Empress Maria Theresa of Hapsburg (1717-1780) that a machine could be fashioned whose "effects should be more surprising, and the deception more complete….than

any thing her Majesty had then seen."[5] Created in the Slovakian city of Bratislava by an amateur scientist or 'mechanician' named Baron Wolfgang von Kempelen, the extraordinary touring phenomenon known as the automaton chess player was a mechanical device manipulated by a human operator encased within its hidden cabinets. Belonging to that category of eighteenth-century fascinations known as the automaton, this "wooden figure"[6] dressed as an adversary of the empire and presumed to be endowed with intelligence and automotive agency repeatedly confounded its spectators with its brilliant chess playing strategy. So it was, that a figure "large as life, dressed in a Turkish habit and seated behind a commode on which was placed a chess board,"[7] dramatically circumscribed and controlled through performance, the motions and gestures of the most prominent threat and adversary of the Hapsburg empire,[8] the Ottoman Turk.

Early literary reminiscences of von Kempelen's automaton chess player can be traced through the writings of German literary giant E.T.A Hoffmann,[9] American writer Edgar Allan Poe[10] and to twentieth-century German philosopher Walter Benjamin who alluded to the Mechanical Turk in the first essay of his "Theses on the Philosophy of History" (Über den Begriff der Geschichte) written in 1940.[11] In her analysis of these early writings, literary historian Dorothea von Mücke proposes the eighteenth and nineteenth-century preoccupation with automata can be contextualized by its prominence in the literary terrain of the fantastic wherein preoccupations with the lively, the vivified (as borne by esoteric discourses) served to undermine existing understandings of humanist conceptions of agency and instrumental rationality, introducing uncertainty into sense perception. Theatre historian Kara Reilly and historian of science Jessica Riskin on the other hand, respectively focus on the mimetic, performative potential of automata during this era. Both conclude that the sensory uncertainty sparked by automata simultaneously amused the aristocratic classes, while serving an epistemological function in refracting social and political realities.[12]

Amidst the assiduous detail of existing research on the automaton emerging from these disciplines, however (Wood, Rice, Bergstrom, R.L. Rutsky, among others), is a curious dearth of studies that specify and contextualize the choreographic underpinnings of such hypothetical rebuilds of the human. After all,

even early accounts of von Kempelen's automaton chess player clarify that it was not the mere presence of such spectacles that provoked wonder in eighteenth-century court spectators, but the mechanical creature's association with a particular choreography. In short, the intelligent, albeit automatic motion of the automaton confounded its witnesses, permitting and even requiring redrawn parameters of the human.[13]

Yet, why would the Hapsburg court commission the creation of an automaton, a mechanical other that could move with the extraordinary intelligence and virtuosic mastery of a human being, to appear in the guise of a chess-playing Ottoman Turk?[14] What did it mean that the most prominent adversary of the Hapsburg empire would be depicted as a mechanical body of questionable agency, whose mobility could be remote-controlled and manipulated from afar?

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the automaton chess player's symbolic significance as a remote-controlled choreographic recruit within the context of the eighteenth-century Hapsburg court through an examination of primary sources that confirm the aristocratic, scientific and literary contexts of its creation. Divided into seven sections, the chapter turns to several eyewitness accounts and testimonials of the automaton's performances in order to establish the automaton chess player as a surrogate to the human, as a mechanical recruit manufactured to display and stage the political performances of empire. Arguing that the automaton chess player functioned within a growing aristocratic (and eventually industrial) preoccupation with the self-moving, mechanical surrogate, the seven segments in this chapter situate the automaton chess player in imperial context, wherein the bodies of others deemed remote from the human, were increasingly understood as host-bodies that could be hijacked and recruited within highly choreographed spectacles of power.

The first segment of the chapter (2.2) provides a broad overview of the history of the self-moving machine both within the context of European courtly spectacle, as well as in scientific expositions associated with the Enlightenment (1650-1800). In demonstrating that the automaton chess player was an exception to scientific automata of its day, the automaton chess player's birth within networks of imperial power is revealed to have distinguished it as a theatrical deception and a feat of political showmanship,

rather than as a didactic enterprise designed to expose the realities uncovered by Enlightenment science. Accordingly, this section will also detail how performances of the automaton chess player were designed to transgress, rather than simulate the human, thereby constituting an attempt to forge a military body, a drone and surrogate to the human that could be choreographed to move with the stealth and intelligence of empire.

The second (2.3) segment identifies the automaton chess player as an exception to scientific spectacles of the day that were, on the whole, used as didactic, philosophical objects that offered simulations of organic life. The third segment (2.4) devotes its attention to the mechanics of the automaton chess player's motion. Critical to the automaton chess player's ability to display the norms of power within the Hapsburg empire was its apparent 'intelligent motion' that both sprang from and fed into those overarching philosophical debates of the eighteenth century that sought to identify the ontology of the human vis. a vis. the machine. Through the analysis of a variety of primary and secondary source materials, the section considers how the automaton became a host body hijacked for the aims of aristocracy. This fourth section (2.5) exposes how human motion (and more precisely, motive power) as a coveted characteristic of eighteenth century mechanical surrogates, enabled ideations of a new kind of industrial efficiency whereby the inefficient labour of the human might altogether be replaced by its mechanical counterparts, its self-moving toys.

The fifth section (2.6) presents symmetries between the game of chess and the performances of empire within which the automaton chess player was embedded. Postulating that the automaton chess player was a pawn of the Hapsburgs homologous with the human subject, the sixth section (2.7) exposes the automaton chess player as a foreign adversary, an Ottoman body onto whose transgressive morphology the games of empire could be materialized, staged and remotely choreographed.

The seventh segment (2.8) illuminates the religio-philosophical streams and literary movements in which the automaton was embedded, thereby exposing how vitalist paradigms (synchronous with the paradigms of mechanical philosophy) enabled a growing perception that the inner force or vitality of another body, mechanical or otherwise, could be hijacked, recruited by an external power. In so doing, the

section illuminates the ways in which the automaton chess player animated the reach and extension of imperial power, carefully displaying the Hapsburg empire's intention to remotely choreograph and recruit bodies, both human and mechanical.

The eighth segment (2.9) analyzes in four parts (2.9 to 2.12) the appearance of an automaton as a central figure in Italian photographer Paolo Ventura's book, *The Automaton* (2012). Offering a comparative study of the automaton as articulated (and performed) within Ventura's tale and its eighteenth-century predecessor, the section reveals the enduring significance of the construct as palimpsest, as a figure periodically resurrected in attempted reinventions of the human. The chapter closes with concluding remarks (2.13) that contextualize the chapter's findings as a whole.

Among the primary sources given importance within this chapter are a number of eye-witness accounts of von Kempelen's automaton published between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These include the letters of Karl Gottlieb Windisch in *Inanimate Reason: Or a Circumstantial Account of That Astonishing Piece of Mechanism, M. De Kempelen's Chess-Player* first published in 1784, and Robert Gray's *Observations on the Automaton Chess Player, Now Exhibited in London, by An Oxford Graduate* published in 1819.[15] Gray's testimony details the automaton's second incarnation in a European tour under its second owner, Nepomuk Maelzel, in 1818, while Windisch's letters document the performance of the automaton under its original owner, the aforementioned Wolfgang Von Kempelen.

In addition to these texts, three sources that document the broader literary/scientific reception of the automaton have been consulted: Henri Decremps' work *The Conjurer Unmasked* (1785), David Brewster's *Letters on Natural Magic* (1832) and the short story "Die Automate" written by E.T.A Hoffman in 1814. Finally, numerous newspaper articles and other textual sources published in France, England and the United States serve to anchor details regarding the automaton's touring performances, while secondary sources used throughout the chapter serve to contextualize the automaton's performances within a broader sociopolitical and religious framework.

2.2 The Staging Ground of Empire: Self-Moving Machines and Scientific Automata

Rooted in a common European lineage of toys and technosensual simulations produced for the leisure activities of courtly life, Wolfgang von Kempelen's mechanical chess player was born out of what symbolist poet Charles Baudelaire later recognized was a shared aristocratic preoccupation in the eighteenth century with self-moving devices configured to display the body politic. As Baudelaire commented in *A Philosophy of Toys* (1853), child's play that incorporates the material manufacture of nonhuman others in the form of dolls, automata and puppets is rarely as superfluous as it appears. Rather, in staging the possibilities of adulthood through falsehoods, illusions and transgressions of the normative, Baudelaire noted that it was through play, and in the act of pretense, that all aspects of life including "kitchens and whole armies, in perfect discipline, with cavalry and artillery"[16] were rehearsed and choreographed from the remote reaches of youth.

Confirming this longstanding ardour for the trinkets of childhood within French performance, an issue of *The Mirror of literature, amusement, and instruction* published in November 1822 recalled the political efficacy of a particular toy constructed for the amusement of a young Louis XIV of France in the seventeenth century. The mechanical horse-driven carriage described, within which was seated a lady of rank and her retinue, recreated in great detail those physical gestures and embodied rituals associated with the empire's performances of power.[17] With each curtseyed greeting, and in every customary flogging of the horses by the coachman, the mechanical object's perfect, ordered motion displayed and reinforced the king's power, and the hierarchies that sustained it:

> In the early part of the last century, M. Camus constructed for the amusement of Louis XIV, when a child, a carriage, drawn by two horses, containing the figure of a lady, with a coachman driving, and a footman and page behind. When placed upon the table, the coachman smacked his whip, the horses proceeded, moving their legs natural; and when the carriage arrived opposite the King's seat, it stopped, and the page getting down, opened the door; the lady alighted, and with a curtsey presented a petition to the King. After a short pause she curtsied again, and re-entered the carriage. The page remounted, the coachman flogged his horses, the carriage moved on, and the footman, running after it, jumped up behind.[18]

Dramatizing the journey typically undertaken by a king's subject in order to deferentially deliver a petition, Louis XIV's toy re-enacted through the motions of its miniature surrogates a sequence of highly choreographed rituals and interactions between the king and his subjects. Circumscribing the established hierarchies operative within a network of imperial relationships, the self-moving object reinforced the bodily gestures of normative citizens within the kingdom, and the king's authority within it.

Inextricably bound as it was with the gestures and embodiments of its spectators, the aristocratic toy exerted the material significance associated with Turkle's aforementioned 'evocative object,'[19] transforming physical norms through its display, enabling the incorporation of ideology into the bodies of those who watched its performance. As a performance that functioned to celebrate and display the king's role as the head of state, the boy king's self-moving toy contained a repository of ideas and ideologies about power within the empire, as it established and affirmed the orderly choreographies that knit the customs and rituals of French courtly life. Moreover, the ideal relationship between king and subject as made visible, predictable and repeatable through this particular self-moving machine served not only to celebrate the head of France, but also the empire's stable, orderly network of relationships and the human subject as the pivot of these power relations.

Remarkably, diverse instantiations of artificial life in performance[20] emerged on account of scientific expositions fuelled by the first stirrings of Enlightenment philosophy. These mechanical simulations of the live body[21] grew out of a heightened fascination with self-moving machines in seventeenth century courtly life. Linked to the discourses of mechanical philosophy put forth by Copernicus, Galileo, Johannes Kepler, René Descartes, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Isaac Newton and others, the Enlightenment's fascination with artificial life[22] was inextricably bound with expansive visions of the body of the human subject as homologous with a well-oiled, predictable machine, its function within the empire correspondent with the ordered perfection of a harmonious universe.[23]

In this sense, understandings of the human body as a perfect machine elaborated in mechanist discourses pointed to the inextricable correspondence between humanist paradigms and the findings of Enlightenment science. As evidenced by writings of mechanical philosophers who tended to emphasize

theological arguments of design[24] in demonstrating the merit of their mechanist propositions, humanism's conceptions of a stable and exalted human subject proceeded from the belief in creation (and its creator) as exemplary of absolute beauty, order and perfection. In this context, the eighteenth-century male body,[25] presupposed to function like a well-oiled clock, epitomized a divinely configured and highly stratified natural order in which the human male reigned supreme. Accordingly, in attempting to prove the existence of god by comparing the created world to a clock that had been created by a clockmaker, a thoroughly liberal and modern ideal of humanism began to emerge that by the late eighteenth century had become the dominant way of thinking about the human subject. Continuing its reign in Western thought into the twentieth century, humanism remained one of the dominant prisms through which much of modern thought emerged, exerting a powerful shaping force over philosophical thought in western Europe for the last two to three hundred years.[26]

In concord with philosophies that drew a link between the perfect order of creation and the omnipotence of its maker, inventors associated with the creation of automata between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries expressed a conscious desire to replicate the theological argument of design in which the human was exemplary of the cosmic order. These inventors (also called mechanicians) accordingly configured mechanical curiosities of all ilk, including toys, automata and self-moving machines as extensions of the perfection of the natural world.[27] So it was that in 1644, French engineer Isaac de Caus displayed an owl within the perfection of its habitat, and nearly a century later in 1733, a Swiss mechanician named Henri Maillard presented a self-moving machine designed to represent the ordered and natural motions of a swan to the Paris Academy of Sciences.

By the time Swiss inventor Jacques de Vaucanson's defecating duck (widely considered to be the closest ancestor of the automaton chess player), was displayed at the Grand Salle des Quatre Saisons, Hotel de Longueville in Paris in 1738, amateur mechanicians, scientists and philosophers alike had begun to construct sophisticated scientific automata, staging mechanical simulations of natural life as evidence of the principles of Enlightenment science. As a consequence, "by the late eighteenth century, automata

that were intended to demonstrate scientific realities were imitative internally as well as externally, in process and substance as well as appearance."[28]

Quickly following on Vaucanson's heels in 1769, Wolfgang von Kempelen displayed his automaton chess player at the Hapsburg court. By 1790, indebted to the paradigms of mechanical philosophy and humanism, automaton shows had become emblematic of the era's curiosity about the newest scientific inventions, and were a familiar sight in London, Paris and other European capital cities, as well as in provincial cities.[29]

2.3 Wolfgang von Kempelen's Chess Player: The Exception to the Rule

While one might assume that the synchronous existence of diverse automata in the eighteenth century assures a certain symmetry between the chess playing automaton and scientific automata during this period,[30] the fact remains that a close examination of the performances of the chess player reveal at least one crucial difference: von Kempelen's chess player did not didactically replicate the human being's internal organs in an effort to reveal the deep structures of mechanism that had been uncovered by science.[31] Instead, empty of any inner workings, von Kempelen's chess player overlooked attempts to simulate those anatomical details crucial to many eighteenth century scientific experiments. By contrast, it functioned to represent a mechanical creature that surpassed the human in intelligence and motion.

As excerpts from the letters of Karl Gottlieb von Windisch's letters published in 1784 document, the automaton's reputation as a mechanical marvel depended not only on the ingenuity of its human creator[32] whose invention had approximated the human's physical performance, but on that machine's ability to function as "something more than figure and motion."[33] In short, it recreated an excess of the human in performance:

> The boldest idea that ever entered the brain of a mechanic was, doubtless, that of constructing machine to imitate man, the masterpiece of creation, is something more than figure and motion. M. De Kempelen not only conceived this idea, but also carried it into execution; his chess-player being, beyond contradiction, the most astonishing Automaton that ever existed…[34]

As Robert Gray's testimony likewise reveals, any effort that was made to reveal the automaton chess player's inner chambers in performance was, in contrast to scientific expositions of the day,

designed not to present complex mechanical circuitry that characterized the human body's physical principles, but rather to clarify its inner compartments as empty, free of either human organs or mechanical intervention. In this fashion, each performance was introduced by the automaton's exhibitor who opened "certain doors contrived in the chest, two in the front, and two at the back, at the same time pulling out a long shallow drawer at the bottom of the chest…in the face of its spectators."[35] As Windisch's letters corroborate, the empty insides of the chess player were regularly exposed prior to performance, drawing spectatorship to the stupendous feat accomplished by a machine whose vacuous inner chambers could not be "capable of concealing even the size of [a] hat."[36] Following the invitation to examine its machinery in order that the "spectator may satisfy his scruples and curiosity,"[37] the exhibitor would then close up the inner chambers of the automaton once more, its rapt observers convinced that its inner workings were "filled with little wheels, levers, cylinders, and other machinery used in clock work,"[38] rather than the soft organs of the human.

A description of the automaton chess player's nineteenth-century American performances published in *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* in 1821 corroborates these earlier accounts, citing the wooden creature's magnificent appearance, its gesture and genteel manner along with his exceptional skills at chess, (rather than its didactic exposition of its inner workings) as the root of its appeal.[39] More significantly, the magazine depicts the machine as an ideal guest at the Hapsburg court, its gestures and motions marked by an unusual degree of order, with the same "air of great dignity and composure"[40] as would characterize the behaviour of an aristocrat or a nobleman. Not unlike the elaborate choreography iterated by King Louis XIV's automated horse-drawn carriage, the automaton chess player's legacy was impossibly entwined with the ordered physicality of imperial spectacle, its winning performances the perfect choreographic homologue of the court's absolute power.

As a consequence, it was not lost on first-hand observers that the automaton confounded the very category of the human. On the one hand, the automaton's vacuous recesses made explicit that its mysterious powers did not in fact originate in its similarity to the human, but rather in its palpable differences from it. On the other, the gestures, demeanour and (as this study will demonstrate in an

ensuing section) the 'intelligent motion' of this wooden automaton enabled it to be persistently presented as a physical equivalent (if not superior creature) to the human, as lifelike and embodied as any being born of flesh and blood.

Yet, given that the performance always proceeded without any single spectator being able to identify any human intervention in the machine's operations, audiences were left to assume that either science had succeeded in producing a mechanical surrogate to the human, or that some other god, aristocrat or external force had by an "invisible hand, that directs the movements of the immaterial player,"[41] remotely intercepted its being. In this way, despite the fact that Robert Gray's recollections classify the automaton chess player as an accomplishment received in "unmeasured terms of approbation"[42] by "many illustrious and scientific persons…and newspapers of the time,"[43] a comparison of diverse archival sources suggests that the automaton was hardly a scientific/medical replication of the human being and its inner workings, being instead (as the next section will demonstrate), akin to an early iteration of the robot, a technosensual emissary, or a drone designed for warfare.

2.4 The Automaton Chess Player and the Mechanics of Human Motion: Remotely Choreographing the Industrial Machine

If the automaton's display of its empty inner chamber confirmed the machine's difference from the human, its external appearance and more specifically, its mobility maximized the correspondence. More specifically, motion was seen as the critical factor in rendering the performance of an automaton believable. Credibility, in this sense, was predicated on the automaton's ability to replicate the volition with which the human moved. In fact, as an issue of the journal *Scientific American* persisted in proclaiming a century after the automaton's birth in Austria, "Where accuracy, great delicacy or great strength are requisite, the machine outstrips the man; and yet, so simple a motion as that of walking has been but poorly imitated by machinery."[44]

Accordingly, wherever there existed a machine that could replicate the motions of the human, it was duly prized as the exception to the aforementioned rule. It was little surprise then that von Kempelen's

automaton chess player was repeatedly lauded in several newspapers and magazines for movements that appeared to have volitional power, in which "the hand of the automaton was guided."[45] According to several first-hand accounts, it was the automaton's natural, "reasoned movements" about which the "multitude have gaped"[46] that enabled the machine to be mistaken for a human. In fact, such first impressions led Karl Gottlieb Windisch to make the mistake of thinking the automaton chess player's clever movements might have been remotely controlled by a human,

> The first idea that strikes you, on a superficial examination of this chess-player is, a suspicion that its movements are effected by the immediate impulse of some human being. I, myself, fell into this mistake…[47]

As it happened, Windisch was accurate in his assessment of how the automaton was able to execute the complex intellectual strategies associated with its performance: the automaton was, in fact, remotely controlled, "put in motion"[48] by what mathematician Henri Decremps' in *The Conjurer Unmasked* (1785) identified as a "dwarf, a famous chess player, who was hidden in the commode."[49] And although it would not be until the automaton was destroyed by fire in 1854 that the truth about the extraordinary (and small-statured) chess player who had mastered and choreographed the automaton's winnings and inner workings while crouched within its commode would be revealed, by 1785, spinoffs of the chess playing automata that took hold across western Europe produced several testimonials that questioned the underpinnings of the automaton's perfect motion.

Whether or not eyewitnesses agreed on the means by which the illusion was accomplished, it is clear that those who remained most impressed by the spectacle regularly cited the automaton's movement qualities as critical to the simulation. The following passage from Robert Gray's *Observations on the Automaton Chess Player* published in 1819 (thirty-five years after the publication of Windisch's letters) which praises it as the "masterpiece of human ingenuity which excited [the] liveliest curiosity and admiration,"[50] is almost entirely based on an assessment of the automaton's movement dexterity, and of its masterful and "unparalleled instance of mechanical skill:"[51]

> The arm, then returns with a natural motion to the cushion upon which it usually rests. In taking a piece, the Automaton makes the same motions of the arm and hand to lay hold of the piece, which it conveys from the board; and then returning to its own piece, it takes it up, and places it on the vacant square. These motions are performed with perfect correctness; and the dexterity with which the arm acts, especially in the delicate operation of castling, seems to be the result of spontaneous feeling, bending at the shoulder, elbow and knuckles, and cautiously avoiding to touch any other piece than that which is to be moved, nor ever making a false move.[52]

Elsewhere, Robert Gray's testimonial confirms a fascination with the mechanism whose motion can "exert the intelligence of a reasoning agent."[53] As the following excerpt clarifies, the automaton chess-player's "perfect mechanical motion"[54] was to the credit of its ingenious scientist-inventor, distinguishing it as a performance that had accomplished the "insurmountable:"[55]

> …The superior ingenuity of modern artists, in mechanics, which these scientific inventions discover, it seems to be a thing absolutely impossible, that any piece of mechanism should be invented, which, possessing the perfect mechanical motion, should appear to exert the intelligence of a reasoning agent. This seeming impossibility is surmounted by the Automaton Chess Player.[56]

While this attentiveness to the automaton chess player's excellent motion might appear absurd in light of the automaton's careful, circumscribed motions, this spectacle nonetheless represented an early effort to articulate the importance of careful gesture and ordered motion as distinguishing characteristics of the human.[57] Motion then, in the minds of those who observed the automaton chess player, was critical in generating the illusion of a mechanical other that in its shared symmetry with the human, might exceed, surpass or even replace it. This emphasis on intelligent motion as the characterizing feature of the human being can be understood as a by-product of dominant understandings of motion as posited by mechanical philosophers of the period who realized that theological understandings of matter had left cavernous gaps regarding the development of scientific understandings of the human body in motion.

2.5 Human Motion and the Paradigms of Mechanism:

Fond of quoting one particular Biblical phrase from the Wisdom of Solomon (11:20) that states God "has disposed all things by measure and number and weight,"[58] the mechanical philosopher's approach to understanding matter ran sorely short in addressing or describing motion. As historian Otto Mayr explains, the approach to matter that depended on a triad of measure, number, and weight was thus

supplemented by a metaphor that was to remain in use for centuries, "the hallmark of the new philosophy was the claim that it analyzed the phenomena of nature as though they were the actions of machinery."[59]

In this vein, French philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650) conflated the human and the machine on the basis of what he described as 'automatic actions.'[60] Yet, despite the fact that Descartes knew that automata were capable only of engineered or what we might term, 'program-controlled' motions, no adequate descriptor existed for this kind of mechanism in the eighteenth century.[61] Seventeenth century clocks for instance, were not located in a single, easily identifiable element, but were the product of various distributed mechanisms, springs etc. Thus, for Descartes, automata, like humans, were capable of 'automatic actions' that manifest "according to the disposition of their organs,"[62] or "naturally and by such spring forces as a clock."[63] Thus, given that "God had structured the natural order in the same way that a clockmaker might create a clock,"[64] Descartes posited that a corpse was analogous to a dead clock:

> And let us recognize that the difference between the body of a living man and that of a dead man is just like the difference, between, on the one hand, a watch or other automaton (that is, a self-moving machine) when it is wound up and contains in itself the corporeal principle of the movements for which it is designed, together with everything else required for its operation; and, on the other hand, the same watch or machine when it is broken and the principle of its motion ceases to be alive.[65]

But what is even more notable about this passage is that Descartes equates the human being's alive-ness with "the corporeal principle of the movements for which it is designed."[66] By this reasoning, Descartes argued that the human is made to move according to its specified function in a choreographic order, in a pre-ordained orbit. Like a functional clock, the human's power was configured via the predictable efficiencies of its motion within the natural order.

By extension, Descartes, the quintessential philosopher for whom mechanical thus meant machine-like, considered it was certainly possible to understand the human by hypothesizing a similar form, that is, by building a mechanical process that would reproduce the same phenomenon, or move as if it were a human being. In fact, Descartes was fascinated by automata, and discussed their utility extensively in his prodigious writings. According to one of Descartes' correspondents, Descartes had himself invented "a tightrope walker powered by magnets,"[67] and harboured designs for building his own series of self-

moving machines that included "a dancing man, a flying pigeon, and a spaniel that chased a pheasant."[68] In these writings, Descartes made explicit his conviction that it was possible to remotely imagine the human by building a surrogate, an analogy that "contributed significantly to the substance and structure of his thought."[69]

Moreover, as an advertisement from *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times* published in 1907 in London, England confirms, mechanist understandings of the human body's motions as homologous with the machine were hardly short-lived; they persisted well into the twentieth century:[70]

> Many people do not stop to realize that the body is a machine. It is the most wonderful piece of mechanism in existence. This human machine is run by electricity. This force is just as much a part of the body as is blood, bone and sinew. The vitality of the body is this electric force stored in the nerve cells — nothing else. If you have not taken care of the human machine during the winter months; if you have overworked; if you have dissipated; if you have been careless in diet and your blood circulation is sluggish and your system is full of impurities, now you will pay the penalty…[71]

According to twentieth century French philosopher of science Georges Canghuilhem, the origins and philosophical assumptions associated with 'organology,' or the idea of the body as an efficient, living machine was, as Descartes suggested, inextricably intertwined with the ability of humans to construct an automaton. More curiously, however, arguing that mechanisms and tools had before the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E) been entirely operated by the power and force of human or animal as was necessary to fuel them, Canguilhem asserts that "the idea of the body-as-machine actually goes back to Aristotle…who saw the congruity between animal movements and automatic mechanical movements, like those observed in instruments of war, especially catapults."[72]

It was the creation of a mechanism then, a machine "that is miraculous in and of itself and does not rely on human or animal muscle power,"[73] that not only changed the face of technology in the world, but also inadvertently distinguished the human being in accordance with the internal force, volitional character and agency of its movements. In this way, technology became implicated in the choreography of human motion, becoming the axis of an ongoing feedback loop between humans and their toys and

instruments. More importantly, this ability to mechanize motion would become a pivot whereby the raison d'être of the human might be re-evaluated.

In deeming the human body's motions homologous to and in some instances co-extensive with the tools of technology, paradigms of organology as represented in the performance of the automaton chess player, invariably foreshadowed the industrial revolution's increasing replacement of human bodies in labour. In the process, movement and the body's organic processes became metonymic with the machine, enabling the ideation of scientific inventions that might bypass the unruly human body. In their place, these new paradigms inadvertently contributed to the creation of remote-controlled, mechanical others whose labour might be recruited to the ends of the ideologies that generated them. So it was, that in maintaining "the capacity for war is the capacity for movement,"[74] Napoleon Bonaparte advocated that motion was not only quintessentially linked to the human, but that movement was inextricably related to the war machine and the martial, industrial aims of empire.

Notably, Napoleon's comment was not lost on observers who understood that the automaton's precise motions in the game of chess represented not only attempts to replicate the human, but to reinvent a military alternative to it. In fact, the automaton's extraordinary capacity to carry out the commands of its human master in battle strategy was at the heart of its popularity amongst nobility. As the following article published in 1845 demonstrates, the automaton was jubilantly celebrated as a drone whose remote-controlled movements enabled it to distinguish itself as a conqueror in battle:

> …(the automaton) always wonderfully aided by his (the human's) directing power, without which it could not move a step, the automaton sought eagerly every occasion to distinguish itself, and never quitted the battle field without being able to say, with Caesar -- Veni, vidi, vici.[75]

Similarly, accounts of the automaton's skilful motion published in the United States describe von Kempelen's wondrous invention as a surrogate warrior, a pawn in a hypothetical battle. The following passage from *The New York Magazine, or Literary Repository* published in 1796 recounts the mastery of the mechanical opponent's chess strategy, a game enacted movement by movement through its chess pieces, which were equally understood as surrogate bodies remotely deployed in the pretense of battle. As

the following statement clarifies, by "expeditiously and skilfully" playing with its adversaries, the automaton was seen as an arbiter of the rules of engagement, publicly staging the validity of those games of power that define empire.

> I attempted to practice a small deception, by giving the queen the move of a knight; but my mechanic opponent was not to be so imposed upon: he took up my queen and replaced her in the square she had been removed from. All this is done with the same readiness that a common player shews at this game; and I have often engaged with persons who played neither so expeditiously nor so skillfully as this Automaton, who yet would have been extremely affronted if one had compared them to him.[76]

Yet, in an effort to discern the ontological status of the machine, some witnesses (such as the author of the preceding excerpt published in *The New York Magazine, or Literary Repository* in March 1796) suggested the automaton's powers of mobility were "mysterious,"[77] leaving readers with unanswered questions about whether the device was characterized by mechanical or intelligent motion. In fact, as the same article remarked, although readers might expect that the author "propose some conjectures as to the means employed to direct this mechanism,"[78] it could find no such explanation.

On the other hand, the same article nonetheless devoted significant attention to movement as the distinguishing feature of the automaton, a hallmark of its extraordinary intelligence. Describing it as a "marvellous"[79] being, the text extolls the imaginative choreography of the chess player's motions, those patterns by which the machine "always moves in consequence of the manner in which its opponent moves; [producing] an amazing multitude of different combinations in its movements."[80] Despite its laudable efficacy as a player, however, the passage in question also reveals that even persons who played with less skill than the mechanical chess player "would have been extremely affronted"[81] if any comparisons were made between the human being and the device.

One might surmise that the strong reaction elicited by comparisons of the human to the machine in the eighteenth century bears a relationship to what historian Jessica Riskin has argued was the "problem of what constitutes intelligent action as measured against mechanical action,"[82] a concern that was inextricably tied to "a set of economic and social problems and implications."[83] Indeed, the question of whether the automaton chess player was a 'mechanical' or an 'intelligent' creature was at the forefront of

the public consciousness in the late eighteenth century, mobility being the key characteristic by which one might determine the ontology of the human or the machine. In this context, the automaton's capacity to imaginatively choreograph the movements of a battle were part and parcel of late eighteenth century ideations about the potential of mechanical surrogates whose intelligent motion might altogether replace the labour provided by its human counterparts.

In this context, the ideas and inventions of scientist Jacques Vaucanson (credited with the creation of several automata in the early to mid eighteenth century) were critical to the birth of a new sensibility of a political economy that could be driven by the intelligent work of a machine. In fact, Vaucanson's creation of an automatic loom in 1745 (he was appointed as Inspector of the Silk Manufactures under King Louis XV in 1741) which is now in the Musée des Arts et Metiers in Paris "transformed understanding of the nature of labour."[84] Envisioning a machine that could replace the labour of a human, Vaucanson is said to have boasted that the clever workers of silk in traditional weaving processes were no match for his new machine that enabled animals ordinarily considered the least intelligent (such as oxen, horses and asses) to make "fabrics much more beautiful and much more perfect."[85] Vaucanson's claims, which appeared in a review of the loom in November 1745 in the *Mercure de France*, even imagined a factory that was automated by the power of this machine where "one sees the fabric weave itself on the loom without human intervention..."[86]

Underlying Vaucanson's comments, of course, was a desire to categorize labour into that which required intelligence and that which did not. According to Vaucanson, any labour that could be simulated did not require intelligence. By extension, he argued that such jobs (previously thought to require intelligence) could be farmed out to "the most limited people"[87] such as "girls"[88] who might substitute for those who were requiring higher wages. As a result, certain "occupations came to be regarded as less human while others became more human, according to what machines could or could not do."[89]

Consequently, and in conjunction with changing social and political contexts in France, Germany and England in the early nineteenth century, an unfettered optimism about scientific/industrial progress and the expansion of empire characterized Enlightenment approaches to automata. As the following excerpt

published subsequent to the discovery and revelation of the automaton's secret workings in Philadelphia in 1877 records, by the late nineteenth century, automata and mechanical toys of all kinds were seen as integral to the projects of scientific advancement and the progress of civilization altogether:

> We have no space to describe Babbage's calculating machine and Jeven's logical machine; but, before leaving this entertaining subject, it may not be inappropriate to add that automatic constructions are not as useless as they seem. As Sir David Brewster well says: "The elements of the tumbling puppets were revived in the chronometer, and the shapeless wheel which directed the hand of the drawing automaton now serves to guide the movements of the tambouring-engine. Those mechanical wonders which in one country enriched only the conjuror who used them, contributed in another to augment the wealth of the nation; and those automatic toys which once amused the vulgar, are now employed in extending the power and promoting the civilization of our species.[90]

By the late nineteenth century von Kempelen had long retired his automaton "in order to give himself up to new researches, and mechanical inventions of a more serious nature."[91] Nonetheless, reminiscences of the automaton chess player in newspapers and magazines retained an explicit awareness of it as a mechanical "toy"[92] critical in "promoting the civilization of our species,"[93] thereby feeding a growing sense that the performances of self-moving machines in general, could serve a powerful function in the expansion of national economies. Thus, anticipating the discussions of slave labour elaborated by mathematician and philosopher Norbert Wiener in the 1940s, Vaucanson's fabrication of the loom as well as von Kempelen's automaton demonstrated the importance of the technosensual surrogate within a matrix of economic and epistemological interests, just as it clarified the strategic importance of remote choreography[94] (i.e. the deployment of a nonhuman surrogate) within a political economy.

Certainly, Vaucanson's inventions elicited resistance from those who, fearing the adverse impact automata would have on human labour, opposed the enthusiastic celebrations of automation in industry. This backlash against automata is recalled by the eighteenth century usage of the term 'automaton' (automate), which at least when used as a metaphor in French literature and philosophy of the period was "invariably pejorative,"[95] suggesting an "empty-headed creature of habit."[96] It is little wonder then, (as indicated by the aforementioned article in *The New York Magazine, or Literary Repository*) that those skilful chess players who would have been compared to the automaton would have "been extremely

affronted"[97] by comparisons made to the automaton, a construct that carried with it those parallels drawn by Vaucanson between humans of lesser intelligence and the availability of industrial slave labour.

In this sense, it could be argued that the exhibition of the automaton chess player as a machine characterized by its intelligent motion and mechanical force upped the ante for what was expected of the human being during the late eighteenth century. That is to say, that if the machine was able to best human players at chess, (a game thought to be synonymous with intelligence, reason and strategy) then the normative human, the masterpiece of creation, was either not as necessary as once thought, or, (as was posited by the vitalist paradigms that will be examined in an ensuing section) the human being's elevated status in the circle of creation depended on something other than its mechanical perfection. Granted, according to Descartes, the human subject's distinctive importance (in comparison with automata and animals) corresponded with the possession of a 'soul' and its functions such as reason, emotions and free will.[98] And yet, as the ensuing segment will demonstrate, this distinguishing feature of the 'soul,' was also said to characterize the victories of the automaton chess player, whose winnings against its adversaries were increasingly perceived as a spectacular and paradigmatic example of the machine's conquest of the human, a fact that announced the imminent challenge posed by industrialism to the privileged position of the Enlightenment subject.

Additionally, one presumes the homology of intelligent human motion with the automaton chess player (that implicitly pointed to the automaton as a surrogate for the human) was only partially satisfying to a fair portion of its witnesses who continued to invoke and investigate the absence of its internal processes and mechanisms, which as Robert Gray reminds in his memoir, was prominently displayed by the insertion of "a lighted candle into the body of the chest and figure, by which the interior of each [was]…rendered transparent."[99] The routine display of the gaping body of the automaton chess player as regularly dissected in performance left ample room for new suspicions raised by several eye-witnesses who surmised that any machine moving intelligently without internal mechanisms must (or perhaps as importantly could), be subjected to external forces or engagement.

To these observers, it appeared that someone or something else outside of the mechanism's orbit of being must be responsible for its remote control or manipulation. While a number of these witnesses suggested that the machine was mediated and intercepted by simple mechanical processes, others offered esoteric explanations. In this sense, first hand-accounts of the automaton's performances can be understood as iterating a vision of the human being that was far more than a monolithic display of the paradigms of mechanism. Instead, these testimonials emblematized often baffling and contradictory discourses about the human being and motion that emerged during the late eighteenth century.

As a consequence, the automaton chess player's extraordinary mobility began to trouble and dislodge the stability and perfection of the human subject, slowly beginning a process of shaking the foundations of humanism that had braced Enlightenment science. By 1750, varied vitalist paradigms including Mesmerism, which had begun to challenge the Cartesian concept of an animal-machine system, attributed the automaton's ability to move with skill, reason and spontaneity to a mysterious vitality or occult 'force'. In this way, despite mechanical philosophy's widely acknowledged explanatory power, the search for an explanation for 'intelligent motion' persisted into the late-eighteenth century.

2.6 Staging Conquest: Chess and the Adversary

It is notable that even during the era of its invention, there was a growing sense at least among networks of European scientists and amateur inventors that popular mechanical amusements such as the automaton chess player functioned as little more than fraudulent spectacles designed to amuse the aristocracy.[100] As confirmation of these suspicions, following 1760, automata of the ilk that simulated the external, observable realities of organic life were "increasingly consigned to the country fair circuit; [where] while they continued to be popular with the masses, they ceased to exercise the influence on the intelligentsia that they had for Descartes and La Mettrie."[101]

In fact, it was perhaps in response to negative evaluations of the automaton chess player that had emerged within the intellectual community,[102] (and its ensuing impact on his scientific career) that von Kempelen expressed his own "indifference"[103] to the "popular favour"[104] gained by his creation, dismissing the mechanical wonder as "a mere bagatelle."[105] So it was, that in 1805, in the interest of

pursuing more serious scientific inquiries,[106] von Kempelen sold his automaton to German university student and frequent visitor to the Viennese court Johann Nepomuk Maelzel (1772-1838).

Yet, despite the scientific community's waning interest in automata as amusement in the late eighteenth century, the appetite for intelligent, self-moving machines within popular performance enjoyed a sustained appeal both with members of the European aristocracy and with the general public. For these observers, the automaton chess player continued to represent the 'intelligent' capacities of the manufactured surrogate.

As many scholars have argued, the preoccupation with intelligent machines was at its apogee during the late eighteenth century, that era during which the automaton chess player was commissioned and displayed by the empress Maria Theresa. More significantly, it was precisely in its differentiated function as a chess-playing ambassador of the Hapsburg court (rather than as a didactic spectacle of science) that von Kempelen's automaton distinguished itself from synchronous automata, earning renown as the 'thinking' machine that could best the most skilled of human players at a game of chess.

In this sense, the automaton chess player's reputation for 'intelligent motion' can be understood as having developed through the particular choreography for which it was created: namely, to excel in the game of chess. It is therefore significant that chess may itself be understood as a tightly choreographed rehearsal of military strategies in which chess pieces (which are themselves surrogates for human bodies) are remotely recruited and then deployed in order to ensure successful outcomes at war. In fact, as historian Gaby Wood argues, the etymology of chess, which is indebted to the Sanskrit word *chaturāṅga,*[107] to its antecedent the Persian *chatrang* and its later Persian variant *schah* (emperor), is a reminder of the aristocratic origins of the game and its cultural importance as a rehearsal of conquest. From this word denoting the king (schah) is derived the declaration of "Shah-mat" (literally "The king is dead")[108] and its common English translation, 'check-mate' which carries a phonetic reminder of the game's Persian lineage as it declares the game over. Significantly, the declaration of 'check-mate' is itself a description of the embodiments of an army of surrogate players; it is a revelation of the choreographic pattern by which the game of war was won.

Notably, in much the same way as chess is staged through a series of substitutions made through the availability of surrogates, the chess playing automaton, (itself a manufactured mechanical recruit), functioned as a staging ground for the empire's dominion over its ever-expanding radius of empire. In this sense, the winnings of the automaton chess player represented the victories of the Hapsburg court. As the *Literary Chronicle* remarked about the automaton chess player in 1822, the automaton's skilful performance of chess against that most formidable of human rivals, Napoleon Bonaparte, was convened in front of the Hapsburg court in a dazzling performance of courtly power strategically situated to celebrate both the android's extraordinary intelligent motion and the mighty empire that created and controlled it:

> Even Bonaparte, who made automata of kings and princes at his will, was foiled in an encounter with the automaton chess player, even though he was allowed to be as skilful in the game of chess as in war, that 'game at which kings delight to play'.[109]

Reverence for the automaton chess player then functioned not only as a monument to the human inventor and the growing prowess of his/her technological innovations, but constituted an homage to the empress under whose supervision it was created. As amply evidenced in the work of dance historian Helen Thomas, whose Foucauldian analysis of ballet links its martial roots to the protection of King Louis XIV's body, embodiment is a process by which the norms and strictures imposed by governing bodies are internalized and circulated. As Thomas argues, the relationship between the king's body as political body is a metonymic that has long been made explicit in the history of theatrical dance. By this reasoning, the body that is protected by the performance of the automaton chess player is in fact, the body of Maria Theresa, the central authority behind the Hapsburg empire.

Given its status as metonym for the empress' body, it is little surprise that the list of the automaton's spectators and opponents between 1790 and the first decade of the nineteenth century overwhelmingly comprised members of the nobility and aristocracy. As one publication recalled, "On its return to Berlin, the automaton challenged all the Lords of the Court of the great Frederick, and was even admitted to the honor of playing with the Prince, a great amateur of chess."[110] For members of the aristocracy, the military (and socioeconomic) potential of such a strategic machine whose motions could outwit a human

being with lethal efficiency was obvious: the automaton would have represented the ideal toy, the pawn through which expansions of empire could be directed from afar.

As Windisch's first hand account likewise recalls, the automaton was essentially an automated surrogate for the human being, a slave whose body could be remotely manipulated by its human creators and therefore be trusted to function as the arbiter of what he notes were "the rules of the game."[111] Given the metonymic relationship between chess and the rehearsal of elaborate strategies to expand empire, one can consider that the automaton was not only adept in reinforcing the rules of engagement as pertains to the game of chess, but was seen as a force capable of calibrating the rules of war, and the norms of empire altogether:

> …never before did any mere mechanical figure unite the vis matrix, to the vis directrix, or, to speak clearer, the power of moving itself in different directions, as circumstances unforeseen, and depending on the will of any person present, might require. Was a wooden figure ever before seen playing at the most difficult and complicated of all games, frequently beating the most consummate adept, and setting him right, if ever he deviated from the rules of the game?[112]

However, the automaton chess player's association with the halls of power was not isolated to its performances in European courts. In the United States, nineteenth-century journalists who witnessed its theatrical appearances under its second owner, Nepomuk Maelzel, reinterpreted the automaton chess player's aristocratic roots, resituating its importance within those democratic discourses of common citizens. For the common citizen, diversions such as chess (it was said) offered pertinent intellectual, rather than martial, victories for the individual player.

As *Bowen's Boston News - Letter, and City Record* noted about the automaton's performance in New York in 1827, "Life itself is but a kind of chess in which we have often points to gain, and adversaries or competitors to contend with, and in which there is a vast variety of good and ill effects that are, in some degree, the effects of prudence, or the want of it."[113] In further citing Benjamin Franklin whose love of chess was well known, the same American source suggested that the "effects on the mind"[114] of chess were "advantageous, both to the vanquished as well as the victor."[115] As the following passage taken from an article entitled "Automaton Reminiscences" that appeared in the *Maine Farmer* in 1872 indicates, even

two decades after its readers were exposed first hand to the Automaton Chess Player's acclaimed tour of the United States its second owner,[116] the perception of the automaton's performance as the staging ground for the contests of empire persisted:

> Maelzel and Mouret, as partners were exhibiting at Amsterdam before the king and court. The king had announced his intention of having a game of chess with the automaton. The day arrived. Maelzel occupied himself with the decorations, to give the greatest éclat possible to the coming contest between the king and the machine…[117]

2.7 Recruiting the Ottoman Turk

If the automaton chess player's performances can be understood as a highly choreographed bid for power, one might consider the possibility that the politically motivated representation of the Ottoman Turk as the Hapsburg court's dummy strategically displayed the empire's ability to recruit even the most unwilling, stubborn and adversarial of bodies. Admittedly, as detailed by the letters of Charles Gottlieb von Windisch, the formidable Turk's availability and presence as a recruit was enabled by the representation of its immobility. Being as it was, "fixed to the cupboard….when it is wheeled about the room,"[118] the Turk's body was mediated, drawn into a courtly choreography of the radius of Hapsburg power. Depicted as a pawn moved by external forces, the courtly hijacking of the Ottoman's mobility invariably signalled to its spectators the infinite power of the Hapsburgs under whose authority the "full-length human figure, dressed in the Turkish fashion"[119] was choreographed to move.

The turbulent political context that prompted configurations of the Turk in performance as a submissive slave body dates back to the sixteenth century, from which time onwards the Hapsburgs were engaged in an on-again off-again war with the Ottoman Empire. Crucially, it was in response to the Ottoman Empire as a political threat that Joseph II, Maria Theresa's successor, who was engaged in an anti-Turkish diplomatic campaign, asked von Kempelen to reassemble the automaton[120] following its initial dismantling. Accordingly, the automaton chess player's extraordinary popularity as a travelling show between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was in no small part tied to its

representation of the adversary as a foreign, illegible other whose defeat was essential to the empire's continuity.

As dance historian Jennifer Homans describes, the representation of the Turk as a foreigner, and consequently as the antithesis of the normative human subject characterized many western European theatrical performances produced in the seventeenth century. Out of this, a longstanding binary characterization of the Ottoman's foreign body as villainous and lumbering by turns emerged.[121] In this way, disparaging evaluations of the Turk in the narrative design and choreographic vocabularies of theatrical ballets persisted on European stages at least until the production of *Petrouchka* (1911) in which the provocative figure (and questionable mobility) of the Turk was again resurrected in the persona of the Moor, a nefarious marionette.

What several of these productions shared in common was an approach to the Turk as a transgressive figure, an outsider to empire whose foreignness legitimated and sanctioned the display of Ottoman bodies as surrogates, recruits, or slaves. In this sense, the very fact that the body of an Ottoman Turk was conflated with the mechanical body of the automaton chess player signalled to its spectators that not only could the adversary of empire be remote-controlled, but that science had enabled the conquest. In this sense, the automaton chess player was conflated with a kind of scientific, technosensual body, a body that had surpassed the known boundaries of the human, and was thereby capable of expanding the radius of Hapsburg power.

Consequently, one might well propose that the automaton was not made in imitation of man, but more accurately as a hypothetical rebuild of the ideal human subject materialized through the powers of science and technology. So it was, that in Karl Gottlieb von Windisch's testimonial of the automaton from 1784, superlatives were used not only to designate the capacity of the machine to exceed and surpass the human, but to excel through a deception "such an one as does honour to human nature; a deception more beautiful, more surprising, more astonishing, than any to be met with, in the different accounts of mathematical recreations."[122]

Less a replicate designed in accordance with the discoveries of medical science than a hypothetical rebuild of the human used to stage an excess of the human and the possibilities of infinite expansion in the eighteenth century, eyewitness accounts of the performances of the automaton chess player frequently overlooked representing its inner workings, demonstrating instead, the intelligent motion and chess-playing strategy of this substitute. More importantly, it was by way of those bodies perceived as transgressive (such as the Ottoman Turk) that the mechanical other was construed as a recruit, its power circumscribed and carefully redirected by the powers that had invented and commissioned its existence. In the process, performances of the automaton chess player showcased a salient technique whereby those transgressive bodies perceived to operate outside the bounds of the human might be reworked and reinvented to perform and propagate the norms of empire. In this way, the toy or object of leisure known as the mechanical Turk functioned as a substitute to the human, making visible the power relations between the nonhuman and the normative subject situated at the centre of the empire and the cosmos.

2.8 Vitalism and the Discourses of Force and Convulsive Motion: Hijacking the Errant, Mesmerized Body

In 1814, just four years before he wrote his classic tale, *Der Sandmann,* German author/musician and cardinal exponent of the German romantic tradition, E.T.A Hoffmann, wrote a brief story entitled "Die Automate" based on the performances of the automatons of J.G. and Friedrich Kaufmann which he had seen in Dresden in the fall 1813. In preparation for writing, Hoffmann also read for the second time, a description of Wolfgang von Kempelen's chess-playing automaton[123] in Johann Wiegleb's twenty volume, late eighteenth-century German work, *Die natürliche Magie,*[124] which not only detailed von Kempelen's chess playing automaton, but contained a discussion of Vaucanson's automata in its opening volume. Wiegleb's *Die natürliche Magie* had in turn exerted a deep influence on the practicing alchemist Gottfried Christoph Beireis,[125] who was instrumental in the rescue of Vaucanson's automata from the hands of French pawnbrokers in 1781.

As editors of Hoffmann's work have confirmed, the magnificent chess playing automaton was a guiding force behind Hoffmann's phantasmagoric tales in which counterfeit humans[126] and their

technologically accelerated bodies explored the outer limits of convulsive, involuntary motion. In the hands of authors such as Hoffmann and other proponents of the enormously influential literary and performance genre known as the fantastic, the automaton offered an opportunity to expand visions of the human as technosensual, as a subject that had been intercepted, mediated, and prostheticized by external forces. Contradicting mechanist visions of a harmonious orderly universe in which man was the centrepiece, the vision of the automaton chess player as presented in literary and theatrical productions of the fantastic instead articulated a vision of the human being as subjected and susceptible to volatile forces from without that could control and alter a person's mobility, agency and purpose in life.

As historian Roger Caillois detailed, literature of the fantastic was an ideal companion to ideations of the automaton. As a game that played with fear,[127] ("un jeu avec le peur")[128] the performances of those mechanical creatures borne in tandem with the genre of the fantastic were monsters that expressed anxiety about disruptions, losses or injuries relating to the body. As a consequence, a particular preoccupation with kinaesthetics and kinetics[129] that proceeded from physiological theories influential in Romantic writing, such as vitalism and Mesmerism, characterized the literary fantastic's creatures.

This section exposes the automaton chess player as a construct whose embeddedness in the vitalist context of its creation formed an integral part of its potential to represent competing worldviews, enabling the articulation of new subjectivities in the eighteenth century. In particular, in illuminating the automaton chess player's roots in those experiments in magnetism that were the Hapsburg court's inheritance, the ensuing discussion demonstrates how mechanical simulations of the human produced a vision of the human being as a potential surrogate, a creaturely other whose body might be 'vivified' or hijacked by "spellbinding"[130] forces that could exert remote, supernatural control over human motion, and therefore life altogether.

Occupying a place of prominence in the European public imaginary and within academic discourse at the tail end of the eighteenth century, vitalism quite generally, was a cluster of physiological concepts and medical theories of bodily and mental disease that were combined with metaphysical notions of the soul or life fluid, which were then transposed into the aesthetic realm. Indebted to the theories of animal

magnetism proclaimed by Austrian wizard-healer Anton Mesmer (1735-1815), vitalism's central tenet was "the irreducibility of living processes to laws of physics and chemistry."[131] In this way, it was posited that some external principle must superimpose itself on the living body to endow it with 'vitality,' a property frequently thought to be distributed via a subtle fluid or current that inhabited the whole universe and the human body.

Intriguingly, enormously influential vitalist paradigms participated in the development of scientific discourses of the day, their pervasive impact apparent even in those performances that prioritized arguments of mechanism. As several historians have noted, the eighteenth century automaton while considered an exemplar of mechanist preoccupations, nonetheless walked a fine line between "traditional Cartesian conceptions of an animal-machine and the vitalist paradigms that were already challenging it in the 1750s."[132] Accordingly, there was much cross-pollination between vitalism and mechanical philosophy, bolstered in part by the fertile climate of intellectual exchange in which esoteric discourses were themselves situated.

In this context, it is worth recalling that between the late eighteenth century and up to 1931,[133] esotericism in France alone had gained enough ground within institutions dedicated to scientific research that academic study of the supernatural was given sustained attention. Given the climate of burgeoning research interest in psychic phenomena, mechanist philosophers were hardly sequestered from esoteric influence. Rather, frequently engaged in vitalist discussions, mechanist philosophers actively engaged discussions regarding the occult, with vitalists being similarly steeped in some measure of mechanist thinking.

Thus, while many of the intellectuals associated with psychic research had minimal scientific training, there were nonetheless a number of scientists who subscribed to vitalist paradigms including medical scholars such as George Ernst Stahl (1660-1734) who opposed materialist explanations of life and subscribed instead to an anima or force of life, a vitality that was the defining characteristic of being alive. Additionally, several leading Enlightenment thinkers such as Diderot and Georges Buffon, despite being

materialists, were likewise averse to mechanist reduction, often referencing vitalist tendencies in their writings.[134]

It is thus quite likely, as historian Jessica Riskin argues, that out of a simultaneous belief in both paradigms (in spite of their obvious contradictions) emerged a desire to construct a replica of the human that was built to test the boundaries of the philosophical presuppositions[135] of both camps. In this vein, instantiations of artificial life in performance culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries presented a collision of heterogeneous paradigms that explored the body-machine complex as a site of medical/scientific knowledge on the one hand, and esoteric dimensions of human experience on the other.

As one might therefore expect, the paradigms of vitalism, and more particularly of Mesmerism, left a significant mark on European courtly amusements and spectacles in the eighteenth century, even playing a role in the creation of von Kempelen's automaton chess player. As one particular passage in Robert Gray's first-hand observations of the Automaton Chess Player published in 1819 makes plain, von Kempelen's chess playing spectacle was understood as a mechanism that was itself the inheritance of Anton Mesmer's performances of magnetism that had entertained the Hapsburg court in 1769. In fact, commissioned during a period in which experiments in 'magnetism' were conducted in Empress Maria Theresa's court, Gray's excerpt clarifies that the automaton was specially configured to outperform vitalism's convulsive and elaborately staged performances:

> Being at Vienna in the year 1769, upon business of office, he was invited, by the order of Empress Maria Theresa, to be present at certain experiments of magnetism, which were to be exhibited before herself and the Imperial court, by a Frenchman, of the name Pelletier. During the exhibition, M. De Kempelen, who was honoured with the familiar conversation of the Empress, dropped a hint that he thought himself competent to construct a piece of mechanism, which should produce effects far more surprising and unaccountable than those which she then witnessed.[136]

According to French historian Michel Pierssens, by 1778, France along with Austria,[137] was 'magnetized' by the work of Franz Anton Mesmer. Offered financial support by Marie Antoinette (herself the eleventh daughter of Holy Roman emperor Francis I and the automaton's patron, empress Maria Theresa), Mesmer's performances of ritual healing at the Hotel Bullion in the late eighteenth century were

the vogue of Paris, thrilling "wealthy and fashionable patients"[138] as much as it attracted the scrutiny of doctors and scientists, all of whom were entranced by the "eerie music"[139] and the ornate and lavish setting of the theatrical event.

It was with spectacular effect that Mesmer performed his magnetism. Using a series of gestures, he passed his hands over the bodies of women in trance states, eliciting from them convulsions that were evocative of a strange combination of hypnosis and female desire, purportedly healing them with his absolute physical prowess. In fact, Pierssens notes that even Charles Nodier, whose influence on the French ballet *La Sylphide* (1832) will be studied in greater detail in the following chapter, fell under the hypnotic spell of Mesmer, and duly documented the regenerative influence of mesmerism in a concise essay entitled "*De quelques phénomènes de sommeil."*[140]

According to Mesmer, Isaac Newton's hypothetical suggestion that "an invisible, intangible ether permeated all space,"[141] was tantamount to scientific fact; and using it this way, he concluded that all bodies, all matter, was permeated by a fluid comprised of those superfine particles that were the stuff of the cosmos. This fluid could be concentrated, distilled, permitting "a material medium for the influence of one body on another across space."[142] Circulating between two poles, mesmerism posited that one body needed to be susceptible to magnetism and the other needed to operate in opposition, resisting and suppressing its action.[143]

By extension, many eighteenth-century testimonials of the automaton chess player presumed a measure of magnetism might have influenced the performance. In this sense, the ability to remotely choreograph the movement of other bodies deemed beyond the human was understood to be the province of powerful beings who had discovered a means to intervene in the ontology of beings either weaker, or of lesser rank. By extension, the mobility of these lesser creatures presumed to have been animated or 'vitalized' from without, were frequently represented as being in a state of possession, that is, convulsive, unpredictable, involuntary.[144]

The following passage from *The Edinburgh magazine, or Literary miscellany* entitled "Account of Baron Kempell's Chess-Player, And Mr. Droz's Automaton" published in 1796 demonstrates the extent

to which the verbiage of vitality and the soul (commonly associated with the discourses of mesmerism) were used to explain the automaton chess player's motion, and by extension, its capacity to outwit human opponents. Implicit in the passage is the presumption that the knowledge of the mechanical other's vitality and soul enabled its remote control by members of the aristocracy, and that in this way, the "gentleman of rank and talents" could recruit the mechanical drone's motions to the ends of the Hapsburg empire,

> In the progress of the tour I came to Dresden, where, becoming acquainted with Mr. Eden, our envoy there, by means of a letter given me by his brother Lord Auckland, who was ambassador when I was at Madrid, he obligingly accompanied me in seeing several things worthy of attention. And he introduced my companion and myself to a gentleman of rank and talents, named Joseph Fredirick Freyhere, who seems completely to have discovered the *Vitality* and soul of the chess-playing figure. (Emphasis retained from original)[145]

As the cited passage discloses, the vitality of the self-moving machine was attributed once again to its intelligent motion. Likewise, for Gray and others who witnessed the automaton, it was not just the automaton's motions, but the nature of its "moving force"[146] that constituted the heart of the illusion. That is to say, as the following quote specifies, Gray proposed that the wondrous, intelligent motion of the automaton owed to a kind of invisible, "remote communication"[147] whereby an agent in an adjacent room directed it, possibly 'vitalizing' the machine from a distance:

> With more semblance of reason it has been conjectured that there is a communication between the left hand and arm of the Automaton, and a person placed in an adjoining room, who, though unseen, himself, is a spectator of the game; and that by means of this communication, the directing force required may be conveyed at the time when the arm and hand are raised.[148]

Through this kind of prosthetic manipulation, Gray postulated that the automaton's perfect reasoning might have drawn from the power and mastery of its creator, the human. However, given that Gray could find no evidence of communication between the machine and a human in an adjoining room, his vexing questions about "the nature and operation of the [automaton's] directing force"[149] were left without adequate explanation. As a consequence, reasoning that no evidence existed that might support his claims, Gray postulated that there was but one reasonable explanation for the automaton's lifelike animations:[150] that is, that a human being must operate the machine remotely in the manner of a mechanical puppet,

> In fact, when the arm and hand are raised and prepared to act by the operation of the moving force already explained, the action of a wire or a piece of catgut, not much thicker than a hair, would be sufficient to guide them in any direction; which action, from the delicacy of the medium used, might be communicated in a manner wholly unperceived by the spectators.[151]

While Gray's suggestion that the automaton might be operated by means of a hidden wire constituted a poignant reminder of the importance of mechanist discourses in the eighteenth century, the analogous mention of the marionette alludes to those discourses of mesmerism that were so tightly interwoven with the proliferation of fantastic creatures in seventeenth and eighteenth-century literature. Indeed, as a figure understood to have been vitalized through the physical embodiments of its operators who remotely choreographed its lifelike motions, the puppet was a construct that had already received sustained attention within literature of the fantastic. In fact, E.T.A Hoffmann's interest in automata as recorded in his diary[152] coincided with his first encounter in the late eighteenth century with Heinrich von Kleist's essay, "Über das Marionettentheater" which detailed the mechanical movements of dolls and puppets,[153] explaining their jerky, unsteady motions as the result of a vitality and physicality intercepted by mechanical forces.[154]

Similarly, Gray's understanding of communication that happens "in a manner wholly unperceived by the spectators"[155] arguably shares a parallel with those discourses of remote control posited by Mesmer's theory of magnetism that held that all bodies (human or otherwise) were like magnets, and could therefore direct motion via those magnetic principles of attraction/repulsion. In this way, the correspondence between the automaton as a more sophisticated iteration of the puppet helped to foster discourses and interpretations of the mechanical chess player as a recruitable body that might be hijacked or remote-controlled by a force more powerful.

In effect then, the automaton, like its predecessor the marionette, was a construct that when understood through the discourses of vitalism, represented a surrogate human whose movements could be choreographed for staged spectacle. It stands to reason then that the automaton chess player, as shaped by those streams of discourses associated with vitalism, contributed to a growing sense within eighteenth and especially nineteenth-century literature and performance that the human subject was not altogether stable

or autonomous. Forces beyond a human subject, it was increasingly posited, could potentially disrupt and intercept a subject's 'being.'[156]

Accordingly, in keeping with the principles of mesmerism, spectators frequently interpreted the automaton chess-player's motions as a hallmark of convulsive motion and of the human transgressed. To these observers, the automaton was one whose body and mobility like Swanhilde in Arthur St. Leon's ballet *Coppélia* (1870), had been usurped by an external agent. In this sense, the automaton chess player, at least within vitalist perspectives, exemplified the creature that had weakened, succumbed to the remote, magnetic control of an external 'other.' And while different testimonials granted varying degrees of agency to the automaton's performance, many of them explicitly addressed the possibility that machines, creaturely others and human beings alike might be intercepted via expert mediators able to gain entry via the body's vital energies.

In part, this fascination with Mesmerism that gripped the regions associated with the Hapsburg empire at the end of the eighteenth century can be explained by the movement's appeal to 'natural' healing. Skirting the church and the medical profession in the 1790s, Mesmerism offered a sought-after system of alternative belief in western Europe, especially in Paris where it was interpreted as a form of radical expression that might include the labouring classes. As a consequence, it quickly became associated with the radicalism of revolutionary discourses, especially across the channel in England where mesmerism was viewed with skepticism by political commentators who warned that a kind of magic medicine was threatening to spread democracy among the "lower orders."[157]

By the same token, several broad and fractured strains of mesmerism had likewise entered into American discourse by being carried through animal magnetism, eventually merging with the material practices of spiritualism (a transnational religious movement that had begun in the mid-nineteenth century) that "informed the politics and dominant ideology of the era."[158] These ideologies were eventually exported to Europe again in the mid to late nineteenth century.[159] Thus, in its flexible recirculation of its central ideas, Mesmerism's range of influence was far-reaching in socio-political, geographic and temporal terms.

In this vein, historian Tim Fulford, who has devoted attention to the notable interplay between the discourses of Mesmerism and the development of a number of sociopolitical causes in Europe (including that of the French Revolution) has proposed that Mesmerism, construed as a kind of magical medicine, constituted a scientific spectacle that was feared by political commentators for its powerful performance of the rights of the disenfranchised.[160] However, as historian of religions Hugh Urban has rightly countered, the historiography of Mesmerism, while attentive to its sociopolitical origins, has also frequently overlooked the power dynamics of its practices that were largely cemented along normative gender lines, with the male generally performing the role of magnetizer and the female partner playing the supplicant.[161]

In was perhaps in keeping with Mesmerism's ambiguities that later reviews of the automaton chess player that appeared in publications such as *The New monthly magazine and literary journal* of 1821, stated that the ontology of the machine remained uncertain, adding that the "question of human agency [was] undecided."[162] Iterating the open-endedness of the performance, several testimonials thus waffled between understanding the automaton chess player as predictable remote-recruit, and conversely, understanding it as a disruptive, erratic, even demonic body designed to disrupt the established order. Thus, on the one hand, several testimonials suggested that the automaton might be recruited as support to the armatures of the Hapsburg empire, while others understood the same machine as a potent, new force that could intervene in existing norms (sociopolitical or religious) attributed to the citizen subject.

In this vein, pejorative evaluations of the automaton chess player frequently foregrounded its disruptive capacities, and its potential to destabilize religious authority. As Karl Gottlieb Windisch's early accounts of the automaton in 1784 evidence below, witnesses reported either that the automaton was the handiwork of a magician in cooperation with the devil, or as pronounced by the principles of Mesmerism, that the machine's flow had been disrupted by a supernatural 'other,'

> You doubt we did not see clearly, and heap its and buts in such a manner, that I shall be led to reckon you among those who suspect M. de Kempelen of dealing with the devil.[163]

So it was, that as further examples in Windisch's early accounts demonstrate, pious Christians feared the machine was possessed. Suspecting that the machine was precisely such a vessel for the spirit of a demonic other, the following account exposes the association that had developed between the automaton and those convulsive, possessed creatures that had inhabited European folklore:

> One old lady, in particular, who had not forgot the tales she had been told in her youth, crossed herself, and fighting out a pious ejaculation, went and hid herself in a window seat, as distant as she could from the *evil spirit,* which she firmly believed possessed the machine. It is now midnight, a time when churchyards yawn, and graves yield up their dead, at which hour you know those spirits are most intractable, I will therefore leave joking, and wish you a good night.[164]

Likewise, as T*he Southern Literary Journal and Magazine of Arts* published in Charleston, South Carolina reported in 1836, Mesmerism's association with the demonic practices of the lower classes persisted in accounts of the automaton chess player in the new world. Citing the "air of impenetrable mystery"[165] invoked by the automaton chess player's performance in winter of 1835, the journal remarked that the machine's magic "may be traced to the erroneous conceptions of ignorant and uncultivated men."[166]

Along these lines, testimonials that emerged out of America in the nineteenth century offer evidence that the paradigms of magnetic energy (and its associated verbiage of 'internal force' and 'vitality') as originally introduced to the court of the Hapsburg empress by Mesmer, continued unabated in the discourses of the new world. As evidenced in the American publication *Spirit of the Times; A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage,* a little more than a half century after the automaton's birth, the automaton's movement which was understood to be a product of human direction was nonetheless simultaneously associated with the extraordinary impression it made upon Prince Eugene of Bavaria who exclaimed that he could not resist "the temptation of being possessor of this great chef-d'oeuvre, and to be initiated in the *occult* science which performed so many wonders."[167] On the cusp of the nineteenth century, *The New York Magazine or Literary Repository* likewise argued that it was precisely the automaton's "guiding force"[168] enabling it to respond to its opponent with a multitude of movements that constituted the "marvelousness,"[169] the "great merit of this machine."[170]

Consequently, first-hand accounts and analyses of the automaton, particularly those that appeared in America in the early nineteenth century, persisted in describing the automaton chess player (sometimes derisively) as little more than a vehicle for Mesmerism, and by extension, as an instrument alternately associated with either religious subversion or the sociopolitical agendas of marginalized groups. In this way, possibly in response to that body of ideas that would later define spiritualism, an article entitled "Animal Magnetism" published in *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* demonstrates that not only were performances based on Mesmerism's principles alive and well in Boston, Massachusetts in the middle of the nineteenth century, but that memories of von Kempelen's automaton were still being disparaged for their association with the ideas of Anton Mesmer:

> It is amusing to find that this farce is still played off in Paris, and continues to perplex the savans [sic] who have any idle time to give to its investigation. It seems to be destined, like the automaton chess-player, to lead the learned in successive ages over the same ground of conjecture, without permitting them to arrive at any satisfactory result. The question as to the truth of its pretensions, appeared on the point of being settled as long ago as 1784, when Dr. Franklin was in Paris, and was made one of a commission, which included some of the most learned men in France, to examine into it. They decided sagaciously enough that animal magnetism was nothing, and the imagination was everything, in the effects which it was said to produce.[171]

In this fashion, while a number of accounts of the automaton chess player that were more inclined to pursue mechanist explanations discounted Mesmerism's influence on its performance, others such as the early nineteenth-century publication by Robert Gray, drew implicit parallels between the mechanist operations and vitalism. These accounts were particularly inflected by dominant understandings of the marionette, that as Hoffmann argued, was *lebentot* (German literally meaning "living dead"), the site of an uncertain ontology, neither alive nor dead.[172] More importantly, the uncertain body whose motion was not entirely of its own volition provided fodder for eighteenth and nineteenth-century ideations of a human reborn through new technologies.

In this way, as mechanist paradigms posited a surrogate whose motions might be hijacked in the service of empire, the conflation of the machine with the discourses of the occult likewise enabled the automaton to be identified with a body that has lost its agency and whose power has been ceded to a

supernatural force greater than itself. In this sense, the "masterful incoherence"[173] of the automaton chess player's performances displayed a contradictory combination of theories that emerged in the early eighteenth century in which a widely held materialist theory of animal life was contested by deep seated ambivalence about mechanism that owed to "the inability of this theory to explain the core phenomenon of animal life, namely consciousness."[174] The dissonance exhumed by the presence of these two opposing discourses in testimonials about the automaton chess player reveals the creation of a variable, hypothetical body that could be prismatically and palimpsestuously redrafted and played to a great variety of sociopolitical purposes.

In this sense, creatures spawned by the fantastic offered a considerable epistemological utility in their ability to animate and rehearse a relationship between 'self' and the 'other.'[175] In this hypothetical arena, the automaton chess player's uncertain ontology provided an opportunity to consider that which remained unseen or unobservable by science, or those secret or occult aspects of the world proposed by the occult. In this way, just as the fantastic tale revealed the extent to which art can transform the beholder's sense perception, the automaton chess player functioned as an evocative object that could intervene in human sensoria, rendering it technosensual, symmetrical with the tools and networks of its invention.

Critical of course, to the performance's persuasive power was the appearance of the machine's intelligent motion and propulsion. It was the automaton's empty inner chamber, the absence of any evidence of internal organs or intervention that, according to vitalist parameters, alluded to the existence of a spirit or soul. In this sense, vitalist interpretations of the mechanical chess player undermined the presumed precision and orderliness of the human subject proposed by mechanists, emphasizing instead, the vulnerability of the machine (and therefore the human) to external influence and the concomitant display of an involuntary, convulsive choreography.[176]

First-hand observations of the automaton chess player in this way suggest a co-existence of contradictory discourses that exist in uneasy, yet purposive partnership. While mechanist paradigms presumed a perfect creation and exhibited the ordered motion of the cosmos and empire, vitalism offered doubt regarding the human's dominion, its fluid and intelligent motion. Likewise, while mechanist

paradigms replaced the human with a surrogate capable of moving in service of the empire, recollections of the automaton chess player that engaged vitalist paradigms provided a space in which spectators might consider a new human subject, one whose sense of self had been fractured and mediated by technology and/or external agents, according to the literary preoccupations with the vivified that began in the eighteenth century and persisted into the nineteenth. In this way, vitalist understandings of the body within testimonials of the automaton chess player's performances (particularly those written in the nineteenth century) enabled a slow fragmentation of Enlightenment visions of the stable human subject, introducing new subjectivities in their place, helping to foster a sense of the technological other as convulsive, less autonomous and vulnerable to external powers that would persist not only into Romantic era performance in France, but into the twenty-first century.

2.9 Twenty-First Century Reprisals: Choreographed to Expire (*The Automaton*, 2012)

If, as previously suggested, the eighteenth-century automaton chess player was recruited to the ends of empire, the presence of an automaton in Italian photographer Paolo Ventura's eponymous twenty-first century children's fable cemented the figure's longevity as an indeterminate performance construct that could serve as a staging ground for hypothetical rebuilds of the human. An adaptation of a story about the Nazi occupation of Italy during the Second World War, Ventura's fable renders in photographic imagery and sparse text, a tale of an old Venetian watchmaker (referred to as the old man) who constructs a virtual companion, a frail creaturely other born not only of human hands and intricate material practices, but out of a desire to find intimacy in a city of vacancies, where the bodies of companions and comrades have long since disappeared.

First exhibited at the Hasted Krautler Gallery in New York in 2011 as a series of photographs (its full narrative form was published in the United Kingdom in 2012), Ventura's tale is a commemorative meditation on the proposed intimacy between man and his technosensual creations, and a chronicle of the intimate relationship forged between humans and their toys. Ventura's central figure, the automaton Nino (like von Kempelen's surrogate), is of ambiguous ontology, a technosensual other whose body functions as a renewable yet historically contingent resource, a hauntology[177] that exceeds the frontiers of the

human in order to revisit existing iterations of its bounds. Designed to palpate loss and destruction, Ventura's wooden automaton is the fable's phantom limb, a prosthetic reminder that human companionship transgresses the normative bounds of embodiment, and is performed across the boundaries of materiality and the imaginary. Functioning as a substitute for human companionship, Nino is a recruited body, a capillary object that is the materialization of loss itself.

This section exposes the shared resonances between the automaton in Ventura's tale and von Kempelen's automaton chess player, as well as the substantial redactions that distinguish it from its eighteenth century predecessor. Turning to textual evidence sourced from Ventura's publication, as well as contemporaneous periodicals, newspapers and magazines, I contextualize the automaton in Ventura's fable as a toy or an object of childhood memorabilia that evokes something other than the ever-expanding dominion of empire. Instead, Ventura's central character emblematizes a city and its people regressed and contracted in the wake of atrocity.

Articulating a new vision for the human as an antidote to the classical ideals of humanhood that were so poignantly performed by its predecessor, Ventura's performative text and its production animate the human's evacuation and disappearance, raising questions that redefine its ontology in light of these losses: Where are the remains of human labour? What is the value of bodies, mechanical or otherwise, bound as they are to expire? After the evacuation of bodies, what remains?

And while the inclusion of a text within this study might appear unusual given this dissertation's emphasis on performance, this segment exposes the ways in which Ventura's text and the production techniques that shaped it disrupt two-dimensional logocentric working methods, animating what we might more accurately consider a mixed-media performance. In assembling a coterie of working methods that twine embodied performance with its remains (i.e. archival record), *The Automaton* serves in this way to exemplify the means by which discursive constructs brought to life through the written word can cross over into performance, thereby dissolving those binary distinctions of the ephemeral (performance) and the permanent (the archive) that frequently distinguish academic discourse.

The old man's workshop was half-lit; objects and their unfamiliar shadows crawled slowly up lime wash walls, diagrams of the viscera of machines, architectural half-thoughts flashing from pink sheets of paper. At every turn, heaps of retired collections on high shelves sprung to the eye: the porcelain face plates for clocks wound-down, a Roman soldier's helmet teetered precariously in a corner, a suitcase floated beyond reach. Looking down, a miscellany of gears, knobs, metal pieces covered the soft sea-blue of the pine plank floors. In the centre of the room stood a half-finished, life-size wooden automaton. Headless and silent, his open torso gleamed with clean, clunky hardware. The right arm remained outstretched prematurely, offering a routine toast to good health.

The old man who only had two interests (books and automata) wandered the city of Venice each day. Walking its ghost points, he recalled gondolas and the clamour of crowds above its canals, the diversions of children in streets now empty. In one of his expeditions of local thrift shops, he purchased a head -- with face wide and round, eyes of blue, flush cheeks, and a toothy red smile. The old man promptly placed the face atop the wooden figure and named his companion Nino.

Nino's countenance was the very hallmark of congenial revelry. So it was, that each night, human and nonhuman, old man and Nino, sat diagonal of one another to share a meal and its familiar rituals. At 6:30pm, Nino's gears churned, and raising his glass he would say, "To your health, my friend."[178] *Basking in Nino's choreographed constancy, the old man became unfailingly attached to his wooden compatriot.*

One night, there came a warning. In a dream, a body very much resembling the old man's own lay shipwrecked, like a beached whale on the silt, the lower half of his body swallowed by the mouth of a large gleaming fish. All around the silver pink flesh of the fish lay the remains of an eruption, the macabre shards of the studio's blue wood floor. Nearby the detritus lay the snarled thread of a noose, as if its unpredictable swing might caution evacuation, or foreshadow the appearance of nameless figures teetering by their toes on Venice's jagged rooftops, the casual disappearances of the living.

The next day brought with it the marching of troops clad in black. The old man stole away behind a bookcase in his studio taking Nino into his arms. It was 6:30. The automaton was about to raise its glass in communal celebration when the old man closed his arms around the mechanical object. As programmed motions failed him, Nino's gears wound-down like the clocks that bound him to time. The next morning, the old man launched the automaton's body into a circuitous canal.

Born in Milan, Italy in 1968 and currently residing in New York City, Paolo Ventura who studied at the Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera in Milan in the early 1990s is known primarily for his work as a photographer.[179] Yet, as the creator of painstaking miniature sets, "dioramas into which he places realistic dolls and props"[180] which he then photographs, it is the presence of numerous surrogates nested within unfamiliar worlds that constitutes the focal point of Ventura's text. These memorial objects and toys constitute the 'heterotopia'[181] in which Ventura's reprisal of the human functions.

Ostensibly similar to Ventura's preceding projects — *War Souvenir (*2006), *Winter Stories (*2009) — the material practices that undergird *The Automaton* involve nostalgic simulations in which vintage dolls inhabit a detailed, carefully choreographed environment, their costumes, physical mannerisms, and bodily habits replicated "with a fully realized sense of the lives they lived."[182] Accordingly, as

commentators and critics have frequently noted, *The Automaton* is preoccupied as much with the remains of live performance as it is with material memory, and with objects that mark death and disappearance as an important dimension of lived experience.

Belonging to that collection of artistic techniques and practices dedicated to transgressing the real, Ventura's diorama (and its inclusion of an automaton within it) references a vast heritage of ocular prosthetics (such as the nineteenth-century camera obscura or its twentieth century descendent, the motion picture) that proceeded from German and French medieval magic lantern shows, and later, the theoretical preoccupations of symbolist artists, painters and poets. Deeply implicated in those European discourses of leisure and play in which technological deceptions aimed at transgressing or altering the known,[183] the diorama itself was understood as a component technique within the phantasmagoric[184] which, as "a historically developing sector of leisure enterprises,"[185] consolidated as early as the seventeenth century. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the writings of Baudelaire not only made explicit the diorama's "total and far-reaching magic"[186] in intercepting sense perception, but also announced the relationship between such artistic illusions, falsehoods and instantiations of the artificial/virtual as "infinitely closer to reality."[187] The use of the diorama then perhaps accounts for the nostalgia widely attributed to Ventura's works, many of which pay homage to the device's history.

Yet, despite his celebrated status as a "master diorama craftsman,"[188] it is worth noting that Ventura's artistic process in fact exceeds the conceptual framework of the nineteenth-century diorama and its history of ocular prosthetics. Deploying human actors within life-size dioramas, Ventura's production methods rely on theatrical performances that are never witnessed by any audience save the camera. As *Independent UK* reported in 2013,[189] as part of his ongoing series entitled "Stories," he employed the services of his wife, the designer Kim Mingo, his graphic novelist brother Andrea, and his six-year-old son Primo, to star in dioramas,[190] even casting himself as one of the characters in his elaborate dramas:

> Ventura plays the husband; his wife, the wife; his brother, the knife-thrower (not shown here). The costumes Ventura picked up over the years for various projects. The backgrounds, he paints himself, on a blanket; the stage, measuring 3m by 5m, is one he built, to take advantage of a dramatic space that emerged by chance one day in his studio…The dramatis personae all being family, Ventura comes up with ideas for stories on a Friday, then the "company" acts them out over the weekend.[191]

As the manufacturer of life-size dramas, theatrical productions and tableaus that require actors and highly choreographed scenes, the term diorama (such as it is used by Ventura himself), may be inadequate in describing his process. It might be better said that the production of Ventura's book constitutes a mixed-media assemblage in which the automaton is resurrected not only through the diorama, but through two-dimensional photographs of what might be called a theatrical 'play' or a virtual choreography in which toy dolls and human surrogates are arranged and situated within a narrative in order to remotely palpate the 'human.' Ventura's book, in this regard, is a textual document that constitutes a site of performance in which, as performance theorist Rebecca Schneider has astutely argued, the history of the human is not only saved, but revisited and reconfigured through the exploration of its remains and ruins.[192]

2.10 Toys, Dolls and Childhood Memorabilia: The Choreographic Rebuild of the Human

In setting the stage for what American writer Francine Prose calls "a moment of suspension"[193] in which toys used in childhood such as dolls and action figures become central in the process of shaping a world of adults once removed, Ventura's theatrical manufacture of the automaton reprises many of the preoccupations that announced the birth of its eighteenth-century Hapsburg predecessor. Ventura's dioramas are in this way, not unlike child's play, wherein the choreography of toy signifies a preparation for change that, as Johann Huizinga has suggested, iterates a kind of suspension, a stalemate in which order is reconstrued.[194]

However, in addition to the choreography of dolls, humans and toys in *The Automaton*, there is also an attempt, as Ventura himself testifies, to develop a choreography of the space itself. This creation of a surrogate place, a heterotopian city "at once familiar and unknown,"[195] is critical to Ventura's

simulation of the human, both real and false, mechanical and embodied. Consequently, Ventura's reproduction of Venice in 1942 is as a city re-imagined. Asleep and under siege, the vision of Venice in Ventura's book evokes the eerie vacuity of a millennial-era Detroit,[196] its alleys and deserted public squares humming with liminal creatures, ghosts and vampires who walk in its dead-zones, in its derelict streets.

Ventura's dioramas therefore exhume not only the phantasmagoric techniques that informed the development of automata in European theatrical performance, but are equally indebted to techniques of transgression associated with toys,[197] children's games or ocular spectacles in which renewals of the human might be remotely choreographed through alterations made to public spaces. Ventura then is no ordinary storyteller weaving text along with illustration; rather, he is the creator of miniature environments with lifelike surrogates, the dramaturge of a theatrical production in which human actors are choreographed and photographed within very particular environments.

Arguably, in Ventura's tale these physical practices and gestures of its theatrical participants are invisible, lost to the reductive, documenting eye of the camera. Yet, it is in the disappearance of the numerous embodied practices and material acts, that one might propose a parallel between Ventura's book and the hidden workings of von Kempelen's mechanical chess player. After all, the automaton chess player's vacuous innards guaranteed that the choreographic and bodily details of its inner workings would remain undetected by the spectator. That Ventura's production incurs similar physical losses leads one to consider whether Ventura's book itself can be understood as a mechanical device, as a homologue for the automaton, that creaturely other that has somehow eclipsed or surpassed the material embodiments of its human creators.[198]

Along these lines, one cannot forget the long tradition within French literature that dates back to Émile Zola's publication of *Roman experimental* in 1880, that posited a symmetry between the book and the machine,[199] both of which were considered artistic devices that enabled ontological disruption. Virtuality and bodily absence have in this way, long been considered homologous with the text, and with those logocentric modes of study that underpinned the work of Zola and others. One might add that the

posterity of artistic discourses that see the machine and the book as attempts to transcend the ephemeralities of embodiment (and by extension, historical context), underpins much of the anxiety that continues to face discourses of the virtual body, particularly within the field of dance studies.

2.11 Automaton as Time Keeper

This brings us to the key difference that marks Ventura's World War Two configuration of the automaton from its Austrian predecessor. Unlike von Kempelen's automaton chess player, which was created as a highly choreographed spectacle of courtly power, Ventura's manufactured creature is a frail attempt to reconstruct and commemorate companions disappeared. In short, the mournful Nino revives the past, bringing it into the present "through some chthonic process."[200] As a creature born of cataclysm, Ventura's automaton is an illegible figure that transforms and redefines a difficult past through memorial performances that trump time, resurrecting the horrors of the past as a "reservoir of possibility."[201]

Along these lines, the body of the automaton in Ventura's tale functions as an effigy by whose presence, the past and the bodies that inhabited it, are symbolically designated as beyond destruction. This is perhaps not surprising given the cardinal role that nostalgia and the commemoration of death plays in Ventura's work. As he noted in an interview in 2013, corpses of the deceased encountered in hospital constituted a particular curiosity for the young Ventura:

> My grandmother lived with us for more than thirty years. After World War Two, her husband died and she moved from the countryside to Milan. She was very simple, a free spirit, poetic in her own way. She'd befriend people from her village—visiting them in hospital, and dressing them for burial. My brother and I went with her when she did that. We were supposed to stay in an outer room, but we always tried to sneak a look at the corpses.[202]

The preservative quality of the automaton here may likewise be aligned with the vestigial aims of the medium of photography, which has long shared performative ground with the effigy in seeking to transcend material decay and "to overcome the destroyer."[203] As historian of film and new media Tom Gunning has explained, the desire to stop time, particularly through the use of photography, was expressive of "ambitions recalling traditional idealist aesthetics: art as defence against transience and

decay, wresting the eternity of the ideal from the inevitable decadence of the real,"[204] making it the perfect partner for the effigy. Ventura's use of the photograph to capture the morphology of a life-size automaton recalls the historical relationship between the effigy and automata facilitated by photography at its inception in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Yet, attempts to successfully argue that the automaton in Ventura's tale is a creature designed to outwit death are nonetheless countered by equally convincing evidence that the tale depicts Nino as a creature programmed to expire. In this, the automaton's material existence appears brittle and fatally flawed in the tale, which presents the automaton as a creature programmed to wind down, the victim of a sudden mechanical failure. Here, in contrast to the perfection of orderly design displayed by von Kempelen's automaton chess player, Nino is a reminder that the nonhuman in Ventura's plot is a mirror to the flawed limits of the clockwork empire, the human's own terminal design.[205] As a consequence, in revisiting Enlightenment aims to transcend time and space through the use of photography, Ventura's text offers a provocative redaction of the Enlightenment's most beloved figure, the automaton, refiguring it as a barometer of loss, rather than as a creature designed to surpass or overcome.

Certainly, the manifold display of machines and devices used to measure time in the book, including hourglasses, clocks and memorabilia of all ilk that imply the passage of time, allude to a reprisal of posterity's perfection of the universe, pointing instead to a catastrophic devolution of the human, the unwinding tic-toc of bodily loss within the tale. Primary among these time-keepers is the automaton Nino, whose one act of communication (a daily toast at dinner) is associated with a specific time, suggesting the automaton as the instrument and the body by which one might measure time's passing and its loss. Furthermore, that the automaton's creator is none other than a watchmaker[206] emphasizes the importance of the automaton's role as a timekeeper.

According to anthropologists Jenny Hockey and Elizabeth Hallam, notions of duration and transformation over time are embedded in such clocks, memorial objects and performances of *memento mori.*[207] In other words, a sensibility that distinguishes the lasting from the transient is conveyed through the perceived physical properties of such objects.[208] By extension, the stillness commonly associated with

effigies[209] is really a temporal stasis meant to evoke or remember death. In this way, one might extrapolate that Nino's involuntary gestures and later, his inertia, is expressive of this deeply embedded association of motion with vivacity (a word that is etymologically related to the word life) and stasis with loss and death. In this sense, the narrative's climax during which the automaton's gestures suddenly cease is evidence of the meagre remains of human physicality, mobility and agency during wartime.

One might also consider that memorial objects such as clocks, timekeepers and effigies can be understood within a process of othering notable in historical patterns of European cultural production pertaining to death, whereby such 'evocative objects' served to represent "the material limits of embodied life…[thereby] situating the 'otherness' of the dead body in relation to the living body of the self."[210] The function of these objects thus helped to "articulate tensions between stasis and change"[211] just as they enabled a reconsideration of self in the wake of loss, and in encountering death as a temporal other.

2.12 The Automaton as Corpse: Mechanical Failures, Symbols of Renewal

Here, it is worth considering the crux of the difference between Ventura's automaton and that displayed in the court of the Hapsburg empress: Nino's fatal mechanical failure. Homologous with the deaths of the many others[212] deemed nonhuman within the Venetian ghetto, the mournfulness of the tale obtains from the automaton's artificial life and equally unnatural death. Never fully alive nor dead, absent nor present, the old man nonetheless grieves (we presume) for his imagined companion perched atop a building with Nino's wooden body. The visual provided depicts what appears to be momentary pause before the heavy corpse wrapped in a blanket and slung over the old man's right shoulder is thrown into a canal "at the first light of dawn."[213]

This burial scene bereft of overt grief or ritual (more akin to a disposal than to a formal parting) is in this sense, as well as in its locational parallel at the top of a building, a mirror for the text's early reference to the city's rooftops via which, we are told, many of the inhabitants of Venice "escaped" occupation. So it is, that the topography of the city's roofs and spires provide a bleak reminder that under occupation, death and escape may be one and the same. Notably, this same motif of death as an exit strategy is featured in the old man's dream of a shipwreck, in which juxtaposed against the floating,

wooden floor-boards of the artisan's studio is featured a noose, detached and lying on the sandy beach, as if calamity might be addressed by escape made either by way of the tortuous sea or the noose.[214]

By extension, one might further argue that Ventura's automaton is no normative being, but an outcaste whose programmed movement and eventual mechanical failure is evidence of the human being's vulnerability, iterated within the narrative as the smoking gun of wartime trauma. As a creature without agency and self-ordained mobility, the disruption of Nino's gestures and physical power is homologous with the limits placed upon his creator, the old Jewish watchmaker. Unhinged from the ordinary routines of life in the Jewish ghetto of Venice, the automaton's delimited gestures and highly curtailed movements mirror those of his marginal nonhuman creator, himself a creaturely other who had been ejected from the orbit of the human and its commonplace gestures. In this, Nino's frailty, paralysis, involuntary motions, and eventual disappearance occupies an uneasy position at the frontiers of human-ness: Nino is a reminder that there are among the living, ontologies that exceed and/or complicate dyads of life and death, and for whom agency and mobility are restricted or impaired.[215]

Arguably, this emphasis on the automaton's programmed gestures in the text can be understood as an outgrowth of those same philosophical ideas about motion that animated the chess playing Austrian spectacle, set in place by Enlightenment thinkers such as Descartes for whom mobility was characteristic of the living body, a mirror of the orderly perfection of the cosmos and its creator. Thus, as set out in the preceding section, choreographies that displayed the motions of an orderly universe, and thereby celebrated the dominion of the human over the world of animals and other nonhuman creatures, was a particular preoccupation for members of the European aristocracy in the eighteenth century.[216] These performances frequently demarcated the normative human being from those that were not included in the male, able-bodied, and predominantly European radius of God's creation.

Yet, Enlightenment ideologies that celebrated the victories of science, technology (and by extension, of the human) hardly constituted a continuous, hegemonic historical presence between the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries. In fact, as dance historian Jennifer Homans posits, as early as the 1600s rumblings about the advent of mechanical failures and errors associated with inventions were

voiced by those involved in the staging of French ballet.[217] As Homans notes, during the Renaissance, perilous theatrical machines and the disasters they invited were understood as an unfortunate down side of the public appetite for the spectacular transgressions associated with 'les merveilleux.'[218]

In theatrical terms, these failures in which humans were often maimed by technologies gone wrong not only created hairline fissures in Enlightenment optimism about what it meant to be human, but initiated a foreboding sense that those machines that "left gods dangling helplessly from ropes"[219] reflected the fallibility of the human, impairing its purported singularity as the centrepiece of an ideal creation. A bungled mechanical creation after all, it was surmised, might be the work of an unfit creator.

For these early observers of the interactions between the human and stage technologies, the machine was exemplary of the hubris of the human whose attempts to aspire to the genius of creator gods resulted in a host of accidents and bodies rendered immobile. Thus, despite a reigning optimism in the writings of Enlightenment thinkers in the eighteenth century that ordered, mechanical motion was in fact, 'natural,' (serving as it did evidence that a creator God held all things in programmatic alignment), notions of the human as the creator of perfect, surpassing machines was certainly not without its detractors.

By the twentieth century and on the heels of the catastrophic losses of the First World War, technology's destructive capacities were frequently invoked in artistic discourse, particularly by the confrontational performance techniques of Dada. Conflating the human with the monstrous machine, Dadaist discourse frequently homologized technology with the body's unreliable, accidental ontology.[220] The grave and life-threatening injuries caused by mechanical disasters regularly reported in European newspapers[221] eviscerated dissembled revisions of the human evidenced in the collages of Hannah Hoch, Raoul Hausmann and others. In performance, the avant-garde bodily decompositions of Tristan Tzara's play, *The Gas Heart* (1921),[222] and the jarring, epileptic depictions of labour in Fernand Léger's film *Ballet Mecanique*[223] (1923-24), likewise countered Enlightenment ideals of the human as a divinely ordained, harmonious machine.[224]

In maintaining a citational relationship with a trajectory of paradigms that stretches from Descartes' clockwork universe to the shattered, accidental body articulated by Dada and others, Ventura's fable exposes the automaton as a time-keeper whose mechanisms are unreliable, possibly broken or at least choreographed to expire. In this sense, as technosensual surrogates designed to skew or to surpass the human, automata are crafted not only to ideate and rehearse the potential gains of existence, but may also serve to document and remember its losses.

In the fabular universe constructed by Ventura, gains and losses are in fact inextricably twined, as the losses of the Venetian automaton are accompanied by gains made by the old man, who like von Kempelen or Vaucanson before him, conceived the wooden surrogate. As the tale relates, the death of the old man is spared by his wooden friend's mechanical breakdown, an event that might be interpreted as the sacrifice of a surrogate, the martyrdom of his companion automaton.[225]

Despite these small victories, Ventura's Nino is hardly a mechanism designed to glorify or expand the radius of its empire,[226] being instead a fallible wooden companion fashioned by an elderly Jewish resident of Venice under German occupation. An outsider, who like the Jew in German occupied Venice during the Second World War animated the periphery of the human, the automaton in Ventura's tale and his creator (the old watchmaker) are symbiotic, their symmetries evident in their forced and involuntary motions, their exodus and mutual losses.

Taking a cue from sociologist Paul Connerton, one might say that Ventura's automaton functions as a "cosmogram of mourning,"[227] a bodily topography comprised of real or imagined sets of places that serve to create order out of human memories. Ventura's automaton in this way depicts struggle, suffering, martyrdom through the network of complex choreographic gestures and bodily patterns it embodies in order to imaginatively reconstruct the human subject through a re-ordering of morphology. In this sense, the automaton in both its eighteenth century and twenty-first century iterations serves to highlight the intimate relationship between the human and its objects, networked as they are in symbiotic circles of performance.[228]

Accordingly, Ventura's automaton, who appears mechanically frail against the strident, muscular mobility of the German soldiers in the story (who are quite noticeably the only other humans apart from the old watchmaker depicted in the narrative) stands in contrast to the confident displays of power initiated by von Kempelen's automaton. A mirror image of its frail creator, the automaton in Ventura's fable is a product of twenty-first century ideologies that posit the human as increasingly mediated by circumstance, its autonomy and agency attenuated by grievous sociopolitical and economic realities.

As a profound articulation of the affective landscape of those new subjectivities following the atrocities of the Second World War, the automaton in Ventura's tale might thus embodies anxieties regarding powers of the human grossly magnified. A twenty-first century redaction, Ventura's automaton is an elaboration of Derridean difference, in which all monstrous bodies (virtual and physical) are the product of social and mechanical constructions, of historical contexts too difficult to surpass and conquer. In this process, Ventura's automaton is not a singular celebration of the powers and potentials of the human, but a commemoration of the losses it has sustained. Accordingly, reconsidering those eighteenth-century ideologies that had underpinned the glories of scientific endeavour, Ventura's tale ejects the human from the centre of the cosmos, displaying it at the margins of a city transgressed, unrecognizable. And from this new vision of Venice under occupation, Ventura resurrects a frail, terminal vision of the human, adrift like a fleet driven and steered off course, overreaching the canopy of a perfect cosmos and its once-predictable and orderly stars.

2.13 Concluding Remarks

The automaton as displayed in both von Kempelen's eighteenth-century model and in Paolo Ventura's twenty-first century tale function as 'evocative objects,'[229] as remote-controlled toys not unlike those pawns on a chess board, onto whose bodies a patchwork of disparate religious, philosophical and political ideologies may be concretely proposed, tested, rehearsed and publicized. In this way, both the automaton chess player and Paolo Ventura's Nino exemplify the potential of the mechanical simulation to function as hypothetical rebuild and "hermeneutic lure."[230] Through this surrogation is delivered an opportunity for its creators and spectators to consider how illegible others beyond the ken of the human might be

recruited, assimilated or deployed. As a consequence, the automaton might best be characterized as a figure of necessarily undecided or uncertain ontology, an other whose mobility and consequently agency, might be externally manipulated and controlled.

For the Hapsburg empress this mechanical surrogate born out of mesmerism's flickering embers was an ideal recruit; as a remotely manipulated body whose motions could be calculated and choreographed, the Turkish automaton was emblematic of the court's absolute power over its adversaries. In this sense, the co-mingled paradigms of mechanical philosophy and vitalism served to generate and reify the hierarchies that governed the stratification of citizens within the empire.

Yet, while the choreographed spectacles of the automaton chess player within the Hapsburg court reified the empire's existing hierarchies, the very existence of a construct that was seen as having the potential to best the human necessitated a shift in ascriptions of the normative human during the eighteenth century. This redefinition of the human gave voice to the proud display of the Ottoman Turk as a recruited body, the slave or drone of the Hapsburg empire. Thus, the "mechanical trifle [designed] to amuse the Hapsburg Empress Maria Theresa"[231] was hardly a simple plaything, being instead characteristic of the revisionary potency of courtly toys that had long sought to revive and reproduce Aristotle's understanding of the slave as "an animated machine."[232]

Invariably then, the pervasive transformations associated with the advent of self-moving technologies in the eighteenth century met with criticism that the invention of automata would not only endanger the labour sector, but would result in a loss of the human[233] altogether. As a consequence, increasing overlap between automata created for amusement and the emergence of industrial inventions that had begun to impact the labour sector in the eighteenth century elicited concerned commentary from the Scottish philosopher Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) who wrote with trepidation of the steam engine in his essay "Signs of the Times:" "They have lost faith in individual endeavour, and in natural force, of any kind…Not for internal perfection… but for Mechanism of one sort or another, do they hope and struggle."[234]

Nonetheless, as the originator of the cybernetics movement Norbert Wiener was to later conceive, this ideology of the self-moving machine was expedient; the production of an automaton as a working simulacrum, or technological surrogate could be co-opted by spectacles of political power, effectively constituting a slave body.[235] Thus, foreshadowing twentieth century visions of the robot, —a term first coined by Czechoslovakian author Karel Capek in his play *R.U. R* (1921) — the recruited bodies of the automaton chess player palpated not only "the outer bounds of mechanism,"[236] but the human altogether.

In a similar way, Paolo Ventura's twenty-first century fable offered revisions to the figure, thereby reinventing the borders of the human according to the historical context of its creation. A self-moving machine that functioned as an effigy, Nino's distal, mechanical appendages (homologous with the human) raised a glass to the health and well being of the human, in a ritual commemoration of death and disappearance. As machine vivified, Nino might be considered consonant with critical posthumanist E. Thacker's ideas of 'data made flesh;'[237] he is the embodiment of a network of tumultuous social and political conditions, his agency thereby subdued, his mobility necessarily curtailed.

Highly subjectified and vulnerable, a creature in transition and out of orbit, Ventura's automaton, (like the human and the holocaust that created him) hurtles towards a calamitous, unpredictable expiry. If in Ventura's tale, the automaton's expiry takes on the hues of martyrdom, his terminal body, like a surrogate is sacrificed for the good of the human who is his maker. For the most part, the tale keeps pace with contemporary interpretations of the cyborg offered by critical posthumanists (such as Thacker or N.K. Hayles) who have attenuated discourses that equate machines (and by extension, historical actors deemed nonhuman) as slaves. Yet, despite this, the body of the automaton Nino continues to be a perturbing site of lost agency, a feeble body that can be remotely recruited.

Perhaps this persistence of overtones of the drone and the slave lurking in the shadows of Ventura's fable serve to evidence the human's subjectivity and embeddedness in technosensual context, and therefore its continued vulnerability to the force of the machine as metonymic with empire. Yet, it is precisely in the persistence of these characterizations of the automaton as a recruited body in twenty-first century European literature and performance that its utility as a performance technique is underscored.

That is to say, that the technosensual surrogate is a powerful construct not only because the mechanism appears to move and think like a human, but because performance techniques that skew the human, deliver an opportunity to hypothetically rebuild the human, in order to test or transform it altogether.

[1] Jean Baudrillard, *Cool Memories,* Trans. Chris Turner (New York: Verso, 1990), 116.

[2] Sherry Turkle, *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With* (Boston: MIT press, 2007), 311.

[3] Ibid., 308

[4] Ibid. Turkle uses this term to describe the way in which particular objects that animate boundaries or mark transitions (i.e. between life and death or childhood and adulthood) are invested with emotional, intellectual and libidinal power.

[5] Robert Gray, *Observations on the Automaton Chess Player, Now Exhibited in London, by An Oxford Graduate,* (London: J. Hatchard, 1819), 12. "In 1769, M. de Kempelen happening to be at Vienna, on business relative to his charge, was ordered to court, to be present as a connoisseur, at some magnetic performances, which one Pelletier, a Frenchman, was to exhibit before the late Empress [empress of the Holy Roman Empire, Maria Theresa (1717-1780)]. Her Majesty having vouchsafed to enter into familiar conversation with M. de Kempelen, during this exhibition, he was led to drop a hint, that he thought himself capable of making a machine, whose effects should be more surprizing, and the deception more complete, than any thing her Majesty had then seen. The Empress took him at his word, and expressed so earnest a desire to see it carried into execution, that she obtained a promise of him to set about it immediately. He kept his word, and in six months time, completely finished an Automaton, far surpassing every thing of the kind."

[6] Ibid., 16.

[7] Henri Decremps, *The Conjurer Unmasked: Or, La Magie Blanche Dévoilée*, Trans. T. Denton (London: T. Denton, 1785), 94.

[8] Kara Reilly, *Automata and Mimesis on the Stage of Theatre History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 3. Reilly relates that the Ottoman Empire had tried to hold Vienna by siege in 1529 and later again in 1683.

[9] Stefan Bergström, *Between Real and Unreal: A Thematic Study of E.T.A. Hoffmann's "Die Serapionsbrüder,"* (New York: P. Lang, 1999), 113. See also E T A. Hoffmann, *The Tales of Hoffmann,* Ed. Michael Bullock (New York: Ungar, 1963), and Ernst Theodor Hoffman, *The Sand Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885).

[10] Edgar Allan Poe, "Maelzel's Chess-Player," *Southern Literary Journal.* April 1836, Baltimore, http://www.eapoe.org/works/essays/maelzel.htm (accessed February 15, 2015).

[11] In referring to von Kempelen's automaton in his "Theses on the Philosophy of History," Walter Benjamin disclosed that such an amalgamated creature whose body could be remotely controlled had already been devised. A hybrid of the technological and creaturely, Benjamin's nonhuman other was a surrogate, a worthy opponent at a game of chess. The Automaton Chess Player, according to Benjamin was a conflation of puppet, exotic other and technological wonder at once: "The story is told of an automaton constructed in such a way that it could play a winning game of chess, answering each move of an opponent with a countermove. A puppet in Turkish attire and with a hookah in its mouth sat before a chessboard placed on a large table. A system of mirrors created the illusion that this table was transparent on all sides. Actually, a little hunchback who was an expert chess player sat inside and guided the puppet's hands by means of strings." See Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (New York: Random House LLC, 1968).

[12] Jessica Riskin, "The Defecating Duck, Or, the Ambiguous Origins of Artificial Life," *Critical Inquiry* 29, no. 4 (2003): 599. See also Reilly, op. cit., 83.

[13] Offering an exception to these examples is Val Scullion's "Kinaesthetic, Spastic and Spatial Motifs As Expressions of Romantic Irony in ETA Hoffmann's the Sandman and Other Writings," that while ostensibly not pertaining directly to the performances of the automaton chess player, nonetheless addresses the figure's literary significance by way of its movement qualities. See Val Scullion, "Kinaesthetic, Spastic and Spatial Motifs As Expressions of Romantic Irony in ETA Hoffmann's the Sandman and Other Writings," *About the JLS* 2, no. 1 (2009): 1-22.

[14] Windisch's testimonial details Empress Maria Theresa's investment in the creation of the automaton: "In 1769, M. de Kempelen happening to be at Vienna, on business relative to his charge, was ordered to court, to be present as a connoisseur, at some magnetic performances, which one Pelletier, a Frenchman, was to exhibit before the late Empress. Her Majesty having vouchsafed to enter into familiar conversation with M. de Kempelen, during this exhibition, he was led to drop a hint, that he thought himself capable of making a machine, whose effects should be more surprizing, and the deception more complete, than any thing her Majesty had then seen. The Empress took him at his word, and expressed so earnest a desire to see it carried into

execution, that she obtained a promise of him to set about it immediately." See Karl Gottlieb Windisch, *Inanimate Reason: Or a Circumstantial Account of That Astonishing Piece of Mechanism, M. De Kempelen's Chess-Player.* Translated From the Original Letters of M. Charles Gottlieb De Windisch. (London: S. Bladon, No. 1784), 40.

[15] Following the automaton's second incarnation in a European tour under its owner Neopomuk Maelzel in 1818, Robert Gray published an eye-witness account of the automaton that continued this heritage of seeking explanations for the wondrous if vexing vitality and liveliness of the techno-human chess player.

[16] Charles Baudelaire, "A Philosophy of Toys," *Exit Media,* 1853, http://www.exitmedia.net/prueba/eng/articulo.php?id=198, (accessed May 21, 2014).

[17] David Brewster, *Letters on Natural Magic* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883), 358. Details regarding this toy are also related in the following: "Automata and Androides," *The Mirror of literature, amusement, and instruction, Nov 1822-June 1847* 2, no. 44 (1823): 217-218. The more detailed of the two descriptions of M. Camus's invention is provided by physician David Brewster in his *Letters on Natural Magic* published in 1832.

[18] "Automata and Androides," *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction, Nov 1822-June 1847,* 2, no. 44 (1823): 217.

[19] Turkle, op. cit., 308.

[20] Riskin, op. cit., 599. I turn to Jessica Riskin's definition of artificial life here as "all attempts to understand living processes by using machinery to simulate them."

[21] Otto Mayr, *Authority, Liberty, & Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 25 & 26. In fact it is worth recalling here that by no means was the phenomenon of the automaton strictly a product of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Otto Mayr concludes, the fascination with automata expressed in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance owes to Greek antiquity's preoccupation with artificial life. Mayr further argues that the curious compilation of tales of magic and the supernatural that emerged from this medieval lineage of fascination with the artificial human developed an uncritical sensibility that eventually, after the seventeenth century, met with resistance from the emerging discourses of mechanical philosophy. This sensibility, it has been argued by David J. Jones, reappeared in the nineteenth century as the Gothic movement in literature. However, by the nineteenth century, the Gothic had embraced the very same canon of ambiguous literature about clocks and automata that had begun in antiquity, opening up a new literary and performance possibilities for what had long been "forbidden and yet irresistible," namely magic. See David J. Jones, *Gothic Machine: Textualities, Pre-cinematic Media and Film in Popular Visual Culture, 1670-1910.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 106.

[22] Gaby Wood, *Edison's Eve: A Magical History of the Quest for Mechanical Life* (New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group), 2003, 17. The eighteenth century was known as the "golden age of the philosophical toy." It was also during this period that the Greek myth of Pygmalion and Galatea enjoyed a new renaissance in France with several writers including Diderot, Rameau, Rousseau and Voltaire producing narratives in which the statues of sculptors came to life with the help of the goddess Venus. As a consequence, the eighteenth century European view was predisposed to thinking that men were machines, and machines were made to resemble men, their correspondence an illustration of the perfected order of the cosmos.

[23] Mayr, op. cit., 55. the revolutionary paradigms of mechanical philosophy constituted a reaction against the metaphysical speculation associated with traditional scholastic philosophies in the High Baroque period. Otto Mayr notes that in this way, mechanical philosophy set itself in opposition to the 'magical'.

[24] Mayr, op. cit., 57. See also Christopher Keep, "Of Writing Machines and Scholar-Gipsies," *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 29, no. 1 (2007): 39. In part, this attempt on behalf of mechanist philosophers to emphasize the argument of design was a strategic effort made to quiet its critics in the Christian orthodoxy who cautioned of the easy transition that could be made from "mechanism to materialism to atheism." Thus, highlighting the ways in which the new way of thinking could reinforce existing belief structures, mechanical philosophers (many of whom were devout theologians whose ranks included Protestant denominations as well as Catholics) reinforced the human-machine homology, made explicit for instance, in La Mettrie's *Homme Machine (1748)* and in the writings of French philosopher Rene Descartes. In this vein, it is worth noting that mechanist paradigms were not unified or homogenous in their approach to the human-machine homology. Descartes had proposed a dualism whereby two orders of being, mind and matter were separated. On the other hand, mechanists such as La Mettrie proposed that there was only one order of being, that of matter. In this, he concluded that all sense perceptions, all physiological reactions were the effect of mechanical operations. Senses, for instance, reacted to sensory stimuli, as did the mind. In *Homme Machine (1748),* he wrote: "Let us conclude boldly that man is a machine, and there is in the whole universe only one diversely modified substance."

[25] The eighteenth-century female body, not unlike the Turkish automaton, was invariably configured as either adversarial or exotic.

[26] David Ross Fryer, *The Intervention of the Other: Ethical Subjectivity in Levinas and Lacan* (New York: Other Press, 2004), 9 & 10.

[27] "Automata and Androides," *The Mirror of literature, amusement, and instruction, Nov 1822-June 1847* 2, no. 44 (1823): 217. The article confirms that spectators did not perceive the chess-playing automaton as the first of its kind. The android or the ideal of the self-moving machine is said to have occupied the thoughts of Plato and Aristotle. The author, however, notes that early attempts at staging automata constituted little more than a "fiction of the ancients," and that compared to the perfected androids of the eighteenth century such as the automaton chess player, these experiments were unsubstantial. Additionally, as several historians have confirmed, even these self-moving machines presented by mechanicians and scientists in the seventeenth century had been created in keeping with yet older traditions of automata that reached back to antiquity in which mechanical

objects were engineered to simulate the observable realities of organic, living beings. Kara Reilly, Gaby Wood, Eric Ames and James Cook have argued that automata grew out of antiquity's fascination with self-moving objects.

[28] Riskin, op. cit., 602.

[29] Julia V. Douthwaite, *The Frankenstein of 1790 and Other Lost Chapters From Revolutionary France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 64.

[30] Wood, op. cit., 60. Several scholars have assumed a correspondence between Vaucanson's scientific expositions and the automaton chess player. Gaby Wood, for instance takes her cue for this argument from observations made in the eighteenth century that designated the automaton chess player as "for the mind...what the Flute Player of M. de Vaucanson is for the ear."

[31] As historians Kara Reilly and Gaby Wood emphasize, the automaton chess player was a manifestation of the Enlightenment's fascination with artificial life. Riskin on the other hand, points out the automaton's deviance from the scientific model in this regard.

[32] N., M S, and Karl Gottlieb De Windisch. *Letters of Charles Gottlieb von Windisch on the Automaton Chess-player of Mr. De Kempelen,* Translated by M.S.N. (London: S. Bladon, Chretien de Michel, 1784). Windisch's text originally published in 1784 refers to von Kempelen as a "genius" and "justly celebrated man."

[33] Karl Gottlieb von Windisch, preface to *Inanimate Reason: Or a Circumstantial Account of That Astonishing Piece of Mechanism, M. De Kempelen's Chess-Player.* Translated From the Original Letters of M. Charles Gottlieb De Windisch. (London: S. Bladon, No. 1784).

[34] Ibid.

[35] Gray, op. cit., 17.

[36] Windisch, op. cit., 15.

[37] Ibid., 18.

[38] Ibid.

[39] This stands in marked contrast to Vaucanson's emphasis on the inner workings of his defecating duck. See Riskin, op. cit., 610.

[40] "Scientific Amusements No II. Automata," *The New monthly magazine and literary journal, Jan 1821-Dec 1836* 1, no. 1 (1821): 525.

[41] "Automaton Chess Player." *Bowen's Boston News - Letter, and City Record (1825-1827)*, January, 1827.

[42] Gray, op. cit., 13.

[43] Ibid.

[44] "Man as an Automaton," *Scientific American* (1845-1908); Nov 20, 1875; Vol. XXXIII., No. 21.; American Periodicals, 321.

[45] "The Automaton Chess Player," *Penny magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Mar 1832-Dec 1845* 6, no. 309 (1837): 29.

[46] Decremps, op. cit., 98.

[47] Windisch, op. cit., 13.

[48] Decremps, op. cit., 95.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Gray, op. cit., 9.

[51] Ibid., 7.

[52] Ibid., 21.

[53] Ibid., 7.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Windisch, op. cit. 22. Windisch describes a fair bit of the automaton's motions in his letters, emphasizing the gestural correspondence between the human and the automaton: "The figure leans in with its right arm upon the table, and in its left hand holds a Turkish pipe, in the attitude of a person who has just been smoking. It plays with the left hand when the pipe is removed."

[58] Mayr, op. cit., 56.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., 66.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid. Descartes as cited in Mayr. *Discours de la Méthode,* in *Oeuvres*, 6:57, or Meditation No. 6, in *Oeuvres,* 9:A67; and Letter to the Marquis of Newcastle in *Oeuvres,* 4:575.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Mayr, op. cit., 63.

[68] Wood, op. cit., 4.

[69] Mayr, op. cit., 63.

[70] These discourses that homologized the body's motions with the force of the machine informed the choreographic works of several modern dancers including Isadora Duncan, Rudolf von Laban, Ruth St. Denis and even the estoeric proponent of sacred dance, George Ivanovich Gurdjieff. For more on Duncan and the body as modern engine, see Carrie J. Preston. "The Motor in the Soul: Isadora Duncan and Modernist Performance." *Modernism/modernity* 12, no. 2 (2005): 273-289, and Felicia McCarren. *Dancing Machines,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

[71] "The Human Body Is a Machine," *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times,* Saturday, October 19, 1907; 251.

[72] Georges Canguilhem, "Machine and Organism," in *Incorporations,* Ed. Didier Deleule and Jonathan Crary (New York: Zone Books, 1992), 48.

[73] Ibid., 47.

[74] Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception* (London: Verso, 1989), 10.

[75] "An Automaton Chess Player," *Spirit of the Times; A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage,* op. cit., 324.

[76] "Of An Automaton Which Plays at Chess. In a Letter From the Reverent Mr. Dutens," *The New York Magazine, or Literary Repository (1790-1797)*, March 1796, 153.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., 154.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Riskin, op. cit., 623

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., 624 and 625.

[85] Ibid., 628.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid. Riskin quotes from November 1745 in the *Mercure de France,* PV, 210.

[88] Ibid. Riskin quotes from November 1745 in the *Mercure de France,* PV, 210.

[89] Ibid., 629.

[90] "Famous Automata," *Messenger (1876-1878)*, 17 October 1877, 3.

[91] James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2001), 49.

[92] "Famous Automata," op. cit., 3.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Given that the purpose of the surrogate was illustrated by the particular choreography of its motions, it was understood that the hypothetical rebuild of the human, the surrogate, could become an emissary of empire through the performance of those pre-programmed patterns of motion that had been choreographed for it.

[95] Douthwaite, op. cit., 84.

[96] Douthwaite, op. cit., 84.

[97] "Of An Automaton Which Plays at Chess. In a Letter From the Reverent Mr. Dutens," op. cit., 152.

[98] Mayr, op. cit., 65. Mayr gleans this from a letter written by Descartes. See Descartes, Letter to Meysonnier, 29 January 1640, in *Oeuvres,* 3:19).

[99] Gray, op. cit., 17.

[100] Riskin, op. cit., 609.

[101] Keep., op. cit.

[102] Ibid., 620. As Riskin states, Kempelen himself "spoke deprecatingly" about the Turk and was insistent that it had not been much of an achievement save for having been able to create an illusion. Nor, did spectators unanimously appreciate the automaton. Those who debunked it were vocal in calling it fraudulent. This is corroborated in several period newspaper reviews and articles that appeared in journals.

[103] Gray., op. cit., 13.

[104] Ibid. Notably, von Kempelen's contrarian response to his success signified to Robert Gray evidence of his "true genius."

[105] Riskin, op. cit., 621.

[106] Wood, op. cit., 31. By 1741 Vaucanson had retired his automata and despite continued demand for its presentation among mechanical exhibitions that were at their apex in England. He sold the machines to three Lyonnais businessmen in 1741.

[107] Ibid., 106.

[108] Ibid.

[109] "An Attempt to Analyse the Automaton Chess Player of M. De Kempelen. With An Easy Method of Imitating the Movements of That Celebrated Figure. Illustrated by Original Drawings. To Which Is Added, a Copious Collection of the Knight's Moves Over the Chess Board," *The Literary chronicle and weekly review, May 22, 1819-Dec 28, 1822* 3, no. 94 (1821): 132.

[110] "An Automaton Chess Player," *Spirit of the Times; A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage (1835-1861)*, 15 November 1845: 324.

[111] Windisch, preface, op. cit.

[112] Ibid.

[113] "Automaton Chess Player," *Bowen's Boston News - Letter, and City Record,* op. cit., 117.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Wood, op. cit., 73. The automaton's significance as an automatic body remained through its later years, on its tour of America under Neopomuk Maelzel. Maelzel was the son of an organ builder who was trained as a musician and later became a court mechanician. But more importantly, Maelzel was someone who made what was known as a philosophical toys or instruments. Maelzel was also a musician who had built several mechanical devices of his own including a metronome and an ear trumpet for the near-deaf Beethoven. From here the automaton travelled to London and later to New York in the nineteenth century.

[117] "Automaton Reminiscences," *Maine Farmer (1844-1900)*, 2 March 1872, 20:13, p. 4.

[118] Windisch, op. cit., 22. The full quote excerpted from Windisch's letters runs thus: "Behind this is a full-length human figure, dressed in the Turkish fashion, seated in a wooden chair, fixed to the cupboard, and which moves with it, when it is wheeled about the room. This figure leans with its right arm upon the table, and in its left hand holds a Turkish pipe, in the attitude of a person who has just been smoking. It plays with its left hand when the pipe is removed. Before the Automaton, is a chessboard screwed down to the table, on which it keeps its eyes fixed."

[119] Ibid.

[120] Wood, op. cit., 62.

[121] Homans., op. cit., 37. Among the many theatrical productions that configured the Turk as an empty-headed heathen was the satirical play by Molière and Lully entitled *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*. Staged in 1670, it portrayed the bumblings of a visiting Ottoman emissary at court dumbfounded by the etiquette and rituals of courtly life. Molière and Lully's comedy iterates the guidelines for proper behaviour at court, introducing the ballet master and dancing as the means by which bodies that are beyond normative bounds might be circumscribed. Accordingly, the ballet master in the play indicates that any "true man of rank he must pass the test of wooing a marquise…" which invariably involves presenting her with a grand ballet. Fittingly, however, prior to this grand ballet advocated by the master, the play presents an anti-ballet performed "by a lumbering buffoon Turk."

[122] Windisch, op. cit., 13.

[123] Bergström, op. cit., 114.

[124] *Die Natürliche Magie: Aus Allerhand Belustigenden Und Nützlichen Kunststücken Bestehend/English Translation Instruction in Natural Magic, Or, All Kinds of Amusing Tricks* (Berlin: Bey Friedrich Nicolai, 1789), Library of Congress Online, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbc3&fileName=rbc0001_2009houdini70127page.db (accessed February 12, 2015).

[125] Wood, op. cit., 33. Beireis was also doctor to the Duke of Brunswick, chair of medicine at the University of Helmstadt.

[126] Bergstrom, op. cit., 113 and 114. At least a full decade earlier, Hoffmann's interest in automata was likewise recorded in his diary. Around this time it appears that Hoffmann had also read Heinrich von Kleist's essay "Uber das Marionettentheater" which detailed the remote mechanics of dolls and puppets. Hoffmann alluded to this in a letter to Julius Hitzig on July 1, 1812. Thus, the spirit of movement, kinaesthesia that accompanied Hofflman's tale was in part inspired by the performances of marionettes and automata.

[127] Ibid., 9.

[128] Ibid. Bergstrom quoting Caillois.

[129] Literary historian Val Scullion's fascinating article on the use of kinaesthetic motifs in the writings of E.T.A Hoffmann detail the extent to which instantiations of involuntary motion were critical within the author's work. See. Val Scullion, "Kinaesthetic, Spastic and Spatial Motifs As Expressions of Romantic Irony in ETA Hoffmann's the Sandman and Other Writings," op. cit.

[130] Ernst Theodor Hoffman, *The Sand Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), 4. Note the use of the word spell-bound several times in reference to designate the supernatural power of Coppelius in Hoffmann's Der Sandmann: "…but I no longer conceived of the Sand-man as the bugbear in the old nurse's fable, who fetched children's eyes and took them to the half-moon as food for his little ones--no I but as an ugly spectre-like fiend bringing trouble and misery and ruin, both temporal and everlasting, everywhere wherever he appeared. I was spell-bound on the spot."

[131] Douthwaite, op. cit., 68.

[132] Ibid. As historians Dorothea von Mücke, Julia Douthwaite and Jessica Riskin have maintained, the phenomenal surge of interest in performances of the automaton in the eighteenth century derived from a heightened tension, a building friction between opposing conceptions of the human body. Likewise, literary historian Dorothea E. von Mücke identifies these two streams of thought in the middle of the eighteenth century as key paradigms by which human physiology was iterated in European literature.

[133] Sofie Lachapelle, *Investigating the Supernatural: From Spiritism and Occultism to Psychical Research and Metapsychics in France, 1853--1931* (New York: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 6. Historian Sophie Lachapelle notes that psychical research in France developed around the *Annnales des sciences psychiques*, a journal published between 1890 and 1919. From 1919 to 1931, its members hoped that research generated would ensure "a serious and respected future science of metapsychics that would explain séances in terms of yet undiscovered powers in humans (telepathy, telekinesis, clairvoyance etc.)." Thus, the years between the 1850s and 1930s constituted a key era in the investigation of the supernatural that occupied "an uncertain but fertile space of production as unorthodox research holding the promise of potential recognition." Their vision, however, did not manage to impress the wider community, nationally or internationally and as a result, the legitimacy of psychical research in the

university setting would eventually dwindle. Nonetheless, at the tail end of the eighteenth century, esoteric discourse was a matter that not only occupied public debate and discourse, but had entered the halls of academic thinking.

[134] Riskin, op. cit., 611.

[135] Riskin, op. cit., 612. Riskin elaborates Vaucanson's defecating duck as being exemplary of "a deep-seated ambivalence about mechanism and mechanist explanation..."

[136] Gray, op. cit., 12.

[137] The peace between France and Austria was maintained until 1792; the marriage of Empress Maria Therese's daughter Marie-Antoinette to the to the future Louis XVI of France (1770) was intended to ensure this alliance.

[138] Tim Fulford, "Conducting the Vital Fluid: The Politics and Poetics of Mesmerism in the 1790s," *Studies in Romanticism* 43, no. 1 (2004): 62.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Michel Pierssens, "Le Merveilleux Psychique Au XIX E Siècle," *Ethnologie française* (1993): 351.

[141] Fulford, op. cit., 63.

[142] Fulford, op. cit., 63.

[143] Ibid., 64.

[144] E. T. A. Hoffmann, *The Tales of Hoffmann,* Translated and Edited by Michael Bullock (New York: Ungar, 1963), 247. A potent example of this is ETA Hoffmann's tale, "Der Sandmann". The extent to which quality of movement defines the state of a being whose body has been co-opted and overtaken by forces from without may be indebted to the dearth of medical information that accompanied a host of illnesses during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this vein, historian Michael Bullock for instance, notes the correspondence between ETA Hoffmann's own sense of embodiment that was profoundly affected by a condition known as locomotor ataxy. Given that Hoffmann died on July 24, 1822, dictating to his friends those stories his hands were themselves unable to write, Bullock presumes that Hoffmann may have felt the onset of this paralysis many years earlier and this may have informed his extraordinary emphasis on the convulsive and the immobile, as well as the fear of loss of agency that his stories reveal.

[145] "Account of Baron Kempell's Chess-Player, and Mr Droz's Automaton," *The Edinburgh magazine, or Literary miscellany, 1785-1803* (1796): 361.

[146] Gray, op. cit., 26.

[147] Ibid., 29.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid., 30.

[150] Ibid., 26, 27. Gray's text perhaps, more than many other eyewitness accounts betrays the influence of mechanist paradigms. As he testifies, "To explain the nature of the moving force, which is employed, is the province of the professed mechanician, who can account for it upon fixed mechanical principles." Despite this, the fact that Gray's attention repeatedly drifts back to the "directing force" behind the mechanism suggests that the discourses of mesmerism were still present within tracts that primarily approached the automaton as if it were a didactic exposition of scientific principles.

[151] Gray, op. cit., 31.

[152] Bergstrom, op. cit., 114.

[153] Ibid. This is a matter which Hoffmann alluded to in a letter to Julius Hitzig on July 1, 1812.

[154] Wood, op. cit., 191. Heinrich von Kleist wrote about the marionette around the same time as "Der Sandmann" was published. Wood relates that Kleist in writing about marionette theatre tells of a professional dancer who aspired to the grace of a puppet, to have his limbs move like pendulums and his performance (and here she cites from Kleist) "transferred entirely to the realm of mechanical forces." This suggests that losing oneself to the machine had somehow become synonymous with losing oneself to external forces previously thought to have been the purview of the supernatural.

[155] Gray, op. cit., 144.

[156] In fact, what distinguished mechanist perspectives from vitalism was that the former represented technology itself as mechanistic, predictable and repetitive, while vitalist paradigms, on the other hand, tended to see technology much the same they saw human being: as subject to external, sometimes invisible, errant and unpredictable forces. The consequence of these presumptions on conceptualizations of human movement was that mechanist paradigms posited the machine as being effective, efficient, controllable; while generally speaking, vitalist paradigms tended to foreground the machine as inhabiting the dangerous, outer limits of convulsive, involuntary motion.

[157] William Hamilton Reid, *Rise and Dissolution of the Infidel Societies in This Metropolis* (Gale Ecco, Print Editions, 2010), 91.

[158] Molly McGarry, *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 3.

[159] Jeffrey J. Kripal, *Mutants and Mystics: Science Fiction, Superhero Comics, and the Paranormal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 125.

[160] Fulford, op. cit., 58.

[161] Hugh Urban, "Elitism and Esotericism: Strategies of Secrecy and Power in South Indian Tantra and French Freemasonary," *NUMEN* - 44 (1997): 1-38.

[162] "Scientific Amusements No II. Automata," *The New monthly magazine and literary journal, Jan 1821-Dec 1836* 1, no. 1 (1821): 527.

[163] Windisch, op. cit., 18.
[164] Ibid., 16.
[165] "On Magic," *The Southern Literary Journal and Magazine of Arts (1835-1838)*, January 1836, 289.
[166] Ibid.
[167] "An Automaton Chess Player," *Spirit of the Times; A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage, op. cit.,* 324.
[168] "Of An Automaton Which Plays at Chess. In a Letter From the Reverent Mr. Dutens," *The New York Magazine, or Literary Repository,* op. cit.,154.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] "Animal Magnetism," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal (1828-1851)*, 4 September 1833, 62.
[172] Bergstrom, op. cit., 114. Bergstrom relates that In Hoffmann's tale, the automaton occupies an ambiguous place between the dead and alive, signified through the use of the German word "lebentot."
[173] Riskin, op. cit., 612.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Bergstrom, op. cit., 15. Bergstrom summarizes Bulgarian-French structuralist literary theorist Tzvetan Todorov's notions of the fantastic as a meditation on alterity.
[176] Jane Goodall, "Transferred Agencies: Performance and the Fear of Automatism," *Theatre Journal* 49.4 (1997): 453. The full quote from Goodall reads thus, "as the automatic machine became increasingly suggestive of agency, any appearance of the automatic in human behaviour (at this time) conversely seemed to suggest loss of agency."
[177] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever*, Trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 68. It is worth noting here that the hauntology is situated not only in the ontology of ongoing 'being' but in future 'being'.
[178] Paolo Ventura, *The Automaton* (Stockport: Dewi Lewis Publishing, 2012), 17.
[179] Ventura's work has been exhibited at Forma International Center for Photography, Milan; Rencontres de la Photographie, Arles, France; Fotomuseum Den Haag, Netherlands; and Maison Européenne de la Photographie, Paris, among others.
[180] Sarah Coleman, "Flights of Fantasy: An Interview with Paolo Ventura," *The Literate Lens.* New York, New York, February 1, 2012. http://theliteratelens.com/2013/02/01/flights-of-fantasy-an-interview-with-paolo-ventura/ (accessed May 14, 2014).
[181] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970), 179. Signifies a place that is neither here nor there, an indeterminate zone, a contradictory, unthinkable place that represents a space dislocated. These spaces, I argue are breeding grounds for non-normative, similarly dislocated bodies. One example Foucault provides is that of the mirror: "the mirror functions as a heterotopia in the sense that it makes this place I occupy at the moment I look at myself in the glass both utterly real, connected with the entire space surrounding it, and utterly unreal…"
[182] "Paolo Ventura," accessed May 15, 2014. http://www.paoloventura.com/press/prose.html.
[183]As has been clarified previously, techniques of transgression had long animated the performances of automata. Assumptions that bodies transgressed had been mediated, intercepted and manipulated by external forces grew in accordance with vitalist perspectives that emerged in the eighteenth century.
[184] Jones, op. cit., 29. Other components of this group of artistic techniques were commonly encountered in the exhibitions of secular illusionism and magic in the nineteenth century such as "magic lantern shows or early film, feats of strength, juggling, posture mastery ventriloquism, puppet shows, trained animal exhibitions, comic routines, automata displays, lotteries and joy rides."
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid.,121.
[187] Ibid. Keeping with this emphasis on illusion and the exploitation of falsehoods, Baudelaire also foregrounded the importance of toys as "the earliest initiation to art" as a means of transformation. Also see: Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life, and Other Essays,* Ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1964), 199
[188] Maria Lokke, "Paolo Ventura's Automaton of Venice," *The New Yorker*, September 21, 2011. http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/photobooth/2011/09/paolo-ventura-automaton-of-venice.html. (accessed May 14, 2014).
[189] The excerpt refers to Ventura's later work, "The Knife-Thrower." What's notable here is that while the move towards more complex theatrical animations of his still-life dioramas appears to happen after the publication of *The Automaton*, the interest in choreographing scenes that could then be animated through physical practices was a potent part of Ventura's work since *War Souvenir* his very first book was released in 2006.
[190] Robert Epstein, "Portfolio: Flights of fantasy in Paolo Ventura's dark, poetic 'Stories' series," *The Independent,* September 22, 2013. http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/portfolio-flights-of-fantasy-in-paolo-venturas-dark-poetic-stories-series-8826378.html (accessed May 15, 2014).
[191] Ibid.
[192] Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 4. According to Schneider, the archive is not in keeping with binary assessments, contrary to bodily enactments. That is, historical record is not simply citational and inert. In fact, it is as subject to erasure and disappearance as performance.
[193] "Paolo Ventura." http://www.paoloventura.com/press/prose.html, op. cit. The American writer wrote an essay that accompanied the artist's exhibit of War Souvenir. It was published in Aperture in 2006 and is reproduced on Ventura's website.

[194] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (New York: Beacon Press, 1955), 10. According to Huizinga, "Play is order."

[195] Maria Lokke, "Paolo Ventura's Automaton of Venice," op.cit. Paolo Ventura quoted in the New Yorker, September 21, 2011. Ventura's creation of the city of Venice is critical to his creation of illusory spaces in which an unforeseen order operates. In this way, the spatial choreography is as critical the presence of an automaton, a mechanical doll who functions within it.

[196] *Only Lovers Left Alive*, directed by Jim Jarmusch (2013: Germany: Revue Theatre Toronto 2014), film. Jarmusch's film likewise uses Detroit as a heterotopia in which a morbid musician/vampire roams its empty streets.

[197] Here, I am pointing out the history of discourses that predate Baudelaire in Europe in which toys are not simply vacuous entertainments for children, but are part of a tradition of active play in which 'being' is restructured.

[198] Kai Mikkonen, *The Plot Machine: The French Novel and the Bachelor Machines in the Electric Years (1880-1914).* (New York: Rodopi, 2001), 10. One might also note that the mechanical surrogate's descendent, the virtual body, is likewise associated with transgressions of the physical.

[199] Ibid., 39. Mikkonen's introduction gives a thorough summary of the many scholarly interpretations of Zola's understanding of plot as a scientific technology that can be used to intervene in ontology.

[200] Christopher T. Nelson, *Dancing with the Dead: Memory, Performance, and Everyday Life in Postwar Okinawa.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 4.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Coleman, op. cit.

[203] Tom Gunning, "Bodies in Motion: The Pas De Deux of the Ideal and the Material at the Fin-de-Siècle," in *Arrêt sur image, fragmentation du temps,* Edited by Francois Albera, Andre Gaudreault and Marta Braun (Lausanne: Payot, 2002), 18.

[204] Ibid.

[205] One might also note that Nino's intelligent motion and agency are depicted as even more limited than that of the automaton chess player. A far cry from the awe-inspiring mastermind of chess born of Hapsburg ambitions, Nino is made for little else but a few words of companionship, a consolatory expression, a toast at the evening meal.

[206] Coleman, op. cit.

[207] Latin, literally means "remember you too will die."

[208] Elizabeth Hallam and Jennifer Lorna Hockey, *Death, Memory, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 48.

[209] According to Hockey and Hallam, the same stillness that marks the effigy likewise characterizes photographs, printed images and mnemonic objects.

[210] Ibid., 47. Hockey and Hallam base their analysis on work done by Fabian and others in the 1970s on anthropological studies of death and their curious similarities. In fact, as Hockey and Hallam relate, in 1972, Fabian noted that anthropological studies of death were frequently characterized by a fascination with the curious and the exotic in ways that resembled the construction of a non-Western, primitive other.

[211] Ibid., 51.

[212] Kas Saghafi, *Apparitions--of Derrida's Other* (Bronx: Fordham University Press, 2010), 32. Saghafi analyzes Derrida's discourses around the human/nonhuman and otherness following the Second World War with an essay entitled, "This Monstrous Figure Without Figure or Face." Turning to Alain David's book *Racisme et antisemitisme* as support, Derrida notes that Nazi ideology was strongly tied to idealism and the notion that form enabled the monstrous, or that "Race is the hyperbole of form." David's project was of course to propose a material phenomenology that could push beyond visible form, giving political and social rights to 'the invisible.'

[213] Ventura, op. cit., 41.

[214] Indeed, escaping would have been the impetus for what we are told were the old man's incessant wanderings through the city of Venice during the days. An involuntary wandering then mediated the old man's mobile existence; he, (like the automaton) had little control over his motions.

[215] Jane Goodall, "Transferred Agencies: Performance and the Fear of Automatism," *Theatre Journal* 49, no. 4 (1997): 441-453. Jane Goodall details the issue of agency with regard to automata.

[216] James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival As Theatrum Mundi* (Boston: Yale University Press, 1996), 11. As James M. Saslow details in his book *The Medici Wedding,* the use of technological spectacle by the Medicis to dazzle spectators even in late sixteenth century was an expression of political power that took forgranted that the submission of the citizen subject would be maintained through displays of absolute control over nature and culture. According to Saslow, the *meraviglie,* or marvels and wonders staged in Italian courtly performance were emblematic of an impulse for "increasing control" which was in itself associated with the birth of absolute monarchy and the modern nation state.

[217] In fact, we start to see this kind of shift away from technology taking place as early as the 1600s in theatrical productions. (Homans notes the disparaging comments about theatrical technologies gone wrong). This move away from the machine is more pronounced by the twentieth century when dancers such as Isadora Duncan and others displayed an amplified interest in motors, engines as metaphors for the body on the one hand, but also showed ample resistance to what they feared was a desire to turn the human body into an industrial, labouring machine. See C J. Preston, "The Motor in the Soul: Isadora Duncan and Modernist Performance," *Modernism/modernity* 12, no. 2 (2005): 273-289.

[218] Jennifer Homans, *Apollo's Angels: A History of Ballet* (New York: Granta Books, 2013), 45. Homans describes the French appetite for the fantastic as a desire to stage, "deus ex machina, spectacular effects in which men and gods were suddenly transformed..." Along with this abundant exploration of the supernatural and the god-man, was a fascination with the creaturely

other, and particularly those encountered in exotic lands that contributed to the plot, settings and costume design for many a theatrical opera or ballet in France.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Hillel Schwartz, "Torque: The New Kinaesthetic of the Twentieth Century," In *Incorporations [Zone 6,* Edited by Jonathan Crary and Stanford Kwinter (New York: Urzone, 1992), 102. Hillel Schwartz provides a detailed analysis of the impact of The Great War on the physical imaginary of citizens in North America and Europe. Noting that following the Civil War, the US became the "leading innovator in the production and fitting of artificial limbs," Schwartz argues that the widespread use of prosthetic limbs exerted an enormous impact on conceptions of the body. Thus, in Schwartz' view, twentieth century visions of the body combine the influences of the machine and of the war in sculpting out new ideas of the shattered, detachable body. This contrasts with classically harmonious body, expressive of the soul that date back to 19th century Delsarte paradigms. We might also note, in keeping with this study, that notions of the efficient, harmonious body date back at least to Descartes if not further back to the Renaissance.

[221] Several articles documenting the accidents associated with the advent of industrial and leisure machines begin to emerge in British newspapers at the turn of the century. Many of these accounts were published in burgeoning industrial centres. See: "Cyclist Drops Dead from His Machine," *The Yorkshire Evening Post (Leeds, England)*, Thursday, September 17, 1903; pg. 3; "Killed by a Wringing Machine at Manor Park," *Essex County Chronicle (Chelmsford, England)*, Friday, September 27, 1901; pg. 6; "Thrashing Machine Fatality near Driffield," *Daily Mail (Hull, England)*, Monday, July 02, 1900; pg. 5; and, "A New Machine Gun," *Birmingham Daily Post (Birmingham, England)*, Tuesday, September 18, 1900.

[222] Stanton B.Garner, "The Gas Heart: Disfigurement and the Dada Body," *Modern Drama* 50, no. 4 (2007): 500-516. Garner clarifies the impact of the Great War on disfiguration and disembodiment as an aesthetic preoccupation vividly depicted in Tzara's 1921 play.

[223] The film was conceived by French artist Fernand Leger in collaboration with American filmmaker Dudley Murphy.

[224] Matthew Biro, *The Dada Cyborg: Visions of the New Human in Weimar Berlin* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 2. By the fourth decade of the twentieth century, visions of the human body as seamlessly integrated with technologies had permeated the public imaginary and given birth to the cybernetic movement. Two decades later in the 1960s, that movement gave birth to its own monster, and the cyborg as articulated by Manfred E. Clynes and Nathan S. Cline "self-regulating human--or animal-- machine hybrid" was born.

[225] We might wish to take a look at this a little more closely. As the tale reveals, the automaton was programmed to perform but one human gesture as a routine part of each day. Yet, at the narrative apex of the story, Nino's gears wind down mid-gesture. One might speculate that the mechanical failure experienced by Nino was a response to the terrors of Venice's occupying forces, its expiry under duress emblematic of the fable's climax. On the other hand, one might propose that the automaton, in a single act of agency, martyred his own body, thereby sparing the life of his companion creator.

[226] Gray, op. cit., 27. It is worth recalling here, by contrast, that Robert Gray's testimonial about von Kempelen's automaton chess player describes the automaton chess player not only as free of mechanical error, but also as "guided by a precision and judgement that baffles the skill of even experienced chess players."

[227] Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 13.

[228] We might note that in this way, both instantiations of the automaton, its eighteenth century Austrian version and Ventura's twenty-first century redaction detail the embeddedness of the human in technosensual context, thereby sharing considerable conceptual terrain with the posthuman cyborg.

[229] Turkle, op. cit., 308.

[230] von Mücke, op. cit. 140.

[231] Reilly, op. cit., 2.

[232] Mayr, op. cit., 49. citing from Aristotle's work *The Politics.*

[233] As a consequence, the human at least in nineteenth-century European literature, had been ideated as an antidote to the machine and had increasingly become defined against the machine, rather than against nature, coming to represent all that was intuitive, imperfect, mutable, emotive, spontaneous and organic.

[234] Thomas Carlyle, "Signs of the Times," *Selected Works, Reminiscences and Letters.* Ed. Julian Symons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 25.

[235] Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetics or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* (Boston: MIT press, 1965), 40. Wiener exposes the enduring appeal of the automaton in saying, "At every stage of technique since Daedalus or Hero of Alexandria, the ability of the artificer to producer a working simulacrum of a living organism has always intrigued people. The desire to produce and to study automata has always been expressed in terms of the living technique of the age."

[236] Riskin, op. cit., 612.

[237] E. Thacker, "Data Made Flesh: Biotechnology and the Discourse of the Posthuman," *Cultural Critique* 53, no. 1 (2003): 72.

Chapter 3:

The Sylphide

3.1 Kaleidoscopic Alterity: The Hypermobile Creatures in *La Sylphide* (1832)

Every beautiful woman is a monster, and like all monsters is therefore suited above all to exhibition and display[1]

The spectacular first flowering of French Romantic ballet has long been associated with the debut of *La Sylphide* at the Salle le Peletier of the Paris Opéra on March 12 1832. Hailed as an immediate sensation, the ballet's zealous display of airborne sylphides, at once alluring and dangerous, intrusive and "never fixed in one place," enabled a profound transgression of those frontiers that separated the civilized from the wilderness, the normative human being from its monstrous, nonhuman other.[2] Yet, monsters in theatrical performance rarely appear without significant announcements to make; their bodies, like that of the aberrant creature crafted by Victor Frankenstein,[3] exist at the epicentre of seismic socio-political change. So it was, that the invasive flights of *La Sylphide's* creatures into the bourgeois household allegorized the perceived dangers of female mobility during the July Monarchy, embodying French author and journalist Arnould Frémy's (1809-1890/ 92) caution that every woman is a monster, and like all creatures that had physically surpassed the bounds of the normative, was "suited above all to exhibition and display."[4]

Frémy's designation of women as monsters decidedly drew from a long tradition in French literature and performance that represented marginalized others (including women) as bewitching, perilous creatures whose difference from the human served to caution against surpassing the normative limits of social and political inclusion.[5] It was not without precedent then, that the transgressive, aerial physicality of *La Sylphide*'s creaturely others that sparked the era's curiosity and fascination was synecdochic with the socio-political horrors and metamorphoses of the French revolution.[6]

In this chapter, I propose that the widely cited preoccupation with flight in the original production of *La Sylphide* (1832) was anchored by the 'hypermobility' of its two nonhuman creatures: namely, the Sylphide and the witch, Madge. In this vein, I conceptualize hypermobility (i.e. the unusual emphasis on flight as transgression) as emblematic of July Monarchy anxieties surrounding efforts made by French women to 'mobilize;' that is, to move in and out of the domestic arena and into the public sphere, and to assemble into organized, politicized groups. I propose that this 'hypermobility'[7] vivified a July Monarchy preoccupation with female others that had exceeded their normative bounds, their unified, unregulated intrusions into the domain of the human (i.e. the centre of the French family) a perturbing site of revolutionary provocation. More specifically, I argue that the witch and the Sylphide are in fact one and the same nonhuman creature,[8] a monster that is the inheritance of a vast number of hopes and fears about the mobility of several historical 'others' following the French Revolutionary wars (1789-99). For if the monster is indeed a herald of danger, a seismograph for the sociopolitical shifts and tremors of the day, I propose that it is worth looking to the hypermobile female forms in *La Sylphide* as synecdochic with revolutionary anxieties that surrounded the increasing visibility and mobility of French women, and their concomitant demands for legal, social and political recognition and freedoms during the period following revolution known as the July Monarchy.

Widely considered the first full-length French Romantic ballet, *La Sylphide* has long been associated with the ascendancy of the female dancer on the French theatrical stage, its hypertrophy of the feminine subjected to repeated interrogation by dance historians who have skilfully mined its narrative outlines for the social and political significance of its flying bodies.[9] Specifying the Romantic era itself as a "meditation on femininity," Lynn Garafola has confirmed a correlation between the proliferation of beguiling, supernatural women and the eclipse of the male danseur noble from centre stage.[10] Probing the overrepresentation of the female form in *La Sylphide*, Sally Banes has accordingly analyzed the ballet's patriarchal heuristic, exposing the existence of a 'marriage plot.'[11]

In the discussions that follow, I draw from and expand upon existing feminist historiographies in advancing that it was through the heightened display of the female body's motion (allegorized as monstrous) that ideals pertaining to the bourgeois French male, the centre of the political empire in France during the July Monarchy, were formulated. In reinterpreting the ballet's nonhuman creatures (the Sylphide and the witch) as morphologies born out of a constellation of literary, medical and politico-philosophical discourses uniquely configured to address the necessity of social and political metamorphosis within the new French republic, I reveal how depictions of alterity in *La Sylphide* were fundamentally framed through reference to the contentious mobility of others (both within and beyond French borders) as well particular types of women (the political woman, the *femme des lettres* and the *femme publique*) in the public sphere. Accordingly, I expose *La Sylphide's* nonhumans as 'kaleidoscopic' figures whose plastic, polysemic expressions of difference exceed the normative at every angle, and at every turn.

In so doing, this chapter turns to several primary source texts and visual documents which have been divided into three categories: those that provide detail regarding *La Sylphide's* narrative content, those that offer evidence regarding art, politics and performance during the July Monarchy in France, and those that document the esoteric and literary ancestry of the ballet's nonhuman figures. Belonging to the first list are two works: the first, by nineteenth century French author and critic Jules Janin (1804-1874) whose commentary on *La Sylphide* is compiled in *Les Beautés De l'opéra, ou, chefs-d'oeuvre lyriques* (1845), and the second, Marian Smith's anthology *La Sylphide: Paris 1832 and Beyond* contains two sources: an English translation of Adolphe Nourrit's libretto and the plot summary of the ballet from *Le courier des théâtres* (1832). In addition, English balletomane Cyril Beaumont's summary of *La Sylphide* contained in *Complete Book of Ballets: A Guide to the Principal Ballets of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* first published in 1937 offers valuable secondary source detail. All three texts provide crucial detail regarding the ways in which nonhumans in *La Sylphide* were received and interpreted in the early years of its performance. In this vein, Janin's summary proves indispensable in its description not only of the performance, but in its detailed appreciation of the ballet's narrative features and creaturely figures,

and its historical relationship to its predecessors. In addition to this, a number of performance reviews of early productions of *La Sylphide* that appeared in nineteenth century French and British newspapers, magazines and journals have been critical in assessing the significance of *La Sylphide's* hypermobile morphologies.

The second list of primary sources includes French writer and critic Léandre Vaillat's biography of Marie Taglioni, *La Taglioni ou la vie d'une danseuse* published in 1942, Italian choreographer and theoretician Carlo Blasis' treatise on ballet entitled *Traité élémentaire, théorique et pratique de l'art de la danse* (1820), the administrative police official Honoré Antoine Frégier's *Des Classes Dangereuses de la population dans les grandes villes et des moyens de les rendre meilleures* (1840) and French author and critic Théophile Gautier's comprehensive study of the Romantic era in *Histoire du Romantisme; suivie de notices romantiques; et d'une étude sur la poésie Française,* first published in 1874.

Likewise, the literary and esoteric ancestry of *La Sylphide's* nonhumans has warranted its own subset of primary sources that includes French journalist Paul Ginisty's *La féerie* (1910), the Abbé de Nicolas-Pierre-Henri Villars' esoteric treatise entitled *La Suite du Comte De Gabalis, ou nouveaux entretiens sur les sciences secrétes, touchant la nouvelle philosophie* (1715) and Sir Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* first published in 1830. Finally, numerous secondary sources have also been consulted in order to contextualize the literary, sociopolitical and religious marks that have been left upon *La Sylphide's* narrative morphologies.

The chapter is divided into thirteen segments followed by a conclusion. Following a brief introduction to the ballet, an overview of its nonhuman figures and a statement of the research problem (sections two and three respectively), the fourth section delves into a study of the sylph as a symbol of renewal and regeneration repeatedly invoked in esoteric lore and literature since the sixteenth century. The fifth follows, articulating the sylph's revolutionary undercurrents. The sixth segment considers the Scottish sylph within the ballet and transplanted more broadly, on French soil, through an examination of the genre of literature known as the historical adventure tale.

Six segments follow (3.7-3.12), drawing parallels between the Sylphide, the witch and a number of historical 'others' within French borders. Probing three typologies widely construed as a threat to the new republic during the July Monarchy (the political woman, the *femme des lettres* and the *femme publique*), these sections clarify how allegorizations of historical others deemed nonhuman were used to demarcate and reiterate the bounds of the normative within the ballet. The thirteenth segment which precedes the chapter's concluding remarks, focuses on dancer Marie Taglioni's legendary performance of the Sylphide in 1832 in order to discern the ways in which new nineteenth-century technologies served to display the monstrous woman on the French stage, facilitating the female ballet dancer's methectical embodiment of the nonhuman.

Finally, the sylph evokes a terminological quagmire that necessitates some distinctions be imposed between the different varieties of this creature described within the chapter. The broad category of the sylph as it has emerged from esoteric lore and developed in European literature will be referred to as the sylph, uncapitalized and designating the male of the species. Where this general category takes into account the female of the species, the creature, in keeping with the literary tradition is termed the sylphide, again uncapitalized. Where referring to the figure established *in La Sylphide's* narrative and staged in its debut performance, the term Sylphide with a capital "S" is used.

While this chapter is constructed in accordance with what dance historian Alexandra Carter has disparagingly referred to as a "periodization"[12] of Romantic ballet, the particular objective of this chapter, I argue, is best served by a stark demarcation of Romanticism in ballet as a period whose existence spanned "a twenty-year golden age stretching from the July Revolution to about 1850."[13] Similarly, given that *La Sylphide* was staged just two years following the 'three glorious days' in 1830 that deposed King Charles X and his government in France,[14] the period of the July Monarchy (1830-1848) is given central importance in this chapter. Here too, it is believed that the strategic periodization deployed in this chapter serves to draw attention to the ways in which the movements of numerous historical actors were allegorized as monstrous, and other than human, during the July Monarchy.

It has also been necessary however, to move beyond Romanticism's confines in addressing the

cumulative, slow contraction of legal, social and political freedoms for women over a broader period that succeeded the revolutions of 1789-99, the subsequent passing of the Napoleonic Code in 1805 and the expression of bourgeois gendered norms during the July Revolution. While each of the aforementioned historical shifts were not interchangeable in their aims or outcomes,[15] gendered norms during the July Monarchy were nonetheless characterized by a set of deep continuities pertaining to women's rights that had their shared root in a prolonged and uneasy transition out of the Ancien Régime.

As a consequence, this study proposes that the ballet's nonhumans function to explain, rather than to "escape during a period of what must have seemed a dizzying succession of sweeping political changes,"[16] those chronic contests over the mobility and presence of women in the public sphere. In turn, I depart from existing historiographies in suggesting that the hypermobility of the ballet's creatures points not only to the dangers of marriage beyond one's station,[17] but to the greater perils attributed to the public visibility of women who either flouted or inadvertently fell beyond clearly defined, conventional class markers, and with whom the Republican regime found it "difficult to identify."[18]

3.2 An Introduction to The Monstrous Duo: *La Sylphide's* Nonhumans

Choreographed by Filippo Taglioni (1777-1871), *La Sylphide's* monstrous creatures exemplified the oppositional dyads and symbols that were the inheritance of a libretto created by Adolphe Nourrit (1802-1839) that had itself taken inspiration from French author Charles Nodier's (1780-1844) popular tale entitled *Trilby, ou le lutin d'Argail* published in1822. In turn, Nodier's rich treasury of revolutionary demons bequeathed to the narrative outlines of *La Sylphide* a pairing of nonhumans (namely the Sylphide and the witch) that were transgressive, their aerial physicality —particularly as danced by the celebrated Marie Taglioni— the focus of a July Monarchy curiosity and fascination. So it is, that *La Sylphide*'s graphic depiction of this monstrous polarity has long been subjected to interrogation by scholars who have mined the ballet's narrative outlines for the social and political significance of its aerial women whose supernatural bodies were as appealing as they were perilous.

To this end, dance historian Lynn Garafola has suggested that the Romantic era was itself a "meditation on femininity -- its mystique, elusiveness, unattainability, and innumerable avatars."[19] Citing

the corresponding ascendency of a bourgeois public whose tastes had come to newly define a "new aesthetic"[20] in the theatres of European centres such as Paris and London, Garafola argues that the prominent display of beguiling, supernatural women on the Romantic stage was inextricably affiliated with the eclipse of the male danseur noble from centre stage and the concomitant disappearance of a pantheon of gods, kings and angels that had long accompanied ballet's aristocratic roots.[21] Similarly postulating that the profusion of female bodies clad in white tulle in Romantic ballet offered a world of "escape during a period of what must have seemed a dizzying succession of sweeping political changes,"[22] historian Deborah Jowitt maintains that *La Sylphide'*s overrepresentation of the female form emblematized a bourgeois desire to escape France's political turmoil.

Amidst these scholarly attempts to explain the profusion of female bodies on the stages of Romantic ballet, the following questions remain: Why it was that that a host of female bodies allegorized as beyond the human were, in both their most resplendent and repulsive forms, so closely allied with an aerial hypermobility? Why was the flight of *La Sylphide's* creaturely others conflated with transgression? Do the morphologies displayed in *La Sylphide*, and more importantly, the forms of escapism they articulated, reference social and political demarcations of the human during the period of its creation? If so, can *La Sylphide* be recontextualized by its socio-political underpinnings, its sweeping flights of escape reinterpreted as revolutionary premonitions and aftershocks?[23]

An examination of writer and critic Jules Janin's summary of the ballet contained in *Les Beautés de l'opéra, ou, chefs-d'oeuvre lyriques* published in 1845 redresses these oversights, asserting the embeddedness of *La Sylphide* in the realities of the new French republic. As Janin's commentary confirms, the narrative content of *La Sylphide* was in fact as crucially entwined in the political and social realities of the day, as it was shaped by ambiguous separation of fact and fiction:

> Ce qui fait le charme de ce petit drame, c'est que la fiction est habilement mêlée à la vérité; l'idéal tient de très-près à la vie réelle; le héros appartient également à la fille de la terre et à la fille des nuages.[24]

If, as the excerpt above maintains, "ideals hold fast to the realities of life"[25] in *La Sylphide*, then there is reason to presume that the ballet was more than an elaborate spectacle designed to lull spectators into an amnesiac state, but was instead an elaborate recollection and re-presentation of France's turbulent social and political realities through its monstrous, polarized dyad of leading ladies.

In his influential essay, "Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria under Political Pressure," literary historian Neil Hertz examines the recurrent representation of French revolutionary violence emblematized "as a hideous and fierce but not exactly sexless woman."[26] Drawing from Parisian examples of the 1848 Revolution and the Commune, Hertz describes the way in which the actions of women were seen to be embodiments, literal enactments of what the revolution was said to be doing. Through parsing the revolutionary writings of Victor Hugo, de Tocqueville and others, Hertz notes the nineteenth century predilection for physiognomic explanations of history, with the physical characteristics of women becoming synecdochic with political events of the day.

According to Hertz, the perceived correspondence between the form of woman and the violence of revolution gave birth to a number of 'Medusa fantasies' that artificially created a conception of history itself that conflated the woman's body with violent political upheavals. An archetype replicated in France, Britain and the United States, the monstrous body of the political woman often signalled "to a horrified society,"[27] "the revolution's "monstrous and unknown forms."[28] Indeed, as social historian Sean M. Quinlan has demonstrated, it was through the use of the female body in performances both theatrical and political that French republicans sought the nation's regeneration, thereby reconstructing through the woman's monstrous binaries, a 'new man' and a 'new society.'[29]

Central to the project of renewing and rehabilitating a nation broken and bloodied by the struggles of revolution, were concerted efforts made by the French bourgeoisie at purifying and domesticating the woman's nomadic body, as an extension of her moral constitution. In this vein, Dr. Pierre Cabanis' influential book, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* published in 1802 emblematized a vast genre of medical literature that aimed at human perfectibility through a science of hygiene and purification that emphasized the overarching importance of methods of social cleansing that

aimed at a "regenerated French race."[30] In tandem with these remedies proposed by biomedical literature produced in France, a vast array of political texts and commentaries that saw the woman's mobile body as the site of a struggle between virtue and vice, purity and disease played a critical role in the ways in which women were actively monitored and displayed in textual sources, art and literature.[31]

Furthermore, as a result of the conception of women's bodies as the site of stark antagonisms between virtue and vice, notions of the monster in nineteenth century Paris were inextricably linked to a heightened culture and aesthetic display of the female body.[32] In this context, historian Miranda Gill contends that the classification of women as monstrous had little to do with their superficial appearance. Rather, the term 'monster' would be applied to any woman who had exceeded the norms of mobility ascribed to her by the dictates of the new regime. In this way, women considered beautiful and therefore prized for their exaggerated perfections were no less objects of display than those considered ugly or socially threatening, whose bodies were compared to monstrous errors of nature and reviled like the elderly prostitutes pointed at in the street.[33]

As a corollary, the heightened surveillance and display of the female body in Romantic ballet was additionally linked to changing conceptions of the bourgeois male during the July Monarchy. Concomitant with the prominence afforded to the ideal woman, notions of the bourgeois shared by the urban elite in the nineteenth century affirmed a code of male honour that was reconfigured according to "gendered norms"[34] in the nineteenth century. While older values of bravery and male gallantry persisted amidst these revisions, bourgeois masculinity nonetheless increasingly placed men and women in a polarity of complementarity and difference.[35]

3.3 What's A Tale Without a Witch?

Despite polarized conceptions of femininity during the July Monarchy, the Sylphide and the witch were, as dance historian Joellen Meglin argues, indivisible entities. Pointing to French writer and critic Jules Janin's summary of *La Sylphide*, Meglin contends that any overt polarizing differences between the witch and the Sylphide serve as evidence for their unity as a pairing, each a doppelgänger, an inversion of the other.[36] In keeping with Frémy's quote at the beginning of this chapter, Meglin's

approach confirms the unity of the beautiful and the horrific[37] in *La Sylphide's* polarized visions of womanhood, stating of its dyad that, "one is necessary to the other: [each is] a divided self, looking at oneself, externalized."[38] As creaturely doubles[39] used strategically in political spectacle and theatrical performance, the witch and the Sylphide designate the overarching oppositional binaries that characterized the female body as a potent site of transgression during the Romantic era.

Accordingly, the outset of his synopsis Janin muses, how does one "tell the Scottish tale and do away with the witch?"[40] Janin's comment, on the one hand, confirms the witch as indispensable to the tale. In this revelation of the witch's central significance however, Janin's comment also reveals a deeper truth about the way in which *La Sylphide's* stark binaries animated not a duality, but a single principle: namely, monstrous, nonhuman difference.

As ensuing sections will demonstrate, the particular hues of alterity reflected by the nonhumans in *La Sylphide* mirror not only hypermobile women within the French republic, but historical actors found far beyond French borders, whose exotic presence at the periphery evoked the perils and promises of transgressing the human. In this way, the following discussion clarifies not only how female bodies displayed as monstrous and disruptive became pivotal to the transmission of norms in the new French republic, but how myriad others deemed nonhuman beyond French borders were central in regenerating the French republic. Accordingly, the ensuing section summarizes the literary and esoteric origins of the sylph, tracing its ancestral tropes of renewal and regeneration to Gothic demons born in the fifteenth century.

3.4 The Herald of Renewal and Regeneration: Literary Origins of the Sylph

Idealized and admired as they were, the beguiling nonhuman others in Filippo Taglioni's 1832 production of *La Sylphide* were, before all else, extra-ordinary. Surpassing the norms of human behaviour, their bodies were more often than not, strange, distant or diametrically at odds with the principles of the known, material world. As "winged muses"[41] whose transgressions elicited powerful and frequently tragic outcomes for those with whom they interacted, their very presence demanded change and renewal, perhaps even physical transmogrification.

Drawn from a vast arsenal of transgressive figures displayed in French literature and performance between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, *La Sylphide's* creatures were the inheritance of numerous allegorized visions of difference described in esoteric lore (both eastern and western), Gothic literature, the literature of *le merveilleux* and *le fantastique* and a host of populist performance traditions drawn from the fairground, Italian mime and the circus.[42] Romantic era ballet conformed with these literary precedents, which despite their heterogeneity, most commonly represented the nonhuman as a symbol of renewal and regeneration.

The supernatural figures that populate the narratives of Romantic ballets for instance, drew their inspiration from German Gothic literature of the fifteenth century[43] wherein physical renewals were associated with a religious afterlife. A literary genre that capitalized on images of death in religious iconography, the influence of Gothic literature within the sphere of dance can be traced back to the advent of the printing press in 1470, when Anton Koberger who opened Europe's first print shop in Nuremberg, circulated *Totentanz*[44] motifs whose brooding images of destruction and the hereafter gripped the European imaginary.[45] A staple of Gothic fiction,[46] these images and associated characters were reinvoked with great vigour and ingenuity during Romantic era ballet as librettists inspired by Gothic[47] works written in German, Scottish and English staged elaborate theatrical productions such as Giacomo Meyerbeer's opera, *Robert le Diable* (1831).[48]

Within France however, the influence of the Gothic reflected several more locally dominant influences, including the influence of a genre of literature called *le fantastique*.[49] Invested in themes of renewal and regeneration, literature of the fantastic furnished readers with what French historian of religions and literary critic Roger Caillois has classified as a "fissure… [an] unexpected, almost unbearable encroachment upon the real world" in the hopes of shocking readers into a kind of psychophysical renewal.[50] As a monograph written in 1910 by French journalist Paul Ginisty (1855-1932) entitled *La féerie* confirms, the development of nonhuman creatures within traditions of the *fantastique* in French ballet was indebted to traditions of *le merveilleux* that were introduced to France via Italy through

Catherine de Medici[51] in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[52] According to Ginisty, such renewals were carefully materialized through technologies of stagecraft as early as the seventeenth century, when the French ballet began exploiting the traditions of *le merveilleux* under Louis XIV.[53]

By the 1830s, the preoccupation with 'fantastic' creaturely others that might elicit social and political renewals had taken France and Germany by storm, leaving its mark on the province of ballet. Precursors to Adolphe Nourrit's (1802-1839) libretto for *La Sylphide* may be found in this enthusiasm for the literary terrain of the *conte fantastique.*[54]

Crucially, narrativized visions of nonhumans in the *conte fantastique* were themselves born of a vast heritage of esoteric lore (both western and eastern) that fed a growing European appetite for tales of beings whose bodies had surpassed the human.[55] As research on new religious movements and esotericism has demonstrated, while institutionalized forms of religious expression were on the wane between the early to middle of the nineteenth century, heterodox forms of religiosity were at their apex, especially in France.[56] Tropes of the Romantic stage accordingly drew from the preoccupations of Occultists who, in seeking religious renewal, denied the importance of rationality, turning instead to symbols, sensation and instinct.[57]

Within this framework, the sylph's symbolic significance which belonged quite properly to the realm of esoteric lore (which in its dependence on its secrecy[58] and initiation of the few was by definition oriented to transgressions of the normative), was later reworked into literary tales. Regularly identified with frontiers of religious belief, the sylph was a frequently repeated trope in the broader esoteric metanarratives of renewal and regeneration written as early as the seventeenth century. Standing at the edge of the known world, these writings disclosed the sylph's potential to demarcate the boundaries of the human, and associated the creature with a transcendent, hidden truth that when revealed, might lead to personal or social renewal.

In this vein, *La Suite du Comte de Gabalis, ou nouveaux entretiens sur les sciences secrète*[59] written by the Abbé de Monfaucon de Villars and originally published in 1668,[60] delivered its readers an early description of the sylph. In fact, the popularity of the sylph in French literature may be singularly

indebted to the work of de Villars, which saw "at least twelve French editions between 1670 and 1800."[61] Period historian August Viatte has likewise argued that the influence of *Gabalis* is visible in the works of Charles Nodier whose novel *Trilby ou le lutin d'Argail* (1822), had been used by librettist Adolphe Nourrit as the narrative basis for the ballet, *La Sylphide.*[62]

Gabalis offers the first outlines of the sylph's significance as an ambiguous creature of disguise, an 'other' closely associated with the mercurial, uncontrollable shifts of the natural world.[63] Delivering some of the earliest details about the sylph as a cautionary figure, Villars' esoteric treatise also deploys the sylph as a reminder of Adam's carnal fall.[64] Moreover, Villars' text details the sylphs, along with their creaturely counterparts, the undines, nymphs, gnomes and salamanders as nonhuman creatures that enable the acquisition of spiritual consciousness, as gatekeepers to potent gnoseological renewals.[65]

In this sense, the morphological difference of the sylph is a reminder of the human's fall from perfection. In Villars' text, these creatures are, as intermediary beings, barometers of a remnant potential for renewals and perfectibility, of the human's ability to re-establish contact with the 'other.'[66] Thus, in the last *entretiens* of his text, Villars offers a surprising list of important personages issued from the marriages of humans and sylphs, thus constituting a promising history of the union of humans and myriad creaturely others. It is said for instance that Hercules, Alexander the Great, Achilles and Plato were all the progeny of human-sylph relationships.[67] By extension, the sylph in Villars' text parallels this earlier paradigm in which the disguised nonhuman intervened in and altered the social order, facilitating relationships between the human and the 'creaturely'.

Situated at the very crux of the human's relationship with the other, a wealth of tales written between 1668 and 1862 attest to the sylph's importance as a decoy uniquely enabled to alter human operations, particularly through the creature's long-held association with ambiguity, disguise and deception.[68] Narrating humans as the potential beneficiaries of the sylph's physical ambiguity, popular leitmotifs depicted the sylph as an illegible body potentially hijacked to the ends of human recreation, or 're-cognition.' Thus, in Fagan and Panard's one-act *opéra-comique* performed in 1730 entitled *La Sylph*

supposé, a husband pretending to be a sylph beguiles his wife under the veil of his disguise each night, only to finally reveal his true identity by the end of the piece.[69]

Following this, in 1772, French writer Jacques Cazotte, having read what was by then the wildly popular *Gabalis*, reworked the themes of disguise and recognition contained in Villars' text and wrote the tale, *Le Diable amoureux*. In it, Villars depicts a sylphide (female of the species) as the devil in disguise. Cazotte's vision however, as we will see, represents a specific shift within French esotericism in which social and political concerns (particularly counter-revolutionary discourses) began to overlap with esoteric notions of the sylph as a symbol of transcendence and renewal.

3.5 Revolutionary Devils and Foreign Sylphs

An occultist who first encountered the esoteric doctrines of Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin in the late 1770s, Cazotte was a royalist who hoped to preserve the monarchy and Catholicism with a "bloodless, spiritual restoration of the monarchy and religion through the intervention of the intermediary spirits."[70] As a result, Cazotte's writings deployed esoteric figures not simply as an ontological tool to examine the nature of being, but as an ethical paradigm which might reshape social and political realities.

In fact, Cazotte's counter-revolutionary letters which delivered a "politics of mysticism,"[71] underscored the utility of esoteric tropes in articulating revolutionary ideologies. Thus, citing "the true cause of the Revolution was the Devil (not only in a metaphorical sense),"[72] Cazotte's dark reworkings of the sylph as a revolutionary trope significantly influenced Charles Nodier, whose *Trilby ou le lutin d'Argail* (1822), as mentioned previously, became the basis for the ballet, *La Sylphide.*

As interest in the esoteric expanded in France to include strains of Cagliostro, Rosicrucianism, demonology and a wealth of German, Scottish and English Gothic literature, an upsurge of interest in oriental themes instigated by the dissemination of new translations of literary and religious texts from the east (including *Sakuntala*, *The Arabian Nights*, and the *Bhagavad Gita),* sedimented its own set of tropes within French ballet.[73] In November 1830, two years prior to the premiere of *La Sylphide* in Paris, Charles Nodier published his seminal essay entitled "Du fantastique en literature"[74] in the *Revue de Paris.*

Widely cited as the narrative instigator of *La Sylphide*, Nodier was a Jacobin who had witnessed the Revolution at close range as a child in Besançon.[75] Deeply affected by the Terror, Nodier went on to lead an important literary salon,[76] devoting much of his writing to revolutionary themes. Uniting a unique combination of preoccupations with the political and the supernatural, Nodier's recurrent themes which included "trial, prison, and bloody execution, a residue of the Revolution -- would cross over between his contes and his melodramas, and go on to haunt later conteurs fantastiques."[77] When Nodier became curator of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in 1824, he invariably brought a particular strain of romanticism charred by revolutionary anxiety into the world of his avant-garde contemporaries.

On this basis, the association of sylphs with intrigue/deception permeated Nodier's *Faust* (based on German author Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's original)[78] which was first performed at the Théatre de la Porte-Saint-Martin on October 29, 1828. The brooding revolutionary tenor of Nodier's melodrama which displayed throngs of romping sylphides in its "danses des Sylphides,"[79] uniquely skewed Goethe's original vision. Thus, transmogrified by a heritage of revolutionary tropes and demonological lore, Nodier's sylphides were visually homologous with Mephistopheles.

By the third decade of the nineteenth century, strains of the demonic inflected all manner of creaturely others presented on the theatrical stage. As Danish ballet master and choreographer August Bournonville proclaimed of Jules Perrot, the dancer's "occult"[80] performance reminiscent of "a zephyr with the wings of a bat,"[81] manifested the era's preoccupation with the demonic as the "most important element on the French stage."[82] And, as the following passage from Janin's commentary clarifies, by 1845, (the year that balletomane Jules Janin's summary of the ballet was published), the sylph assumed the appearance of a demon, the cause of the protagonist James' affliction:

> …si la robe blanche vient à passer, si le frôlement de l'aile jalouse vient à se faire entendre, si le regard triste et touché du lutin familier brille comme une flamme mouillée, soudain maître James quitte la main d'Effie, il se précipite à la suite du démon qui l'appelle, il ne voit plus que La Sylphide…[83]

This expanding zeal for the demonic on the performance stage during the third decade of the nineteenth century was further fuelled by a growing fascination in European literature with new,

unrecognized beings, and the discovery of populations hitherto unknown. A paradigm literary influence on Romantic ballet, Scottish novelist, playwright and poet Sir Walter Scott first published his letters on demonology and witchcraft in 1830, two years prior to *La Sylphide's* first performance. The main contribution of Scott's research on demonology comprised his 'discovery' of pockets of people at the edge of the known world[84] (i.e. in Scotland) and their faith in a world enchanted by spirits.[85]

Théophile Gautier's *Histoire du Romantisme; suivie de notices Romantiques; Et d'une étude sur la poésie Française, 1830-1868* published in 1874 likewise articulated this reciprocity between the sylph and pioneering discoveries at the frontiers of the human. As the following excerpt demonstrates, Romanticism's rhizomatic origins are proudly declared in Gautier's jubilant language of discovery, his "unknown worlds" reminding readers of the genre's global sources, from Romantics such as Byron and Goethe to translations of Shakespeare, as well as a host of diverse, unnamed (and historically unspecified) aesthetic influences subsumed under the banner of influences from the "Orient":

> Quel temps merveilleux! Walter Scott était alors dans toute sa fleur de succès; on s'initiait aux mystères du *Faust* de Goethe, qui contient tout, selon l'expression de madame de Staël, et même quelque chose d'un peu plus que tout. On découvrait Shakespeare sous la traduction un peu raccommodée de Letourneur, et les poèmes de lord Byron…nous arrivaient de l'Orient, qui n'était pas banal encore…La tête nous en tournait; il semblait qu'on entrait dans des mondes inconnus.[86]

Gautier's description reveals the extent to which scientific notions of the frontier informed aesthetic imaginaries, and more significantly, the way in which Romantic writers and artists understood nonhumans (such as sylphs) as transgressors of the civilized. Combining geographic quests for new monsters at the edge of civilization with a revolutionary (and esoteric) zeal for building the 'new man,' writers in the Romantic era sought to bridge the gap between history and fantasy, the real and the imagined. In due course, these overlapping concerns found their way into the librettos and narrative designs of many Romantic era ballets.

Thus, a treasury of Romantic tales adapted from diverse literary genres animated what historian of religions Jeffrey Kripal has postulated are a "a set of tropes or story lines about human metamorphosis that are deeply indebted to the history of the religious imagination,"[87] and depicted sylphs as catalysts for

renewals both personal and political. It may well be then that what scholars have long appreciated as a Romantic era desire for escape, and a transcendent, ahistorical truth may have been a by-product of esotericism itself and its emphasis on secret, hidden truths. Exploited to great advantage, the sylph constituted an exceptionally sharp tool in the arsenal of canny French revolutionary writers, who used the figure to camouflage subversive political ideologies.[88] Little surprise then, that on the eve of the 1832 premiere of *La Sylphide,* "themes of retribution and brutality"[89] coincided with the preponderance of airy, illegible females on the theatrical stage.

3.6 Hijacking the Uncivilized Periphery: Literary Adventures in the Nineteenth Century and the Configuration of an Illegible, Exotic Sylphide

In an issue of the *Revue de Paris* published in 1832, the journalist and historian Amédée Pichot (1795-1877) who also wrote under the pseudonym Tristram Nepos, published a response to Honoré de Balzac's imaginary tale of travel to Java entitled "Voyage de Paris à Java" which was published in the same journal just a few months earlier, on 13 May 1832. In "L'adultère chez les Battas,"[90] Pichot not only praised Balzac's widely read travelogue that narrated an imaginary encounter with the Javanese, but invited readers and writers to a greater investigation of the myriad others that lived on the periphery of the 'civilized world.'

Proclaiming, "The Javanese have more than just epics; they have whole anthologies, collections that rival our *contes fantastiques*,"[91] Pichot (who was then director of the *Revue de Paris* and an ardent proponent of literature of the fantastic), urged Balzac and other writers of the day to turn their attention to the extraordinary cultural practices of an 'undiscovered peoples,' the Battas, whose literary treasury he claimed was as bizarre and epic as the people themselves. As it happens, Pichot came upon the Battas by way of the memoirs of the English governor of Batavia (present day Jakarta), Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826). In his stories of undiscovered others, Raffles enchanted French readers with descriptions of a large nation of peaceful people in Sumatra, who, "brave and honorable in all their dealings...[92] will condemn a man guilty of adultery to the punishment of being eaten alive by the husband whose honour has been offended."[93]

Raffles and Pichot were hardly alone in their appetite for descriptions of peripheral, illegible others whose customs and practices might be construed as violations of the normative, civilized human during the Romantic period. Nor were they isolated in their search for ethnographic details that might validate historical novelist, playwright and poet Sir Walter Scott's so-called "fragments of an earlier world."[94] During the late eighteenth century, the French public's fascination for the frontiers of the human as an extension of the new French nation catapulted a new genre of literature, that of historical fiction, to national prominence. So it was, that the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott which were enormously influential in the context of the French *conte fantastique*, served to bolster French Romantic ballet's sensibility of the aerial nonhuman as a foreign other whose morphology was illegible, unidentifiable.

The ensuing discussion traces *La Sylphide's* preoccupation with the nonhuman to articulations of colonial difference as developed in the historical novels produced by Sir Walter Scott, Honoré de Balzac and others in the nineteenth century. To this end, I used this segment to argue that the Scottish sensibility that has persisted through the lineage of Nodier to Nourrit's sylphs and sylphides is illustrative of a technique deployed in Romantic performance narratives in which foreigners from the peripheries of empire (represented as nonhuman), symbolized the subversive, revolutionary presence of the 'other.' Moreover, I contend that the illegibility of these surrogate recruits, that is, their existence beyond recognition, created an interstitial space of opportunity in performance, whereby the normative human was reconsidered.

Born during that period of industrial and colonial expansion when travel writing capitalized on tales of "enchanting and barbarous others,"[95] the historical novel drew as much from the literary motifs one might expect to find in an adventurous reworking of *The Arabian Nights* (which had been translated into French between 1704 and 1713), as it did from the work of historians. In fact, enthusiasts of this genre (whose membership included the diverse literary talents of Balzac, Victor Hugo, Lord Byron and the American James Fennimore Cooper) invited readers to undertake the dangerous passage across the "dark barriers"[96] of many a mountainous border to encounter the living pasts of the uncivilized other.[97] In so doing, yarns spun by these Romantic luminaries brought together history and fiction, as they named

and identified real historical actors at the edges of the French and British empires as nonhuman. This 'discovery' of beings that exceeded the normative French bounds of the human resulted in new visions of the nonhuman as a creature of abject alterity, as a 'kaleidoscopic' other that was the sum-total of differences accumulated at the perimeter of the so-called civilized world.

As with Balzac's "Voyage de Paris à Java,"[98] Sir Walter Scott's first novel *Waverley* (written between 1805 and 1814) focused on representations of difference at the peripheral reaches of the human. In this vein, Scott's invented trope of the Highlander as a barbaric other reinforced existing British sensibilities of the Scottish Highlands as a foreign locale inhabited by savage, nonhuman creatures including fairies and sylphs.[99] As creaturely others that inhabited the outer limits of the known world, fairies and sylphs in Scott's writings were thus depicted as foreign, uncivilized inhabitants of a land at the periphery of the British empire.

Little surprise then, in Adolphe Nourrit's libretto, the Sylphide (inspired as it was by Scott's novels) recalled and represented myriad nonhuman 'others' encountered beyond the boundaries of the French nation. As a journalist's first-hand account in *La Quotidienne* on March 19 1832 established, the original production's costumes (which were Scottish to the point of being unwieldy), overtly recreated the Scottishness of the narrative. As a consequence, the writer lamented, "Les costumes écossais sont ... peut-être trop exacts, ils sont lourds pour des danseurs, et un peu trop monotones."[100]

Likewise, the best-known productions of *La Sylphide* retain earlier visions of a Scottish idyll whose outlines were originally rendered by its putative predecessor, Nodier's *Trilby, ou le lutin d'Argail*[101] which was based on Nodier's travels in Scotland. In fact, the internationally known, paradigmatic version of *La Sylphide* in contemporary performance continues to be the August Bournonville version (1836), which features music by the Norwegian composer Hermann von Løvenskjold (commissioned by August Bournonville) in which leitmotifs of "Auld Lang Syne" and Scottish reels abound. It is equally significant that the names of the ballet's human protagonists Effie and Gurn, which appeared in that first production of the ballet, were retained from Walter Scott's novel *The Heart of Midlothian*.

Certainly, the relationship between Scotland and France during the July Monarchy (the period during which *La Syphide's* narrative outlines were sketched through Nodier and later Nourrit), is curious. A slow-growing sustained fascination for all things Scottish had crept into French literature and performance since Napoleon Bonaparte's infatuation with James MacPherson's 1760 publication of *Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language*.[102] Following this, the book quickly grew in popularity in France in part due to the visible and remaining presence of Scottish troops amongst British occupying forces following the battle of Waterloo in 1815.[103] This, coupled with the growing influence of Sir Walter's Scott's literary publications contributed to a climate of "imaginative historical tourism"[104] that enabled legends of Scottish heroism to be newly exploited within the French historical context, transplanting the material artifacts associated with the Scottish cause onto French soil. In this context, the eighteenth century *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (an encyclopedia published in several editions between 1704 and 1771), mentions the highland Scots as "semi-savages," heralding the start of what French historian Hélène Denis calls the "Nodier sensibility"[105] and its concomitant construction of the wild, Scottish air in the French imaginary.

In this sense, the heightened mythology erected by French writers around the Highlander's identity as a savage, freedom-fighting clansman was hardly accidental in France. Even the use of Scottish textiles within French art and performance during the late eighteenth century provoked revolutionary sentiment in Napoleonic France.[106] Foreshadowing the onset of disorder and political confrontation in the French republic, Eugène Delacroix's painting *Nature morte aux homards* (1825) usurped the plaid fabrics of the Scottish freedom-fighter, its striking crimson textile recalling the revolutionary violence lurking beneath its painterly Constable-esque clouds. In bringing together themes of cruelty, savagery and noble sacrifice, Delacroix's vision coupled the Scottish plaid with political bloodshed, creating a visual theme of rebellion that culminated in what is widely cited as his revolutionary opus of 1830, *La Liberté guidant le peuple*.

In a similar fashion, Jules Janin's text repeatedly conflates the itinerant spirits of *La Sylphide* with the savage gusts of Caledonian winds.[107] Similarly characterizing the Sylphide as an outsider, Janin

correlates her capricious and volatile flights with Scotland's mountains, identifying her more precisely, as "a child of the Scottish Highlands."[108]

On the one hand, one might surmise that the exaggerated flights of *La Sylphide*'s nonhumans dramatized the Romantic era's deep suspicions about emerging city life in the wake of the industrial revolution. In addition however, the ballet's displays of extreme aerial mobility point to an altogether deeper curiosity or perhaps concern regarding the acquisition of liberty and dominion through itinerant motion. Forming the underpinning of synchronous travelogues and adventure literature, it was the body that traversed the earth, roaming in service of an expanding empire after all, that expressed the presumed powers of the liberal humanist subject in the nineteenth century. In fact, one only needs to turn to Sir Walter Scott's "wish to penetrate beyond"[109] the savage highland mountains in *Waverley* (whose physical borders are an obstacle to the civilized), in order to recognize that the dominion of the body over geography signified the Romantic era's conquest of the unknown through colonial expansion.

In this context, the florid flight of *La Sylphide's* nonhuman creatures assumes a political significance. Performed during a time in which freedom to roam was tantamount to political freedom, the nineteenth century literary imagination frequently turned to the tropes of birds or aerial spirits to mark the early stirrings of revolution. Indeed, the aerial zeitgeist of early nineteenth century French literature was invoked by Alexandre Dumas who remarked in his *Mémoires,* that "the [Romantic] era privileged a sustained investigation into the aerial element."[110] Thus, the trope of the migrant, flying bird was developed with great vigour during the classical revival,[111] its association with freedom echoing the preoccupations of the ancient Greeks through whose ideals the French conceived of a new republic and the development of French identity.[112]

Accordingly, the preoccupation with the Sylphide as a flying other in the wild, cold air of Scotland, owed not only to a general fascination for all things Scottish in French romanticism, but a preoccupation with the freedom in the 'air' of Scotland. As historian Denis confirms, the Scottishness invoked by period writers relied on traditional symbolic interpretations of air and wind as active elements that ensured renewal and change. In other words, the element of air, in countering immobility and

stagnant ideals, emblematized the spirit of revolution. This perception of the liberty of the airy regions of the remote Highlands was reflected in French fashions of the day that responded to a largely imagined classical Greek and Scottish sensibility for physical freedom. In this way, a newfound fascination for antique flowing robes, floating ribbons, tartan plaids, and other Scottish motifs came to represent the move away from the stern corsets of the Ancien Régime.[113]

Thus, it might be said that ideations of the new French republic developed slowly through spatial investigations in the performing arts. In this vein, many artistic works and theatrical productions presented the civilized world's edifices and social structures as stable, juxtaposing them against wilderness themes and glorified tableaus of the 'untamed,' or barbaric other that represented all that was changeable, open to reinvention. Construed as the place beyond the mountains and populated by wild creatures, the spatial symbolism of the Highlands as an uninhabitable place "at the edge of human civilization"[114] thus provided a fitting trope within the 1832 production of *La Sylphide.*

However, configurations of the 'other' that played antidote to the civilized were not always located in distant geographic regions. In neighbouring Britain for instance, artists and intellectuals responded to the waves of immigration prompted by the Industrial Revolution by developing a taxonomy of 'others within.' Contributing to the newly emerging field of ethnology, a system of categorizing exotic 'others' found close to home and often in one's own backyard, began to take shape. Among these perceived outsiders within the British empire were the marginalized and impoverished Celts that lived either on or just beyond the borders of the British mainland, and who were thought to be the antithesis of all that was human, civilized. As early ethnologist George Ellis remarked in his *Irish Ethnology* (1852), when the "curse of isolation is removed and the strict enforcement of the law secured, the 'Celt' would adapt himself to "the enjoyment of true liberty and Saxon modes of civilization and progress."[115] Domesticating the Highlander as an 'other within,' Ellis assured, would result in victory for the liberal humanist project and its attending promises of infinite progress.

More significantly, in his later analysis of the French Revolution, Ellis conflated the presumed savagery of Celtic character with the French revolutionary, thereby configuring as insiders the bona fide

citizens of his own native Britain, while condemning all revolutionaries whether Celtic or French, to the margins of civilization. As a footnote in Edward G. Lengel's *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era* details, "Ellis saw French behaviour during the revolutions of 1848 as fresh evidence for the instability of the Celtic character."[116] In his characterization of the Scottish Highlander as a subversive figure, Ellis conflated the revolutionary causes of Scotland with those of nineteenth century France.

Along these lines, Walter Scott's ideological investment in the invention of an authentic and mythic Highland past also reinforced public perceptions of the Celt as a dangerous, revolutionary presence. As founding president of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh, Scott was well-known for his involvement in the creation of material symbols designed to bolster ideologies related to a traditional Scotland. These included the creation of authentic patterns for clan tartans and kilts, which were, incidentally, invented by an Englishman in 1725 and only later established after the Rebellion of 1745.[117] Scott's embellished portraits of the Jacobite Rebellion and its charismatic leader Bonnie Prince Charlie in this vein, produced a set of images and representations of the Scottish Highlands that supplanted existing histories, characterizing the Highlander as a wild, brute warrior in need of pacification.[118]

By 1748, as a consequence of the curated histories provided by Scott and others, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge called for a civilizing process of Scottish culture. The first acts of legislation aimed at domesticating the savage Highlander subsequently emphasized disarmament of the clans[119] and cultural reform.

Yet, it would be a mistake to assume that period writers characterized 'savage' difference with any cultural or geographic specificity. In keeping with the era's ethnologic preoccupations, several Romantic writers invoked the savage as an essentialized category visible across the globe, making it possible to conflate peoples on the Celtic peripheries with foreign cultures whose presence posed a threat to the civilized edicts of modernity, rationality and progress.

As several historians have argued, Scott's early success as a writer owed in no small part to this recurrent theme of the subversive other, whom he regularly invoked in a kind of literary equivalent of the

slave. Canto I of Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) for example, evokes the geography of the elusive Highland landscape using architectural details of the East,[120] while Scott's *Waverley* depicts the inhabitants of both frontier territories as reductively interchangeable. Accordingly, Scott likened the Celt's foreignness with that of "African Negroes or Esquimaux Indians"[121] about whom he insinuated, so little was known:[122]

> So little was the condition of the Highlands known at that late period, that the character and appearance of their population, while thus sallying forth as military adventurers, conveyed to the south-country Lowlanders as much surprise as if an invasion of African Negroes or Esquimaux Indians had issued forth from the northern mountains of their own native country.[123]

A similar conflation of ethnologic and literary types appears in colonial writings published in the new world. In his tale, *A Daughter of the Sioux; A Tale of the Indian Frontier* (1903), American soldier and author of historical fiction Charles King also confirmed the era's preoccupation with homogenously classifying difference as nonhuman. Describing the mixed race offspring of an "Ogallala squaw…and a French Canadian fur trapper,"[124] King drew links between his protagonist's "Indian blood" and her ability to "dance like a sylph," and "...to float about the room as if on air."[125]

In this way, Romantic writers, artists and intellectuals encapsulated the era's ethnologic preoccupations through reductive, fictionalized portraits of real-world historical actors as transcendent and ahistorical. In drawing comparisons between the sylph or the Ogallala squaw for instance, historical actors deemed outsiders were themselves synonymous with spaces uninhabitable, god-forsaken, and ejected from time. These creatures represented that which could or could not (in the words of Gilles Deleuze), exist 'outlandishly'[126] beyond the known.

This association of sylphs with peripheral others both real and invented certainly points to the provocative possibility that the Sylphide in Taglioni's ballet, configured as beyond the human, represented historical actors that transgressed existing parameters of the human. Transplanted within the context of the July Monarchy in France, these deracinated creatures divested of culture and geography carried with them an alterity turned 'kaleidoscopic,' that in referencing one nonhuman creature, invariably pointed to the transgressions of several others. Materialized and given embodied reality, this

ambiguous nonhuman figure could present myriad alternatives to the human in performance, re-envisioning the insiders and outsiders to French identity by the third decade of the nineteenth century.

In the following three segments, I examine the discursive recruits that sprang from Romanticism's diverse literary soil, detailing their reinvention on the theatrical stage. As products of the imagination, these nonhuman figures served as reservoirs of transformation and reinvention fundamental to the reconstruction of the human in revolutionary France. It is important to note, however, that visions of alterity constructed within the historical adventure genre (and its related nineteenth century literary currents) operated in a legal and political matrix that continued to leave many marginalized historical actors upon whom these figures were based, bereft of social and political rights and recognitions. In this sense, many of the historical others conflated with the sylph in *La Sylphide* would continue to be considered peripheral second citizens, if not slave bodies, at least until slavery was definitively abolished in France in 1848.[127]

3.7 The Hypermobile Other in France: Revolutionary Anxiety and the Flight of *La Sylphide's* Nonhuman Others

Just as the nonhumans in *La Sylphide* reflected the identities of historical actors deemed nonhuman outside France and at the peripheries of the so-called civilized world, the ballet also allegorized monstrous 'others' within French borders who had transgressed the norms of the human. Along these lines, the increasing visibility and physical mobility of women, particularly in post-revolutionary France, constituted a particular nexus of anxiety for the new French republic. As historian Neil Hertz reminds, the Parisian metropolis during the July Monarchy was "experienced as a place of perils, inhabited by beings who were something less than human…Public women and the poor were the disease; female domestication and political repression were the cure."[128]

In the following discussion, I argue that the witch/sylphide dyad responds to gendered revolutionary currents that both enabled and curtailed the mobilization of women behind social and political causes in the period from 1794 to 1835. During this time the organizational power and public presence of women came under close scrutiny, resulting in the dichotomized allegorization of a number of

female types, which had been widely depicted in French literary and political culture as early as the seventeenth century. The *femme au foyer* epitomized virtue, while the political woman, the *femme des lettres*, and the *femme publique* epitomized vice. In short, a host of historical actors allegorized as hypermobile in their resplendent and repulsive forms reified the singularly empowered bourgeois French male and the regeneration of a new French republic. This discussion will proceed by examining each typology to contextualize its relevance within the narrative outlines of *La Sylphide*.

3.8 La Femme au Foyer: Women at the Hearth and in the Home

> James, thinking of the Sylphide, unwittingly draws near the chimney and gazes at the place where she vanished. But what does he see -- a hideous, old hag known as Madge, reputed a sorceress.[129]

As the preceding excerpt from Beaumont's commentary confirms, the critical encounter between the human and the nonhuman within *La Sylphide's* narrative unfolds in what dance historian Sally Banes has noted are the domestic abode's liminal spaces. Banes argues accordingly, that like the Wilis in the 1841 production of the ballet *Giselle*, the Sylphide in Taglioni's ballet is a transitional creature, albeit one that is more prominently linked with apertures or doorways, hearths, and windows.[130]

However, a contextualized study of the ballet's libretto and related summaries leads to a strong suspicion that the Sylphide and the witch are not liminal creatures, but rather more central forces, frequently appearing as they do at the hearth of the home. Confirming the explicit relationship between the hearth and the heart of a domestic household, both Beaumont and Janin's narrative accounts open with James sitting by the fire, entirely unprepared for the entry of the Sylphide.[131] Moreover, in calling the Sylphide "the good creature of the domestic hearth,"[132] Janin calls attention to the significance of the Sylphide's appearance at that location, a fact that confirms her presence as central, rather than as transitional or peripheral to the domestic household.

A wide swath of esoteric and fantastic literature exemplifies the hearth in nineteenth-century France not simply as a portal within the domestic abode, but as a structure homologous to the heart of the bourgeois family. In such literature, creaturely others of all kinds entered households by their chimneys

precisely because those inner channels of homes symbolized the human heart, itself the center of the human body. As historian John O'Brien aptly points out, a widespread parallel drawn in French art and literature between notions of the heart and the hearth as physical container of something buried or hidden, stretches back to occult paradigms that captivated Renaissance thinking.[133] As the following excerpt reproduced from an article on French house furnishing written by Theodore Child in 1883 documents, popular publications also recounted the long history of decorating the fireplace as if it were the sacred sanctum of the French home:

> In the best Parisian houses, both private and tenement dwellings, the whole building is generally heated by a calorifère or hot air stoves placed in the basement, and the fireplaces are retained rather as objects of luxury and also as objects of art too. The fireplace, the hearth, the *foyer,* is the center of family life, there is something sacred in the very fire itself, and in our northern climate where we need artificial warmth six months out of the twelve, the fireplace is not only the center of family life and of hospitality, but it is also the place of honor in the house where we pass a great part of our lives, if not the happiest. The fireplace is therefore worthy of all the decorator's attention.[134]

As summaries written by both Beaumont[135] and Janin confirm, this relationship between the hearth and the heart of a household is explicit in their joint emphasis on the spatial axis of the fireside in the narrative's opening scene. It is here that the protagonist James sits, entirely unprepared for the entry of "the good creature of the domestic hearth."[136] In this sense, the initial (and arguably most dramatic) appearance of nonhumans at the firestead in the ballet was hardly indicative of a peripheral presence, but rather a rumbling umbilical provocation felt within the sanctum of the French family. Notable too, is the prominent display of the broom in illustrations contained in Janin's text.[137] Strategically situated just by the hearth (marking the same threshold as the Sylphide's entrance) the domestic implement registers the location of the witch's surreptitious entry, an ever-present reminder of the potential dangers of 'others' that lurk at the gateways of domesticity.

Not surprisingly, the choreographed advent of nonhumans at the chimney in *La Sylphide* coincided with reigning presumptions of women as guardians of the hearth, preservers of the safety of the domestic sanctum. In the period just preceding the debut of *La Sylphide*, the ideal of the maternal woman (as conceived by philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau)[138] had gained symbolic currency among

the radical Jacobins[139] who proposed that the home "be constructed as a haven,"[140] "safeguarded by women from revolutionary turbulence."[141] By the year 1793-1794, the Jacobins, comprised of well-off members of the bourgeoisie (amongst whose ranks we might include Charles Nodier whose *Trilby* inspired the later emergence of the libretto for *La Sylphide*), had become intent on silencing groups of women who did not conform to the "cult of domesticity" promoted within their ranks.[142]

Moreover, between 1794 and 1805, a broadened interest in the body "as a locus of political and moral improvement" as disseminated by the discourses of medical faculties, hospitals and the Institut National, led to a widespread mandate to clarify the role of women in the rehabilitation of the nation.[143] By extension, these institutions proposed a heightened control over the 'natural' female body (believed to possess an excess of imagination and 'sensibility')[144] in order to regulate female mobility. In so doing, these institutions sought to configure the French woman's geographic boundaries close to the hearth, so as to reinforce her sedentary, maternal instincts.

The protection of the hearth however, also held important economic ramifications within the context of French industrialization, especially among Romantic writers and intellectuals who proposed that the domestic labour provided at the hearth was necessary to the renewal of the French economy. Upholding the ideal of maternal femininity, Sir Walter Scott stated that the arduous labour necessary in the construction of rational, progress-driven, capitalist civilization[145] was "a supremely necessary but nevertheless uninspiring and even boring 'feminine' domesticity."[146] It was not without precedent then, that the persistent association of the French woman with domesticity (and by extension, the welfare of the nation) continued into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this time the slow emergence of a female work force in industry raised hostility from male-dominated unions who claimed that "women undercut wages," thereby justifying their place "by the hearth."[147]

Growing out of the French Revolution and its aftermath, the phrase 'la femme au foyer' (the French equivalent of 'a woman's place is in the home') thus idealized the July Monarchy woman who kept her place at the heart of the family.[148] Invariably, the hoped for result of this maternal female was the

coveted 'new man.' Morally virtuous as he was physically strong, the new bourgeois, white, French male's future would be ensured by the able transmission of virtue through a pure, maternal lineage.

Given the ideological significance of the hearth, how much more insidious that in Nourrit's libretto for and Janin's recollections of *La Sylphide*, the encounter with nonhuman others takes place not on the periphery, but on home ground, and within the spatial terrain governed by women. These texts characterize nonhuman others who appear at the hearth as threats to the center of domestic life. What dangers attended the male protagonist sitting at the homestead fire, unsuspecting of those peripatetic bodies that appeared uninvited at the heart of his household?

3.9 Dangerous Hordes: La Femme des Lettres, Les Amazones, La Femme Publique

According to theatre scholar Joseph Roach, the persistent production of surrogates in performance that appear "alien to the culture that reproduces it and that it reproduces"[149] owes to the basic fact that "candidates for surrogation must be tested at the margins of a culture to bolster the fiction that it has a core."[150] Applied to the Sylphide and her counterpart the witch, Roach's theory demonstrates that the allegorization of volatile and unusually mobile women as nonhuman others in *La Sylphide* affirms the presence of stability elsewhere within the narrative's construed order. To put it otherwise, through displays of disorder and chaos, the ballet's female figures strategically reinforced the hegemony of the bourgeois male, upon whose shoulders the stability of the French republic presumably rested.

As many historians have postulated, sex and class struggles regularly represented through images of the feminine during and directly following the revolutionary years, repeatedly turned to a few key images: the maternal figure associated with the hearth and the home, the warrior-woman or the amazon at the barricades, and liberty as a whore.[151] The first of these gendered ideals (the maternal woman) was described in the preceding section. The latter two categories depict examples of the hypermobile (and therefore monstrous) feminine that played at the very margins of society, as constrained by the gendered norms of the July Monarchy. Of these key images, the new republic construed the hypermobile woman, characterized by her reach into the public sphere and her ability to "mobilize" or assemble in organized groups, as the greatest threat to domestic security. Seen this way, the presence of polarized throngs of

women or female-led mobs in ballet Romanticism can be interpreted as emblematic of the bourgeois desire to display, and thereby monitor and constrain, the mobility/mobilization of the three monstrous types: the political woman, the *femme des lettres*, and the *femme publique* (the prostitute).

3.10 The Threat of Mobilized, Political Women in France

As several dance historians demonstrate, the sylphides and witches in Taglioni's production rarely appear alone. Instead, they form part of organized groups whose unity on the stage foregrounds their coherence as a community of same-sex others.[152] For example, Janin's synopsis states that the witches arouse fear not simply for their physiological differences, but because they arrive in clans: "*Non pas seule.*"[153]

Reconstructions of the ballet accordingly accentuate the communal nature of the courtship between James and the Sylphide. The pair's dance at the opening of Act II takes place among a youthful flock of women in white, whose mirroring, vaporous gestures appear to multiply in a sweeping hallucinatory chorus. Through this labyrinthine parade of identical women James chases his elusive Sylphide. In incantatory, ecstatic *cambrés*, the coven of witches likewise emphasizes the amplified power of female clans moving in unison.[154]

While the political culture of the July Monarchy[155] did not entirely exclude women as it had in the late eighteenth century,[156] both supporters and opponents of the regime disseminated graphic, polarized representations of women that relied "heavily on images of women to represent its essentially good or its vicious nature."[157] Post-revolutionary regimes thus depicted the politically active woman's mobility and increasing prominence in the public sphere as a mob-like threat to the much-desired peace and order of the French republic.

For influential Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau,[158] the politically active woman, having transgressed and exceeded the bounds of her own nature, constituted the greatest threat to French security. Considered subversives to the ideals of the woman as 'natural' mother, Rousseau portrayed public woman as those that had neglected the "important concerns to which nature had called them."[159]

By 1793, Republican leaders who wanted to preserve Rousseau's maternal ideal sought to suppress the women within their ranks who had become active subjects not only in the shaping of the party's political programs, but, as political historian Linda Zerilli notes, in "the course of the Revolution itself."[160] Deeming political women an affront to male hegemony, the male leadership systematically denounced women's clubs such as the well-known Républicaines-Révolutionnaires, formed in 1793 and led by Claire Lacomb and Pauline Léon, vilifying them as "very dangerous."[161]

In response to the growing concern about gatherings of politicized women, the government moved to reconsider the status of all French women. By October 30, 1793, four years after the historic march on Versailles in which women were said to have played a key role, the National Convention declared a ban on all women's clubs.[162] By 1804, the legal and social strides made by early feminists contracted, and their few gains in power quickly dwindled in the face of the policies of Robespierre's revolutionary government and the Napoleonic Code. In the years that followed between 1804 and 1832, there appeared a new social order that iterated cautions to women involved in political groups.

In tandem, economic and social policies between these years kept women impoverished, and their illegitimate children disenfranchised.[163] As a result, women turned to the Catholic Church for support throughout the nineteenth century, as religious, social and political institutions implicated in the oppression of women increasingly idealized the domestic roles of wife and mother.[164] Echoing Simone de Beauvoir's comments in *The Second Sex* (1949), several historians postulate that the French revolution did little to improve the conditions of women:

> It might well have been expected that the Revolution would change the lot of women. It did nothing of the sort. That bourgeois revolution was respectful of bourgeois institutions and values and it was accomplished almost exclusively by men.[165]

In context, the new republic classified the publicly visible, hypermobile woman as deviant and problematic to the new France.[166] In short, the political discourses and performances of the bourgeois regime persistently represented politically active women moving in groups as a nexus of anxiety within July Monarchy norms, conflating women's mobility with their demands for rights and freedoms.

The ballet's swarms of flying monsters embodied these July Monarchy anxieties about the public visibility and mobility of political women in the French republic. Its dangerous throngs of women mirrored prototypical representations of female revolutionaries, "Amazonian Parisians,"[167] who took part in the historic march of women on Versailles on October 5, 1789. The eye-witness accounts of Irish political theorist Edmund Burke (1729–1797) and national guardsman Stanislas Maillard (1763–1794) capture the insurrection's threateningly mobile horde "assembled in very large numbers . . . [coming] from every direction . . . armed with broomsticks, lances, pitchforks, swords, pistols, and muskets."[168] The "fugitive"[169] "Sisters of Fate,"[170] in Janin's synopsis of the ballet, "relentlessly traveling the lands and seas."[171] resonates with such historical accounts.

Here, the instrument by which the witches are said to have gained their extraordinary mobility is also worth examining. Enabled by the use of a humble, domestic tool—the broom—the witches' flight alludes to a subversion of normal human motion, which threatened not only to overturn domestic norms, but the political order as a whole. As Janin remarks, the broomstick empowers the witches' unnatural flight beyond the hearth whereby the influence "of the horrible hags spreads like white smoke, as if sulphur consumed by flame."[172] This unusual reference to sulphur in fire possibly again evokes paradigmatic representations of female mobs in the annals of French revolutionary journalism. Depicted as combustible and explosive, bearing torches and "riding cannons,"[173] these reiterated dangers of female activists illuminate Janin's comments about the subversive, "spreading,"[174] influence of the witches. Likewise, the visual depiction of the witches' cacophonous chants in Janin's text also bear the hallmark of virulent revolutionary protest, (See figure 2) just as Taglioni's deliberate assemblage of "enough witches to recreate a diablerie,"[175] mirrored *Robert Le Diable*'s revolutionary themes.

However, the witches' counterparts, the sylphides, also embodied cautions iterated in the French press about activist women who mobilized in groups. The ballet's narrative identifies the Sylphide's hypermobility as the source of her tragic demise—she dies when James removes her wings, after all—countering Janin's description of the sylphides as a benign sorority who fill the air with their "sweet melodies."[176] In this ambivalent presentation, the aerial caprice of the sylphide is as subversive as the

witch's flight. Consequently, the Sylphide's soaring mobility, which Janin likens to the flight of a bird or the leaping of nymphs, invites the progonist's reckless transgression of bourgeois norms. Heralding impending peril, the Sylphide's flight is therefore no less provocative than the witch's untethered powers.[177]

At the heart of *La Sylphide*'s narrative rests a cautionary tale about the Sylphide's hypermobility: her spontaneous intrusions into the realm of the human. Her transgressive mobility necessitates the removal of her wings and her consequent death. Given the socio-political context, what else does the bourgeois protagonist's removal of the Sylphide's wings represent, but efforts to disable her extraordinary freedom? On this account, one might read the dismemberment of the Sylphide as a symbolic gesture made in performance to reinforce the July Monarchy's normative visions of the ideal woman as one whose mobility is earthbound, i.e. limited to the domestic sphere. The French libretto recalls the advantages of restraining the Sylphide, "Wrap this gauze around the Sylph, and her wings will fall off; once deprived of her freedom, she will be beside you forever."[178].The very physique of the de-plumed Sylphide epitomized visions of the normative female in France during the July Monarchy. Representing femininity as monstrous and hypermobile, the ballet disclosed the gendered norms of the new republic.

Such an interpretation concurs with Banes' argument that the Romantic era recurrently features the domestication embedded in the "marriage plot."[179] In this account, the dismembered Sylphide symbolized the July Monarchy's normative visions of the ideal woman as one who is earthbound and limited to the domestic sphere—like Effie in the ballet. By extension, in keeping with Garafola, one might argue that the Sylphide's loss of wings connotes the July Monarchy's heightened attention to bourgeois, male honor, and the concomitant representation of women as subject to this social order.[180] That is to say, the mutilated (and grounded) Sylphide dramatized bourgeois restrictions against political women whose movements threatened the sanctity of marriage, the domestic household, and the French male at its head.

According to French historians, the presence of women in groups in theatrical performance dramatized their role as protectors and defenders of male honor—and by extension, the health and social well being of the nation—configuring a kind of political martyrdom.[181] Indeed, the Sylphide's death scene

constructs the kind of martyrdom, and social renewal, that Joseph Roach (in keeping with Victor Turner)[182] associates with the celebration of decedents for whom "intense collective attention is due, such as those of leaders or kings."[183] Thus, spectator accounts of the original production reveal conspicuous parallels between the body of Sylphide "borne aloft," in "magnificent, multiple flight," and the funereal pomp and ceremony that attended displays of the female corpse in nineteenth-century political spectacles.[184]

In this way, the preoccupation, during the July Monarchy, with women displayed as martyrs of revolution spilled over into French Romantic ballet. As French historian Jo Burr Margadant recounts, spectators staging a demonstration outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris on February 23, 1848 invoked a trope used by the press to "electrify the populace"[185] to rebellion in Paris in 1830: the female corpse,

> Intent on that result (to incite revolt), several men in workers' smocks piled the bodies of the victims onto a cart to haul around the city through the night. To call the populace to insurrection, according to the contemporary testimony of historian Daniel Stern, they repeatedly lifted the grisly body of a young woman to torchlight…[186]

We can see echoes of that 1848 procession which triumphantly lifted "the grisly body of a young woman to torchlight" in the Sylphide's hoisting by her league of sisters into the heavens above.[187] Margadant postulates that in the political imaginary of July Monarchy in Paris, "a woman's corpse still signified . . . war on the whole community, which in their own code of gendered honour in the public sphere justified, even required, retribution."[188] Extrapolating from this line of thinking, the Sylphide's death scene symbolized the martyrdoms associated with the political woman. Emblematizing the failures of the 1830 revolution, the corpse of a woman in this context represented martyrdom for the sake of a bourgeois ideal of male honor that stood for the republic itself.

3.11 La Femme des Lettres: Writers and Amazons at the Barricades

> elle est née à soixante ans, l'âge des femmes de lettres; elle apporte avec elle l'effroi et la vengeance…[189]

In one of the more curious statements made in Janin's synopsis, the witch is described as having "been born at the age of sixty, the age of a female writer." While it is certainly not unusual within the framework of French folklore to describe the witch as a figure that appears bearing terror and vengeance, Janin's striking characterization of this particular witch as "the age of a woman of letters" i.e. a writer, is unusual, and merits a deeper investigation of its possible revolutionary significance.

Why does Janin associate the female writer with the terrors and vengeance of the witch? What kinds of French women either associated with writers, or writers themselves, came bearing such terror? Why does the text conflate female writers with *elderly* witches? If, as previously proposed, the witch and the Sylphide constitute dual aspects of one and the same principle, does the Sylphide refract this terror? To answer these questions, I consider evidence that visions of the warring Amazon, as developed in the history of French literature and performance, contributed to Janin's visions of the mature female writer as a repository of fear and retribution.

Several historians postulate that a longstanding historical allegorization of French female warriors as Amazons contributed to ambiguous, polyvalent understandings of the politico woman in the nineteenth century.[190] And while the historiography of the Amazon in French culture is diverse, contradictory and well beyond the scope of this research, a brief overview of the earliest understandings of the Amazon that contributed to an allegorization of these female warriors in France is nonetheless in order.

As with many creaturely others designated beyond human, the polysemic nature of the Amazon led to the figure's widespread use and adaptation. Remote, foreign and illegible, the purported location of origin of the Amazons is ambiguous in historical texts, having been moved by ancient writers "anywhere between Germany and India."[191] Even Homer himself, in describing the Amazons as *antianeirai* which can be understood as antimen (a term which is ambiguous because it may have been referring to women who fought in opposition to men, or perhaps women who were antagonistic to men), described a

confounding and formidable female warrior,[192] thereby setting the stage for the persistently marginal position of the Amazon in French literature and political texts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Even prior to its entry into the French literary vernacular, the Amazon, was, from the outset, a typology narrativized in order to reinforce the normative order of the ideal human being conceived for Athenian democracy. As articulated by Homer's pupil, Arktinos of Miletos in his continuation of *The Iliad*, *The Aithiopis*, allegedly composed around 700 BCE, the typology of the Amazon was founded upon an imagined female other that lived beyond the norms and conventions of the Athenian polis. Not surprisingly then, the expansion of this Amazonomachy through a profusion of images of these women coincided with the fall of the Peisistratid tyranny in 510 BCE, and the beginnings of Athenian democracy.[193] In this context, these adolescent women whose lithe bodies were frequently depicted by the Greeks as being male in form, were by the year 500 BCE, subject to the increasingly censorious scrutiny of the Athenian gaze which sought to establish an appropriate place for women in their reorganized city.[194]

Most disturbing to Athenians was the undisclosed nature of the sexuality of Amazons whom Herodotus called *parthenoi* or "unwed girls,"[195] signifying a group of young women who had no open sexual relationships with men. The illegible sexuality of Amazons provoked alarm within Athenian society whose order depended on the female strictly circumscribed and domesticated by either her official status as a virgin, or by marriage and conjugal sex with her husband. That the Amazon was a verdant, young woman of unknown sexuality, was a transgression that "struck at the very heart of society, overturning the normal order of things."[196]

At the heart of the Amazon's body politic then, was an ambiguous morphology. As women whose androgynous physiques adorned the resplendent bronze mirrors of sixth century Sparta before the current era, Amazons were neither "truly feminine (soft, moist and permeable)… or (sic) properly masculine (hard, muscular and sharply defined)."[197] Moreover, transgressing gender in more ways than their appearance, it was said of the Amazons that they exercised in the nude for eugenic reasons, and fought in battle as if they would live forever, their "sexual life…a continual series of flagrant one night

stands."[198] As historian Andrew Stewart narrates, the undeveloped and unrestrained young bodies of Amazons flouted Athenian norms. Beyond classification, the Amazon epitomized the teen girl gone wild, presenting a conundrum within Athenian society where strict norms pertaining to gender and sexuality were critical to social order.

French sources had conflated sylphides and Amazons by virtue of their shared androgyny since at least the seventeenth century. Moreover, borne through the conduit of occult, alchemical literature, the sylphide came to the ballet stage by way of literary precursors that also evoked the Amazon. For example, in the occult treatise *Le Comte de Gabalis*,[199] written by the abbé de Villars in 1668, Jacques Cazotte would have encountered the female of the species, the sylphide, as a creature "whose beauty is male, like that of the amazons."[200] In turn, in Cazotte's chameleon character Biondetto/Biondetta, in *Le Diable amoureux*, transmogrifies into male page, female sylph, and finally Beelzebub, vacillating in sexual attribution.[201] French culture had thus long drawn parallels between sylphides and women who lived at the edge of their gender.

Not surprisingly, Janin's "demonic," "fugitive,"[202]and "capricious"[203] sylphides also share their overt athleticism and creaturely ambiguity with the friezes of Amazons found on the surfaces of Greek pottery that influenced Parisian art during the Romantic period.[204] As a corollary, the Amazons' resurgence in art and literature during the July Monarchy contextualized the increasing visibility of hordes of highly mobile, creaturely sylphides on the French theatrical stage.

In choreographic terms too, the expanded movement vocabulary required to stage the creaturely flight of sylphides generated subtle symbolic parallels with the figure of the Amazon. Marie Taglioni's writings for instance, counter monolithic conflations of the ballet dancer (and by extension, the Sylphide) with effortless femininity. Instead, the dancer's recollections vividly depict the muscular rigors and repetitive techniques required to produce the appearance of ethereal levity.[205] Similarly, critical appraisals that compared Taglioni's performance in the title role to birds and other nonhuman creatures (i.e. Walter Scott's "fairies of Scotland"), suggest that the Sylphide's motion was neither principally nor exclusively

associated with an exaggerated femininity.[206] Instead, like the Amazon, she confounded observers with a creaturely athleticism closely identified with the natural world's beauty, force, poise and speed.[207]

Moreover, the figure of the Amazon inflected the deeper narrative characteristics of the nonhumans in *La Sylphide*. Here, one might cite the historical idealization of the French woman as warrior that can be traced back to the beginning of the seventeenth century when fictional Amazons began to proliferate in the imaginary of French writers of prose. This developing sensibility of the female French warrior unleashed an accompanying political iconography in which bold displays of female daring announced that women could play a "significant, even decisive role in military actions."[208] In this context, drawings by French Baroque painter Claude Deruet ideated and monumentalized the Amazon in what was considered the most important early record of female militarism in France.[209]

These early representations of the Amazon in turn, exerted a tangible impact on the political imaginary of France. In the wake of these imaginary female warriors built by male fascination with the Amazonian image, there sprang a legion of real women entirely capable of waging battle. Among these, Catherine Meurdrac de La Guette ranks prominently; her *Mémoires* of 1681 document her life cross-dressing and living the life of a solider amongst an army of men, many of whom could not distinguish her sexual difference. Another "original French Amazon,"[210] the much more widely known Barbe D'Ernecourt, Comtesse de Saint-Baslemont, replaced her husband in a ceaseless battle against both French and Austrian forces whose invasions between the 1630s and 1640s threatened her native province of Lorraine.[211]

However, in the years following women's participation in the Fronde (a series of rebellions and civil disturbances in France between 1648 and 1653), aristocratic *frondeuses*, also known in France as "Amazonian queens,"[212] returned to the punishment that had been reserved for them at the end of the conflict. Formerly celebrated in prose, poetry and performance, by the 1650s, the female warrior found herself excluded from military roles and as a consequence, increasingly turned her attention to the literary arena. And although it would be anachronistic to term the writings produced by these *frondeuses* as feminist writings, historians such as Joan deJean argue that these early female warrior/writers articulated

"many of the goals of the nineteenth-century woman for whom the term feminist was coined."[213] Perhaps as a consequence of their outspoken demands for the rights of women, following this, in the middle of the seventeenth century, many of these former military women began literary collectives, meeting regularly to discuss matters literary and political.

Not surprisingly, the literary efforts of these former military women were not altogether well received. In 1659, Molière's enormously successful play, *Les Précieuses ridicules* provocatively and somewhat indirectly derided these literary women for their love of an antiquated heroic warrior literature, thereby catalyzing a backlash against Amazonian iconography which had now been linked in the French public imaginary with the retired female militarist turned writer. By the late eighteenth century, a multitude of French political texts and commentaries had yet again deployed the motif of the Amazon, this time reworking her identity as a monstrous revolutionary.

In this vein, satirical portraits of women politicking or forming armies comprised a literary subgenre in late eighteenth century France. From 1788 onwards, revolutionary journalism and works of literary fiction such as *Le Reveil des dames* (1791), commonly satirized female pretension and folly, portraying the comical failures of groups of women trying to do the business of men.[214] Even Mary Wollstonecraft's narration of the events of the women's march on Versailles, in *An Historical and Moral View of the French Revolution (*1794), shared in this prevailing zeitgeist, identifying groups of outspoken women who contributed to the revolutionary cause as monsters and social deviants. Mirroring the tenor of the times in her derisive commentary, the early advocate of women's rights declared the female activists of the revolution, "the lowest refuse of the streets."[215]

By the Reign of Terror (1793-1794), waves of political parody further denigrated the figure of the warring Amazon, persistently conflating female mobility with the demands for legal and political recognition made by female writers and revolutionaries. As a consequence, Republicans universally denounced the war-like vengeance of the femme de lettres[216] as a danger to the security of the new republic.[217] With the public execution of the only self-declared femme de lettres of her time, Olympe De Gouges[218] in 1793, the regime censured at once the outspoken female writer and the figure of the

Amazon. In turn, the strong associations between the outspoken female writer and the figure of the Amazon were further reinforced,[219] explaining the association made between the witch in Janin's synopsis and the terrifying, elderly female writer whose demands for legal and political recognition plagued the new republic of France.[220]

The ongoing tumult surrounding gendered norms during this period also triggered related disputes around those class demarcations that were their ballast.[221] As courtesan and herself the illegitimate child of an aristocrat, de Gouges had entered the ranks of revolutionary discourse with lifelong concerns about the rights of prostitutes and their offspring that were repeatedly voiced through "the question of female illegitimacy in all its manifestations."[222] In inviting women across the economic ladder to mobilize, de Gouges' outspoken political campaign boldly subverted the impact of gendered norms on class structures, drawing hostility from those who protected the existing economic order. Moreover, raising questions about de Gouges' own legitimacy, aristocratic circles vilified her as an "other" who transgressed normative class and gender demarcations of the period.[223] In short, de Gouges' mobility in French politics represented a monstrous intrusion into the sanctified boundaries of male hegemony over the socio-political and economic life of the period.[224]

Given this historical backdrop, which influenced the retrenchment of women's rights and their restricted place in French society throughout the nineteenth century, both Sylphide and witch show a striking mobility (or hypermobility) as they escape regulation and intrude like courtesans and blighted women upon the sanctum of the French family. On these grounds, might it be possible to particularize both the elegant verticality of the Sylphide and the rhythmic fits and pauses of her homologue the witch as emblematic of the fallen woman? While the feral spine and stiff, splayed fingers of the witch embody a conspicuous subversion of balletic norms, the Sylphide (a possible aristocratic referent) displays few such disjunctions. Nevertheless, the volatile, aerial intrusions of both creatures into the sanctum of the French family constitute potent reminders of the risks associated with wild creatures that have moved beyond regulation. Indeed, Banes and Carroll assert that the Sylphide was "certainly not" the kind of woman that was "potentially a mother,"[225] which reinforces my own association of the Romantic ballet's signal figure

with the deviant virago.[226] Moreover, I would argue the Sylphide evoked the *femme des lettres*, whose mobile ascent into the ranks of political power represented an infraction against the regime's maternal ideals.

As the ballet dramatizes, hypermobility was dangerous within the context of the July Monarchy, which which aimed at eradicating feminine vice through a sustained emphasis on Rousseau's "general will."[227] So it was, that the mute woman (for example, Fleur-des-Champs in Taglioni's 1836 ballet, *La Fille du Danube* from, and the mute Fenella in Daniel-François Esprit Auber's 1828 opera, *La Muette de Portici*) epitomized virtue in theatrical productions in the third decade of the nineteenth century. Yet, even within this representational trope, the silent women made curious theatrical compensations for their lack of speech. In their amplified physicality and gestural power, these silent female protagonists evoked uneasy parallels with the outspoken de Gouges, the Revolutionary Marianne, and the peregrinating Sylphide.[228]

Revisiting *La Sylphide*'s mute sylphides and androgynous, torch-bearing witches against the backdrop of the Reign of Terror thus reveals a symbiosis between the ballet's nonhumans and those battle-worthy Parisian Amazons described in the annals of French Revolutionary journalism. Certainly, a theme of socio-political, economic and gender transgression underpins their common hypermobility. Bearing this in mind, it is difficult to overlook resonances between Janin's descriptions of "explosive" witches and the combustible exploits of Revolutionary gunneresses[229] said by the French press to have "raised a squadron of Amazons."[230]

Widely understood as a turning point for the reception of the politically active warrior woman in French history, revolutionary journalism in the late eighteenth century mounted concerns about groups of women who might organize around political causes and bring together the diverse talents of many types of women: the warrior, the writer with a public voice. By 1798, all three were representationally conflated with the Amazon. While most historians admit that there was a period of time leading up to the March of Versailles in which the journalists tolerated and even lauded female activism, the discursive construct of the Amazon eventually gave way to apprehension about troops of political women shouting "furious

slogans"[231] in the streets. Dubbed "nos braves amazones"[232] by the French press, these incendiary female hordes generated enough unrest to convince other women to join their ranks, becoming the focal point of revolutionary journalism.

3.12 The Prostitute: *La Femme Publique*

> These narrow streets, dark and muddy, where such industries are carried on as care little for appearances, wear at night an aspect of mystery full of contrasts. On coming from the well-lighted regions of Rue Saint-Honoré, Rue Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, and Rue de Richelieu, where the crowd is constantly pushing, where glitter the masterpieces of industry, fashion, and art, every man to whom Paris by night is unknown would feel a sense of dread and melancholy, on finding himself in the labyrinthe of little streets which lie round that blaze of light reflected even from the sky…Passing through them by day it is impossible to imagine what they become by night, they are pervaded by strange creatures of no known world; half-naked forms cling to the walls -- the darkness is alive. Between the passenger and the wall a dress steals by -- a dress that moves and speaks. Half-open doors suddenly shout with laughter…Snatches of songs come up from the pavement…This medley of things makes you giddy.[233]

In his novel, *Scenes of a Courtesan's Life* (1838), French author Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) describes a Paris starkly shaped by the oppositional forces of virtue and vice, where wandering figures on furtive streets dissolve into a chiaroscuro play of light and dark not unlike that of the Ballet Blanc and its shadowy doubles. For Balzac, the narrow alleys upon which the "half-naked…strange creatures of no known world"[234] earned their keep revealed the inherent dyads of the city, where the class collisions and social ills that were a daily reality for the urban poor had enabled a concomitant transformation of Paris into a voyeur's paradise, an open theatre. In the streets and public spaces of Balzac's Paris were thus displayed the most strange, eccentric and illegible monsters, among whom the prostitute, who was said to keep the city of light alive at night, reigned paramount.

The penchant for drawing analogies between the topography of the city of Paris and its transgressive, Janus-faced creatures was by no means isolated to Balzac. Synchronous writings about Paris including travelogues from the early to mid 1800s, reveal the cityscape as a hotbed of varied typologies whose existence was deeply marked by the violent upheavals and consequences of revolution,[235] and out of whose public performance grew a culture of street spectatorship that rivalled the theatrical productions attended primarily by the bourgeoisie.

As a result, the prostitute whose visibility was for the bourgeoisie a continual reminder of the failures of revolution, loomed large not only over the landscape of street culture in Paris, but dominated the cultural imaginary of writers and artists who represented Paris as a labyrinthine wonderland. Prostitutes in this way, were depicted in literature and memoir as exotic, nonhuman others whose bodies, as the embodiment of vice, were displayed as part of a crowded, forbidden subculture that flouted the normative bounds of bourgeois behaviour by wandering the city streets.[236]

By the mid nineteenth century, the growing literary and aesthetic fascination around the figure of the *lorette* or courtesan (enshrined by Baudelaire as the "wandering"[237] and "rebellious"[238] woman) reawakened Rousseau's notion of the 'noble savage.'[239] As a result, period artists and writers conflated the prostitute with the wild, exotic other. By the time French impressionist painter Edouard Manet so evocatively displayed his controversial *Olympia* in the Paris Salon of 1865, the public was very well aware that the regime could not contain the prostitute's transgressive wanderings. As historian Leslie Choquette reminds, while Baudelaire had written that "the prostitute *represented* savagery in civilization, for many of the viewers of *Olympia,* she literally was."[240] In other words, it had become clear that the prostitute's transgressive mobility had not only taken her from the street and into the salons of high-art, but as with the woman who flouted bourgeois values in Manet's painting, it had enabled her invasion of those sacrosanct ideological borders of the 'natural world' so deeply embraced by the new republic.[241]

Like *Olympia*, the Sylphide's strange, incongruous entry into the hearth and the 'natural' domain of the family startled its protagonist and spectators. Despite the Sylphide's associations with "the pure air,"[242] she is a suspect creature, described as capricious, born of the elemental workings of nature. Her extraordinary appearance at the hearth thus signifies a collision of worlds akin to that depicted in *Olympia.* Moreover, like the spectators who gaze upon the female figure in Manet's painting, the protagonist James is quite unprepared for the Sylphide's discordant entrance. In Janin's text, the creature's strange, sudden display disrupts ordinary life "like a furtive dream."[243] This fissure in the fabric of bourgeois norms eventuates a complete betrayal of the betrothal between James and the mortal (and noticeably far less mobile) Effie.

In this sense, the Sylphide's surreptitious presence mirrored that of the prostitute whose increasing visibility constituted a vexing social and political issue during the July Monarchy. Evidence gleaned from arrest records, correctional decisions, prison ledgers and other documentation from the period confirm that a bourgeois emphasis on female virtue accompanied attempts to eradicate the Ancien Régime's vices.[244] Given this, it is worth considering the possibility that the ballet's hypermobile dyad represented the shocking visibility of prostitution during the period of the July Monarchy during which *La Sylphide* was first staged.

In the third decade of the nineteenth century, an influx of unskilled workers from the French countryside drew to Paris in search of work, and Parisian infrastructure collapsed under the pressure of its swollen population.[245] While many women found work as domestics, they rarely found job stability given that any pregnancies necessitated their joining what Honoré Frégier termed the "dangerous classes."[246] This invariably led to rising middle class demands for a cure for what was deemed the population's 'disorderly women.' In response, Utopian socialists and social reformers mounted a campaign against vice and degeneracy that curtailed the roaming, public presence of women in France.[247]

Moreover, in the years following 1805, a new perception of prostitution as a professional choice began to take hold. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there emerged a new rhetoric of prostitution as a profession chosen by those "pathologically drawn"[248] to immorality and who came from the "*classe labourieuse*"[249] and the "*classe dangereuse.*" The proliferation of these discourses accelerated fears surrounding the physiognomic differences and dangers associated with the wandering bodies of female prostitutes.[250]

Writers and documentarians of the day accordingly placed these Parisian prostitutes or femmes publiques into several categories.[251] Ranked according to the extent to which they exploited mobility or public visibility, female prostitutes generally fell into one of three categories: those who solicited blatantly in the streets, those who had a defined clientele, and those who served only one man at a time.[252] Among these, period writers most maligned those prostitutes who showcased their mobility and visibility, considering women who actively lined the streets the source of "venereal poison,"[253] and therefore the

most dangerous of all. In other words, writers conflated the prostitute's visibility with her mobility, leading to a widespread fear of the peregrinating female's virulence.

In this regard, period memoirists and writers clearly demarcated a geography of sex workers within the city and the way in which they conducted their trade.[254] By extension, the proximity of the Paris Opera to the underbelly of Parisian life makes it possible to presume that the public visibility of prostitution as part and parcel of Paris' street performances would have formed part of a shared conversation that took place between the bourgeoisie that attended the Opera and those artists, voyeurs and vagrants who frequented the alleys and red-light districts of Paris.

The location for the Opéra between 1821 and 1873 lay at the epicentre of artistic culture in Paris, adjacent to the districts of the Palais Royal or Butte de Moulins and within the vicinity of the Salle le Peletier in the ninth arondissement. Considered a particularly active area of prostitution in Paris by the late eighteenth century, these districts fascinated period memoirists who documented life within its microcosm. Records from the period attest that prostitution was "cited as the second largest job category by 23.94 percent of the women arrested in Butte de Moulins between 1789 and 1794."[255] As a result, most bourgeois Parisians, and certainly theatregoers who attended the increasingly middle-class diversions offered by Romantic ballet, knew well as they passed through these areas by day, that by nightfall they would become living galleries, places in which destitution and savagery went on display, and as Balzac offers, "the darkness was alive."[256]

Period writers correspondingly linked the social ills associated with prostitution and poverty with revolutionary cataclysm, and the great numbers of women who turned to prostitution following the mass deaths of men in the revolutionary wars. Given these highly visible social realities, Janin's derisive description of the witch as one born at the age of sixty points to the possibility of the witch as a decoy, a double for the elderly female beggar once engaged in revolutionary activities, and now forced into solicitation.[257]

In this context, we may wish to consider the slow decline in the average age of prostitution by the late eighteenth century. Extensive records from the districts in question detail an unusual change in the

age of women involved in prostitution between the early and late eighteenth century.[258] Records documenting a five year period between 1789 and 1794 indicate that the average age of prostitutes who underwent questioning as a result of soliciting or publicly practicing street prostitution was just "slightly over twenty-two."[259] This figure stands in stark contrast to the average age which had been 26.5 in the pre-revolutionary eighteenth century. Conner cites that during this time, "13.4% of women were over the age of thirty-five, a handful being substantially beyond middle-age."[260]

As a consequence of these socioeconomic shifts, elderly women active in prostitution faced social and political derision during the period following the July Revolution of 1830. While the law (especially following the civil code of 1804) more or less tolerated younger women involved in prostitution, the regime strongly identified elderly prostitutes with the crimes of soliciting and begging bequeathed by Paris' revolutionary ambitions and their failures. Put simply, the prostitute and/or the elderly female beggar's mobile profession (at least within bourgeois rhetoric) epitomized the instability of revolution. A creature born of a revolution gone awry, the prostitute was the eyesore that the new republic most fervently wished to eradicate.

Indeed, the libretto's account of the strange elderly woman dressed in rags, appearing without warning at the hearth, and whom James chases away, allegorizes the impoverished, soliciting, elderly prostitute's dangerous mobility, linking her with socio-political chaos.[261] As an elderly woman cut loose of domestic bonds and travelling in what Janin describes as "filthy rags, sad ash and blood,"[262] the figure of the witch, (like that of the diseased Parisian prostitute), threatened not only the institution of marriage (as Sally Banes contends), but the legitimacy and security of the male protagonist's position in the social order. It is likely then, that the witches (and their counterpart sylphides) represented growing concerns about the very real threat prostitution posed to the stability of the bourgeois order. That is to say, the ballet's monsters embodied warnings about the moral and socioeconomic hazards associated with the existence of the fallen woman in all her manifestations, whether street prostitute, *femme du monde* or *femme entretenue*.

In this regard, one might consider the routine intersection of prostitution with the lives of the majority of dancers during the period between the July Monarchy and the Revolution of 1848. Citing evidence of French ballet's complicity with the rising problems associated with prostitution as experienced within its ranks, Garafola postulates that impoverished women within the inner sanctum of French ballet's institutional boundaries commonly sought to improve their lot in life through sexual encounters with members of the nobility. Citing Albéric Second's comment that "many of the dancers saw the light of day in a concierge's lodge,"[263] Garafola carefully exposes how the economic plight and sexual exploitation of the female ballet dancer in the Romantic era reconstructed the relationship between the female ballet dancer and her spectators, effectively turning her into a coveted *femme entretenue*.[264]

Historian Sally Banes likewise argues that the move from familial training to formal ballet schools catalyzed an institutionalized exploitation of dancers' bodies. In this way, the foregrounded visibility and availability of young women on the Romantic stage eventually engendered a cycle of prostitution. Likewise, this heightened visibility of the female on the theatrical stage exploited the deplorable social and economic conditions that informed the life of a ballet dancer in the early- to mid-nineteenth century. Corroborating Garafola's research, Banes suggests that the phenomenon of prostitution within ballet developed not only in cosmopolitan capitals such as Paris, but also in Warsaw where rich patrons often bought access to dancers.[265]

Given these correspondences between the hypermobile female creatures in *La Sylphide* and the prostitute, one might conceive that the ballet staged discrete warnings about the encroaching presence and dangers of prostitution during the July Monarchy. Illuminating the cautionary function served by *La Sylphide's* nonhuman creatures Janin thus offered:

> What do we know? There is perhaps a hidden morality here, a teaching that will possibly be of benefit to those young, fashionable and pretty twenty-something girls. Alas! indeed that the hearts of young people were lost for less than this… a scarf! What misery is represented by a pearl necklace, an emerald, a floating feather, a fleeting trinket of the hour! Make good use of these moralities, girls who come to the Opera.[266]

That young girls who went to the Opéra might benefit from the moral lesson provided by *La Sylphide* alludes to the possibility that the coveted scarf symbolized a physical and social mobility that represented a danger to the republic. Yet what did this trifling scarf represent that it would lure young women away from their social mores?

While many scholars have suggested the scarf warned of the Sylphide's stolen virginity, a contextualized reading of the scarf reveals its symmetry with the other treasures named in Janin's excerpt, (i.e. the pearl necklace or the rare red gemstone). The coveted scarf, trinkets and jewels named in Janin's brief instruction are hardly innocuous. Instead, the triflings are dangerous and hard-won, possibly earned through prostitution, or, more pertinently, through the mobile, public life lived in their pursuit.
Here, it is worth noting that legalized prostitution was introduced in France in the first quarter of the nineteenth century just prior to the debut of *La Sylphide*. In context, it is likely that members of the theatre-going bourgeoisie (whose ranks included *La Sylphide's* narrative contributors Janin, Nourrit and others) sought to deter prostitution's growth in popularity among young women who following its legalization, viewed it a chosen profession. Wandering women, described by the emerging French middle class as "les horribles vieilles,"[267] ("the horrible elderly women" i.e. witches) or understood as a "creature of escape, a coquette,"[268] (i.e. a sylphide), did not simply emblematize a tragic fall from the social ladder. Their morality was also suspect. In short, the mobile woman embodied the seductive dangers of freedom (both physical and socio-political) that the bourgeoisie presumed it could not entrust to women without horrible consequences.

The prostitute, the political woman and the beggar were thus conflated typologies. They exemplified the impurities and dangers of poverty, venereal disease and incarceration so vividly depicted by period writers such as Balzac, Victor Hugo, and Baudelaire. It is unlikely then that resemblances between the witch and the prostitute or the witch and a host of historical others escaped audiences who attended that first performance at the Opéra. Their daily travels on those same streets bore dark reminders of how the simple, domestic broom could, under nightfall, threaten the health and security of the French

family. So it was, that the sedentary virtue of the young daughters of the French republic (like that of the maternal femme au foyer) legitimated the axial power of the bourgeois male.

3.13 The Aerial Woman's Prosthetic Transformation: Marie Taglioni and the Embodiment of the Sylphide

When the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss remarked that "natural species are chosen [as totems] not because they are good to eat, but because they are good to think,"[269] one presumes that he was well acquainted with the creatures in *La Sylphide*. The ballet's aerial sylphs, like birds and butterflies in the French literary tradition, shared a longstanding association with the natural world's renewals, regenerations and metamorphoses. Indeed, no ballerina perhaps was considered as emblematic of these creaturely mutations in the Romantic era as Marie Taglioni who alongside Joseph Mazilier, danced in the opening performance of *La Sylphide* at the Paris Opera in March 1832. Choreographed by her father Filippo, Marie Taglioni's airborne depiction of the Sylphide in the ballet was said to have been executed with such agility, ease and grace that the very names of the Sylphide and Taglioni were inseparable.[270] Eyewitness accounts of the performance accordingly praised her striking, "elegant"[271]and "chaste"[272] presence on stage as if she were herself nature personified, a flying specimen whose dance was as "natural and effortless as a song is to a bird."[273] So it was, that spectators revered the iconic "*déesse de la danse*"[274] (as she was known) for her extraordinary prosthetic levity and its resulting earthly exile.[275]

The concluding segment of this chapter focuses on the staged performance of *La Sylphide* and the representational power of prosthesis in manufacturing nonhuman difference on the Romantic stage. Moving away from the commentaries and literary sources used to decipher *La Sylphide's* creatures in previous sections, the ensuing discussion considers the performance of Marie Taglioni in the titular role of the ballet through a study of several performance reviews. In this way, I propose that Marie Taglioni's performance as materialized through the padded shoe, prostheticized her movements, enabling her to surpass the limits of the human. Broadening Romantic ballet's narrative palette, this technology and its associated techniques enabled a technosensual metamorphosis of the female body altogether.[276]

A divine creature of "flying steps,"[277] Taglioni's portrayal of the Sylphide "touch[ed] the earth, like a thing afloat, without being indebted to it for the rebound."[278] The following poem entitled "Impromptu — To Taglioni," composed in honour of Taglioni in 1830[279] (two years in advance of *La Sylphide*) and published in the British periodical *The Athenaeum,* delivers a clue as to how this Romantic era prosthesis contributed to a vision of the female ballet dancer herself as a miraculous, surpassing force:

> Painter's model! Poet's dream!
> Fond musician's favourite theme!
> Sculptor's *chef d'oeuvre!*
> Thou surely calmest on earth to show
> How far *nature's* power could go
> And how far *Art* improve her[280]

As the passage implies, Taglioni's art form employed transgressive techniques enabling the female dancer to transcend the human altogether. Certainly, in masterfully recreating her own body as something other than human, Taglioni epitomized the Romantic era's emphatic celebrations of the natural world. Whether praised as a bird, a dragonfly or a deer, period critics predominantly associated Taglioni's dance with creaturely force, poise, speed and extension:

> There is a succession of flying movements expressive of alarm, in the midst of which she alights and stands poised upon the points of her feet, with a look over her shoulder of fierté and animation possible to no other face, I think, in the world. It was like a deer, standing with expanded nostril, and neck uplifted to its loftiest height, at the first scent of his pursuers in the breeze. It was the very soul of swiftness embodied in a look![281]

In 1829, Taglioni's convincing performance of the nonhuman in Rossini's new opera *Guillaume Tell* prompted the composer Berlioz to praise her with the following words: "Mlle. Taglioni is not a dancer, she's an air spirit, Ariel personified, daughter of the heavens."[282] Likewise, as iterated in an account published on the 18th of September 1836 (its author signed only with the letter "E", and was identified by historian Roland John Wiley as an anonymous editorial assistant for the publication, *The Northern Bee*), in surpassing the human, the powerful, swift and capricious Taglioni personified nature:

> …faster than a thought, raced like a winding arrow around the stalls, the boxes, higher and higher….changing course capriciously, further and further it will begin to sparkle to our left…lightning will break through, then die away…it will flash to the right…finally thunder will burst out…It is impossible to express the public's delight; when nature appears in all the brilliance of its ease and grace…[283]

Yet, while Taglioni's body and her very presence epitomized the mutating creaturely other, the mechanics by which Taglioni achieved her dominion remain unnamed within these eyewitness accounts. While praising the beauty of Taglioni's aerial movements as if she were in fact, herself nonhuman, these observations make no mention of the technological supports of her achievement.

Nonetheless, prosthetic technologies and techniques were crucial in staging the Romantic preoccupation with creatures airborne. Relying on groundedness or gravity to distinguish humans from nonhumans, ballet historian Norma Sue Fisher-Stitt postulates that dancers staged the creaturely, "By rising onto the tips of their satin slippers... hovering atop the surface of the stage, reminiscent of a hummingbird."[284] In other words, one key technique manifested the nonhuman other on the Romantic stage: the rising of the dancer up onto pointe.

Yet, while rising up onto "Taglioni's slippers were a vital part of the illusion she created,"[285] the expansion of pointe vocabulary in the original production of *La Sylphide* equally enabled female dancers to transgress ordinary human physicality on the Romantic stage.[286] Despite this, the subtlety of Taglioni's prostheticized morphology rendered her very real, material exertions difficult to perceive and observe. Echoing this seeming effortlessness in Taglioni's mobility, the literary magazine *The Ariel: A Semimonthly Literary and Miscellaneous Gazette* published the following passage about Taglioni's celestial defiance of gravity in 1832:

> No language can describe her motion. She swims in your eye, like a curl of smoke or a flake of down. Her greatest difficulty seems to be to keep on the floor. You have that feeling while you gaze upon her, that if she were to rise from the floor and float away like Ariel, you would scarcely be surprised. And yet all is done with such a childish unconsciousness of admiration, such a total absence of exertion or fatigue… [287]

For all the effortless lightness of her performance, becoming airborne was for Taglioni, an onerous and demanding task that reflected Romantic ballet's exaggerated aesthetic of perfection and physical transformation. As Fisher-Stitt points out,

> By the end of the nineteenth century, and exemplified in Marius Petipa's choreography, pointe work had evolved from a theatrical device to a technical feat. The introduction of blocked shoes enabled dancers to balance, turn and even hop on pointe without the assistance of wires. Pointe work no longer signified the ethereal, but showcased an acquired human skill.[288]

Thus, the illusion of flight necessitated new techniques that prioritized muscular control and rigorous, repetitive practice. Acknowledging this greater need for bodies to perform reliably and with precision, Leandre Vaillat's biography of Taglioni's rehearsals published in 1942 vividly describe the dancer's gruelling rehearsals:

> I then lowered myself gently and as far as possible, in such a way that I could touch the floor with my hands without curving my back, simply by bending the knees while keeping strictly upright; then gently rising, without jerks and without effort, till the tip of the feet. It takes thousands of exercises to attain a certain degree of perfection. Then one starts jumping. The jump must proceed only from the heel, without movement of the body. Evidently one doesn't get very high initially. The knees should hardly bend. In this way one may get higher than half a metre above the ground. [...] In all my movements, I remained straight, without rigidity, and one couldn't hear me coming down, because it was always the tip of my foot which got there first, and my heel descended gently to the floor. I loved those pas which included jumps in which I hardly felt the ground. Really, I vibrated in the air.[289]

According to historian Lodewijk Muns,[290] Taglioni worked six hours per day, divided in three two-hour blocks. The first block consisted of muscular exercises, "thousands for each foot."[291] The second block was dedicated to Adagio-exercises, poses on the toes of one foot ("sur la demi-pointe d'un pied)."[292] The last two hours were spent on jumps - a crude word for the conquest of the third dimension that was to become Taglioni's speciality. An eyewitness account of Taglioni's practice published by Roland John Wiley is equally evocative of the hard work behind the illusion:

> Marie Taglioni always got up at eight o'clock in the morning, and went to the Theatre School 'to study' at eleven. The saying 'Live and learn' never applied to anyone else as to this dancer. Without ongoing daily exercises in dance she would have perished. Her entire life on the stage was absolute hard labor. Only in the morning on the day of a performance would the dancer stay at home, lunch lightly and somewhat early, nap for about an hour, and then begin to get ready for the theatre.[293]

The fascination with pointework can be traced to prosthetic technologies developed and staged first during the Renaissance and later during the reign of King Louis XIV. Following this, in the eighteenth century, the "imagined glories" and "flights…"[294] first staged under Louis XIV were brought to life through new techniques developed by Charles-Louis Didelot (1767-1837) who first presented his

spectacular aerial ballet *Zephire et Flore*[295] to London audiences in 1796. By 1815, as part of a heightened interest and focus on the female ballet dancer, French ballet expanded its range of technologies and mechanical devices intended for *légèreté* (lightness) in stagecraft by refining the pointe shoe. In other words, as dance historian Sandra Noll Hammond argues*, La Sylphide's* pointe techniques sedimented through technologies refined not only by Taglioni,[296] but by numerous dancers over a thirty-six year period between the first staging of *Zephire et Flore*, and the ballet's premiere in 1832.

The extraordinary physical labours associated with the Taglioni's elaboration of pointe in 1832 also drew from a theoretical tradition associated with the writings of Italian dancer, choreographer and theoretician Carlo Blasis (1797-1878). An examination of Blasis' influential text, *Traité Élémentaire, Théorique et Pratique de L'art de la Danse* (1820), written by twelve years prior to *La Sylphide's* debut, clarifies that a reinvention of the dancer's morphology through material practices and acquired bodily skills was not only encouraged in the nineteenth century, but was even considered paradigmatic of the art form's ideals.[297] In demanding that the dancer understand himself/herself as an artwork, a creature in the process of transformation, Blasis articulated the underlying impetus for the development of prosthetic techniques within classical ballet:

> One couldn't insist too much on recommending young people who want to apply themselves to this imitative art to look at the masterworks of painting and sculpture, especially from antiquity […] A dancer who is unable to draw himself, and consequently lacks that grace which seduces and charms, will not be regarded an artist and will never be able to evoke interest or pleasure. Draw yourself in good taste, and naturally, in the slightest of poses the dancer should be able to serve at any moment as model to the painter and to the sculptor.[298]

The matrix of aesthetic theories pertaining to transmogrification referenced by Blasis found expression not only within ballet but within academic discourses of the eighteenth century. According to historian Lodewijk Muns, notions of renewal and regeneration evoked through the expression 'drawing oneself,'[299] were current in academic circles at least since the mid-eighteenth century, if not earlier. This network of theories drew strong associations between the illusion of weightlessness (a technical skill that required increasing mechanical precision), and the body of the dancer itself as a site of metamorphosis.

As Johanne Luise Heiberg's (1812-1890) eyewitness account of Taglioni's performance detailed, the dancer embodied Blasis' ideals, the epitome of a statue come to life.[300] As Heiberg recalls, "There she stood, like a fine, transparent marble statue, whose first movement surprised one as much as if a real marble statue had actually begun to stir."[301] Accordingly, Janin closed his commentary proclaiming that Marie Taglioni (rather than her performance) was the only one to "touch the ideal…"[302] She was, in his words, the only one "at ease in the air above our heads."[303]

Additional explanations for the growing emphasis on pointe work's formidable labour may be partially explained by a widespread notion of an 'aristocracy of merit' that circulated within the circles of French ballet in the nineteenth century. In short, the idea of an aristocracy of merit was born from a presumption that the steep demands of ballet training might be rewarded by a state of honorary nobility that might also mitigate the potential of the poverty associated with being a ballet dancer.[304] As confirmed by two witnesses to Marie Taglioni's appearances in St. Petersburg, the dancer's father-in-law too believed that ballet dancers could by virtue of their labour, aspire to the heights of aristocracy, or at the very least, earn the privilege of a noble lifestyle.

This merit, believed to accrue in relation to the ballet dancer's labour, led to an increasing emphasis on the ballet dancer's performance as metonymic with the newfound powers and efficiencies of machinery.[305] Indeed, dance historian Marion Kant surmises that displays of physical vigour and virtuosity in post-Romantic ballet (1880s and 1890s) made the "prowess of steel toes"[306] appear an instrument of industrial precision akin to any machine of the era.

An occupational ecology formed as a consequence of developments in ballet aesthetics, technological culture and the frail economic conditions of the July Monarchy thus shaped the hardships faced by the nineteenth century ballerina. On account of the increasing work load associated with these conditions (and the ethos necessary to perform en pointe), dance writer for *The New York Times* Joseph Mazo remarked, ballet dancers defied "the principles of human design… Human toes were not designed to stand on…"[307] Referring to this longstanding approach to the body as the raw materials to be

transmuted by an arduous if occasionally impossible artistic commitment to metamorphosis, dance scholar Roger Copeland said:

> In the tradition from Plato to Freud, art is conceived as a mode of sublimation, an alchemical conversion from lower or bodily energy into a higher, mental or spiritual state. To create a work of art is to transcend the lowliness of the body. Hence, the odd paradox that dance -- the only art form whose raw material is the human body -- began to idealize the image of the disembodied woman.[308]

Notably, the growing nineteenth century aesthetic preoccupation with the airborne, spectral woman coincided with the era's scientific advances. Dubbed the epicentre of light, the city of Paris was synonymous with the mysteries of a new technology called electricity. Fascinated by the advent of these new technologies, Parisian artists drew parallels between the wondrous, otherworldly force of nonhumans and the city's new technological innovations. Capturing this zeitgeist, an article published in the *Revue de Paris* 1832 entitled "Les Voitures à vapeur," linked the etheric gusts of a steam ship with the marvels of mythical creatures:

> L'industrie et la mécanique se chargent de réaliser depuis quelques temps les rêves des romanciers et des poètes. Il y a déjà dans les opérations du nouvel agent que J. Watts a mis à la disposition de l'homme une série de prodiges qui rivalisent avec les exploits merveilleux des Titans aux cent bras de la mythologie classique, ou des géants de la féerie.[309]

In conflating the powers of technology with nonhuman forces, nineteenth-century writers reinforced the notion that humans might transform through contact with these new technologies. Yet, despite this technological optimism, period writings also betrayed a similar wellspring of fears regarding human agency as had animated the automaton chess player a century earlier.

A poignant example of this can be found in a nineteenth century caricature of one of Blasis' prize students, Amina Boschetti, on full pointe. In the illustration, a man crouches underneath a stage wielding a mechanical crank that controls Boschetti's elaborate pirouette. Vividly depicting a lurking suspicion about Italian ballet's new emphasis on acrobatic feats (and the introduction of technologies that could remotely control or support their execution)[310] the engraving caricatured the ballet dancer as a lifeless, automated puppet, or machine animated from without. Similar suspicions regarding the adverse effects of new technologies persisted in discourses of twentieth century choreographers Isadora Duncan and Ruth

St. Denis, both of whom ambivalently linked machines with either domestication, subservience and loss of agency, or emancipation, vitality and power.[311]

On the other hand, Taglioni's transformation through the expansion of pointe vocabulary evidenced a growing intimacy between the body and virtual technology[312] that mirrored Blasis' conceptualization of ontological transcendence. In this sense, one might consider that the performance of the Sylphide was ostensibly not simply about playing the role, but about methectically embodying a nonhuman ontology. In bridging "technological object and discursive formation,"[313] the prosthetic device used in *La Sylphide* conjoined the figure of the sylphide with the technology designed to materialize it, thereby paving the way for ideations of a materially different human. Along these lines, Banes recalls that the concept of the modern was itself conflated with the female form during the Romantic era, betraying a heightened cultural sensibility of woman as a monstrous hybrid of flesh and technology.[314] By extension, one might theorize that Taglioni's seamless integration with tools or technology in her performance of the Sylphide anticipated what critical post humanist N. Katherine Hayles'[315] describes as the posthuman cyborg.[316]

Cultural theorist Paul Virilio postulates that the representational power of such technosensual prosthesis resides in its propensity to mediate the human via new technologies, making users appear illusory or distant from the real. Referring to the false proximity/distance evoked by Marilyn Monroe's pin-up figure, Virilio details how the "power of Marilyn…lay not only in [her] perfectly photogenic bod[y] but also in the fact that that their pictures were not life-sized."[317] Producing a kind of exile from all other contextualizing features, Monroe, seen at a distance, resembled any bird or sylphide. And as one reviewer for *The New York Mirror* confirmed, Taglioni's power resided in her mutation, "gradually and imperceptibly ris[ing] or subsid[ing]… as a wave does, which, while you are looking upon it as one thing, becomes another."[318] In short, mediated through prosthesis, Taglioni (like Marilyn) was startlingly misshapen, abstracted and unreal.[319] Not unlike pin-ups of Marilyn, public fetishization of Taglioni's abstracted form accompanied her iconic status; legend suggests that Marie Taglioni's fans in fact cooked and ate her pointe shoes following her last performance in St. Petersburg.[320]

The original production of *La Sylphide* thus marked a crucial moment in the deployment of prosthesis, paving the way for technosensual, if not virtual processes in ballet. As one of the first to don the delicate slippers with the reinforced padding,[321] Taglioni made visible the human body's changing material boundaries, hurtling upwards of the stage, her airborne limbs like skyscrapers, announcing modernity's vertiginous technological vistas. And while the gruelling practices associated with ballet's innovations enabled the dancer's physical, if not ontological metamorphosis, the narrative outlines of *La Sylphide* on the whole, confined the ballet dancer to her role as a revolutionary monster.

For as feminist historian Rosemary Garland Thomson's reasons, the monstrous body, like those of females and slaves, "exists in societies to be exploited for someone else's purposes."[322] Taglioni's extraordinary flight accordingly dramatized her role as a female provocateur, an unwelcome intrusion into the ballet's normative male centre.

Romantic representations of alterity however, were far from culturally specific, showcasing instead, essentialist, kaleidoscopic visions of abject, nonhuman difference. In this vein, *La Sylphide* reductively transposed the characteristics of numerous unrelated historical groups onto its nonhuman creatures. Functioning as something more than a mythical construct, each wispy white sylphide was polysemous, refracting the historical realities of marginalized others who fell beyond July Monarchy norms of citizenship, political inclusion and participation. Taglioni's performance in that legendary ballet then presents a reminder that the Romantic era's illegible other, wherever it appeared, was a moving target. Women might be mistaken for birds, fairies for cyborgs, ballerinas for machines.

3.14 Concluding Remarks

French political thinker and historian Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) once remarked, "No nation had ever embarked on so resolute an attempt as that of the French in 1789 to break with the past, to make, as it were, a scission in their life line and to create an unbridgeable gap between all they had hitherto been and all they now aspired to be."[323] Yet, for every schism and every fissure necessitated by Revolutionary upheaval, the new French republic proposed healing measures, regenerative rituals and careful renovation of the nation and its subjects. The ballet *La Sylphide*, staged just two years after the

July Monarchy was established, epitomized this preoccupation with renewal, the bodies of its nonhumans (which were represented as female), recruited to the remediation of France's schisms with the past. Thus, in a curious inversion of the Biblical proposition of creation, it would be by the rib of woman, and more specifically her resemblance to those deemed nonhuman, that the French republic would conceive and create the new man.

In this way, nonhuman surrogates represented as female were central in rehearsing not only the outlines of the ideal woman and her role in a new world order, but the parameters of the human altogether. In this context, the visibility of women and more specifically, theatrical depictions of women whose bodies had transgressed (i.e. witches and sylphides) "became the symbolic repositories of a failed revolution."[324]

In other words, as many historians have clarified, revolutionary conflicts frequently divided the French populace along gendered lines, such that the figure of the French woman, particularly as a political and therefore public voice, had become a troubling 'other' that would increasingly need to be constrained, reconfigured within the broader vision of the ideal (necessarily male) French citizen. In an era in which "crossing boundaries from private to public life was considered especially dangerous for women,"[325] *La Sylphide's* white clad waifs and circumambulating dark witches were preternaturally mobile, their prostheticized[326] reach and aerial exploits homologous with monstrous women who were perceived to be "mercurial and always in motion."[327] In this sense, the literal and figurative mobility of the French revolutionary woman (i.e. away from the heart of the home, and into public life) created concerns about the repercussions of dramatic shifts in the role of women that had been enabled (at least initially) by the revolutionary cause.[328]

As a result, nonhuman others on the theatrical stage developed within broader visions of women allegorized as nonhuman others in political commentaries, religious texts and biomedical treatises of the period. These nonhuman figures mirrored the anxieties concerning women whose physical and political mobility exceeded what had become the normative values of the ideal French woman during the July Monarchy. Represented through a series of dyads that foregrounded virtue/vice, honour and shame, the

bodies of nonhuman others were systematically used to interrogate the function of the woman in French politics and society.

Moreover, as composite creatures of difference overdetermined by the presence of so many troubling female others both within and beyond France, the Sylphide and the witch closely resembled other socially marginalized groups, as if homologous with a number of historical actors, including women and foreign others who fell outside the cultural or ideological confines of the normative human during the July Monarchy. This 'kaleidoscopic' quality of the nonhumans in *La Sylphide* offered a specific function within the highly polarized gendered norms of the July Monarchy. As creatures that could refract triple, quadruple or multiple outsiders, the witch and the Sylphide constituted a magnified vision of alterity, a polysemic creature born of abject revolutionary terror, an impossible, unrecognizable being.

In Shakespearean scholar Marjorie Garber's terms, the transference between these discursive constructs might be explained by what she calls a "category crisis"[329] in which the failure of definitional distinctions leads to permeable boundaries between representational types, layering alterity upon alterity. Notably in Garber's theory, the actual axes by which these typologies are produced (i.e. race and class) may also be displaced in this process, making it possible for the anxiety about the impoverished witch to be transferred onto the youthful prostitute, and onto the aging lesbian, in any number of variations, as if the type were itself a moving target, a variable overdetermined by social and historical conditions. Refracting several outsiders, all of whom were within spitting distance of the Opera, the witch and the Sylphide were composites of several longstanding figures of alterity that had transgressed the norms of the human.

In this context, Marie Taglioni's expansion of prosthetic techniques in manifesting the Sylphide on the theatrical stage only compounded the Sylphide's ability to refract difference. Through her increased proximity with prosthetic technologies, not only did Taglioni's performance demonstrate that she was bird, deer, or a host of other airborne creatures other than human, but that her very body was transforming slowly into something abstract and unrecognizable. A hybrid of human and technology, Taglioni's flights foreshadowed the virtual body, the twentieth century cyborg.

Thus, whether vilified or idealized, the nonhumans displayed in *La Sylphide* were, before all else, extra-ordinary and beyond recognition; surpassing the norms of human behaviour, their bodies were displayed as monstrous and transgressive, diametrically at odds with the principles of the known, material world. As winged muses or hordes of hags, these creaturely others whose bodies were threatening unknowns, represented the growing power of women in groups whose extraordinary physical mobility had come to be associated with demands for freedoms both social and political. In this sense, *La Sylphide's* surrogates displayed their difference through choreographed movements, their deviance constituting the topographic space upon which the new republic's ideals of womanhood might be enacted, envisioned.

Thus, recruited for transmogrification, the sylph, that creature of camouflage whose illegible morphology in French literature and performance had long been read as a body of warnings, prophecies and hidden truths, had by *La Sylphide's* debut in 1832, become a bona fide monster, a nonhuman emissary of empire. Created from the profound rupture with the past that de Tocqueville maintained had left a kind of amnesia in France, a historical space out of which a new normative body might be conceived, the nonhumans in *La Sylphide*, not unlike von Kempelen's eighteenth century automaton chess player, would serve as the ideal staging ground for the ideation and rehearsal of a new and necessarily male, French citizen.

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[1] Arnould Frémy, *Les Moeurs De Notre Temps*. (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1861), 307. Cited in Miranda Gill, *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination in Nineteenth-century Paris.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 65.

[2] Sally Banes and Noel Carroll, "Marriage and the Inhuman: La Sylphide's Narratives of Domesticity and Community," in *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet.* Edited by Lynn Garafola. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 99.

[3] Julia V. Douthwaite, *The Frankenstein of 1790 and Other Lost Chapters From Revolutionary France.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 22.

[4] Frémy, op. cit., 307.

[5] Enthusiasts of the historical adventure genre for instance (whose transnational membership included the diverse literary talents of Balzac, Victor Hugo, Lord Byron and James Fennimore Cooper), invited readers to undertake the dangerous passage across many a mountainous border to encounter the living pasts of the 'uncivilized' other. In so doing, the yarns spun by these Romantic luminaries brought together history and fiction, as they named and identified real historical actors at the edges of the

French and British empires as nonhuman. This 'discovery' of beings at the edge of empire that exceeded the normative bounds of the human resulted in new visions of the nonhuman as a creature of abject alterity, as an other that was the sum-total of a difference accumulated at the perimeter of the so-called civilized world. See Honoré de Balzac, "Voyage de Paris à Java." *Revue de Paris* 44 (1832): 217-66; Saree Makdisi, "Colonial Space and the Colonization of Time in Scott's Waverley." *Studies in Romanticism* 34, no. 2 (1995): 157. Historian Lynn Garafola has in this vein suggested the Romantic "image of the ballerina" was likewise fuelled in no small part by the representation of the Sylphide "as a creature apart...an embodiment of beauty, desire and otherness." Lynn Garafola, *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet.* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 2.

[6] This study takes its approach to the sylph/witch dyad from research published by historian Joellen Meglin who demonstrates the links between these creatures and the demonic in French literature. See Joellen A. Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence: An Intertextual Reading of the Ballet Fantastique in France, 1831--1841. Part One. Ancestors of the Sylphide in the Conte Fantastique." *Dance Chronicle* 27, no. 1 (2004): 67-129.

[7] I use the word hypermobility to describe the hyperbolic emphasis on flight as expressive of itinerancy in its nonhuman characters.

[8] This argument is in keeping with one proposed by historians Joellen Meglin and Sally Banes, both of whom have argued that the witch is the sylphide's doppelgänger.

[9] While this study adds to existing historiographies it also makes a departure from those that have proposed that the presence of the nonhuman was correlated with bourgeois desires to "escape during a period of what must have seemed a dizzying succession of sweeping political changes…" See Deborah Jowitt. *Time and the Dancing Image.* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 31.

[10] Lynn Garafola, *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet.* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), 6.

[11] Sally Banes, *Dancing Women: Female Bodies Onstage.* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 4-6.

[12] Carter has argued that the historiography of canonical works in theatrical dance have frequently overlooked the paradoxes of Romantic era performance, resulting in a reductive, oversimplified association of the entire era with lithe Sylphs in heteronormative stage roles. See Alexandra Carter, *Rethinking Dance History: A Reader.* (Los Angeles: Routledge, 2004), 15.

[13] Lynn Garafola, "The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-century Ballet." *Dance Research Journal* 17 (1985): 35.

[14] His successor, Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, (the 'roi-bourgeois' as he was known) was as a consequence of revolutionary events, a constitutionally restrained monarch.

[15] The French Revolution (in very broad terms) harnessed the cooperation of varied social classes in the overthrow of the aristocracy and the redefinition of the citizen subject. On the other hand, the 1830 revolution (a conflict that was provoked in part by the signing of the July Ordinances by King Charles X) brought the bourgeoisie to new ascendency, impacting economic structures within French ballet that modified the composition of ballet spectatorship. Banes cites from Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* (London: Dance Books, 1980), 4, 22, 30, 105-108.

[16] See Deborah Jowitt. *Time and the Dancing Image.* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 31.

[17] Historian Sally Banes has suggested that by virtue of her "insectile movement and even more generally by 'unnatural' movement," the Sylphide may be understood as a symbol of the aristocracy. Here (in keeping with Janin's commentary), I take the view that the Sylphide is an elemental creature whose mercurial movement, despite balletic/aristocratic inflections, is nonetheless most deeply associated with misdemeanor and transgression. See Sally Banes, *Dancing Women: Female Bodies Onstage.* op. cit., 16.

[18] Carol Blum, *Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 212.

[19] Lynn Garafola, *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet.* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), 6.

[20] Garafola, op. cit., "The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-century Ballet," 36. Garafola points out that prior to 1789, travesty roles were fairly rare in the context of the *genre noble* that characterized 18th century ballet's aristocratic heritage. She suggests thus that this "new aesthetic" represented the tastes of the new urban bourgeoisie, rather than the aristocratic tastes that were retained by Bournonville's tenure at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen or Marius Petipa's work with the Imperial Ballet at the Maryinsky in St. Petersburg. Her theory is that the fad for the travesty dancer emerged in conjunction with the economic conditions that enabled bourgeois tastes to elevate the female form to new heights on the theatrical stage, virtually eclipsing the male dancer.

[21] Likewise, scholarly analyses offered by Sally Banes, Norma Sue Fisher-Stitt, Lynn Garafola and Deborah Jowitt have investigated the importance of the nonhuman morphology within the ballet, generally agreeing that the airborne, flying nature of the Sylphs on some level coheres with the more general themes associated with Romantic ballet which Fisher-Stitt identifies as "the presence of ethereal creatures, a fascination with exotic locales, the idealization of nature and the irrational pursuit of the unattainable." See Norma Sue Fisher-Stitt, "From the Romantic to the Virtual." *SDHS Conversations* Vol. XXXI (2011): 24-34.

[22] Deborah Jowitt. *Time and the Dancing Image.* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 31.

[23] Jowitt, op. cit., 31. In her assessment of Romantic ballet as escapist in its tenor, Jowitt additionally theorizes that the Parisian approach to ballet emphasized the supernatural as antidote to the "plodding morality of the day."

[24] "Notice sur La Sylphide" in Théophile Gautier, Jules Gabriel Janin and Philarète Chasles. *Les Beautés de l'opéra, ou, chefs-d'oeuvre lyriques.* (Paris: Soulié, 1845), 7. "What makes this drama appealing is that fiction is cleverly twined with reality; ideals hold fast to real life…"

[25] Ibid., 7.

[26] Hertz, Neil. "Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria Under Political Pressure." *Representations*, no. 4 (1983): 27.

[27] Ibid., 29.

[28] Hertz, op. cit., 29.

[29] Sean Quinlan, "Physical and Moral Regeneration After the Terror: Medical Culture, Sensibility and Family Politics in France, 1794--1804." *Social History* 29, no. 2 (2004): 139 and 140. One such public choreography shares striking resemblance with the hypertrophy of the feminine others in *La Sylphide*. Revolutionary painter J.L. David's choreography for "The Festival of Unity and Indivisibility" performed on 10 August 1793 in the Place de la Bastille, like *La Sylphide*, arguably displayed the youthful female body whose natural lightness and 'marmoreal' whiteness was assurance of the domesticity and purity of the ideal woman, the wellspring of the physical and moral strength of an empire. In it, a ritualized choreography of eighty-six elders, each representing one of the eighty-six new departments of the French nation, drank from a fountain of regeneration as represented by a statue of the Egyptian goddess Isis from whose breasts ran the waters of vivification. The then president of the National Convention, M.J. de Séchelles' ritualistic performance was certainly not alone in drawing from a rich array of divisive dyads, oppositional symbols that vivified the normative female body following the French Reign of Terror (1793-1794). In this way, tropes of "young girls in virginal white" were at once conflated with a vital fluid, "an allegory of nature and fertility" that was used to regenerate the earth and the French nation. Not unlike the oppositional dyad of the witch and the Sylphide in Taglioni's ballet, J.L David's choreography framed the ideal woman via her easily identifiable markers of virtue such that its antithesis was also implicitly communicated. These new symbolic polarities functioned to demarcate the ideal new woman, whose moral character might be rehabilitated by a series of medical interventions. Central to this was a heightened call for self-control and rehabilitation of the woman in order to counteract and stabilize the chaotic sociopolitical conditions created by the Reign of Terror.

[30] Ibid., 147.

[31] Garafola, *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet.* op. cit., 38. Garafola cites from Jules Janin's remarks, which appeared in the government-subsidized *Journal des débats*. Janin's words support the conclusion that polarized gender norms under the July Monarchy were animated through a series of dyads (beauty/ugliness, white/black, virtue and vice) that were meant to stabilize the violence and cataclysmic upheavals of the revolutionary years, and reinforce those normative gender values that would help generate the 'new man.' For more on July Monarchy norms see Lawrence C. Jennings, "Slavery and the Venality of the July Monarchy Press." *French Historical Studies* (1992): 958. As Janin's text reads, "Speak to us of a pretty dancing girl who displays the grace of her figure, who reveals so fleetingly all the treasures of her beauty. Thank God, I understand that perfectly, I know what this lovely creature wishes us, and I would willingly follow her wherever she wishes in the sweet land of love. But a man, as ugly as you and I, a wretched fellow who leaps about without knowing why, a creature specially made to carry a musket and a sword and to wear a uniform. That this fellow should dance as a woman does -- impossible! That this bewhiskered individual who is a pillar of the community, an elector, a municipal councillor, a man whose business it is to make and..unmake laws should come before us in a tunic of sky-blue satin…this was surely impossible and intolerable…"

[32] Gill, op. cit., 3. As literary historian Miranda Gill observes, The Janus-faced quality of the nineteenth century Parisian monster is attributable to a wave of Anglomania that swept through France following Napoleon's defeat in 1815 that brought with it a growing fascination with the eccentric. By the period of the July Monarchy the artistic climate in Paris had become one in which admiration for eccentricity and outlandishness (originally viewed by the eighteenth century French as a peculiar English preoccupation) was deeply entrenched in the aesthetic attitudes of both continental observers and the English themselves.

[33] Ibid., 65.

[34] Jo Burr Margadant, "Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary in Postrevolutionary France: Reinterpreting the Failure of the July Monarchy, 1830-1848." *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 5 (1999): 1466.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Janin, op. cit., 23. According to Meglin, this indivisible existence of the witch and the Sylphide is communicated most poignantly during the ballet's tragic apex. Referring to Janin's summary, Meglin recalls the Sylphide's agonizing aerial death that like "a beautiful lily" happened "slowly, slowly…" as the sylphide was stalked by "the sly gaze of that horrible witch." The original text reads, "…on eût dit l'agonie d'un beau lis; elle mourait peu à peu, lentement, d'une mort aérienne, l'horrible sorcière regardant d'un œil narquois cette mort funeste."

[37] Joellen A. Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence: An Intertextual Reading of the Ballet Fantastique in France, 1831--1841. Part One. Ancestors of the Sylphide in the Conte Fantastique." *Dance Chronicle* 27, no. 1 (2004): 88. Meglin argues that this particular theme of the double as representative of the dark underbelly of "horror, danger and death that lies just beneath the veil of beauty," is the inheritance of a number of later works in the genre of the *conte fantastiques* wherein doppelgangers commonly confirmed the co-dependence of the dark witch figure with the celestial woman.

[38] Meglin, op. cit., 119. Drawing on the dance of the witches Sabbath in Act II, scene one of *La Sylphide,* Meglin notes the witches reading from the "great book of Cabala," enacting spells that would remotely control the destiny of the Sylphide. As Meglin says, "The double has a double: the monstrous sediment of the Sylph, herself distilled of impurity, is Madge."

[39] Ibid. Meglin uses the concept of the doppelgänger to animate her understanding of the virtue/vice dyad as embodied by *La Sylphide*'s nonhuman characters.

[40] Janin, op.cit., 8. Janin's words are: "mais le moyen de raconter une chronique de l'Ècosse et de se passer de la sorcière?"

[41] Jowitt, op. cit., 30.

[42] By the third decade of the nineteenth century, French ballet had already developed an exhaustive treasury of nonhuman figures from which to draw on in theatrical performance. For more on this see Garafola, *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet.,* op. cit., 6.

[43] David J. Jones, *Gothic Machine: Textualities, Pre-cinematic Media and Film in Popular Visual Culture, 1670-1910.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 20.

[44] Ibid.

[45] One such Gothic revival of medieval death dance themes can be seen in *Basel Death Dance,* a watercolour painted in 1806 by Johann Rudolf Feyerabend (1779-1814) in homage to destroyed frescoes c. 1440, at the cemetery of the Dominican Predigerkirche's (predicant church) cemetery wall (interior) in Basel, Switzerland. While the subject of scant historical study, a study of dances of death that emerged during the middle ages would be a worthwhile area for dance historians to pursue.

[46] Jones, op. cit., 20.

[47] Jowitt., op. cit., 30. Chief among these were German authors Wolfgang von Goethe and Heinrich Heine, and the Scottish Sir Walter Scott.

[48] This statement is corroborated by Jowitt, Garafola, Homans, Meglin and others. *Robert Le Diable* was a five-act opera composed by Giacomo Meyerbeer and staged on November 21 1831, one year prior to the debut of *La Sylphide*. The opera's longstanding connection to *La Sylphide* derives from Marie Taglioni's performance in the opera's climactic third act, in the "Ballet of the Nuns."

[49] The genre is often referred to variously using the terminology of 'the fantastic,' or 'le fantastique' or 'le conte fantastique.'

[50] Meglin, op. cit., 74.

[51] Paul Ginisty, (1855-1932). *La féerie.* printed monograph. Paris: L. Michaud, 1910. Collection : Bibliothèque nationale de France. Bibliothèque théâtrale illustrée; 12. Ginisty writes: "En France, l'origine de la Féerie est dans les ballets de cour du XVIe et du XVIIe siècles, inspires, en leur action, par la fable et le merveilleux. D'ingénieux Italiens, appelés par Catherine de Médicis furent leurs premiers introducteurs."

[52] Ibid., 13. In this vein, Ginisty writes of a ballet de cour favoured by Henri IV (1553-1610) entitled *Echecs* that was partially performed by dancers playing the part of mobile chess pieces. Indeed, this particular game of embodied chess delighted Henry IV, who no doubt realized the political advantage of staging the nonhuman body's compliance with the aims of empire. This example is particularly interesting in its symmetries with the performance of the Automaton Chess Player under Wolfgang von Kempelen.

[53] Ginisty, op. cit., 16 and 20. To this end, the Italian Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661) formerly Mazarini, recruited several Italian imaginative ballet masters and set designers to aid in the production of new ballets that could cater to the public's growing appetite for *le merveilleux*. Not only did Mazarin commission the building of the Salles des Machines in the Tuileries Palace in Paris, but Ginisty's research further confirms (citing from the *Gazette de France* from 1647) that in the Mazarin-commissioned ballet *Orfeo* were presented "marvellous changes in theatrical spectacle, machines and inventions that had hitherto been unknown in France." Thus, from at least the mid seventeenth century if not earlier, French ballet had begun a tradition of manufacturing creaturely others and monsters through technologies intended for the theatrical stage.

[54] Meglin, op. cit., 69 & 71. Meglin argues that the conte fantastique has been an overlooked narrative source for *La Sylphide*. Meglin suggests further that gesture and symbol correspond to one another, thereby linking the worlds of literature and dance, requiring audiences to be immersed in "diverse cultural genres that transcended any one medium."

[55] Dorothea E. von Mücke, *The Seduction of the Occult and the Rise of the Fantastic Tale.* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2003), 2. A literary genre that made an indelible impact on French ballet, the fantastic can be contextualized by its relationship to synchronous esoteric movements. Born of Jean-Jaques Ampère's 1829 translation of E.T.A. Hoffmann's *Fantasistücke in Callot's Manner* into French, the word *fantastique* in France was synonymous with a form of literature that disrupted the human subject's sense of boundaries, giving shape to the otherwise unseen or unobservable aspects of the world. In this sense, the fantastic revealed the extent to which art might transform the beholder's sense perception. Thus, the very genre of the fantastic in theatrical performance provoked the bounds of the human. Consequently, monsters (ubiquitous within the genre) were performed through transgressive techniques designed to shock the psychic system and evoke physiological responses.

[56] Sofie Lachapelle, *Investigating the Supernatural: From Spiritism and Occultism to Psychical Research and Metapsychics in France, 1853--1931.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 35 and 36. From the mid nineteenth century onwards, interest in the occult was reinvigorated in France primarily by the work of Alphonse-Louis Constant who later adopted the name Eliphas Levi and became a commentator on tarot and magic. Constant, whose new doctrine gained enormous popularity by the 1870s, was at the helm of a number of movements whose doctrines were heterogenous, a disparate collection of teachings and traditions. Thus, as LaChapelle notes, although never a significant group in terms of the number of its adherents, occultism had a profound impact on the fine arts, music and literature of the late nineteenth century, and its influence evident in a number of artistic currents, most notably the decadent and related aesthetic movements for which *La Sylphide* was a precursor.

[57] Ibid., 35. Secret signs and symbols were ubiquitous according to the occultist who offered this orientation as a kind of critique of the rational, scientific and materialist culture of the general populace.

[58] The word esoteric is derived from the Greek word *estoeros,* meaning that which is interior, within.

[59] Edward D. Seeber, "Sylphs and Other Elemental Beings in French Literature Since Le Comte De Gabalis (1670)." *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1944): 74. Prior to the year 1800, *Gabalis* was frequently referred to as a Rosicrucian work (a movement also linked to Paracelsus), and was thus denoted by several nineteenth century writers (Gerard de Nerval, Denis, Wallace, Viatte, and Treske) as the origins of the well-established genre known as the "Rosicrucian novel."

[60] Ibid., 72. Seeber maintains that that *Le Conte de Gabalis* was published in 1670, rather than 1668 as Meglin contends. According to Seeber, "Between 1670 and 1800, *Le Comte de Gabalis, ou entretiens sur les sciences secrètes* saw at least twelve French editions, as well as a certain number of translations into English."

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., 80. Seeber citing from A. Viatte. *Les Sources occulte du Romantisme. Illuminisme — Theosophie 1770-1820* (Paris: H. Champion, 1928, 2 vols.), 159. Viatte also proposes that *Gabalis* influenced Nodier's other works including *Jean-Francois les bas-bleux* and *Jean Sbogar.*

[63] Ibid., 74.Villars' research on liminal, intermediary creatures known to beckon humans to their remote realms is indebted to many scholars who have suggested a number of esoteric lineages as their origin, including the Jewish Cabala of the middle ages, as the title of the book *Gabalis* alludes to. However, the actual interest in the classification of these elemental, intermediary creatures, many critics suggest, derives from a similar type offered by Paracelsus in the early sixteenth century. Frequently, however, prior to the year 1800, *Gabalis* was often referred to as a Rosicrucian work.

[64] abbé de Nicolas-Pierre-Henri Villars. *La Suite du Comte de Gabalis, ou nouveaux entretiens sur les sciences secrétes, touchant la nouvelle philosophie.* (Paris: Chez Pierre de Coup, 1715), 29. Standing as a disturbing reminder of humanity's ignorance, the following vision of the sylph in *Gabalis* affirms the distinction between humans and nonhumans: "When you have enrolled among the children of the Philosophers, and when your eyes have been strengthened by the use of very Holy Medecine, you will straightway discover that the Elements are inhabited by most perfect beings. Unhappy Adam's sin has deprived his unfortunate posterity of all knowledge of these beings and of all intercourse with them. The immense space which lies between the Earth and Heaven has inhabitants far nobler than the birds and insects…."

[65] Ibid., 32. As the following excerpt from *La Suite du Comte de Gabalis* illustrates, it is the sylph's esoteric significance as a creature that exists beyond frontiers of human knowledge that ensures its status as a figure associated with potent gnoseological renewals: "…when those centres in man which are intimately related to the distribution of the essences which nourish the Earth, Air, Water and Fire Bodies, or vestures of man's spirit, have been regenerated, man is enabled to attain ranges of consciousness co-extensive with those of the four races of beings inhabiting the essences of these four Elements…"

[66] This understanding of the intermediary function of the sylphs was likely influenced by the classification of sylphs popularized by Paracelsus in the early sixteenth century. See Seeber, op. cit., 74. It bears mention here however, that not all monsters were understood as mediators between humans and the idyllic world synonymous with Adam before the Fall. As David White comments in *Myths of the Dog-Man,* theologian Augustine of Hippo (354-430 C.E.) allegorized the Cynocephali as a "quarrelsome, morally dumb, or even demonic race." See D. White, *Myths of the Dog-Man,* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 30. See also, Judith Kidd, "A Medieval Legacy of Aesthetic Conflict," *Theology* (G.B.) 85, (1982): 23; and Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159-97.

[67] Seeber, op. cit., 73.

[68] Ibid., 77 & 78. Ambiguity, disguise and deception have long been associated with the sylph within literary texts. Early tales associated the sylph with the potential of personal social transformation. In this vein, Seeber notes that "one of the most popular themes is that of a husband (or lover) who arouses true passion in a woman by pretending to be a sylph, appearing to her at night and delighting her with romantic discourse and subtle attentions." Seeber contends this tendency towards dark disguise is mitigated in later Romantic variants of the sylphide. However mitigated these strains were, Cazotte and Nodier certainly revived darker visions of the sylph as a broad reading of their oeuvre suggests. As for the sylphide in *La Sylphide* being a creature of white purity, one might argue that this one glimmer of purity is countered by the presence of the dark witch, suggesting that either this virtue is not entirely virtuous, or that the powers of darkness are insurmountable.

[69] Ibid., 77.

[70] Kenneth J. Fleurant, "Mysticism in the Age of Reason: Jacques Cazotte and the Demons." *The French Review* 49, no. 1 (1975): 69.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., 70.

[73] Jowitt, op. cit., 115.

[74] Charles Nodier, "Du Fantastique en littérature." In *Contes Fantastiques.* Paris: G. Charpetier, 1882.

[75] Meglin, op. cit., 93.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., 96.

[78] Goethe's *Faust* was first published in 1808.

[79] Meglin, op. cit., 46

[80] Ivor Guest, *Jules Perrot: Master of the Romantic Ballet.* (New York: Dance Books, 1984), 12. Guest citing from *Mit Theaterliv,I*, pp. 74-5.

[81] Ibid. That Bournonville cites the demonic as the most important element on the French stage during the Romantic era confirms the analyses of Jennifer Homans, Joellen Meglin and others who posit that Romantic ballet drew deeply from the genre of the *conte fantastique* in presenting miracles, exotic others, magic, nonhumans, creatures and supernatural events that defied all logic and reason on the theatrical stage. More importantly, Bournonville's comment makes plain the fact that esotericism and mythological creatures referenced in occult literature played a strong role in narratives staged by Romantic ballet during the middle of the nineteenth century.

[82] Ibid. The full excerpt runs thus: "…that of a zephyr with the wings of a bat, a divinity belonging not to mythology but to the occult, a whimsical being with an indescribable lightness and suppleness and a brilliance that was almost phosphorescent. He really made history at a time when the demonic was the most important element on the French stage."

[83] Janin, op. cit., 6.

[84] Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft.* Second ed. (New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1882), 5.

"To the multitude, the indubitable fact, that so many millions of spirits exist around and even amongst us, seems sufficient to support the belief that they are, in certain instances at least, by some means or other, able to communicate with the world of humanity. The more numerous part of mankind cannot form in their mind the idea of the spirit of the deceased existing, without possessing or having the power to assume the appearance which their acquaintance bore during his life, and do not push their researches beyond this point."

[85] Overtly concerned with communicating with the spirits of the deceased, Scott's foreword hints at Romanticism's preoccupations, which as cited by literary historian David Sandner, bore the defining characteristics of a revival of religious mysticism. See David Sandner, *The Fantastic Sublime: Romanticism and Transcendence in Nineteenth-Century Children's Fantasy Literature.* (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996), 31. When Scott attempts in his demonology to demonstrate the existence of peoples that correspond with a "fairy race" that exist "betwixt humanity and angels," his discourse is directed at a populace already under the influence of esoteric discourses that detailed the possibilities of transmogrification. As many literary historians note, Scott's novels exhume the fairy as a byproduct of his ethnographic preoccupations with real historical actors with whom fairies were said to communicate.

[86] Théophile Gautier, (1811-1872). *Histoire du Romantisme; Suivie de notices Romantiques; et d'une étude sur la poésie Française, 1830-1868* (Paris: Charpentier, 1874), 5. "What a marvellous time! Walter Scott was at the height of his success; we were initiated into the mysteries of Goethe's *Faust*…We discovered Shakespeare through translations assembled by Letourneur, and the poems of Lord Byron…and then we arrived in the Orient, which was not in the least bit ordinary…It turned our minds upside down; it seemed that we were entering unknown worlds."

[87] Jeffrey J. Kripal, *Mutants and Mystics: Science Fiction, Superhero Comics, and the Paranormal.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 26.

[88] Hugh B. Urban, "Elitism and Esotericism: Strategies of Secrecy and Power in South Indian Tantra and French Freemasonary." *NUMEN* 44 (1997): 1& 2. As historian of religions Hugh Urban points out, the secrecy associated with esotericism itself has very "real and direct social and political implications," one of which is that its discourses are frequently taken up by powerful, educated intellectuals who intend not so much to subvert existing social structures, as to "bend or reshape them according to their own interests."

[89] Joellen A. Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence: An Intertextual Reading of the Ballet Fantastique in France, 1831--1841. Part Two: The Body Dismembered, Diseased, and Damned: The Conte Brun." *Dance Chronicle* 27, no. 3 (2004): 319.

[90] Nepos, Tristram. "L'adultère chez les Battas." *Revue de Paris* 4, no. 9 (1832): 103-110.

[91] Ibid., 105. "les Javanais ont mieux encore qu'une épopée: ils ont des recueils *de Contes philosophiques et fantastiques*."

[92] Ibid., 106.

[93] Ibid., 107.

[94] Susan Oliver, "Crossing Dark Barriers: Intertextuality and Dialogue Between Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott." *Studies in Romanticism* 47, no. 1 (2008): 16. Oliver cites from Scott's poem "The Lady of the Lake" as contained in Walter, Scott, William Michael Rossetti, and Thomas Seccombe. *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* (London: A. and C. Black, 1868), 20.

[95] Oliver, op. cit., 16.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid., 15. The historical novel shared terrain with the fantastic tale which had been so deeply influenced by the frontiers of the Near East, a fact made palpable in early French translations of *The Arabian Nights* first published between 1704 and 1713.

[98] Honoré de Balzac, "Voyage De Paris À Java." *Revue de Paris* 44 (1832): 217-66.

[99] This is in keeping with arguments made by literary historian Susan Oliver.

[100] Hélène Denis, "L'Imaginaire du gout: motifs 'Écossais' dans le paysage Parisien au début du XIXe siècle." *French Historical Studies* 22, no. 4 (1999): 550. Denis citing from *La Quotidienne* 1, 9 mars 1832, 1. It is worth noting that Ivor Guest repudiates this claim that the original costumes bore resemblance to Scottish dress. It is worth noting that the musical score for the Taglioni production was written by French composer Jean Madeleine Marie Schneitzhöeffer.

[101] To this end, several scholars postulated that the Scottish sensibility of that first production likely owed to the influence of Charles Nodier's fairies and sylphides that were carefully imported from Scott's tales and transplanted within French literature. It would however, be overly optimistic to conclude that the Sylphide was a direct inheritor of the sylph tradition as iterated by Nodier, and its concomitant inheritance of esoteric literary predecessors that reach from the *Conte de Gabalis* all the way back to the early sixteenth century writings of Paracelsus. While Nodier's drama may have bequeathed its descendant with tropes relating

to the Scottish air and landscape, the depiction of the Sylph in Nourrit's libretto does diverge from its predecessor *Trilby* in ways that have already been investigated by several dance scholars including Sally Banes and Deborah Jowitt.

[102] *Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland* is a cycle of poems putatively authored and narrated by the Gaelic poet Ossian.

[103] Denis, op. cit., 537.

[104] Oliver, Susan 17. Oliver also reminds that Sir Walter Scott referred to his attempts to join ballad and song to official history as "curious history." It has been suggested by literary historians in this sense, that nineteenth century writers attempted to break from existing historical metanarratives by way of combining popular tales, folk songs, oral traditions and even fictional travel documents into their works. On the other hand, it has been well documented that Scott's tales, despite minor moves to make alterations to historical methods or include micro histories, generally worked to reify the historical narratives maintained by the British Empire. Furthermore, given that Scott was part of an active publishing market whose appetites were focused on particular idioms in fictionalized travel narratives, his own work may have favoured particular forms of historical document simply because they were more profitable and ensured his own success in the marketplace.

[105] Denis, op. cit., 536.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Jowitt, op.cit., 40.

[108] Janin, op. cit., 19. Elle renonce, non pas sans larmes, à ce jeune homme tant aimé, enfant des montagnes d'Ecosse."

[109] Makdisi, Saree. "Colonial Space and the Colonization of Time in Scott's Waverley." *Studies in Romanticism* 34, no. 2 (1995): 157. Makdisi cites from Walter Scott, *Waverley*. (1813; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), 144.

[110] Denis, Helene. "L'Imaginaire du gout: motifs Écossais dans le paysage Parisien au debut du XIXe siecle." French Historical Studies 22, no. 4 (1999): 553. Denis cites from Dumas: The original quote can be found in Alexandre Dumas, *Mes Mémoires* (Paris, 1986), 3. "L'époque entretint à l'évidence des rapports privilégis avec l'élément aérien. Walter Scott, Cooper et Byron étaient dans toutes les mains. . . . Décidément le vent soufflait de l'ouest et annonçait la révolution littéraire."

[111] Predominantly an architectural movement, the Greek classical revival can be traced to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in northern Europe, France and the United States. It is generally characterized by a perception of the golden age of Greece as the cradle of democracy, and a rediscovery of its ideals through art and architecture.

[112] Denis, op cit., 553.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Meglin, op.cit., Part I. 97.

[115] William H.A. Williams, "Into the West: Landscape and Imperial Imagination in Connemara, 1820-1870." *New Hibernia Review/Iris Éireannach Nua* 2, no. 1 (1998): 77. Williams citing from Cailin Margaret Dube, "Enabling Institutions and Disabling Illustrations: Images of Connemara in Tourist Handbooks, 1850-1880." M. Phil. University College, Galway, 1994, 61-63. Dube in turns cites from George Ellis' original *Irish Ethnology* published in 1852.

[116] Edward G. Lengel, *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era.* (London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), 153.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Notably the same processes of disarmament were used to contain others considered wild or savage, such as yogis in Mughal India. See W. R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. In the Highlands, cultural reform also led to bans on both the bagpipes and the kilt in 1747, a fact which the aforementioned Makdisi suggests renewed the symbolism of these cultural displays as "traditional" despite the fact that the kilt was invented in the 1720s. She perceptively points to the possibility that the perceived authenticity of the kilt and the bagpipes obtained precisely from their provocative power, their ability to stir political sentiment. This is worth noting, especially when considering the way in which dance traditions (and their associated material artifacts) have participated in nationalist agendas.

[120] Oliver, op. cit.,16. Oliver citing from Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* in Walter Scott, William Michael Rossetti, and Thomas Seccombe. *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott.* (London: A. and C. Black, 1868), I.II. Oliver notes that the peaks of the Grampian range were described using the tropes and identifying architectural features of the east, its "more distant 'wild crests' 'ever deck'd as pagods, /or mosque of Eastern architect.'"

[121] Makdisi, op. cit., 167.

[122] Oliver, op. cit., 24. Oliver discusses Scott's politicization of borderlands and their peoples.

[123] Walter Scott, *Waverley.* (1813; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), 324.

[124] King, Charles. *A Daughter of the Sioux; A Tale of the Indian Frontier.* (New York, The Hobart Company, 1903), 6. Charles King graduated from West point in 1866 and served in the Army during the Indian Wars under George Crook.

[125] Ibid.,18.

[126] Boutang, Pierre Andre. *Abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze.* Édition Montparnasse, DVD, 1996.

[127] Slavery was first abolished in France in 1794 but was reintroduced in French colonies growing sugarcane under the First Consul Napoleon in 1802.

[128] Linda Zerilli, "Motionless Idols and Virtuous Mothers: Women, Art and Politics in France 1789-1848." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 27 (1982): 122. Zerilli citing from Hertz.

[129] Beaumont, op. cit., 79.

[130] Banes, op. cit., 32-33.

[131] Beaumont, op. cit., 79. Beaumont's narrative likewise begins with James sitting "in the corner of a vast chimney."

[132] Janin, op. cit., 3. The original text reads, "c'est le bon genie de foyer domestique...This is not to dismiss however the challenges noted by several scholars in attempting to read the ballet as a direct inheritance of Nodier's original text. One key distinction is the inherent 'goodness' and benevolence of the fairy that visits in Nodier's tale. In *La Sylphide*, the visiting fairy is a much more ambiguous presence whose entry into the household marks the onset of trouble for its protagonist James, a barrier to what historian Sally Banes has identified as 'the marriage plot.'

[133] John O'Brien, "Heart and Hearth: Some Versions of Secrecy." *Modern Language Review* 108, no. 4 (2013): 1103-1120. As historian Piero Camporesi has clarified, cognates of this tradition can be found in nineteenth century Italian traditions of food and folklore. In *The Magic Harvest: Food, Folklore and Society,* Camporesi devotes a chapter to "The Demon of the Hearth." See Piero Camporesi, *The Magic Harvest: Food, Folklore and Society.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.

[134] Child, Theodore. "French House Furnishing." *The Decorator and Furnisher* 7, no. 1 (1885): 17.

[135] Beaumont's narrative likewise begins with James sitting "in the corner of a vast chimney." Later, thinking of the Sylphide, James "unwittingly draws near the chimney and gazes at the place where she vanished. But what does he see -- a hideous, old hag known as Madge, reputed a sorceress." See Cyril Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets: A Guide to the Principal Ballets of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* (London: Garden City Publishing, 1941), 79.

[136] "c'est le bon genie de foyer domestique..." Janin, 3. Despite the appellation of "good fairy," it is clear that the Sylphide's presence is ambiguous, reinforcing the challenges noted by several scholars in attempting to read the ballet as a direct inheritance of Nodier's original text.

[137] The broom often appears similarly situated at the hearth in contemporary reworkings of the ballet.

[138] Rousseau's works formed a prominent voice in the "cult of domesticity" which flourished as a consequence of the French Revolution and its aftermath. See Linda Zerilli, "Motionless Idols and Virtuous Mothers: Women, Art and Politics in France 1789-1848." *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 27 (1982): 89.

[139] The Jacobins, at their apex in 1793, were one of the most prominent political clubs during the French Revolution.

[140] Historian Susan Conner notes, "Jacobin definitions of the woman's role had become more clear-cut in 1793-94; women were excluded from political clubs, denied the right to organize collectively, and drummed out of the military." See Susan P. Conner, "Politics, Prostitution, and the Pox in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1799." *Journal of Social History* 22, no. 4 (1989): 723.

[141] Zerilli, op. cit., 89.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Quinlan, op. cit., 140.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Scott's comments were made in the context of British industrialization rather than the French recovery following revolution. Nonetheless, given his enormous influence on literature and performance, one can see that Scott's vision of women's household duties as central to the configuration of a new society would have had a significant impact on his readership in France.

[146] Makdisi, op. cit., 162.

[147] Charles Sowerwine, "Workers and Women in France Before 1914: The Debate Over the Couriau Affair." *The Journal of Modern History* 55, no. 3 (1983): 411.

[148] See Orna Olafson Hellerstein's seminal study, "French Women and the Orderly Household, 1830-1870," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History 3* (1976) 378-389.

[149] Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 6.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Zerilli, op. cit., 104

[152] Jowitt, *Time and the Dancing Image*, 31; Sally Banes, *Dancing Women,* 17; Joellen A. Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence (Part One)," 114; Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* (Alton: Dance Books, 2008), 206-07. As Sally Banes discusses, *La Sylphide*'s mobs of female-only groups are invested with polarized characteristics of virtue vs. impurity. Ivor Guest has argued that the unified motions of multitudes of spectral women clad in white owed as much to the demonic influences in Giacomo Meyerbeer's opera, *Robert le Diable* (1831) as it did to a sustained investigation of dainty, feminine purity. Banes also recalls an inversion of nuns in Giselle often associated at this time with lesbianism. Here, the plot according to Banes, expresses anxieties regarding women's sexuality and marriage during the early period following the revolution at which time there was an upsurge in democratic, feminist ideals among certain groups of women.

[153] Janin, op. cit., 11. "Not alone…"

[154] Given the original Taglioni choreography has been lost, my description draws from the Pierre Lacotte reconstruction as staged in 2004 by the Paris Opera Ballet. The cast includes Aurélie Dupont (the Sylphide) and Mathieu Ganio (James). *La Sylphide.* Pierre Lacotte: Sylphide (Opéra national de Paris 2004). 2004. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThuTKrwgE2w (accessed July 24, 2015).

[155] Jennings, op. cit., 957. It is important to remember that during the July Monarchy women were not so much eliminated from public visibility as their visibility was carefully monitored and exploited. That is to say, that what visibility they were afforded and how they were received was mediated through increasingly nationalist gendered paradigms within theatre and performance that only viewed the woman as necessary to uphold male honour.

[156] Margadant, op. cit., 1463. It should be noted here that evaluations of the status of women in French society following the revolution comprises a contentious and voluminous scholarly terrain. While on the whole, scholarship written in the 1970s and 1980s tends to foreground the overlooked heroic winnings of women involved in the revolutionary cause, analysis from the

1990s is more guarded in its interpretation of the role of women both in the context of revolutionary uprisings and in terms of their status between 1830 and 1870, when the struggle that had separated monarchists from republicans finally closed with the establishment of the Third Republic.

[157] Margadant, op. cit., 1470. Demonstrating her point, Margadant cites the fact that the iconography of Queen Marie-Amélie as a visible female spectator was necessary "for all ceremonies that celebrated the link between the king, the nation and the men responsible as soldiers or citizen militia and as lawmakers for defending the regime during the July Monarchy."

[158] Rousseau's remarkable influence on revolutionary politics continued into the nineteenth century.

[159] Zerilli, op. cit., 95.

[160] Ibid., 96.

[161] Zerilli, op. cit., 97.

[162] Ibid., 95.

[163] R B. Rose, "Feminism, Women and the French Revolution." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 40, no. 1 (1994): 193. It should be noted that this narrative of the Revolution as having been solely made for and by men, being of little utility for women is refuted by several scholars. R.B. Rose for instance, surmises that the increase in the marriage rate coupled with the lower birth rate alludes to the possibility that methods of contraception were gaining ground among both men and women. This follows of course only if one accepts the theory that despite Napoleon's restoration of the Catholic Church in 1801, much of France remained de-Christianized.

[164] Rose, op. cit., 194. Rose summarizes it thus: "The French Revolutionary Constitution of 1791 made women citizens of a kind, if only 'passive' citizens, unable to vote or stand for public office. The Jacobin Constitution of 1793 gave the vote to all men but to no women. The Constitution of the year III (1795) took the vote away from some of the men and dropped the earlier notion of passive so women ceased to be citizens at all. Finally, the Napoleonic code of 1804 proclaimed a uniform regime of patriarchy which entrenched again most of the oppressive features of the chaotic law of the old regime. Wives must obey their husbands and live where they direct. Husbands may have their wives imprisoned for adultery, but not vice versa. Fathers may imprison their children for misconduct at will."

[165] Simone de Beauvoir, *Le Deuxième Sexe.* (Paris: Gallimard, 1949), 182.

[166] Hellerstein, Erna. "French Women and the Orderly Household 1830-1870." In *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History.* 3 vols. 1975, 383. Concomitant with this, the Jacobin belief that women were by nature unsettled and prone to corruption was reinforced in political tracts that clarified that any exposure to the impurities of life beyond the boundaries of a woman's home (metonymic with her body) could lead women to overstimulation, a problem that literally physiologically manifested itself in a disorderly "overflowing," or hysteria associated with an abundance of menstruation. Here, one cannot help but recall Janin's descriptions of the blood of witches.

[167] Burke, E. "Letters on a Regicide Peace," in *Select Works of Edmund Burke: A New Imprint of the Payne Edition* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/658 (accessed June 26, 2015), 400.

[168] Ibid. The excerpt appears in national guardsman Stanislas Maillard's testimony of the march which he delivered before a commission established by the court in Paris to investigate the events of October 1789. Reprinted in Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 36–42.

[169] "fugitifs." Janin, op. cit.,12.

[170] Ibid. "Les soeurs du Destin."

[171] Ibid. "elles vont sans cesse parcourant les terres et les mers…"

[172] Ibid. "les horribles vieilles se répandent comme le fumée blanche, emblème du soufre dévoré par la flamme…"

[173] The image of women riding astride cannons was recurrent in French Revolutionary journalism. Julia V. Douthwaite, *The Frankenstein of 1790 and Other Lost Chapters From Revolutionary France.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 17.

[174] Janin, op. cit., 12.

[175] Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* op. cit., 212.

[176]"Autour de La Sylphide, voltage dune aile timide et cadencée les sylphides ses soeurs, l'air est rempli des suaves mélodies…" Janin, 14.

[177] "pauvre file de l'air," "oiseau vole.." "sautant commes les nymphs..." Janin, op. cit.,7.

[178] Marian Elizabeth Smith*,* Ed. *La Sylphide: Paris 1832 and Beyond.* (Alton: Dance Books, 2012), 322.

[179] Banes, op. cit., 4.

[180] One cannot forget in this context that the constraint of the Sylphide by means of a scarf carries with it a long lineage of scholarly interpretation, including theories that equate the removal of the Sylphide's wings with the loss of her virginity. Yet, the sexual motifs evoked by the protagonist's attempts to circumscribe the motions of the Sylphide are more importantly, a reminder that the narrative design of *La Sylphide* reinforces what historian Jo Burr Margadant has identified as the increasing importance of notions of male honour for the bourgeoisie, and a concomitant requirement for the representation of women as subject to this male honour during the July Monarchy. I am also indebted to David White for pointing out here that the symbolism of binding is as developed in the European context as it is in India, and the use of objects to bind usually signify union, i.e. marriage as the "tie that binds" with the wedding ring as the emblem of that bond, to spell-binding sorceries. In this sense, the notion of the binding of the Sylphide is arguably better understood as emblematic of the results of the union between human and Sylphide.

[181] Margadant, op. cit., 1492.

[182] See Victor Turner's Forest of Symbols in which the transgression of normative categories is reaffirmed or reincorporated through ritual. Victor W. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.

[183] Roach, op. cit., 37.

[184] Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* op. cit., 212.

[185] Margadant, op. cit., 1492.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Ibid.

[188] Margadant, op. cit., 1494.

[189] Janin, op cit., 8.

[190] See Andrew Stewart, "Imag(in)ing the Other: Amazons and Ethnicity in Fifth-century Athens," *Poetics Today* 16, no. 4 (1995): 571–597; Joan DeJean, "Violent Women and Violence Against Women: Representing the Strong Woman in Early Modern France," *Signs* 29, no. 1 (2003): 117–147; Leslie Rabine, "Feminist Writers in French Romanticism," *Studies in Romanticism* 16, no. 4 (1977): 491–507.

[191] Celeste Turner Wright, "The Amazons in Elizabethan Literature." *Studies in Philology* 37, no. 3 (1940): 434. As historian Celeste Turner Wright notes, the historical origins of the Amazon are vague, contradictory and open to repeated reinvention in historical texts: "The location of the Amazons is always vague, moved by ancient writers anywhere between Germany and India. Their reputed homes are hard to come at. In Asia Minor their stronghold on the river Thermodon was shunned for fear of its redoubtable garrison. In Africa their island lay in a marsh near the boundaries of the inhabited world. In America some viragoes hid in caves on remote islands, from which strong winds kept Columbus, while others, on the mainland, lived beyond the country of the cannibals."

[192] Andrew Stewart, op. cit., 576. Mentioned as formidable fighters, Homer's accounts thus detail Amazons as extraordinary albeit liminal figures, who in the words of historian Andrew Stewart were, 'not the girls next door but the girls on the next block but one."

[193] Ibid., 578. Notably, when we say democracy here, it is worth recalling that historian Andrew Stewart has stated Athenian democracy was no more than the "quintessence of a Greek men's club." Nonetheless, this once again points to the emergence of the nonhuman, monstrous figure during times of crisis through whom the boundaries of normativity are revealed.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Ibid., 579.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid., 580.

[199] Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence (Part One)," 84. Citing from Villars (abbé de, Nicolas-Pierre-Henri). *La Suite du Comte de Gabalis, ou nouveaux entretiens sur les sciences secrétes, touchant la nouvelle philosophie* (Paris: Chez Pierre de Coup), 1715.

[200] *Sylphes et sylphides: Montfaucon De Villars, Crébillon, Marmontel, Nougaret, Sade, quelques poètes: anthologie,* ed. Michel Delon (Paris: Les Editions Desjonquères, 1999), 9. See also Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence (Part One)," 84.

[201] Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence (Part One)," 75–93. See also [Nicolas-Pierre-Henri] abbé de Villars, *La Suite du Comte de Gabalis, ou nouveaux entretiens sur les sciences secrétes, touchant la nouvelle philosophie* (Paris: Chez Pierre de Coup), 1715.

[202] Janin, op. cit., 18. The original text reads, "…de la nymphe fugitive."

[203] Janin, op. cit., 15-16. uses the word "vagabond" and "fille de l'air" to describe the movements of the Sylphide.

[204] See photograph of Amazon girls depicted on an attic amphora Ca. 520 B.C.E. contained in the Louvre, Paris in Stewart, op. cit., 581. There is a strong argument to be made (and that has been made) that witches stood for more than just witchcraft traditions during this period. In this vein, Meglin discusses one such satirization of Amazonian women in an 1833 ballet. See Joellen Meglin, "Feminism or Fetishism? *La Revolte Des Femmes* and Women's Liberation in France in the 1830." In *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet.* Edited by Lynn Garafola. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997.

[205] See Léandre Vaillat, *La Taglioni, ou, la vie d'une danseuse* (Paris: A. Michel, 1942), 42. "I then lowered myself gently and as far as possible, in such a way that I could touch the floor with my hands without curving my back, simply by bending the knees while keeping strictly upright; then gently rising, without jerks and without effort, till the tip of the feet. It takes thousands of exercises to attain a certain degree of perfection."

[206] "MIle Taglioni vous faisait penser aux vallées pleines d'ombre et de fraîcheur, où une blanche vision soli tout à coup de l'écorce d'un chêne[.] ... Elle ressemblait à s'y méprendre à ces fées d'Écosse, dont parle Walter Scott, qui vont errer au clair de lune, près de la fontaine mystérieuse, avec un collier de perles de rosée et un fil d'or pour ceinture." See Théophile Gautier, Ivor Guest, and Martine Kahane. *Écrits sur la danse* (Arles: Actes sud, 1995), 78. It is also worth noting that in writing of Taglioni's performance in 1838, Gautier idealized the female ballet dancer as the epitome of effortless grace, even going so far as to comment that any evidence of visible effort had the effect of reducing the ballerina a mere dancer: "la sueur perle sur le front, les muscles se tendent avec effort, les bras et la poitrine rougissent; tout à l'heure c'était une vraie sylphide, ce n'est plus qu'une danseuse." In clarifying the appearance of effort and exertion as antithetical to femininity, Gautier's vision of the sylphide betrayed a reigning July Monarchy sensibility of the woman as a creature that had somehow transcended the usual physical realities associated with being female. See review dated Sept. 17, 1858. [*sic*. Misprint for 1838]

[207] As one reviewer remarked of Taglioni's performance, "There is a succession of flying movements expressive of alarm, in the midst of which she alights and stands poised upon the points of her feet, with a look over her shoulder of fierté and animation possible to no other face, I think, in the world. It was like a deer, standing with expanded nostril, and neck uplifted to its loftiest height... It was the very soul of swiftness embodied in a look!" "Jottings Down in London," *The Corsair A Gazette of Literature, Art, Dramatic Criticism, Fashion, and Novelty (1839-1840)*, 10 August 1839, 345.

[208] DeJean, Joan. "Violent Women and Violence Against Women: Representing the 'Strong' Woman in Early Modern France." *Signs* 29, no. 1 (2003): 121.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid., 122.

[211] Ibid., 123.

[212] Ibid., 122.

[213] Ibid., 120.

[214] Douthwaite, op. cit., 36, 49. While it can be said that some texts paid an indirect homage to women's political clubs and their efforts to engage in serious debate alongside men, by and large, political commentaries and treatises during this era disparaged women as unfit for political or public life.

[215] Diamond, op. cit., 95.

[216] In this way, Janin's remarks at the outset of this section expose a miscellany of anxieties about the mobile female writer within the republic. As is evidenced in the memoires of female author Flora Tristan (a contemporary of poet George Sand, Hugo and Balzac) whose *Pérégrinations d'une paria* (1833-34) describes the context of literary authorship in the July Monarchy of the 1830s in which women were excluded from all but the most marginal cultural activity, there was in the year following *La Sylphide'*s staging, a mounting anxiety regarding the hypermobile, peregrinating woman. As a byproduct of this public concern for the security of the republic grew a widespread association of women who wandered with the woman who waged battle and the writer that persisted well into the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. See Flora Tristan, *Pérégrinations D'une Paria (1833-1834).* Paris, A. Bertrand, 1838: I, xxxvii.

[217] Leslie Rabine, "Feminist Writers in French Romanticism." *Studies in Romanticism* 16, no. 4 (1977): 491.

[218] Diamond, op. cit., 96 & 99. Notably, Olympe de Gouges' own invented aristocratic identity was key to her self-inventions and renewals both personal and political. De Gouges was a courtesan and author of several plays, political essays and letters. Among these was a fictional memoir whose provocative acts of self-invention made explicit the possibility for transmogrification of the 'other' through public displays and theatrical spectacles during the post-revolutionary French republic. Her daring manifesto, "Declaration of the Rights of Women" catalyzed what has been called France's first feminist movement and made it clear that the revolutionary rhetoric of equality and freedom suffered from very serious limitations that prevented its main aims towards a national metamorphosis of the French nation from feudal and aristocratic conditions, towards an egalitarian democratic society. Diamond reports that "the most important influence on de Gouges' manifesto was Condorcet's essay, "On the Admission of Women to the Rights of Citizenship" (1790) which criticized the patriarchal structure of the family and proposed equal education and complete legal and political equality for (bourgeois) women."

[219] Ibid., 103. Following her execution on the third of November 1793, Chaumette a one-time supporter of the sans-culottes, issued a warning to would-be feminists to come. The words recalled the dangers associated with Olympe de Gouges, who, like other women considered Amazons during the post-revolutionary era, was considered immoral on account of her mobility. A fitting parallel for the sylphide and the witch, de Gouges symbolized the aims of political women who abandoned hearth and home to engage in revolutionary provocation and wandering. In her words, Chaumette also makes it clear that the woman is still a number of steps behind full recognition as a human: "Recall that virago, that man-woman, the impudent Olympe de Gouges, who was first to institute women's societies, who abandoned the care of the household, who wished to play politics and committed crimes. All these immoral beings have been annihilated under the avenging sword of the laws. You would like to imitate them? No, you will find yourselves interesting and truly worthy of respect when you are what nature wished you to be."

[220] DeJean, op. cit., 120. Not surprisingly, the threat posed by the Amazonian monster took on still newer forms following Molière's parodic spin on the Amazonian French writer. From this point onwards, historian Joan DeJean suggests that the violence previously embodied by the female warrior was increasingly enacted against her following the French civil wars, as new plays such as Michel de Pure's *Epigone, histoire du siècle futur* (1659) drew from Molière's vision, reimagining the French Amazon, as an inhuman, near spectral force that could threaten entire populations, potentially eradicating the civilized world. More intriguingly, DeJean contends that by the middle of the seventeenth century, the nonhuman other's boundaries were once again redrawn, as the French Amazon began to evidence early outlines of the cyborg of modern science fiction.

[221] De Gouges was of putative aristocratic birth being the illegitimate child of the Marquis le Franc de Pompignan, See Marie Josephine Diamond, "Olympe De Gouges and the French Revolution: The Construction of Gender As Critique." *Dialectical Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (1990): 96.

[222] In her postscript to the "Declaration of the Rights of Woman" (1791), de Gouges (herself an illegitimate child), insisted that natural children should not be deprived of legal rights including (in some cases) rights of inheritance, thereby demanding new legal recognitions and financial support for prostitutes and their illegitimate offspring. See Diamond op. cit., 97-100.

[223] De Gouges was not the only courtesan to be vilified for her acquisition of power during this period. Madame du Barry (1743-1793) and Théroigne de Méricourt (1762-1817) are also worthy examples. While not a member of the aristocracy, Méricourt, (a fierce advocate for women's rights) who had changed her name and identity from Anne-Josèphe Terwagne to de Méricourt, was associated with the upward mobility of the outspoken courtesan. Like de Gouges and de Barry, she was closely

associated with the identity shifts that accompanied the professional life of the courtesan, and the scourge of illegitimacy that plagued it.

[224] It should be recalled that despite the ascendency of the bourgeoisie during the July Monarchy, any disruption of the period's existing class networks (including intrusions into the aristocratic classes) still represented a threat to the general socio-political and economic stability of the French republic. See Blum, op. cit., 213.

[225] Banes and Caroll, op. cit., 99.

[226] Aristocratic women, in keeping with French women of all classes, were charged with the regenerative task of maintaining bloodline continuities and producing the nation's heirs.

[227] Revolutionary interpretations of Rousseau's "general will" as the "public conscience" were said to be discernible "by searching within the heart of the virtuous patriot." See Blum, 213. By extension, revolutionary spectacles sought to dramatize this "fusion of [the] individual into the sovereign nation state...through the contemplation of other individuals as being identical." See Olivia Sabee, "Dancing the Social Contract: The White Divertissement and the French Revolution." *Dance Chronicle* 38, no. 1 (2015): 11. Sabee cites from Wilda Anderson, "Is the General Will Anonymous?: (Rousseau, Robespierre, Condorcet)." *MLN* 126, no. 4 (2011): 844.

[228] An allegorical figure like the provocative Amazon, Marianne was repeatedly invoked and reworked according to shifting political agendas. See Sabee op. cit., 19. Sabee cites from Sarah Hibberd, "La Muette and Her Context," in The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 149.

[229] Thomas Carlyle uses this word to described armed women in Revolutionary conflict: "The seized cannon are yoked with seized cart-horses: brownlocked Demoiselle Théroigne, with pike and helmet, sits there as gunneress." Thomas Carlyle ed., *The French Revolution: A History* vol. 1, *The Bastille* (1837; repr., Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1851), 323.

[230] Douthwaite, op. cit., 21.

[231] Ibid.

[232] Ibid.

[233] Hazan, Éric. *The Invention of Paris: A History in Footsteps.* (Paris: Verso Books, 2011), 38. A slightly different translation can be found in Honoré de Balzac, *Scenes of a Courtesan's Life.* http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1660/1660-h/1660-h.htm (accessed June 14, 2014).

[234] Ibid.

[235] For more on Paris as a cityscape made for the flâneur see Karin Baumgartner, "Constructing Paris: Flânerie, Female Spectatorship, and the Discourses of Fashion in Französische Miscellen (1803)." *Monatshefte* 100, no. 3 (2008): 351-368.

[236] Here, I am referring to the notion of the Parisian flâneur.

[237] *Baudelaire-Oeuvres Complètes.* Translated by Charles Baudelaire. Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle revue française, 2013. https://archive.org/details/uvrescompltesd02baud (accessed June 14, 2014), 304.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Choquette, Leslie. "Degenerate or Degendered? Images of Prostitution and Homosexuality in the French Third Republic." *Historical Reflections/Reflexions historiques* 23, no. 2 (1997): 206.

[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid., 211. It is worth noting that as a result of foregrounding of the prostitute's remoteness to the world of bourgeois norms, the prostitute continued to be represented in art and literature as 'other than human' well into the 1870s and 1880s. In other words, by this time, representations of the monster were increasingly inflected by the characteristics of another counter-culture emblem of alterity: the female homosexual. In this vein, historians cite the writings of Rodolphe Darzens, author of the guide book for the 1889 world's fair entitled *Nights in Paris,* as exemplary of this zeal. Darzens documented the lesbian as a new savage capable of luring the voyeurs from all corners of the globe to the public gallery that was Paris. In the nightly spectacle that was Paris, Darzens wrote, existed "the preferred rendez-vous of the young women whom the example of the poetess Sappho initiated into the mysterious rites of Lesbos." See Rodolphe Darzens, and Adolphe Willette. *Nuits à Paris.* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1889), 92- 93. This may respond to the comments raised by Susan Manning and Sally Banes regarding the frequent depiction of same sex groups of women in Romantic ballet. Moreover, images of transgressive women displayed by Edgar Degas and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec additionally reinforced and invigorated the association of the lesbian with prostitutes, adding to growing discourses within the arts about the function of groups of women who behaved as outsiders to the normative dictates of ideal womanhood. In this way, the exoticized vision of the female made visible in Manet's painting as well as those of his impressionist contemporaries had significant consequences for envisioning the mobile, embodied female as a kaleidoscopic figure of alterity that stood in contrast to July Monarchy norms of femininity. And while the examples provided relate to the period of the Third Republic, rather than that of the July Monarchy, I argue that from these general trends we can get a sense of the growing importance of the prostitute both as a social and historical reality in Paris, but also as a discursive construct that incited a growing aesthetic around alterity in literature and performance.

[242] Janin, op. cit., 16.

[243] Ibid., 4. For more on the importance of the gaze vis. à vis. the public visibility of women during the July Monarchy see, Jann Matlock, "Seeing Women in the July Monarchy Salon: Rhetorics of Visibility and the Women's Press." *Art Journal* 55, no. 2 (1996): 73-84.

[244] Conner, op. cit., 715. Conner cites from findings in the Archives nationales, Archives de la Prefecture de Police, and Archives de l'Assistance publique in Paris.

[245] Zerilli, op. cit., 99

[246] Ann F. La Berge, "Medicalization and Moralization: The Creches of Nineteenth-century Paris." *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 1 (1991): 65.

Also see Honoré Antoine Frégier, *Des Classes Dangereuses de la population dans les grandes villes et des moyens de les rendre meilleures.* Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1840.

[247] Quinlan, op. cit., 156. It is worth noting that this campaign would result in the passing of the French Civil Code of 1804, which in the view of some historians, negated many of the sought after reforms initiated by women who fought on behalf of the revolution. As historian Neil Quinlan relates: "At this time, jurists were busy finalizing a unified Civil Code (adopted in 1804). As historians have made clear, this central document in French law reconstituted the social fabric upon 'property,' the certainty of the law and the authority of fathers and husbands. For French women, the Code constituted a judicial debacle. They were granted no legal existence beyond that of their husbands, and men held ultimate jurisdiction over all property, including dowries and earnings. The provisions instituted the sexual double standard (men could imprison women for adultery) and curtailed divorce. As under the old regime, fathers could imprison their children and the law stipulated that offspring could not marry without parental consent before the age of twenty-five. Moreover, illegitimate children were disinherited and paternity searches were prohibited."

[248] Conner, op. cit., 730.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Choquette, op. cit., 216. It should be added that this sense of curtailing the mobility of the prostitute was a preoccupation voiced earlier during the Reign of Terror under the controversial militant revolutionary Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794) who felt that safety in the Republic could be maintained by the suppression of what he considered to be the unnatural, barren woman who was "lacking in female modesty." In this way, as historian Linda Zerilli argues, a free and highly mobile woman, (i.e. the prostitute) was a "choice repository for class anxieties because her base origins did not prevent contact with the upper classes, nor in the case of courtesans, bar the acquisition of fabulous wealth." See Zerilli, op. cit., 98.

[251] Conner. op. cit., 715. Conner's article identifies Restif de la Bretonne, Sébastien Mercier, and Jean-Baptiste LeMaire as early documenters of the profession. These writers graphically reproduced portraits of the women engaged in prostitution in eighteenth and ninetieth century Paris.

[252] Ibid., 716.

[253] Ibid.

[254] Ibid. This point is reinforced by Conner's work on the terrain occupied by sex workers in Paris of the nineteenth century.

[255] Ibid., 718.

[256] Balzac, op. cit.

[257] Janin, op. cit., 8.

[258] Conner, op. cit., 716.

[259] Ibid., 717.

[260] Ibid. While historians generally agree that there is no statistical method of determining the motivations that may underlie this significant difference in the age of the female populace that was engaging in prostitution, the cause of the discrepancy most widely cited is an increase in geographical mobility between regions in France which enabled increased travel between the city and rural areas, thereby loosening familial control over women, and resulting in the younger, single woman becoming responsible for her means of support. Additionally, some historians have suggested that the city of Paris may have been alluring to young rural women who saw in it an increased opportunity to marry.

[261] Moreover, as Janin's libretto recounts, the witch had made a previous appearance resulting in James chasing her away. So, by the time the ballet encounters the witch, she has already visited James once.

[262] Janin, op. cit., 12. The original text reads, "…tant ils sont grèles et fugitifs. Ces femmes sont vêtues de tristes haillons souillés de cendre et de sang." The reference to blood here may be considered a reference either to menstrual blood, an indication that the monster is most certainly female (and within childbearing years), or a reference to the blood shed by revolution. Given that this study considers the witch a metonym for revolution, the reference to blood likely reveals a concern about the witch's menstruation, and therefore her uncurtailed sexuality, as well as the violence of revolution.

[263] Garafola, "The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-century Ballet." op. cit., 36.

[264] As Garafola explains, "Before 1830, lackeys in the royal livery had warded prying eyes from this warm-up studio. When the new regime turned the Opéra over to private management, the Foyer de la Danse acquired a different function. No longer off limits to men of wealth and fashion, before and after performances it became an exclusive *maison close,* with madams in the shape of mothers arranging terms…The commerce in dancers' bodies was not peculiar to Paris. In London, remarked Bournonville, it lacked even the pretension of gallantry that accompanied such exchanges across the Channel. To be sure, some women did eventually marry their 'protectors.' Many more bore children out of wedlock, sending them in secrecy to distant relations or country families to be reared." Many of Garafola's findings are corroborated by Ivor Guest who provides an analysis of the rising exploitation of dancers by the aesthetic elite of the demi-monde under the Second Empire. This trajectory of inquiry was furthered by historian Sally Banes, whose analysis of Romantic ballet historicized the importance of the marriage plot and the sexual availability of women in an era noted for its erasure of the male body.

[265] Banes, op. cit., 7.

[266] Janin, op. cit., 12. The original passage rends: "Que sait-on? c'est peut-être bien une moralité cachée, c'est un enseignement qui pourra profiter aux jeunes coquettes de vingt ans. Hélas! en effet que de jeunes cœurs ont été perdus pour

moins que cela... une écharpe! Que de misères représentent un collier de perles, une escarboucle, une plume flottante, un colifichet d'une heure! Faites votre profit de cette moralité, jeunes filles qui venez à l'Opéra."

[267] Ibid. Translated, the passage reads, "the horrible elderly women."

[268] Ibid., 7. The original passage reads, "Vous la voyez, elle vous échappe, coquette, malicieuse, naïve, nymphe et lutin."

[269] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1966), 89.

[270] Janin, op. cit., 21. The original text rends, "On parlera longtemps encore de Mademoiselle Taglioni La Sylphide, car ces deux noms sont inséparables…"

[271] Ibid., 22. On the same page Janin comments: "Portée a ce degré de légèreté et d'élégance, de danse devient, tout a fait, un art digne de tenir sa place à coté des plus beaux arts."

[272] Ibid. The word chaste appears in the original as follows, "elle fait de la danse un art chaste…"

[273] Ibid. Janin frequently compares the Sylphide to aerial créatures as made apparent in the following passage: "nul effort, nulle géne, tout cela lui venait comme le chant vient à l'oiseau."

[274] "Jottings Down in London." *The Corsair A Gazette of Literature, Art, Dramatic Criticism, Fashion, and Novelty (1839-1840)*, 10 August 1839, 345.

[275] Janin, op. cit., 22. Janin references these discourses when he repeatedly talks about Taglioni's relationship to the sky: "quand elle descend de ce deuxième ciel où elle était si bien, c'est qu'elle ne veut pas nous fatiguer à la suivre plus loin que la nuage rose."

[276] Banes, op. cit., 4. In this way this study keeps with historian Sally Banes who, in citing Susan Manning's work on early modern dance, has argued that Romantic ballet was characterized by a distinctly paradoxical social function to both contest and to conform. To this, historian Alexandra Carter has added that the power of performance rests in its ability to deliver an antidote, a challenge to the dominant ideology that may be carried in a text or in codified movement as dance's language.

[277] "Jottings Down in London." *The Corsair A Gazette of Literature, Art, Dramatic Criticism, Fashion, and Novelty (1839-1840)*, 10 August 1839, 345.

[278] Ibid.

[279] Muns, Lodewijk. "Marie Taglioni (1804-1884): A Life on Toe Tip." *Nederlands Muziek Instituut.* http://www.nederlandsmuziekinstituut.nl/en/collections/web-presentations/taglioni/3-la-sylphide (accessed May 15, 2014). Historian Lodewijk Muns writes, "In that same year 1830 Taglioni makes her London debut and signs a new and highly favourable contract with the Paris Opéra. Apart from securing her a fabulous salary, Filippo has himself engaged as ballet-master and again includes in Marie's contract the right to dance his pas exclusively…" Presumably this review pertains to her first major role, that of bayadère (temple dancer) in the opera-ballet *Le Dieu et la bayadère, ou La Courtisane amoureuse* (with music by Auber), staged in 1830.

[280] Sarah Biffin, "To Taglioni. By a Sister Artist." *The Athenaeum*, no. 139 (1830): 393.

[281] "Jottings Down in London." op. cit., 345.

[282] Muns, op. cit.

[283] Wiley, Roland John. "Images Of La Sylphide: Two Accounts by a Contemporary Witness of Marie Taglioni's Appearances in St. Petersburg." *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 13, no. 1 (1995): 23.

[284] Fisher-Stitt, Norma Sue. "From the Romantic to the Virtual." *SDHS Conversations* Vol. XXXI (2011): 24.

[285] Jowitt, op. cit., 30.

[286] This study foregrounds the elaboration of pointe as exemplified in the aerial feats of Marie Taglioni. However as Sandra Noll Hammond has deftly elucidated, Taglioni was not the originator of the technique, nor was she the first to exploit it on the theatrical stage. Moreover, Hammond's article tackles the misconception within dance studies about the "technical revolution" associated with the female ballet dancer's rise onto pointe in the third decade of the nineteenth century. Through an examination of previously unconsidered dance manuals and technical treatises written by ballet masters between the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Hammond clarifies that the movement onto pointe was not unique either to the female dancer or to the most celebrated exponent of the Romantic pointe: Marie Taglioni. As she points out (citing Mariona Hannah Winter), "Besides the celebrated Marie Taglioni, early nineteenth century female dancers depicted on full pointe in contemporary(as early as 1801) illustrations and/or descriptions, include Maria Del (or de) Caro, Fanny Bias, Amalia Brugnoli, Genevieve Gosselin Martin, Lise Noblet, Pauline and Avdotia Istomina." For more on the development of pointe technique see Sandra Noll Hammond, "Searching for the Sylph: Documentation of Early Developments in Pointe Techninque." *Dance Research Journal* 19, no. 2 (1987): 27-31. See also Jowit, op. cit 38. Jowitt notes that this was not the first instantiation of pointe work in ballet but that Genevieve Gosselin had danced on pointe at least as early as 1815, but early performances of pointe work were intended to display unusual feats rather than to embody a whole new technique and aesthetic.

[287] "Taglioni, the Dancer." *The Ariel A Semimonthly Literary and Miscellaneous Gazette (1827-1832)*, 17 March 1832, 382.

[288] Fisher-Stitt, op. cit., 24.

[289] Léandre Vaillat, *La Taglioni, Ou, La Vie D'une Danseuse*. (Paris: A. Michel, 1942), 42.

[290] Muns, op. cit. About Taglioni's training we have a period report from Vaillat.

[291] Muns., op. cit

[292] Ibid.

[293] Wiley, op. cit., 29.

[294] Jowitt, op. cit., 38.

[295] Ginisty, op. cit., 21. *Zephire et Flore* is noted in several primary and secondary sources for its pioneering flying techniques, a spectacle that continued to be a favorite technique for French audiences until 1830. By means of wires and harnesses attached to individual dancers, the technique allowed for the materialization of the spectral and the supernatural on the ballet stage. Dance historians Jowitt, Fisher-Stitt and others have suggested that based on its continued popularity amongst French audiences, the importance of flying in Romantic ballet may owe to this period of sustained investigation into the technological supports required for staging the nonhuman. In fact, as historian Lodewijk Muns at the Nederlands Muziek Institut writes, the persistent interest in *Zephire et Flore* enabled a continuous development of the material practices that undergirded technosensual experiments on the Romantic stage that were, "designed to probe the limits of *légèreté*, the illusion that the dancers were near-weightless (was) created by pointe technique and jumps, aided by machinery..." See Muns, op. cit.

[296] Hammond, op. cit., 30-31.

[297] Homans, op. cit., 224. As Homans reminds, notions of reconstructing the human were especially pronounced in Blasis' thinking which harked back to the ancients in considering that "a pirouette was not only a matter of skill; it was also a question of truth and beauty."

[298] Muns, op. cit. I am indebted to Lodewijk Muns for this insight into Blasis' theories. Blasis as cited in Muns is as follows: "Finally, it is impossible to impress too much upon the young people preparing to embark upon this art of representation the importance of familiarity with the classical masterpieces of painting and sculpture, as these idealized and immortal offspring of genius will help to mild their style. A dancer who does not know how to display his figure can never be regarded as an artist and his performance will fail to arouse interest or give enjoyment." The same passage is translated with slight variance in Mary Stewart Evans' translation. See Carlo Blasis, *An Elementary Treatise Upon the Theory and Practice of the Art of Dancing.* Mary Stewart Evans trans. (New York: Dover Publications, 1968), 6.

[299] Muns, op. cit.

[300] Von Mücke, op. cit., 130. Here, one might also wish to recall that notions of reanimating the body share a heritage with Hoffman's tales of automata that bear trace outlines of Ovid's Pygmalion myth in which an ivory statue comes to life by the work of a careful artist, refiguring the relationship between the artwork and its beholder. In 1734, French dancer and choreographer Marie Sallé produced *Pygmalion*, her dance-drama based on the myth in London. See Susan Foster, "Pygmalion's No-Body and the Body of Dance," in *Performance and Cultural Politics.* Edited by Elin Diamond, (New York: Routledge, 1996).

[301] Heiberg, Johanne Luise. "Memories of Taglioni and Elssler." *Dance Chronicle* 4, no. 1 (1981): 15. The except published in *Dance Chronicle* is reproduced from Heiberg's memoirs, *Et Liv gjenoplevit i Erindringen* (A Life Relived in Memory). Notably, the figure of the statue remotely vivified by its artist creator may be seen as a precursor to technosensual ideations of the puppet or the automaton animated from without.

[302] Janin, op. cit., 22. The original passage reads, "Elle seule a touché a l'ideale de la passion."

[303] Ibid. "En même temps on savait si bien qu'elle était à l'aise, là-haut, sur nos têtes…"

[304] Wiley, op. cit., 30. Wiley's article points out the presumed correlation between the intense labour of ballet and the prospects of earning the privilege of a noble lifestyle, thereby mitigating the impoverished circumstances that faced many nineteenth century ballerinas.

[305] For more on the impact of the machine on nineteenth century dance see Felicia M. McCarren, *Dancing Machines.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 3.

[306] Marion Kant, *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet.* Cambridge University Press, 2007, 155. As Kant notes, "In the post-Romantic era, ballet technique developed rapidly, above all in Italy…To many the modern ballerina seemed akin to a machine, a miracle of industrial precision, nowhere more so than in the multiple *fouetté* turns introduced to Russia by visiting Italian ballerinas in the late 1880s and 1890s."

[307] Anna Aalten, "In the Presence of the Body: Theorizing Training, Injuries and Pain in Ballet." *Dance Research Journal* 37, no. 2 (2005): 56 & 57. Dance historian Anna Aalten cites from journalist Joseph Mazo (who wrote *Dance is a Contact Sport* in 1974) in an article entitled "In the Presence of the Body: Theorizing Training, Injuries and Pain in Ballet." Pointing to ex-dancer and long time physician with the New York City Ballet, Lawrence Vincent's article "Competing with the Sylph," Aalten contends that the risks of moving beyond the limitations of the human body do not simply owe to the "physical character of the profession" but to the "occupational culture" of the ballet world.

[308] Roger Copeland, "Founding Mothers, Duncan, Graham, Rainer, And Sexual Politics." *Dance Theatre Journal* 8, no. 3 (1990): 27. It should be noted that Copeland's understanding of dance traditions suffers from a universalism that flattens the great variety of philosophical traditions that exist around the world. His comment with regard to ballet however, corresponds with the assessments of several scholars.

[309] du D., N.. "Les Voitures à vapeur." *Revue de Paris* 4, no. 9 (1832): 9. Notably, the same article references the advances made in those cities in the north of England, namely Liverpool and Manchester that were at the heart of the industrial empire.

[310] Homans, op. cit., 226. Image reproduced in the book acquired from Jerome Robbins Dance Division, NYPL.

[311] C J. Preston, "The Motor in the Soul: Isadora Duncan and Modernist Performance." *Modernism/modernity* 12, no. 2 (2005): 273-289.

[312] Fisher-Stitt, op. cit., 26. N.S Fisher-Stitt refers to the technological undercurrents of Romantic ballet. In her article, "From the Romantic to the Virtual," Fisher-Stitt suggests that through the pointe shoe, technologies were well on their way to being embodied by female ballet dancers, becoming veritable precursors to the virtual body.

[313] S. Herbrechter and I. Callus. *Cy-Borges: Memories of the Posthuman in the Work of Jorge Luis Borges.* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2009), 16.

[314] Banes, op. cit., 68. Banes for instance, points to a proposal for the Paris exhibition of 1900 that involved building an edifice identical to the Eiffel tower in the shape of a woman, with giant eyes made of "electric projectors."

[315] I do not mean to say that Hayles was the first to announce the cyborg in theatrical terms. The history of the cyborg dates back to the cybernetic movement of the 1940s. The first use of the term is generally attributed to literary theorist Ihab Hassan in 1971, or scientist/inventor Manfred Clynes.

[316] N K. Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 34. As Hayles notes, "the construction of the tool as prosthesis points forward to the posthuman." Hayles, in turn, refers to the work of Kenneth P. Oakley, who authored the 1949 text, *Man and the Tool Maker.*

[317] Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception.* (London: Verso, 1989), 27.

[318] "Desultory Selections." *The New York Mirror: A Weekly Gazette of Literature and the Fine Arts (1823-1842)*, 28 August 1830, 59.

[319] Meglin, op. cit., 109. Joellen Meglin, Sally Banes and Ann Cooper Albright have noted the ways in which the figure of the bodiless woman, absent and ghostly took centre stage during the Romantic era. In Meglin's words, the visual-aural-kinesthetic medium of the ballet invited the spectator to see the Sylphide as a figment embodied, a paradoxical presence: absence as a presence, and presence as an absence. In this way, she argues, physical elusiveness could stand for illusion.

[320] N L C Ruyter, and Susan L. Foster, "The Ballerina's Phallic Pointe." In *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power.* (London: Routledge , 1996), 23.

[321] This is not to say that pointe shoes during Taglioni's day were the equivalent of modern pointe shoes which are reinforced with a stiff toe box and shank.

[322] Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body.* (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 2.

[323] Douthwaite op. cit., 19.

[324] Zerilli, op. cit., 122.

[325] Ibid., 100.

[326] By the use of the word prosthetic here I mean to evoke considerations of pointework as a technosensual development in the history of ballet.

[327] Banes, op. cit., 33.

[328] Margadant, op. cit., 1466. Invariably, this heightened surveillance and display of the female body was linked to changing conceptions of the bourgeois male during the July Monarchy.

[329] Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety.* (New York: Psychology Press, 1997), 16 & 17.

Chapter 4:

The Yogi-Fakir

4.1 Faking It: Dancing Fakirs, Ruth St Denis, and the Superhuman Body (1890-1940)

> One of the bitterest disappointments of my career is that I had to be an Indian - a Japanese - a statue – a something or somebody else - before the public would give me what I craved…[1]

Despite her own misgivings about her repeated attempts to play "a something or a somebody else,"[2] Ruth St. Denis was not alone in her performance of colonial tropes; between 1890 and 1940 characterizations of the yogi as fakir (and therefore a fake) were commonplace in American literature and performance, and choreographic legacies[3] were often built on impersonations of such 'others' perceived to be illegitimate, beyond the bounds of the normative human. Yet, by her own admission, such performances were themselves 'counterfeit;' their morphological specificities of little consequence, imitations were a means to an end. Yet, what end was it that these morphologies could fulfill? To what end was Ruth St. Denis faking it?

A good number of publications in dance studies have expanded knowledge about St. Denis' work; many of these contextualize the role of race, class and difference in her choreographic output (Schlundt 1960, Shelton 1981, Desmond 1991, Coorlawala 1992, La Mothe 1998, Srinivasan 2003). Yet, it is a curious fact that amongst these influential publications on Ruth St. Denis in dance studies (and to a lesser extent in the area of theatre/performance history and modern postural yoga), few have given sustained attention to what historian of American studies James W. Cook argues was an amplified interest in fraud as a performance technique during the early decades of the twentieth century.

In this sense, few publications have considered the extent to which an aesthetic of fraud may have helped to shape Ruth St. Denis' characteristic impersonations of the 'other.' While dance historian Suzanne Shelton's biographical work on St. Denis has acknowledged Vaudeville's influence on St. Denis,

and the aesthetic of "hypocrisy"[4] it encouraged, her study as well as that of others overlook the persistent presence of impersonation (as an aspect of fraud) in her choreographic oeuvre.

Likewise, studies published to date in the area of modern postural yoga (Singleton 2010, de Michelis 2005, Strauss 2005)[5] have omitted consideration of those discourses of fraud that were so central in the development of American theatrical performance. Instead, these studies have aimed at contextualizing modern, transnational yoga through mapping the trajectory of religio-philosophical discourses that gave rise to diverse iterations of yoga in Europe and America in the twentieth century. While these sources are admittedly critical to an understanding of modern postural forms, they give precious little attention to how representations of the yogi as an illegible and illegitimate other (i.e. a fraud) were not only central in rehearsing the boundaries of citizenship and identity in America, but were crucial in fostering understandings of yoga as a transformative physical practice designed to regenerate a nation.

This chapter aims precisely at unearthing the ways in which notions of the fake were crucially intertwined with the figure of the yogi in modern American literature and performance, thereby demonstrating the typology's importance in the rehearsal and reinvention of American identity in the early twentieth century. Examining an array of representations of the yogi in popular performance and literature between 1890 and 1940, the chapter elaborates the figure's longstanding association with fraud, a history that enabled it to function as a surrogate in the new world, a vision of creaturely difference that could be used to test and reconfigure the bounds of American artistic and cultural identity in the early modern era.

Four diverse examples drawn from literature, dance and performance (both theatrical and quotidian) demonstrate the yogi-fakir complex as central to the reinvention of identity in early modern America: the performances of The Society of American Fakirs (a branch of the Arts Students League of New York) between 1891 and 1914; accounts of fakirs in America published in periodicals and newspapers (i.e. *The New York Times*) during this same period; British author John Seymour Eyton's tale "The Dancing Fakir" (1922) and Ruth St. Denis' choreography, *The Yogi* (1908).

Particular attention in this regard is given to Ruth St. Denis' work titled *The Yogi* (1908) which I argue fortified classical postulations of yoga as a practice of meditative stillness, while contributing to ideations of yoga as a local, distinctly American psychophysical tradition, a key technique in the construction of the 'reintegrated,' 'composed' citizen that would renew and reinstate what St. Denis deemed was America's role as the "great civilizer."[6] Through identifying a common ground of performance techniques across diverse artistic traditions, I offer evidence that confirms the use of fraud in American theatrical performance as crucially related to the creation of a surrogate or accomplice who could represent the outsider. In this way, techniques of fraud and impersonation were deeply intertwined in representations of the nonhuman other, effectively caricaturing and making difference appear monstrous to meet the ends of artistic renewal.

This chapter is built on interdisciplinary findings that bridge historical insights generated in several discrete fields of study including modern postural yoga, dance studies and theatre/performance studies and religious studies. In addition to historian James Cook's aforementioned study of fraud in American performance entitled, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (2001), several publications in the history of religions have been critical to this chapter's understanding of the historical yogi's relationship with the discourses of fraud. In this vein, both Lee Siegel's ethnographic novella *Net of Magic: Wonders and Deceptions in India* (1991) and William Pinch's historical examination of the yogi as a political actor in *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (2006) demonstrate the extent to which discourses of fraud and ambiguous performances of identity were intrinsic to the yogic tradition. Likewise, historian David Gordon White's *Sinister Yogis* (2011) reconsiders the yogi as an actor whose nefarious exploits elaborately described in literary fable and the archival record dislodges existing metanarratives of a monolithic 'classical' yoga and its politically neutered practitioners.

The most notable advantage of this interdisciplinary approach is that it situates the birth of modern postural yoga within a network of performances both religious and theatrical, and more specifically, within the discourses of dance that were so integral to the frameworks offered by yoga's early advocates (such as St. Denis) who were themselves dancers/choreographers. For these artists, the

discourses of fraud and impersonation that had gained currency within popular performance were an important shaping force on their depictions of the yogi-fakir complex. As such, the chapter identifies St. Denis' choreography of *The Yogi* as a strand in a much broader, variegated performance discourse that correlated the yogi/fakir with fraud and deception in American performance.

The chapter is divided into seven sections followed by a conclusion. The first segment explains how a conflation of the fakir with the fake during the early twentieth century enabled the construct to be recruited by the Society of American Fakirs, their impersonations performed to the ends of renewal within the American art establishment. These performances are then contextualized by representations of the yogi-fakir in periodicals, colonial literature and scholarly publications.

The second segment identifies discourses of fraud and impersonation within the yogic tradition by tracing the historical characterization of the yogi as fraud to eye-witness accounts and testimonials provided by foreigners to the Indian subcontinent, as well as literary fables found within India at least as early as the 11th and 12th centuries C.E. The segment that follows contextualizes the yogi-fakir's popularity as a figure associated with fraud through presenting historical evidence of a synchronous fascination with replicas and fakes in ethnographic and zoological exhibits of the era. The final four segments examine Ruth St. Denis' revised articulation of the yogi as a classical, hermetic superhuman in her eponymous 1908 choreography, *The Yogi*.

A number of primary sources comprising textual documents, visual records, aural records and ephemera have been consulted in order to complete the first three segments of this chapter. Primary source materials consulted for these sections include the *Society of American Fakirs of the Art Students' League of New York: Catalogue of the Ninth Annual Exhibition* (1900), firelogs of the Art Student's League of New York (1900, 1902), John Eyton's "The Dancing Fakir" (1922), and the following texts authored by Genevieve Stebbins: *Dynamic Breathing and Harmonic Gymnastics: A Complete System of Psychical, Aesthetic and Physical Culture* (1890), S*ociety Gymnastics and Voice Culture: Adapted From the Delsarte System* (1888) and *Delsarte System of Expression* (1902). In addition to these sources, a

selection of manuscripts, archival newspapers, magazines and journal articles as well as a number of secondary sources have been used to contextualize representations of the yogi-fakir complex in popular American performance during the early twentieth century.

Likewise, several archival sources have proven integral to the completion of the four segments devoted St. Denis. These include her autobiography, *An Unfinished Life* (first published 1939) and Vivekananda's *Raja-Yoga: Or Conquering the Internal Nature,* first published in 1896. In addition, archival materials (textual, visual and aural) contained in both the Ruth St. Denis collection as well as the Ted Shawn Collection at the Jerome Robbins Dance Division of the New York Public Library have been crucial to this study's focus on St. Denis' choreographic iteration of the yogi. In addition, I have undertaken an extensive examination of writings and choreographic notes contained in the Ruth St. Denis Papers at the Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. Finally, along with these primary sources I also consulted a broad range of secondary sources to support this chapter's findings on the importance of fraud as a performance technique in the modern era.

At this point, a word regarding the terminology used in this chapter is in order. To begin, this chapter details representations of the yogi in performance and literature between 1890 and 1940, a period of time that (in keeping with disciplinary understandings of modernism in dance and theatre history)[7] is generally recognized as the late Victorian/early modern era.[8] Secondly, given that the terms yogi and fakir were treated as synonymous in many of the primary sources consulted, in this chapter I consider the two typologies as one, a conflation iterative of what historians have termed the yogi-fakir complex.[9]

Finally, despite the broad semantic range of the word yoga itself (a word whose meanings as recorded in the Sir Monier Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* include deceit, trick or fraud),[10] this chapter's focus on the yogi as fraud is in no way intended to suggest that the practices associated with yoga are deceptions, its practitioners little more than adept tricksters. Instead, what the chapter intends to discern is how an ambiguous verbiage intrinsic to the tradition, coupled with a philosophical emphasis on impersonation as a soteriological technique within the yogic corpus (and a predilection for fraud in popular entertainments during the modern era) have left their mark on mutations of the yogi in American

performance. Such a reconsideration of the yogi in light of the discourses of fraud that circulated in modern American performance reveals the figure as a protean, polysemic recruit akin to those named in previous chapters.

4.2 Fakirs and Fakers in America: The Society of American Fakirs of The Art Students League of New York

> A fake is a near relative to a fakir. The fakirs, you know, are a guild of oriental monks or priests who eke out an existence by begging, by tricks of legerdemain and other dubious methods. Consequently, a fake is closely allied to fraud.[11]

In 1994, an article published by American art historian Carol Strickland in *The New York Times* revealed the discovery of sixty paintings dating from 1891 to 1914 that had remained stored in the cellar of The Art Students League in Manhattan for nearly eighty years, entirely unknown to historians. Created by The Society of American Fakirs (an art organization which was established in the spring of 1891[12] as a branch of The Arts Students League of New York), the collection, which was "enshrouded in plastic bags and coated with dust and cobwebs,"[13] was an unlikely find; it was a treasury of the twentieth century's most important fakes and parodies.

As Strickland's article, "A Long-Lost Trove of Fabulous Fakes"[14] announced, the importance of these fraudulent paintings designed to mock leading artists of the day was inestimable. Consequently, the discovery, which Strickland promised would inevitably restore knowledge about the importance of fakes, parodies and caricatures within early American modernism, would be duly commemorated in the exhibition "Parodies of the American Masters: Rediscovering the Society of American Fakirs," which would run at the Museums at Stony Brook between 23 September and 23 October 1993. Suggesting that the recently unearthed fakes were evidence that American artists had anticipated the deconstructed, mixed material assemblages of Dada by a decade, Strickland also proposed the Society of American Fakirs (hereafter referred to as the SAF) be re-evaluated as the forerunners of the techniques of fraud and replication that would eventually reshape modern art in an age of mechanical reproduction.[15] Equally convinced of the discovery's historic importance, Bruce Weber, director of research and exhibitions at the Berry-Hill Galleries in Manhattan and co-curator of the Stony Brook exhibit offered, "It's an aspect of

American art nobody knew about that will have to be written into the history of early American modernism."[16]

While Strickland and Weber rightly predicted that the parodic paintings would facilitate a "better understanding of late-19th-century art,"[17] little note was made of the curious conflation of the fakir with this American art institution's production of a great variety of false masterpieces. In its emphasis on righting the historiography of modern art in America, the mimetic relationship between the modern American artist and the fakir, or for that matter, the fake and fakir, remained unnamed in Strickland's historiography. Yet, as Bruce Weber noted in an essay published in the exhibition's catalog in 1993, it was no insignificant detail that the name of an American student organization dedicated to producing caricatures and parodies of well known artistic masterpieces contained the use of the word fakir.

Citing the organization's punning use of the name fakir to designate "fakers,"[18] Weber suggested that the group of students who had produced the paintings strategically aligned themselves with the figure of the fakir in order to elicit much-needed renewals in the American art world. As Weber identified, "like their exotic namesakes"[19] the students of the SAF "…were, for the most part, impoverished devotees… and the feats of transformation they displayed at SAF exhibitions raised much-needed cash,[20] just as the fakirs of India and the Middle East won donations from their audiences by dazzling them with illusions, sleight of hand, and demonstrations of physical endurance."[21]

The Oxford English dictionary's definition for the word *fakir* (spelled variously as *fokers, fuckeires, facquiers, faquirs* and *fakeers)* acknowledges the word's descriptive ambiguity. Stating its origin in the Arabic faqīr (literally meaning, "needy man,")[22] the dictionary adds that the term could also be used to signify "an indigent person, but specially applied to a Mahommedan religious mendicant, and then loosely, and inaccurately, to Hindu devotees and naked ascetics."[23]

According to American linguist and phonetician Mark Liberman however, the particular conflation of the fakir with the faker may have been the product of "nineteenth century American shifts of meaning."[24] Acknowledging the term's indeterminacy, Liberman (founder and frequent contributor to *Language Log,* a blog maintained by dozens of professional linguists) has argued that the fakir in the

early modern American performance context was commonly associated with its punning resemblance to the word faker,[25] thus magnifying existing conceptions of the fakir as a wandering holy man/trickster whose performances were considered synonymous with the illusions generated by street magicians.[26]

It should come as little surprise then, that the American students who populated the SAF's membership (among whose celebrated ranks included Edward Leigh Chase and the painter Georgia O'Keeffe) considered themselves part of a counterculture performance hub, and "fancied themselves magicians"[27] in the very same fashion as those foreign yogis whose tricks and street performances they sought to emulate or hijack. As the following passage from *The New York Times* containing a poster from the annual exhibition of The Society of American Fakirs in 1906 illustrates, the society unveiled its "parodies,"[28] "take-offs"[29] and "clever imitations"[30] of famous paintings at a private affair held on West 57th Street in Manhattan on the evening of April 16, 1906. Though the article is brief, it does confirm that a curious symbiosis was presumed to exist between the fraudulent fakir and the transgressive activities of members of New York's artistic subculture in the early twentieth century. As such, the passage suggests that the recruitment of the fakir in performances of the SAF was intended to pioneer change:

> American Artists, Beware!
> For we're the Fakirs Bold,
> That tread where others never dare,
> And mysteries of art unfold.[31]

While the performances and events hosted by the SAF took place in New York, their influence was hardly limited to those circles inhabited by art students in Manhattan at the turn of the century. As historian Heather Coyle remarks, the impact of the SAF's fake exhibitions was widespread in America;[32] caricature exhibits of the ilk presented by the SAF which featured parodic works of art by students were held regularly in a number of American art institutions including the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia and the Museum School in Boston.

Common to all these exhibitions was an attempt to critique and/or dislodge the idioms of contemporary art through pretense and illusion, words that as Huizinga has observed, represent the ludic aspects of performance itself, of being 'in-play,' as drawn from the Latin *inlusio* or *inludere*.[33] Indeed,

inspired by the carnivalesque atmosphere of bohemian performances documented in Parisian memoirs from the mid nineteenth century, the SAF's particular expression of fraud went far beyond the simple display of fake paintings, becoming instead a playful embodiment of the fakir. In fact, the SAF's experiments in this sense represented an important facet "of a distinctive student culture that evolved in American art schools in the late nineteenth century, when humour and revelry became integral to student life."[34] This playful youth culture at American art academies increasingly turned to a great "range of pranks, performances, and parodies"[35] that showcased a desire for performances that could elicit what Huizinga argued constituted a central purpose of play: that it might enable a "temporary abolition of the ordinary world,"[36] as it transgressed and "disrupted the rigorous training program and [the] established structure of annual exhibitions provided by art academies."[37]

During this same period, the bohemian American art student also "emerged as a stock character in popular literature,"[38] as tales of their colourful exploits and eccentricity crystallized into popular caricature. Firelogs (programme records) of the annual exhibitions of the SAF reveal a variety of visual illustrations that evidence the conscious use of the fakir construct in order to enact an emerging sensibility of the art student as a transgressive outsider (see figures 4,5,6,7). In this way, a curious exchange began to take place between fact and fiction whereby "the humorous exploits of actual art students both drew on these stories and confirmed their credibility."[39] In this way, caricature (a representational technique that was critical in both displaying and circumventing existing hierarchies of power) was built around the depiction of historical actors as peripheral, remote from the normative.

In this context, one might propose that the SAF's recruitment of the fakir as a fake was intended to duly exploit the fakir's marginal status within American society to the ends of subverting the American art establishment and redefining the art student's identity within it. After all, it is likely that members of the SAF were fully cognisant of a mainspring of depictions in occultist publications and popular tales of the day that described fakirs as fraudulent and transgressive, as "dangerous, irascible beings, capable of supernatural feats and horrible maledictions."[40]

Likewise, the SAF's decision to recruit the yogi-fakir complex (thereby caricaturing and/or impersonating the typology) can be also be contextualized by the rising popularity of the hoax and the fraud in popular performance during the early twentieth century. According to historian James W. Cook, this fascination with fraud as a spectacle, and with opportunities to play the other went hand in hand with a swift expansion of mass entertainments, including ethnographic exhibitions that sprung up around lower Broadway in New York in the 1830s where "most contemporary consumers of artful deception entered the exhibition hall looking for fraud."[41]

Interestingly, Cook's study of the importance of fraud in modern performance pays close attention to the popularity of another of this dissertation's case studies namely, Wolfgang von Kempelen's automaton chess player. Citing a heritage of fraud in performance that grew out of "a broad, transatlantic tradition of disenchanted sleight of hand dating from the earliest years of the Enlightenment,"[42] Cook proposes that in questioning the bounds of the real versus the socially constructed, and moreover, in creating a performative space from within which to displace or renew the bounds of the human, the automaton chess player provoked its spectators in a similar fashion to the regular exhibitions of fake masterpieces by the Society of American Fakirs.

So it was that in 1913, as part of the SAF's celebrated publicity stunts "a fake band of twenty-five East Indian Fakirs in gorgeous hired Oriental costume"[43] paraded down Fifth Avenue blaring popular ragtime tunes out of their fake trombones, horns and oboes. In their coverage of the event, *The New York Times* who published details of the performance in an article entitled "Faking Fakirs Find Arrest Is No Fake," noted that the SAF's "annual outburst and futurist frolic"[44] which was enacted "in an attempt to get free advertising"[45] had attracted the attention of the authorities as one of the of the members of the "Hindu outfit,"[46] a "six-foot fakir"[47] by the name of Lester R. Ross was arrested by the New York City Police department:

> The Fakir bandsmen, who are members of the Art Students' League, except in the early springtime faking season, were driving down Fifth Avenue from Fifty-Seventh Street, mounted on a one-horse truck, and blowing popular ragtime tunes on their fake trombones, and horns and oboes. They wore gorgeous, voluminous red and yellow harem skirts, sandals, bright green and purple blouses and huge turbans, and while most of them perched on top of the improvised bandwagon and discoursed music of a kind, half a dozen of their fellows walked by the side of the truck and distributed green and white and yellow handbills to the Fifth avenue throng, announcing that the Society of American Fakirs held open house at 215 West Fifty-Seventh street every afternoon and evening…[48]

It is clear in light of descriptions provided by *The New York Times* of this procession comprised of "Fakir bandsmen,"[49] that the cultural or historical accuracy of this performance was of little concern to either the newspaper or the SAF. Instead, one can surmise that the orientalia of the event functioned to create a blank canvas, a tabula rasa onto which any new identity might be imagined or foisted. Exemplary of this disregard for historical accuracy surrounding references to the fakir is the preponderance of harem skirts, sandals and turbans in the preceding description, which in the idiom of caricature, represent not much more than exaggerated efforts to resurrect the hues and voluminous shapes of a generic eastern difference. Moreover, as if to magnify the hyperbolic representation of difference, the fakirs' parade featured ragtime music, which blared from fake horns, trombones and oboes.

In this sense, what is most notable about this particular performance in 1913 was its deliberate and ostentatious display of numerous remote exotic others whose physical presence on Fifth Avenue offered up a visible subversion in order to draw the attention of crowds and local authorities who, despite their general amusement at the league's activities, duly arrested one member of the procession. No doubt the ensuing controversy surrounding the arrest only fuelled the public awareness surrounding the students' activities.

The aforementioned street performance was hardly the first public performance conceived by the SAF in the hopes of redefining their organization as the nexus of artistic subversion. In an illustration titled "Jury for 1902"[50] contained in the firelog of the eleventh annual exhibition is a depiction of four male figures foppishly dressed. A caricature of four art critics, the illustration undermines their authority, making explicit the society's initiative to unseat from the thrones of power those authorities whose tastes held sway in the American art world.[51] In this way the caricatures of fakirs and other typologies made

visible by the performances of the SAF relied on a series of deliberate provocations wherein parody and a carnivalesque sense of transgression was central to the reinvention of the landscape of early modern art in America, and more particularly, in reshaping the art student's role in dictating its trajectory.

In tandem with the growing fascination with caricature was a penchant for impersonation and fraudulent embodiments of the other in quotidian performance that as historian Chad Heap has identified, could provide the American spectator with an opportunity to not only observe another identity, but to participate in that identity through assuming an alter ego. The performance of fraud was in this way hardly restricted to street performers in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Instead, as early as the 1880s and 1890s a middle-class cultural practice of 'faking it,' otherwise known as the phenomenon of 'slumming,'[52] allowed white, middle class Americans to embody the cultural habitats of 'others' whose access to citizenship was legally curtailed. In this vein, fake opium joints became a popular destination for affluent white citizens, for whom the opportunities to impersonate illegitimate, disenfranchised others belonging to marginalized neighbourhoods in Chicago and New York constituted a tantalizing possibility to experience an alternative cultural identity. In these opium dens, a staged enactment of an oriental fantasy "where Chinese men and white women (who were often their wives)"[53] offered paying spectators a marketable sensibility for the dangers and thrills of otherness, an escape from the boredoms of a life highly circumscribed.

In spite of fundamental differences between them, the identity thefts enacted by the SAF as well as the phenomenon of 'slumming' obtained from a common fascination with the marginal status of cultures and peoples deemed peripheral and remote, and with the perceived utility of figures unrecognizable, illegitimate, or nonhuman. Indeed, the confusion surrounding the identities of those who fell outside the normative bounds of legal citizenship offered white middle-class Americans opportunities to mimic an unstable and nebulous identity. In this way, identity thefts invited identity shifts.

More significantly, in rendering the figures performed bereft of historical context (i.e. by stripping historical actors of their real-world moorings) the social events, performances and stunts staged by the SAF (and the American press that widely publicized and disseminated them), strategically

recruited the 'difference' of not only fakirs, but that of other ethnic groups perceived as remote outsiders including 'Negros,' 'Polynesians' and others deemed to inhabit the edges of the American empire.

In fact, as the following excerpt illustrates, not only was the Society of American Fakirs conscious of recruiting these remote bodies in performance (as they did in the staging of the Polynesian Ball of 1922), but *The New York Times* too was equally invested in circulating ideations about performing figures believed to inhabit the "faraway"[54] in the public imaginary. Polysemic and interchangeable one with the other, the figures displayed in the SAF's performance events were indistinct, as the fakir was seamlessly conflated with several presumed others including Hawaiian hula dancers and "Negros:"[55]

> The motif of the affair was the Polynesian Islands, where they grow the grass for hulahula skirts and where the sound of the sprouting grass and whine of the ukelele is a never-ceasing symphony in the ears of the tourist as he strolls along Waikiki and tries to keep his eyes on the ocean. One of the Fakirs was out that way last year and he told such tales that Frederick Bradley, who manages the ball, decided that Polynesia was the idea for this year. And the idea was carried out to perfection…The 100 or so negro musicians began a tune that sounded like the wail of the lost soul of the Spirit of Jazz. And up slowly through a hole in the top of the structure appeared "Nirska" a dancer. She had a red and white shawl wrapped around her grass skirt, and how she danced! Not since "Freddie" O'Brien wrote his book about the inclinations of the South Sea Islanders, when the missionaries are away, has the spirit of the faraway isles been so well expressed.[56]

Intended as a themed party for white, middle class Americans during the thirds decade of the twentieth century, the Polynesian ball hosted by the SAF was nothing less than the very expression of colonial dominion over the Hawaiian islands which had begun in the early eighteenth century and had culminated in the annexing of Hawaii just twenty-four years prior, in 1898.[57] As the preceding passage illustrates, the display of a dancing hula girl at such a themed ball conjured ideations not only of the south seas, but depicted a generalized, monolithic vision of alterity that could, as the excerpt implies, be transferred from the negro jazz musician to the fakir, and vice versa.[58] Understood in sum, the diverse performances of the Society of American Fakirs reveal a disregard for the morphological or cultural specificities of those they depicted as transgressive outsiders, the fakir being but one of those historical actors whose legitimacy[59] and citizenship was in question.

Mirroring this neglect for morphological specificities with regard to depictions of class and cultural divides between 1889 and 1922, *The New York Times* ran several articles in which the term fakir

was variously used to designate the quotidian practices and performances of a multitude of marginalized others within the metropolis. For example, in 1899, an article entitled "Fakirs and their Foes" referred to Italian immigrant vendors of the city as the Italian "fakir(s),"[60] and in so doing, conflated not only the poverty and itinerancy of the juvenile Italian street vendor with the figure of the itinerant yogi/fakir, but also with the lifestyle and food preferences of the "street Arab:"[61]

> Few are the hardships of the rest of the immigrant residents of New-York as compared with those the Italian "fakir" is called upon to endure…Fate or deficient opportunities have required large numbers of the Italians, however, to be vendors, in a very small way, of such delicacies and indigestibles as tempt the palate and challenge the attention of the average street Arab.[62]

Similarly, an explicit link between marginalized others and plagiarism is made in an article published in *The New York Times in* 1902 in which, referring to the "losses of London fakirs"[63] Arabic merchants are designated "fakirs"[64] just as they are branded "clever little plagiarists."[65] Likewise echoing the polysemy of the figure, an article that appeared in 1904 entitled "Tales of Street Fakirs: The Life Has Fascinations for Many Who Could Do Better," described the hard times facing a group of street merchants who "infest[ed]"[66] the Bowery in lower Manhattan. Notably, the pecuniary habits of these street fakirs in the excerpt reproduced below closely resemble synchronous descriptions of itinerant gypsies in colonial literature:[67]

> The last few days have marked the return to their old stands of the familiar army of street peddlers, or "fakirs" as they are more commonly called, who infest the lower part of Manhattan Island and make their headquarters on the Bowery, not far from the Brooklyn Bridge…[68]

As the aforementioned article additionally reveals, the street peddlers were unable to save despite the fact that "…on a net working capital of something like ninety cents, they managed individually to accumulate during Christmas week a gross undivided surplus of several dollars."[69] In this way, the article's quiet condemnation of the fakirs' financial habits reinforced the key class distinction between the fakirs and other middle class dwellers of the city, thereby bolstering the conflation of the fakir with varied itinerant, impoverished and/or marginalized groups.

The 'kaleidoscopic' nature of the construct of the fakir to whom a number of marginalized social identities were ascribed was in no small part enabled by the rampant anti-immigration sentiment that

characterized America in the late Victorian/early modern era.[70] During the nineteenth century, immigrants from India or from Asian countries were rare and those who did settle in the U.S. and took jobs on the northern Pacific coast were met with hostility and the real threat of ‘‘Anti-Hindoo riots.”[71] This vivid anti-Asian sentiment that culminated in the Immigration Act of 1917 excluded all immigration from Asian countries, with the exception of Japan and the Philippines.[72]

Certainly, the development of constructs repeatedly caricatured or impersonated in theatrical performance and dance during this period can be understood as the partial product of racist immigration policies that helped certain historical actors (i.e. those considered legitimate, including Ruth St. Denis) maintain a career through the representation of difference.[73] After all, in the context of Jim Crow America, the figure of difference (particularly the non-white body) was not merely emblematic of the human transgressed, but was evidence that the body of the non-citizen might itself be fraudulent, illegitimate, a replica of a presumed white original.

However, not all references to the fakir that emerged in New York during the early modern period were entirely disparaging. In fact, positive appraisals of the fakir-yogi complex in popular culture frequently pertained to their performance of supernatural feats or magical illusions, particularly as displayed in street performance. The numinous overtones of such spectacles on the one hand served to reinforce ongoing perceptions of the figure’s existence as beyond the human (a designation that had long characterized popular representations of the yogi-fakir in the medieval lore of India), while conflating their fraudulent feats with the engineered miracles of scientific discovery.

So it was, that an article entitled “Fakirs’ Rays” published in *The New York Times* in 1896 brought the attention of middle-class readers to the street theatre of “fakirs”[74] who were said to perform and display “a contrivance pretending to produce the mysterious rays.”[75] According to the newspaper, the performance of the fakirs was an imitation of the real thing, evoking the effects and the techno-scientific wonders of the X-Ray machine on the streets of New York. Spectators would likewise have understood the magico-scientific presentations of fakirs that enabled anyone to see through “blocks of wood, sheets of iron and brass, the pages of a book and the flesh of the hand”[76] as part and parcel of the deliberate

deceptions that were in vogue in nineteenth-century American popular performance, rather than as the handiwork of real science.

The positive valuation and enthusiasm for such fraudulent spectacles of science during the nineteenth century was hardly the terrain of fakirs alone; migrant marginals associated with the circus, street peddlers, mountebanks and hustlers, as well as scientists who worked for the theatre were similarly invested in new technologies that could produce impressive theatrical illusions. Thus, it became increasingly difficult to differentiate the fakir from the amateur scientist, street hustler, circus performer or migrant marginal, each of whom came bearing an impressive arsenal of deceptions designed to bewilder and confound their middle-class spectators. Consequently in 1937, *The New York Times* once again made explicit the relationship between fakirs and shrewd street performers, this time drawing a link between fakirs and Parisian fortune-tellers, who were said to be among "those who had commercialized the science of astrology."[77]

The difficulty of identifying the fakir with any historical or cultural precision posed a number of problems for the academic study of yoga in the nineteenth century. Forming part of broader movements within nineteenth-century scholarship that sought to differentiate a classical yoga (associated primarily with the practices of seated meditation) from the subversive and controversial physical practices associated with Hatha yoga,[78] Orientalist scholars, members of the intelligentsia and occultists in Europe and America looked to contain the confounding slippage between the largely interchangeable terms, fakir and yogi. In this context, differentiating the fakir from the yogi proved to be a significant and worthwhile endeavour for scholars concerned that accusations of fraudulence intended for the fakir would invariably malign classical yoga.

Consequently, in an article entitled "On the Voluntary Trance of Indian Fakirs" published in *The Monist*[79] in 1900, the nineteenth-century German Indologist Richard Garbe felt it necessary to counter convictions "that gained ground in wide circles"[80] that the stupendous performances of yogis were more often that not, hoaxes. Countering skeptics, Garbe turned to a performance that took place at the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest in 1896 in order to demonstrate "deliberate fraud is not to be ascribed

to them [yogis]"[81] who have long been known to be able to suspend their vital signs, remaining in cataleptic states for more than "seven or fourteen days."[82]

The particular performance described by Garbe involved two fakirs who, by means of hypnotizing one another, induced a trance like state that enveloped both performers. Having been hypnotized, both lay in a glass coffin on display as if lying in state. One of the fakirs however, made a fatal error in presuming the performance was not being observed when he reputedly rose out of his rigid state in the middle of the night to snack on cake and milk. In response, Garbe conceded that as a consequence of fraudulent performances such as the one described in his article, fakirs and yogis alike were commonly, and in his view, most unfortunately, regarded as swindlers.[83]

Yet, proposing a distinction be made between the terms fakir and yogi, Garbe advocated that those people whose supernatural powers have under careful scientific investigation been given "positive testimony"[84] are not to be called fakirs, but in fact yogis. In other words, the category of the yogi was one reserved for those historical actors who, having transcended the human, exemplified the ideals of a meditative, sedentary, classical yoga.[85]

An article on fakirs by Helena P. Blavatsky in 1890 likewise confirmed The Theosophical Society's[86] growing discomfort with the yogi's ambiguous persona in American performance circles, and the interchangeable use of the words fakir and yogi. In Blavatsky's mind, not only could religious differences distinguish the fakir from the yogi, but both fakir and yogi might be distinguished from the street performing juggler whose illusions apparently had little to do with the devotional performances of the fakir-yogi complex:

> First of all, we ask them why they call the "juggler" a "fakir"? If he is the one he cannot be the other; for a fakir is simply a Mussulman Devotee whose whole time is taken up by acts of holiness, such as standing for days on one leg, or on the top of his head, and who pays no attention to any other phenomena. Nor could their "juggler" be a Yogi, the latter title being incompatible with "taking up collections" after the exhibition of his psychic powers. The man they saw then at Gaya was simply--as they very correctly state--a public juggler, or as he is generally called in India, a *jadoowalla* (sorcerer) and a "producer of illusions," whether Hindu or Mohammedan. [87]

To put it simply, according to Blavatsky, only a yogi was a yogi; a fakir or a performer could not be a yogi. As an ensuing segment of this chapter will demonstrate, interpretations of the yogi as a 'classical' typology that emerged from sources both scholarly and occult were echoed in Ruth St. Denis' iteration of the construct in her 1908 choreography.

In this way, despite the polysemic use of the word fakir to represent outsiders of all ilk in American popular culture, there were yet subtle distinctions that served to demarcate (in certain circles) the terms fakir and yogi. As literary historians have argued, this distinction was more carefully marked in British colonial literature in which the term fakir was generally more derogatory, and was often used to incite fear in literary narratives or to "bring horror into the story."[88] Even so, as historian Rianne Siebenga documents, representations of the fakir in postcards and lantern slides from the British colonial period evidence a profound confusion regarding the use of the terms fakir and yogi which were generally used to identify India as the home of a baffling variety of ascetic sects that were referred to by "several generic names, such as sannyasi, yogi or fakir."[89]

It could be said therefore, that the only coherence in these colonial representations was a consistent depiction of the yogi-fakir complex as a naked, fanatical, begging holy man whose unusual rituals and physical performances signalled a life lived beyond civilization. Emblematic of an undomesticated other, the public visibility and itinerant hypermobility of this fakir-yogi creature represented the dangers of the nomadic wild-man, a transient and therefore untrustworthy other.[90] Thus, in spite of ongoing attempts to separate a classical yoga from the ritual and quotidian performances of fakirs or yogis within America, the term fakir in popular usage (as a vestige of these colonial depictions) was most closely associated with this monstrous 'Indian type'[91] whose exploits were closely allied with fraud and deception.

In fact, as elaborated in British novelist John Seymour Eyton's tale "The Dancing Fakir" (first published in London in 1922), the figure of the fakir offered its readers an opportunity to encounter a real yogi, who in Eyton's tale is none other than his protagonist, an Englishman born Alfred Henry Jackson who upon living in India had assumed the identity of a yogi. "An incorrigible drifter,"[92] Eyton's fakir

(whose presence in the tale corroborates colonial characterizations of fakirs as wild, itinerant street performers, see figure 10) is the construct through which an adventure tale about the promises of 'identity theft,' and performing the other unfolds.

Eyton's fugitive fakir is a prodigal son of the British empire who having lost his way in the diversions of the Calcutta music hall, spends his time running from the law and earns his keep by dancing. "Finding the part easier to play than he would have supposed,"[93] Eyton's fakir drifts from town to town with the fabled itinerancy of any real yogi, bringing commotion and calamity from Calcutta to Bangalore and Bombay[94] where he regularly passed himself off as a 'native' street-performer, dancing with "a certain wildness"[95] characteristic of the fakir:

> The apotheosis of Jackson was in this wise…He became a Fakir. Perhaps his success at the Calcutta music-hall suggested this unusual course. His remarkable knowledge of native idiom stood him in good stead, and he found the part easier to play than he would have supposed. His patter, with the impassive face, procured him free meals — even free drinks on the wooden platforms of country liquor shops…. In a Fakir a certain wildness is expected; his dancing was looked upon as an idiosyncrasy, and gained him a reputation. He cultivated long hair, which he made tawny with henna; he wore nothing but a yellow cloth round his middle, and beads round his neck…No one ever recognized Jackson. He had no name now. [96]

As the tale unfolds, the dancing fakir is "awakened"[97] to his identity as an Englishman, thereby becoming an essential player in the British struggle to maintain colonial power over the Indian subcontinent (see figure 11). Yet, it is the dancing fakir's shrewd use of his illegible identity and exploitation of his nomadic subterfuge that enables him to remain undetected (by either the British or the Indians) while leading a wild mob roused by anti-British sentiment to their own demise:

> Then came the awakening of the dancing fakir…He became not Jackson, but Alfred Henry Jackson…He would have to act very quickly; the police had been overpowered.[98]

Cast as a decoy, silent and unidentifiable, it is the fakir's recollection of his name (an incident that recalls the naming of the sylphide in the previous chapter)[99] that coincides with the assumption of a fixed identity and national loyalties. Conversely, in his role as a dancing fakir, Alfred Henry Jackson was divested of the particular attributes associated with a publicly recognizable, legible identity, and was consequently free to perform the 'wild-card,' a flexible, surreptitious and polysemic identity.

In this literary construction, (as with the previous performances examined), performing the other was presumed to bestow particular benefits to the performer, instigating identity renewals that obtained from the misunderstandings, gaps and slippages related to the figure's nameless illegibility. Certainly, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century fascination with the fakir as fraud in American literature and performance followed this pattern in which strategic thefts of illegible identities were critical in generating boundaries between the human and its other.

As the following section will reveal, the assessment of the yogi as a fraudulent, duplicitous character was hardly the product of colonial discourses alone, and had been percolating within the Indian subcontinent for at least eight centuries. In this sense, the polyvalent signification of the yogi/fakir complex in American text and performance during this period derived not only from colonial precedents, but from pre-colonial ambiguities that date back to eye-witness accounts of foreigners to the subcontinent, as well as those emic literary fables found within India at least as early as the 11th and 12th centuries C.E.

4.3 The Mercurial, Multiplex Yogi: Historical Characterizations of the Yogi as Fraud

The historical yogi has long been characterized as mercurial and enigmatic, an ambiguous character whose carefree performance of duplicity and nefarious exploits of subterfuge have time and again problematized presumptions of a monolithic, 'classical yoga'[100] and its historiography of contemplative, world-denying practitioners. From mendicant to panhandler, predatory trickster to street performer, the historical yogi was frequently identified as a fraud, a protean actor whose performance of multiple identities and artful deceptions persistently confounded observers. As armed and astute power-brokers, alchemical experts, magicians, poisoners and treacherous tantrics, the yogi's multiple identities and skilful dissimulations have been duly documented in the accounts of foreigners to the subcontinent. Likewise, a vast body of literary works, fables and folk tales depict the yogi as so plastic in the art of self-representation as to be socially unidentifiable, illegible and therefore beyond reproach.

In this segment of the chapter I investigate the historical reputation of the yogi as a fraud, as an important - if somewhat untrustworthy - locus of power in the world, whose performance of myriad

identities represents forgery, duplicity and deception. Through an examination of etic accounts and literary narratives in several secondary sources, the chapter explores historical and literary narratives of the fraudulent yogi-fakir as exemplary of the Nāth yogi's particularly agile, duplicitous/multiplicitous[101] relationship to identity.

The characterization of the yogi as a fraud in the testimonials of European travellers and merchants as early as the seventeenth century owes as much to a persistent confusion amongst onlookers about the yogi's identity, as it does to the yogi's own ambidextrous performances of identity. Unable to identify the yogi or his practices, European accounts commonly refer to yogis as the 'impostors' of India in accordance with those firsthand reports generated by merchant travellers such as Francisco Pelsaert who cites magicians, jugglers, and dancers as amongst the rabble of society,[102] rarely distinguishing between these street performers and yogis.[103] John Fryer, an English physician who travelled in India and Persia between 1672 and 1681, likewise conflated yogis and fakirs with magicians, further confusing performances of sleight of hand with feats of yogic prowess.[104] Similarly, "Francois Bernier in his *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-1668* did not distinguish between 'Fakires' or 'Jauguis' and conjurers."[105]

As a partial consequence of these etic accounts, the wandering yogi was increasingly identified in the minds of the masses with the fraudulent and dangerous magician, the unscrupulous conjuror who existed outside the conventions of ordinary existence.[106] In the following passage excerpted from David White's *Sinister Yogis*, the aforementioned John Fryer makes little differentiation between yogis and various vagrant groups, gypsies and street performers:

> [A]t the Heel of these [Fakiers] may be reckoned the Bengal Juglers, Mountebanks, and Conjurers, as also the Dancing People; these are Vagrants, that travel to delude the Mobile [mob] by their *hocus pocus* tricks (living promiscuously like our gypsies); among whom I saw one who swallowed a Chain...and made it clink in his Stomach...[107]

As Lee Seigel's ethnohistoric novella *Net of Magic* relates, slippages between the identity of the yogi-magician and the magician-entertainer were not simply the result of miscalculations perpetrated by unfamiliar observers. Rather, the association of the yogi with the magician in literary and historical narratives was perpetrated "on both sides - Indian and European - quite intentionally."[108] As Siegel notes,

nebulous characterizations of the yogi as performer sanctioned a kind of identity theft between the two groups, whereby magicians were able to exploit the religious legitimacy and sociopolitical license afforded to yogis, as yogis likewise sought what financial gain might exist in the practice of magic. As Siegel's traveller's journals construe, to this day, magicians customarily trace their knowledge of *indrajāla*[109] to those rites they claim to have learned at cremation grounds,[110] the ritual habitat of those more extreme yogic sects, the Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas. Moreover, Siegel suggests, itinerant *jādūgars* may in fact, be heir to the clandestine practices of these disappeared tantric sects. As he notes, "low-caste Muslim magicians are often called Madaris, a name that suggests an alliance with, or origins in, heterodox religious orders."[111] As Siegel's principal informant Naseeb proclaims, his prestidigitatorial heritage is authorized by the dark magic of the 'vanished' Āghorīs and Kāpālikas:

> "This power," Naseeb and the other magicians say, "I gained at the cremation grounds." The macabre claim associates the magicians with the vanishing Aghoris and vanished Kapalikas, those Tantric ascetics reputedly versed in dark magic, in whose rites blood, alcohol, and flesh are necessary. The association and implied affinity is amplified by the use and presence of bones and skulls in any demonstration of street magic.[112]

Likewise, George Weston Briggs' *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs* confirms the association of the historical yogi with the disreputable practices of the magician. First published in 1938, Briggs' comprehensive study of the twelfth century Śaivite sect known as the Nāth yogis[113] (also called *kānphaṭa),*[114] lists several practices that persist within the sect "to the detriment of their reputation"[115] including: palmistry, juggling, fortune-telling, dream interpretation, impersonation, pretending to cure disease and selling drugs. Briggs also notes that many yogis "lay claim to supernatural powers,"[116] and that "some are reputed to have transmuted base metals into gold or silver."[117] Significantly, in addition to their alchemical expertise and disreputable public performances of magic, Briggs also cites Nāth yogis as "engaged in armies of the kings,"[118] a point that will be examined in greater detail in the latter half of this segment.

On a deeper level however, the conflation of the yogi and the magician in both etic accounts and literary sources may obtain from Vedic cosmological presuppositions that characterize Hindu thought as a

whole.[119] According to the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, "a magician creates this world by magic...Nature is an illusion and the Lord is the illusionist; the things of this world are but elements of him."[120] Moreover, the Vedic notion of *Indrajāla* (Indra's net of magic) - which refers to that Vedic god's extraordinary powers of conjuring whereby he "appears again and again in form after form, transforming his forms, performing his magic,"[121] - affirms fraud as a cosmic force inextricably linked to the performance of multiple forms and identities. In this sense, the performance of multiplicity may be understood as a re-enactment of a Vedic worldview in which the magician, like the yogi, is a nexus of power capable of manipulating the illusory or fraudulent cosmos.

Beyond Hinduism's scriptural moorings, characterizations of the yogi as fraudulent likewise occupy a considerable place in the subcontinent's popular imaginary; tales of the false yogi[122] populate Indian literature, both in Sanskrit and the vernacular alike. One such collection of fables contained in the eleventh century Sanskrit *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, recounts a series of unusual encounters, riddles and adventures between the great king Trivikramasena or Vikramāditya, evil ascetics and vetālas (vampires/zombies). Comprised in what David White calls the "Vikrama Cycle" the tales in the Sanskrit *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*[123] are thought to have evolved out of folk tales likely written between the first and sixth centuries of the Common Era. Thus, synchronous with the period in which Hindu tantra was at its apex, these tales cast the yogi as the archvillain, the maleficent tantric capable of superhuman feats, shapeshifting with carefree ease, deception and cunning.[124] The following passage about a fraudulent, deceptive, unidentifiable *Djogui* (yogi) is a retelling of a story from the "Vikrama Cycle,"[125] by Mahadevprasad Singh, author of the Hindi language *Bhairavānand Yogī* composed sometime between 1940 and 1970. It can be traced back to the Sanskrit collection known as the "Pakhyān Charitra" and the Persian *Senguehassen Battisi.*[126] It is thus summarized in White's *Sinister Yogis*:

> Békermadjiet's first act was to put the fawn in a safe place, after which he said to the maiden, "It is the scoundrelly Djogui's soul that is now animating the fawn, the soul that had taken over the body and countenance of King Békermadjiet. He was nothing but a vile usurper and I am the true king. I inhabited the body of a parrot due to the abominable and traitorous act of this Djogui. I have lived this way for twelve years, but now I have at long last recovered possession of my own body.[127]

The yogi's enactment of what amounts to a kind of identity theft in this story is perhaps a literary elaboration of historical practices of fraud that characterize Nāth soteriology. As White explains in *Sinister Yogis,* yoga is a soteriology predicated on identity with the divine:

> Yoga is a soteriological system that culminates in union or identity with a supreme being. Accordingly, yogis are persons whose religious vocation is the quest for such a union or identity, including the power to enter into, permeate, the creator's every creature.[128]

In the case of the twelfth century sect known as the Nāth Yogis - so known because of their association with Śiva as "*nātha*" or the lord - this Śaivite identity is cultivated through mimesis, that is, through specific yogic practices explicitly aimed at bodily imitation.[129] This physical enactment of *imitatio dei* can be interpreted as nothing less than the attempt to forge Śiva's bodily signature, to embody and thereby fraud his being as a very real means to the attainment of second Śiva-hood. As the South Indian story "The Little Devotee" illustrates, in this worldview (especially in the medieval Telugu versions of this story), there is little distinction between the ascetic that imitates Śiva and that divine Śiva that imitates the Bhairava ascetic:

> In the town of Kaṇapattīccaram there lived a man named Parañcoti whose devoted hospitality toward the servants of Lord Śiva was so great that he came to be known as the Little Devotee (Ciruttoṇṭar). Every day, the Little Devotee would, together with his wife, prepare and offer delicious food to all who came to the temple of his god. Through the grace of that great god, a son named Cīrālan was born to them, and father and mother doted on him in every way. In time, word of the Little Devotee's service reached Śiva, the lord who dwells on Mount Kailāś. His heart disposed to grace, the god put on the guise of a Bhairava ascetic, wearing ashes and ornaments of bone on his lovely coral body and carrying the skull of Brahmā and the two-headed tamaruka drum in his hands. Acting as if he were insatiably hungry, he came to the home of the Little Devotee. Yet, when the Little Devotee offered to feed him, he said: "It is not possible to feed me. You cannot do it. It is impossible." Still, the Little Devotee insisted, to which the Bhairava ascetic replied that the sole food he would deign to have prepared for him should consist of the perfect body of a human child under the age of five.[130]

As the tale develops, it becomes clear that the false yogi for whom the son in the tale is about to be sacrificed truly is Siva who appears in the guise of an imitator. The son's remark that he is "happy to become food for that false yogi, that Śiva,"[131] sanctions the practice of imitation, an act that constitutes a forgery of Siva's bodily signature in order to realize the perfected body.[132] Correspondingly, it is in hopes of becoming a second-Śiva that the yogi ritually simulates and embodies Śiva's signature i.e. his physical appearance, persona, and symbols. In carrying the begging bowl, (a symbol of Brahmā's skull as borne by

Śiva), inscribing divinity upon his forehead and ritually covering his body in the ashes said to cover Śiva, the ascetic in his peregrinations is only as fraudulent in his simulation of Śiva as Śiva himself.

Fraud then, in Nāth context (and South Asian performance traditions in general) can be understood as a performative strategy that allows the yogi to exceed simple re-enactments of the 'other.'[133] In this way, fraud exceeds simulation; it constitutes an embodiment that transmogrifies the practitioner, such that the actor becomes the deity. The Nāth imitation of Śiva designed to realize second-Śivahood can be considered a forgery of the 'other,' whereby a human actor's knowing manifests as becoming. Thus, embodied and expansive with divinity,[134] the yogi is co-extensive with the deity's power.

In this sense, the fable of "The Little Devotee" elucidates fraud as a fundamental principle in the cosmos. Through embodiment of the other, the relationship between replica and the original is uncovered,[135] and the human being is known as coterminous[136] with divinity. Likewise, as Siegel recounts, in the magician's understanding of this interchangeability of matter (i.e. the illusion of difference) resides a power to manipulate appearances i.e. to arrange the visibility of difference, of 'one' and 'another:'

> Every crowd appeared practically identical to Kabir; it was as if the same phantoms of flesh and blood arrived to watch him die each time. There was no reason for him to care about any one of them. Those individual beings, like the balls of stuffed cloth that the magicians manipulated, could become indistinguishable from each other, completely interchangeable, if grouped and juxtaposed in a certain way; and though they did not know it, the magician, by the way he sat, by where he placed his props, by the direction in which he looked, and by innumerable other subtle sleights and unnoticed strategies, had indeed arranged his crowd.[137]

In historical terms however, one can surmise that the historical yogi's performance of counterfeit identity posed specific organizational and administrative problems to orthodox Hinduism and foreign hegemonies alike. For one, the yogi's status as the archetypal outsider to the conventions and stratified social order of orthodox Hinduism,[138] served to efface and/or camouflage the yogi, as much as it exacerbated pre-existing misunderstandings. Moreover, given that etic accounts of yogis left by foreigners represent the observations of various groups that did not belong to any of the Indic religious groups within which yoga had taken root (i.e. Muslim conquerors, Christian travellers and traders from Europe),

the yogi as a persona developed in context of "the outsider within."[139] Thus, most accounts of yogis emerge from outsiders who are documenting other outsiders, solidifying the general appearance of the yogi as 'foreign,' a stranger of identity unknown. In this way, the yogi acquired the distinct historical reputation of being both undetectable and immune to social reprimand. As stated by Ludovico de Varthema of Bologna who travelled in India between 1503 and 1508: "Should they even kill the first nobleman of the land, they would not suffer any punishment because they say that they are saints."[140]

In *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires*, historian William R. Pinch contends this characterization of the yogi as vigilante persisted into the early nineteenth century as a result of the Nāth yogi's curious rise to power as war-lord, military strategist, thug and spy beginning in the sixteenth century. Chronicling the political activities of armed ascetics between the 16th and 19th centuries, Pinch narrates the Gosain's[141] powerful and prominent role in political espionage and entrepreneurship in the early modern Indian landscape of military expansion.[142] Referring to Mughal record, oral traditions and accounts by European travellers, Pinch avers that in addition to the Gosain's enormous physical stamina and prowess, it was the mobility of the itinerant yogi, the vagabond lifestyle associated with bands of armed ascetics that made them "attractive agents for people of means to project force, inflict punishment, carry valuables or transmit valuable information - all over long distances."[143] Thus, by the eighteenth century, the descendants of armed ascetics became professional soldiers who, acting as double-agents, sold their services to the highest bidder and were increasingly associated with the deceptions and intrigues of military conquest.[144] Moreover, bands of armed yogis that had performed as small-scale guerrilla law enforcement eventually acquired professional designations in large-scale infantry and cavalry service.[145]

The process by which bands of armed yogis could become professional soldiers in the eighteenth century's growing military labour market[146] can be explained by the extraordinary bodily disciplines and ascetic austerities accumulated in *nāga akhāras*, the training ground for the use of yogic weapons. According to Pinch, the art of violence was part of a *śaktiyoga* repertoire that centered on harnessing "supernormal forces both within and beyond the human body."[147] In this way, the bodies of armed yogis,

hardened to physical suffering and inculcated into leadership orders and ranks through a kind of 'muscular bonding,'[148] developed skills that were easily transferable to the new military labour market.

Accordingly, the addition of warrior, thug and spy to the Nāth's already sizeable arsenal of identities in the eighteenth century served to further the reputation of the yogi as a matrix of power and duplicity. Suspect among the general populace for his outsider status, the yogi was as notorious for making what Pinch terms "combustible alliances"[149] with political leaders, as he was for his ruthless activities as a double agent.[150] Built from fragments of the "Muslim and the Hindu, emperor and mendicant, ascetic and archer, soldier and spy,"[151] Pinch's historical depiction of the yogi's multiplex identity reveals a persona that is socially elastic at best, and politically volatile at its most disruptive.

Thus, by the late nineteenth century, orthodox Hindus and foreigners on the subcontinent alike sought means of regulating the wild, militant yogi who was without any religious or political affiliations to particular institutions,[152] and appeared to play duplicitously for any and all teams, doubling and tripling his gains as magician, priest and warrior. During this period, the persona of the historical yogi, long thought to be illegible and beyond restraint, came to represent a locus of a cumulative anxiety about fraud, a 'wild body' onto which were cast concerns about order, orthodoxy and the performance of a singular, coherent identity.

In this way, the persona of the yogi as fraud was inextricably bound to the yogi's plasticity, those fluid performances of multiplex identity that were the hallmarks of power, both worldly and transcendent. While misidentified and maligned as early as the seventeenth century by etic onlookers, the yogi as a historical actor appears to have been engaged in the very performances of deception that characterized the social actors with whom he was mistaken (magicians, thieves and spies). Likewise, the literary record is equally emphatic in either applauding or denigrating the yogi's perfidious, two-timing ways.

On the one hand, folk tales such as "The Little Devotee"[153] laud the performance of a multiplex identity as emblematic of a broader tradition of Śaivite practice in which the yogi enacts a fraudulent performance of Śiva's physical signature. On the other, an equal number of tales (such as those contained in the "Vikrama Cycle"), depict the yogi as a villain, thereby revealing a persistent anxiety about the

yogi's undecipherable identities, implicitly questioning the yogi's audacious performances of fraud: Is the yogi a yogi, or a magician/warrior claiming to be a yogi? In whose name, and upon whose authority, do these human actors, who are themselves composites of fact and fable, claim their earthly powers?

Fittingly then, the illegible yogi for whom identity is a plaything, a triviality, a fluid carefree enactment of māyā,[154] is vilified in many a folk tale, and his political exploits frequently depicted as illicit, reprobate and treacherous. As a consequence, the yogi's arsenal of tenebrous, unstable identities, whether collocated in literary accounts, the historical archive or in the flesh, continued to be hallmarks of a puzzling duplicity/multiplicity, deceit and power into the twentieth century.

4.4 Synchronous Monsters and Fraudulent Others: Living Curiosities in Early Modern America

While the characterization of the yogi as fraud in America was the partial product of diverse historical and literary discourses formed outside the United States, the discursive construct within America was equally shaped by a local network of aesthetic preoccupations associated with the growing popularity of ethnographic and zoological spectacles in the late nineteenth century.[155] This broad fascination with fraud in performance served to shift emphasis away from objective, realistic presentations of humans in their own habitat, enabling typologies such as the fakir to be exhibited publicly in theatrical modes of display that were overlaid with fantasy and fiction.[156] Accordingly, by the early twentieth century, deception and fraud in the guise of 'ethnographic exhibitions' of historical actors deemed to have transgressed the norms of the human came to be understood as an "intrinsic component of the commercial entertainment industry."[157]

Defining the era's zeal for curations of monstrous creatures beyond the human, Phineas Taylor Barnum (1810-1891), one of America's most tenacious and ambitious entrepreneurs, staged ethnographic exhibits that fuelled the middle class demand for quasi-scientific displays of nonhumans. Curiously, Barnum's staged displays of historical actors deemed "living curiosities,"[158] were the ideological descendants of mechanical surrogates crafted during the European Enlightenment. In fact, it was in response to his inspiring encounter with Wolfgang von Kempelen's chess-playing automaton during its

tour of America in the late 1820s[159] that Barnum recruited and exhibited his own collection of nonhuman others that included Joice Heth, an African-American slave woman that Barnum provocatively claimed was 161 years old.

Notably, Barnum's staging of the incomprehensibly old Heth in 1835[160] exploited and exaggerated the markers of her difference in much the same way as previously examined caricatures of fakirs. This hyperbolic representation of difference pertained not only to Heth's morphology, but pointed to unanswered questions regarding her cultural identity and her place within the nation. For instance, according to an old playbill[161] from 1835 (see figure 10), at least two distinctive features are exaggerated: one is Heth's age (putatively marked as 161 years old), and the second is the implied link between herself and General George Washington, in whose father's family she was said to have been kept as a slave.

The latter of these characteristics, namely that Heth may have served as nursemaid to America's founding father, was used to call attention to the ambiguities of Heth's status as an American citizen. In this sense, the playbill evokes a conflicted fascination with Heth's physical characteristics (namely her aging body), especially those that marked her status as an outsider (namely, her blackness) within America. Announcing Heth in the following terms: "The Greatest Natural and National Curiosity in the World,"[162] the playbill clarifies what was foregrounded by the exhibit itself: the illegibility of Heth's presence. Certainly, the extraordinary curiosity that surrounded this display was hardly isolated to Heth's age, but rather, was configured around her black presence which, according to her putative relationship to one of the nation's founding fathers, could be traced right back to the birth of the American nation.

Here, as in previous chapters, the overlap between imagined narrative typologies such as the one constructed in "The Dancing Fakir" coupled with the actual presence of historical others upon whose marginalized status the fictional typologies were based enabled a curious dance to take place between fiction and fact that was duly sanctioned by the growing fascination with fraud in performance. In this process, a variety of remote others deemed nonhuman (and fraudulent) was made available for "efficient manipulation by the positioned interests of different groups"[163] through performance. In this regard, anthropologist Michael Taussig argues that the resulting categorization of particular groups as monsters

or nonhumans ensured "a crucial circulation of imagic power between these sorts of selves:"[164] namely, the civilized, "…and these sorts of anti-selves"[165] that remained in continual dialogue, "feeding off each other's correspondence."[166] In this sense, Taussig postulates that the word "barbaric,"[167] like the words "natural curiosity"[168] (as Heth was called), functioned to both register "horror and disgust"[169] while simultaneously ratifying the essential images produced by asymmetries of power.

But for Barnum, the ambiguous ontology displayed by Heth's curated body constituted only half the game he intended to play as an impresario in search of the best tricks, heists and frauds. Evidently, Barnum had recognized that the key to the success of the automaton chess player was that the deception at the heart of the spectacle was attractive to spectators. Correspondingly, Barnum began to carefully use mass media outlets to advertise the deceptive qualities of the performance, while simultaneously situating and publicizing Heth as something other than a human being.

In sum, for Barnum, it was not enough that Heth was not American, or human; Barnum wanted the American buying public to know that his show too, was something other than it seemed; that is, that the crux of the spectacle was fraud itself. So it was that Barnum, in writing an anonymous letter to a newspaper in America, fuelled the debate over Joice Heth's ontology, and, in suggesting she really was a "curiously constructed automaton"[170] rather than a human, provoked a sensation that went far beyond the fraudulence of Heth's presence, effectively turning the gaze of spectators onto the show itself and posing an open question about performance and its capacity to deceive.

In this sense, we might also propose this preoccupation with fraud so closely entwined with the presence of an other (a 'slave body,' surrogate or a stand-in), as more broadly expressive of a need to reconstruct American identity during the late Victorian/early modern period. As theatre scholar Joseph Roach has identified, groups of outsiders deemed to fall beyond the bounds of the normative human were repeatedly invoked within nineteenth-century circum-Atlantic performance in order to remind those within an empire of its boundaries, terms and ideologies. As Roach relates, a geographical "transfer of the imperial locus from its historic locus"[171] commonly accompanied the presence of surrogates within the empire. For instance, Roach cites the precedents set by the chronicles of Virgil and Geoffrey of

Monmouth, each of whom resituated the heart of the Latin empire within their historiographies of a new, imperial order. Here, we might wish to recall that the reconstructions of the French empire within the July Monarchy explored in the previous chapter benefitted from the allegorization of several historical actors considered outsiders, as the golden age of classical Greece was simultaneously and strategically transposed onto the new bourgeois French regime.

In this way, as several historians have argued, the presentation of remote others in early American literature was related to the creation of a "self-consciously national drama."[172] As Walter Meserve's *An Emerging Entertainment: The Drama of the American People to 1828* elucidates, the bodies of autochthonous peoples in America were recruited to dramatize a culture that opposed the dominant Anglo-Puritan antitheatricality. As a consequence, the performance of the Amerindian (as played by white Americans) or their insinuated presence on stage was "central to the self-inventions of the American people."[173] Nation-building in nineteenth-century America, much as in revolutionary France, depended on representations of remote otherness in the reconstruction of national identity:[174]

> From the point of view of narrative typology, Walter Meserve's account of Native Americans -- first invoked, then erased, then reinvented as aesthetic objects or "ideal characters" by Euro-Americans seeking native spiritual authenticity without having to deal with living autochthons -- participates in a larger project: the legitimation of manifest destiny, in which the inevitability of Anglocentric displacement of indigenous peoples and rival colonial interests takes on the golden penumbra of a creation myth. [175]

This was not news to Barnum whose proclamation, "there's a sucker born every minute,"[176] was an instinctive endorsement of the utility of fraud in popular theatrical entertainment. Barnum, after all knew well that fraudulence only added to the public's curiosity about illegible bodies and their normative place in America. And Heth (like other peripheral bodies, such as native Americans or fakirs), was an ideal candidate for the displays of empire. A repository of provocations not only about the foundations upon which America had been founded, on account of her putative age, Heth was a reminder of the temporal boundaries of the human subject altogether. The monster, as presented in the guise of Joice Heth

once again served to set the human being in stark relief, marking its social, communal and national boundaries, provoking its limits from the margins.

Barnum's deliberate inquiry into the function of fraud in performance played a critical role in the entertainments of the new American leisure class. Not unlike spectacles staged during the July Monarchy in France, Barnum's creaturely others deemed beyond the limits of the human coincided with attempts to revise and reinforce the boundaries of the nation and reconsider the limits of American identity. However, unlike Barnum's ostentatious and flagrant promotion of his own fraudulence, many of the pioneering performances of American fairground and funhouse deceptions of the modern era did not present their fictional characters as ontological errors; rather, they were presented as ethnographic portraits and therefore, as 'historical reality,' at least according to the showmen and publicists who promoted the shows to the public.

Nonetheless, there is ample evidence to suggest that by the middle of the third decade of the nineteenth century, what had begun as a preternatural interest in 'curiosities' during the European Enlightenment had been accelerated and redefined in a new era in American popular culture, "one whose illusionism lay not in its ability simply to imitate nature in the form of a machine, but to render the process of imitation itself an open question."[177] In this period, following Maelzel's introduction of the automaton to American audiences in the 1820s, a heightened sense of ambiguity and play permeated middle class entertainments. In this context, the leisure activities, games and ludic play encountered in the performances of the SAF can be said to have been based on an expanded "epistemological flexibility"[178] in performance that enabled fraud to be understood as a tool for provocation, a technique that might create a forum for public debate in which complex issues not only of identity, but about ontology might be tested and rehearsed.

The aesthetic's growing popularity was not lost on contemporaneous performers in the early twentieth century. The ambitious dancer/choreographer Ruth St Denis whose enthusiasm for Vaudeville and the popular entertainments of Coney Island convinced her that performance was designed to deceive, realized that fraud in theatrical terms was but a series of strategies, tricks or games by which the body that

was other than human might display its "representational indeterminacy."[179] The body by the late nineteenth century, it was realized, could be a source of truth and deception; it could play multiple identities, being itself and other, authentic and fraud.

4.5 Ruth St. Denis, *The Yogi* (1908) Empire of the Body: Posing the Other, Recomposing the Self

As preceding sections of this chapter have established, the fakir was invoked in a variety of contexts in popular American performance between the years 1892 and 1940. Conflated with fakes and fraudulence, the very word 'fakir' (like the term 'amazon' in the French republic) had become polysemic in early modern America, being used to describe marginalized historical actors and/or cultural groups considered outsiders to mainstream American life. In this way, inclusive of those impoverished, itinerant marginals that resided within New York City in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, (as well as those that lived beyond the confines of America), the fakir came to function as a repository for fears about the untamed bodies of historical actors that operated outside the bounds of civilization.

This symmetry further recalls how the terms used to designate beings at the peripheral edges of the human such as 'witch,' 'amazon,' or 'fakir' functioned as highly pliable narrative constructs that could be resurrected during times of crisis in order to either reify existing norms or to revise or expand identities, rights and freedoms. In other words, the representation of the fakir during this period bears significant resemblance to the depiction of transgressive creaturely others detailed in previous chapters in one crucial way: the "obsessive fascination with monsters and the exotic" in early modern America, (as in France or the Hapsburg empire) "ultimately served to reinforce the process by which boundaries delineating proper and improper…identities were established,[180] just as it served to unsettle "European American dyadic categories of male/female, human/inhuman, normal/abnormal."[181]

As previously argued, this turn towards the 'other' that animated popular performance in the early twentieth century represented more than a passing curiosity about those bodies and identities which had transgressed the recognizable human in America; it was frequently used as evidence that the non-white body itself might be inherently fraudulent. As a consequence, impersonations of the other served to point

back to the importance and singularity of the American citizen as authentic and originary.[182] As a consequence, an overarching preoccupation with exotic, remote typologies was not simply a function of popular tastes in entertainment during the early twentieth century, but showcased how "increasingly, with industrialization, the growth of capitalism, modernization, and America's development as a world power toward the late nineteenth century, American people needed a way to understand their place in the world,"[183] and to define their own identities through a series of complex negotiations with others perceived as fraudulent.

The remainder of this chapter (divided into four sections) argues that the turn to remote, nonhuman typologies as evidenced in the oeuvre of modern dancer/choreographer Ruth St. Denis (1879-1968) offered an opportunity to transform and revitalize through 'fraud' (i.e. the impersonation of exotic others) not only the American woman, but the American citizen. In particular, this segment and the following three focus on St. Denis' choreography, *The Yogi* (1908) which played a critical role in the legitimation of America as a generative, 'civilizing force,'[184] a spiritual superpower on par with what St. Denis deemed were the cultural and artistic empires of a long-lost golden age (i.e. Greece, India, Egypt). St. Denis' yogi was in this way, but one amidst a variegated pantheon of typologies (some of which were gods and goddesses, and others that were allegorized visions of remote or exotic others), that were integral in the enactment of what St. Denis announced as America's physical and spiritual "renaissance."[185]

In order to consider the significance of St. Denis' depiction of the yogi, one must first question how and to what end St. Denis impersonated numerous exotic others over the course of her career. Did she, for instance, capitalize on the enormous popularity of ethnographic fraudulence during the early twentieth century? Given that dance historian Priya Srinivasan argues that the innovations of St. Denis' repertoire are indebted to the contributions of real nautch dancers at Coney Island in 1904, one might further ask what role the figure of yogi was meant to play within her choreographic canon. The fakir certainly was a common a sight at Dime Shows, Coney Island, in Barnum's circus of curiosities[186] and in early American film.[187] Was the typology of the yogi-fakir developed in dialogue with real historical

actors who performed in these venues, or was St. Denis' creation a hypothetical rebuild of the figure, a remotely choreographed other that would guide the reinvention and reintegration of the American citizen?

Certainly, it is clear from St. Denis' writings that a signal part of her choreographic mandate was to recast dance as remedy for the forces of modern mechanization, and to situate dance as a practice designed to renew the human economy and integrate the personality. As St. Denis herself muses in *An Unfinished Life*, a dance renaissance within America expressed a response to the very real possibility that the human personality might disintegrate under the forces of a newly mechanized, modern world:

> It is interesting to wonder why the dance found its renaissance at this same period. What are the great spiritual, underlying causes which made the dance bud and blossom at a certain time, what elements in the human economy demand a rebirth? Possibly it came at this period as a counterbalance to the growing concern with a mechanized world, or possibly as an offset to the disintegration of personality which is brought about by the endless variety of interests, of work and pleasure, since nothing can provide a more integrating force than the dance.[188]

Cultural historian Hillel Schwartz carefully demarcates the years between 1840[189] and 1930 as a critical juncture in dance and movement practices in Europe and the United States in which significant cultural shifts enabled physical movement to be understood as religious practice.[190] Citing Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn as paradigmatic examples, Schwartz reminds that during the early twentieth century, dance and movement were considered "a crucial means of human expression, a form of worship…"[191] by many including the German expressionist choreographer Mary Wigman. As a corollary, choreographers cited a correspondence between prayer and movement as transformative techniques designed to elicit renovations to the psychophysical matrix of the human being.

This heightened appraisal of the power of movement to transform was not isolated to the realm of dance; body workers and educator/practitioners within the physical culture movement such as the English physician Mathias Roth who developed kinesiatrics as a scientific foundation for bodily training, contributed to a growing number of discourses that posited gymnastic or muscular activity as a viable treatment for disease.[192] The key distinction however, between the dancer/choreographer and the specialist in physical culture was that the kinesiatric, for example, sought to cure bodily disease while the modern dancer worked chiefly upon the transformation of inner character.[193]

Regardless of the specific discipline within which movement was implicated however, the early modern era in the United States was characterized by an understanding of mobility in general as both "expressive and operative."[194] Moreover, many of the discourses that emerged out of the writings of dancers, choreographers and practitioners of physical culture during this era point to a particular preoccupation with the reintegration of the psychophysical matrix of the human being. Aiming at the recomposition of the human, several physical practices including reiterations of Delsarte, Rudolph Steiner's Eurythmy, Gurdjieff's sacred dance and early twentieth century articulations of postural yoga[195] promised that cultivation of the physical body could offer integration of the personality. In brief, the notion that that which had been dissembled by modernity's frantic pace could be made whole again and reintegrated through any number of physical practices claimed centre stage between the late nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth.

In fact, as Schwartz reminds, in response to this aesthetic of recomposition, several inventions patented during this period served to remind that "bodies could be made (or made to appear) whole and mobile if only one understood the principles of rhythm."[196] Whether it was the continuous rhythms of the roller coaster, the zipper, the escalator, the motion picture camera and projector, or the conveyor belt, motion was positioned as the crucial element that could connect the chaotic disarray of modernity's dislocated parts. In this vein, the experiments of Hungarian dancer and theorist Rudolf von Laban (1879-1958) likewise aimed to demonstrate that the practices of dance could render movement efficient, thereby improving assembly line productivity by smoothing transitions.[197] One might argue that it was in response to this growing appreciation of fluid, pliable motion that evolving transnational iterations of modern postural yoga began to prize the lithe, supple body; the fluid, flexible body was both antidote to modernity and the metonym of industrial efficiency.

Corroborating the increasing importance of psychophysical reintegration in the matrix of physical culture in the early twentieth century, philosopher Gilles Deleuze has postulated that ideas of personal transformation were strongly tied to stillness as the force that could initiate the "recomposition of the whole."[198] In *Cinema 1: The Movement Image,* Deleuze details the ascendency of the still pose during this

era, and the concomitant attention given to static postures thought to be gateways to actualizing the transcendent.

In turn, it was understood that society as a whole might benefit from those whose psyches had been recomposed through the practice of such poses. In this way, practices that advocated posing or impersonation (such as the practices of American forms of Delsarte and postural yoga[199]) were perceived as integral to the remediation and transformation of the human.

There were however, alternatives to movement models that proposed the still pose as an actualization of the eternal and originary. In this vein, Deleuze cites Fred Astaire and Charlie Chaplin as among those movement artists whose exploration of the possibilities of time and the body can be construed as 'modern.' In other words, as celebrities whose motions were captured on film in the early twentieth century, the bodies of Chaplin and Astaire were the end result of a philosophical construction of modernity that saw time itself as the stitching together of a number of immanent, equidistant moments, rather than as a continuous whole.

By extension, Deleuze points out that modernity itself might be characterized by this vision of movement as represented in early cinema as a series of immanent "any-instant-whatevers,"[200] rather than the emphasis on the still pose punctuated by movement. In its understanding of movement as the combination of "immanent material elements,"[201] cinema, (which stood in stark contrast to dance during this period), was the descendent of several revolutionary shifts that rendered movement mechanically separable and fragmented, and as a result, enabled time to be understood as an independent variable.[202] By extension, Deleuze cites Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Newton and Leibniz as the instigators of this vision of modernity as a "mechanical succession of instants,"[203] which forged an aesthetic that would replace what had been in Delsarte[204] and other forms, an understanding of movement as the actualization of a transcendent pose.

Notably, the reinvention of Delsarte techniques under Stebbins that had taken America by storm in the late nineteenth century was made possible by the practice of a series of drills that deployed the still pose as a method of transforming the self. A hybrid of a number of diverse artistic influences and esoteric

ideals, Stebbins' drills promised young American women self-improvement and transformation through vivifications of remote, inanimate personages depicted in classical Greek and Roman statues. This 'impersonation' if you will, of the ideal forms of Greek and Roman statuary was described in her 1893 publication *Dynamic Breathing and Harmonic Gymnastics*, which incorporated ancient "yogic breathing techniques"[205] as part of an essential and repetitive disciplinary strategy in which poses were dynamically embodied and emulated in order to clear the body's channels: "The training aims at freedom of the soul...all bodily grace must flow from an inner source; but the channels may be choked, and a system of training is necessary to free those channels."[206]

In her adaptations of Delsarte as a "sacred gymnastics"[207] whose drills provided benefits unavailable in forms of classical European dance, Stebbins distanced herself from the lofty world of theatrical dance, which she suggested did little to improve one's demeanour or social standing. Instead, Stebbins crafted her techniques of posing to appeal to the performance of ordinary social graces in America. In her words, "a dance master rarely can, or rarely does teach a boy or girl to walk well."[208]

The implied benefit of Delsarte walking drills in order to improve the average American's social graces and "walk like the nobles"[209] points to an articulation of the modern, social function of movement training: the development of an American identity. In her drill book *Society Gymnastics and Voice Culture Adapted from the Delsarte System*, suitably subtitled *A Book of Physical Training for All Persons of Culture*, Stebbins dispenses ideals of embodied etiquette not unlike those commonly encountered in sixteenth century European dance manuals. In drill lesson VI entitled 'Pivoting, Courtesying and Kneeling," Stebbins writes:

> Sink toward the floor by slowly bending the backward knee... Rise slowly to an erect posture and bring the feet together. The courtesy is a reverence or form of prostration. It says pantomimically: "I humble myself before you; your greatness crushes me." The degree of prostration should be proportionate to the rank of the person before whom the obeisance is made.[210]

Seen in historical context, Stebbins' effort to affirm social identity through a systematic rehabilitation of movement and manner suggests Delsarte drill in America carried the social function of nation-building, and asserted the ideals of a newly-independent America. As a former pupil of Stebbins,

St. Denis in turn, championed the movement vocabulary of the still pose as a technique for the reintegration of the person, and the regeneration of the Whole. Exemplifying an approach to movement that Deleuze considered antithetical to modernity, St. Denis' choreographic output in general and her depiction of the static renunciate in *The Yogi* was profoundly shaped by the transformative practices of still posing that she had learned through her mentor, Genevieve Stebbins.[211]

As the three ensuing segments will examine in greater detail, St. Denis' choreographic iterations of remote others can be traced to those imperialist ideals embedded within the 'statue posing' of American adaptations of Delsarte wherein posing as another was believed to elicit the authentic self.[212] Yet, where Stebbins' sacred gymnastics aimed at the vivification of inanimate statues and/or mythical beings, St. Denis' choreographic output foregrounded the impersonation of foreign, exotic others (considered equally remote from the human), whose allegorized forms could be hijacked, their still poses used to transform ordinary citizens into transcendent beings. Thus, replacing Delsarte's imitation of statuesque nobles with loftier ideals, St. Denis advocated that one should "learn to walk like Gods instead of shuffling and stumbling like mortals."[213] In this process, St. Denis proposed that America and its citizens might be renewed and remodelled as beings that had surpassed the human.

4.6 Ruth St. Denis: Impersonation and the Shadow of Illegitimacy

Ruth St. Denis' "storehouse of guises"[214] drew upon a performance heritage that included the practices of American Delsarte in which 'others' perceived as remote from the human were used not only to the ends of self-invention, but to elicit identity renewals of the collective. However, as previously described, impersonations of peripheral others were hardly isolated to the practices of Delsarte. In fact, as several theatre and dance historians have noted, fraudulently embodying the other was part and parcel of the Vaudeville tradition in which St. Denis had begun her career.[215] As Shelton has remarked, "imposters were a time-honored tradition in the American theatre,"[216] and it was little surprise that St. Denis' choreographic techniques drew from a confluence of popular discourses in dance and theatre wherein "hypocrisy by another name was showmanship."[217]

Authenticity was therefore hardly the point of St. Denis' extravagant impersonations of exotic others.[218] Instead, as dance historian Deborah Jowitt has identified, St. Denis' methods relied on the creation of a catalog of personas from which she could ideate imaginary and transcendent "other selves."[219] The presence of these oriental surrogates (several of which can be categorized as nonhuman based on their exclusion from legal recognition in America) enabled St. Denis to address the rights and freedoms of middle-class, white women in America, while simultaneously overlooking the legal recognitions of those she emulated. For as historian Priya Srinivasan rightly argues, despite whatever transformative power her impersonations may have offered modern spectators, St. Denis' shrewd representations of otherness that legitimated her eventual appraisal as a pioneer of modern dance can only be interpreted in light of "state issued racist immigration acts"[220] that prevented Asian bodies from entering America.

Was St. Denis, however, aware of the political implications of her dramatic impersonations? Certainly, it is a curious fact that her writings betray an apprehension about the pretense; there is a hint of regret about the falsity of these embodiments that transmogrified her into "a something or somebody else."[221] Here, one might pause and once again look at the statement that opened this chapter in order to consider whether St. Denis was in fact an enthusiastic proponent of her mimetic methods. Or, was she instead a reluctant 'poser,' with her share of misgivings about the performance techniques that guaranteed her commercial and artistic ascent?

> One of the bitterest disappointments of my career is that I had to be an Indian - a Japanese - a statue – a something or somebody else - before the public would give me what I craved…[222]

If St. Denis subscribed to the adage of 'faking it to make it,' by her own account, the performance of artistic fraudulence came at a cost, and was accompanied by some measure of regret. This expression of disappointment being somewhat rare in her archival writings between 1906 and 1908, the remark's existence is a reminder that one cannot attempt a coherent or complete reading of St. Denis' work (or that of any choreographer) without taking into consideration the sociopolitical and affective realities that contextualize its creation.

In other words, it would be a mistake to presume that Ruth St. Denis' sustained use of dramatic impersonation over the course of her choreographic oeuvre can be understood through a monolithic examination of the popularity of fraud in modern performance. Rather, in deconstructing St. Denis' rampant use of remote others in her impersonations, the substrata of her contradictory values must be addressed, her affective complexities unearthed.

This segment proposes that St. Denis' desire to access what she called a state of "complete being,"[223] through the embodiment of the other originated in a genuine longing to revise her own personal identity. By this, I do not make reference to the numerous studies that have devoted attention to St. Denis' partnership in the discourses of suffrage that accompanied first wave American feminism between 1845 and 1865.[224] Instead, I am proposing that St. Denis' repeated experiments in manufacturing a best self out of a half-imagined, mostly untrue, caricatured, fraudulent other, had their roots in her own struggles and desires for legitimacy and legal recognition.

Ruth St. Denis was born in New Jersey on January 20, 1879, to her physician-mother Ruth Emma Hull Dennis, and Thomas L. Dennis, a machinist and inventor. Born illegitimate, historians disclose that St. Denis deliberately obscured her date of birth in an attempt to run from the long shadows that had haunted the family's reputation. As St. Denis recorded in her diary, her affective landscape had been profoundly shaped by the tremulous foundations of her childhood:

> I have always the feeling that I am working under the idea of illegitimacy or disorder. That is one reason why I never have the feeling of having accomplished anything - or having anything under my feet.[225]

Indeed, in New England of the late 1800s, the assignment of illegitimacy to a child was a semantic indicator of social and political boundaries that had been transgressed.[226] A term used to designate an outsider, the illegitimate child was understood as tantamount to a fraud, a creature born without name, place and in many cases, social or legal recognition. Indeed, St. Denis' illegitimacy was a controversy that haunted the St. Denis family, and the relocations made necessary by the family's unconventional lifestyle (along with the circumstances surrounding her birth) prompted St. Denis to

reinterpret the instability of her early years as interventions into her identity, declaring herself, even at a young age, a "rebel to the law."[227]

In this vein, St. Denis' persistent choreographic constructions of surrogate, peripheral others whose bodies could be hijacked in myriad, morphologically arbitrary performances of difference, might be understood as representative of efforts to restructure her personal identity and counter the narratives of illegitimacy that had haunted her upbringing. Given the social and political implications of being assigned the status of a child misbegotten, it is worth considering whether St. Denis' experiments in difference formed part of a broad, overarching preoccupation with identity theft [228] as a means of renovating the self.

Precedents set within European theatrical culture certainly announced that dramatic impersonations might enable the reinvention of identity for those who suffered the social, political and legal ramifications of illegitimacy. Indeed, as the eighteenth century writer/courtesan Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793) exposed, identity theft could be a potent tool, a transformative theatrical technique that could be indefinitely repeated, used to fashion identity and exploit the potential of political and social reinvention through public performance. While there is little evidence to suggest that de Gouges (who was author of several plays, political essays and letters), was any kind of influence on St. Denis, there is nonetheless good reason to recall de Gouges' extraordinary influence on the discipline of performance in general, which she argued was at once political and theatrical, and inextricably tied to identity.

Like St. Denis, the formidable virago de Gouges was born an illegitimate child of a French nobleman, and was raised by a butcher father, and a mother whose family had worked in the service of the local aristocracy in Montauban, France.[229] In a series of personal and political renewals, de Gouges, whose former name was Marie Gouze, used her own ambiguous status as an illegitimate child and courtesan to enter the world of the French literary salon and in the process, the ranks of revolutionary discourse. In constructing a legitimate self out of an illegible past, de Gouges' fictionalized account of her own life narrated in *Memoir of Madame de Valmont* brazenly established a new genealogy, fashioning a self-identity that enabled her access to the socially powerful, and gave her the ability to pursue her ambitions as a writer. It was through the assumption of an identity unknown, and the creation of a

surrogate (albeit aristocratic) second self, that de Gouges legitimately entered the world of French revolutionary discourse, becoming an outspoken voice for democracy and egalitarianism.

De Gouges is remembered chiefly within dramatic performance however, for her provocative public performances of self-invention that made explicit the possibility for transmogrification through theatrical spectacles dedicated to represent those deemed as 'other,' beyond the ken of the normative during the post-revolutionary French republic.[230] In this sense, de Gouges herself acknowledged the extent to which impersonation was central in her project to transform not only her own life story, but also the political narrative of the French nation.[231] In this way, de Gouges' performative self-representations were acts of invention that invited legitimacy to be conferred on the illegitimate. Likewise, de Gouges (like St. Denis who trod in her footsteps) proposed that the identity of an individual was inextricably tied to the resurrection and recomposition of the whole.[232]

And while one must remain cognizant of the numerous differences that animate these two examples, the fact that both St. Denis and de Gouges sought techniques that supported the impersonation of 'others' as part of a greater process of self-invention points to the possibility that both women recognized performance as a tactic that could mitigate the sociopolitical and economic disadvantages of illegitimacy. Yet, unlike De Gouges who often hijacked identities based on imaginary figures, St. Denis turned to the representation of living historical others, who were frequently not afforded the chance to represent themselves. That is to say, by addressing those aspects of her birth which placed her "outside the social norm,"[233] St. Denis' repeated impersonations of otherness in *Radha* (1906), *Cobra*, *Incense* or *The Yogi* (1906-07) and *Egypta* (1910), emulated historical others whose state-legislated absence would legitimate and reinforce her own presence and authority within the dance milieu.

Moreover, it must be noted that despite the strong possibility that St. Denis learned the distinguishing features of the typologies she represented (for instance, of the Nautch dancer) from studying the dances of those artists she met at Coney Island,[234] St. Denis herself made little acknowledgement of her choreographic sources. As the following excerpt suggests, she appeared oblivious to the fact that her own appropriations of movement vocabularies from other cultures were but

imitations. St. Denis in fact, felt that the materials she had "collected"[235] from around the globe were far from second-hand, representing instead her unique 'discoveries' that would rehabilitate those "repetitive systems of imitative techniques"[236] that she believed were the hallmark of dance in America. Accordingly referring to herself as the "originator of the Ethnologic or Interracial dance forms here in America,"[237] St. Denis positioned her ethnographic collections not as imitations, but as the foundations of a colonial 'world dance' that had carefully collected and curated the best of all movement practices across the globe:

> Today in her studio, Ruth St. Denis is deeply interested in what might be called "The Women's Movement" in America, her own special offering being called "Balanced Government." Meanwhile she has all of the dance world's known collected material from practically every race and culture. She feels that this information should be given to the young dancers of America and not merely the repetitious systems of imitative techniques which are largely the commerce of dancing schools.[238]

In this pavilion of dance, St. Denis envisioned American dance as a kind of yoga, a transformative practice designed for a level of postural and psychological rehabilitation that surpassed the offerings of commercial dance schools in America. Critically however, St. Denis reasoned that her collection no longer belonged to the culture from which she had claimed it, just as she postulated that her hijackings of numerous others were in fact not imitations, but rather pioneering attempts at moulding a new American psychospiritual culture.

One might surmise that the emphasis on transformation in St. Denis' repertoire of collected techniques similarly stemmed from the circumstances surrounding her birth that left her with the strong sense that gaining legitimacy or status as a recognized insider required not just an imitation of "someone or something other"[239] than herself, but rather an actual transformation of that self. In fact, as a curious note handwritten by St. Denis contained in the UCLA archives reveals, her interpretation of the soteriological benefit of dance closely overlaps with the transformative discourses she would have encountered in yogic practice.[240]

Accordingly, in framing dance as a tool for salvific transmogrification, St. Denis' choreographic impersonations were more akin to *imitatio dei* than they were simple vivifications of the 'other.' In her quest to transform the psychophysical matrix of the American citizen, St. Denis not only elaborated on the

techniques of statue-posing she had originally encountered in American reiterations of Delsarte, but as the following excerpt confirms, appropriated those discourses (and peripheral typologies) she encountered in forms of yoga and South Asian dance:

> As we 'change' our image into the image of God
> we change the 2 into 1 substance thus as in heaven as on earth, the spirit of
> revelation is the practice of truth…[241]

Michael Taussig has argued that the benefit of such impersonations and methectical embodiments is the "magic of this mimetic process[242] to give power to the portrayer over the thing that is portrayed," as if there were protection from the powers of the thing being mimicked through the physicality of embodied performance. To put it otherwise, if mimesis is "to get hold of something by means of its likeness,"[243] then St. Denis' portrayal of the image of Isis for *Eygpta* or the yogi in her choreography *The Yogi*, constitutes what Taussig calls a two-layered process involving both the copying or imitation and the actual sensuous connection between the "body of the perceiver and the perceived."[244] Replicating or making fraudulent copies of others in this way, signifies more than a powerful healing ritual or an effort to defend oneself against an outside attacker; instead, it is an act of capturing or remotely sensing an 'other.' Making a copy is in this way, a physical bid for power whereby one might expand one's "stable of spirit-powers"[245] beyond the human.

According to Taussig's theory, one might consider that techniques of impersonating remote others preoccupied St. Denis's imagination precisely because these interstitial identities offered a tangible means of acquiring or expanding worldly power. Alternatively, it is possible that the appeal of embodying the nonhuman was as French novelist Marcel Proust has written, an attempt to discover the furthest extremity to which she might be able to bring her body and her identity, "without it collapsing entirely."[246] Taken to this extreme, "the art of disguise"[247] implied in St. Denis' impersonations were perhaps experiments in surpassing the nagging sense of her own illegitimate identity and becoming "something more than that,"[248] as she aimed at "a complete transformation of the personality."[249]

Indeed, it was in presenting dance as unique amongst the arts in its ability to elicit such transformations that St. Denis reconfigured modern American dance as a religious practice designed to

illustrate the "drama of the human struggle against materiality."[250] As she confirmed in 1939, the limits of the human and the potential to exceed it through becoming a "creature set apart from time and space"[251] was the crux of her choreographic purpose:

> My final use to art is impersonal, for when I dance I am really an abstraction, a creature set apart from time and space, unrelated to human things in the ordinary sense. I feel a certain limitless state of being, a curious unending movement not only of my dance, but of my very being. I could go on and on without cessation, subject only to the necessary limits of the body.[252]

Yet, for St. Denis, this desire for personal legitimation and the soul's emancipation was by virtue of her training in Delsarte and yoga, necessarily connected to a transformation of the greater, communal whole. In this way, St. Denis' choreographic iteration of the yogi differed from those representations of the yogi-fakir complex presented by the SAF or in Eyton's "The Dancing Fakir," and was critical in articulating the broad mission of her choreographic work: to reconstruct the American nation's religious practices as a mirror image of the reintegrated American citizen.

4.7 *The Yogi* (1908): A Still Life in Modern America

> The Yogi was entirely unlike the popular conception of a dance. It was an adventure and a risk; yet so much of my own spiritual longing had gone into its composition that I was forced to show it to the public. But could I hold a sophisticated and critical, although sympathetic audience by a single mood, practically devoid of movement?[253]

"Superficially the most simple and psychologically the most profound of her dances,"[254] St. Denis' *The Yogi* (1908)[255] presented a striking contrast to the baroque, spiralling sensuality of *Radha* (1905), that choreographic depiction of a Hindu goddess that had won the hearts of American spectators three years earlier. Widely considered "her most rigorous philosophical exploration in dance,"[256] St. Denis' choreography for *The Yogi* was in fact, a study in stillness, an homage to her religious preoccupations with the static body, a motif that she was to revive in her embodiments of the tranquil Madonna in her later years (1930-1968).[257] In this sense, *The Yogi* was an early iteration of St. Denis' ambitions to reinvent dance as a spiritual act in America through recruiting the static power of transcendent figures and religious icons.[258]

Choreographed while still in Germany,[259] St. Denis acknowledged that the dance presented a deviation from "the popular conception of a dance,"[260] its physical reticence being part of an overarching attempt to represent the philosophical ideals of yoga to which she had recently been introduced. In fact, according to historian Suzanne Shelton, the creation of *The Yogi* followed a protracted bout of touring in Europe for St. Denis, from which she had returned depressed and in a state of exhaustion. Feeling a retreat might be in order, by 1906, St. Denis (exhuming a familiar leitmotif of struggle with her personal and professional identity) lamented, "It seems I have been living other people's lives rather than my own."[261]

It was perhaps as antidote to the relentless pace of her touring schedule that St. Denis depicted the inert figure of the yogi as symbolic of this period of contemplative study, as homologous with her own brief respite from public performance. By extension, St. Denis' aspirations turned towards the possibility of a religious awakening, an illumination that might be born out of "physical discipline" and the "dominion which comes from the sense of bodily control" that she associated with dance and physical culture. As a consequence, St. Denis' choreography during this period aimed at reproducing through dance the very psychic regenerations associated with the typology of the Hindu renunciate.

> During these months of playing, my surplus energies were very busy with two new Indian dances which were beginning to take shape. One was a Nautch scene, a fragment left over from the early days of Radha. The other, which I called the Yogi, was a natural flowering of my study of Yoga. This complex and highly developed concentration upon the development of the human personality in terms of spiritual and physical discipline had appealed to me strongly. As a dancer, intensely aware of the dominion which comes from the sense of bodily control, I was stirred to find that India had indeed given profound thought to this question. Perhaps in this dance of the Yogi, more than in Radha or any other I had ever done, is shown my inescapable necessity to manifest in outward form that state of consciousness which attained a certain intensity of illumination.[262]

In choreographic terms, the representation of the yogi depended crucially on the depiction of his physical restraint, his immobility. Archival recollections sourced at the New York Public Library and UCLA certainly corroborate this, as does Shelton's description of the dance which foregrounds the choreography's minimal motions, largely built around the iconography[263] of a yogi cross-legged in seated

meditation, the only dramatic gesture in the dance being one of "rising to full height"[264] with "one arm staggered overhead"[265] amid a transcendent exit from the world.

As St. Denis herself reflected in remarks captured in a recording held at the New York Public Library, the yogi's "slow walk,"[266] his bare arms gesturing in praise of Siva and his practice of seated meditation comprised the few gestures made in a dance overwhelmingly characterized by an articulation of the body in stable, fixed postures.[267] According to St. Denis, the choreography depicted a hermetic yogi that descends from the mountains, a creature whose measured thoughts rising "in a straight line"[268] had been disciplined to the ends of obliterating all human conditioning:[269]

> I always speak with a great deal of emotion about this yogi. This is the walk….This free walk that I first saw in India on the part of a yogi coming down from the mountains. And then I turned to Ted and I said, "Ted, there is the *only* free soul I have ever seen." And this gives a little of that spirit of that yogi. He is supposed to be saying, "SIVA! SIVA! SIVA!" as I go up with the hands in a kind of spiral. This little one-stringed instrument is what they carry. And now he is, in a moment, going into meditation. This represents the mental discipline of the yogi in his meditation. His thoughts are rising in a straight line and they are under control. And now to the other side, his thoughts are going wide from his mind, out into the universe, so that he is (hesitates) in my language of Hindu philosophy, he is saying, "I AM BRAHMAN." It's like a trance, Now he is coming out of his trance and he is going back up into his mountains and saying, "SIVA! SIVAA!!
> That's it. Now this is the exit.[270]

Not unlike the fixed nature of the still-life paintings that were the hallmark of the French impressionist Paul Cézanne (who died in 1906, two years before *The Yogi* premiered), it was *The Yogi's* austerity, its utter simplicity of form and emphasis on purification that defined its singular appeal for numerous spectators including Austrian novelist, librettist and poet Hugo Laurenz August Hofmann von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929), who praised the choreography's philosophical power.[271] Much of the minimalist aesthetic articulated within the piece is observable from photographs that remain within the Denishawn Collection at the New York Public Library.

Spectator response to this choreography within America, however, was muted. One might surmise that one of the possible causes for this reticent response from American audiences may have derived from *The Yogi's* reversal of popular performance idioms that represented the yogi as a fake.[272] It is also equally possible that while American audiences appreciated the stylized, ascetic quality of the

dance and the Delsartean qualities of its mystical protagonist, they far preferred St. Denis' more vigorous choreographies, such as the dynamic *Nautch* (1906), in which "for once she threw asceticism to the winds."[273]

Better appreciated by German audiences whose tastes leaned towards the more scholarly of her presentations,[274] St. Denis' still portrait of the yogi represented a significant shift in her own aesthetic sensibilities which had (up to that point) been largely informed by popular entertainments. Emblematic of what she cited as the "natural flowering of my study of yoga,"[275] St. Denis's foray into the still-life of *The Yogi* represented an attempt to physically recreate and display those techniques of psychophysical reintegration that she had read about in publications on yoga.

In 1908, St. Denis travelled to meet Swami Paramananda in Surrey, UK.[276] Paramananda's guru was the much-celebrated Swami Vivekananda, whose talks at the World Parliament of Religions in 1893 had captured the imagination of artists and intellectuals in late nineteenth-century America. Vivekananda's powerful oratorical skills played no small role in the dissemination of yoga in America; as Shelton has observed, it is quite likely that Ruth's mother in fact may have heard Vivekananda speak around this time.[277] However, it was Vivekananda's publication of *Raja Yoga* (1896) and its powerful reworking of yoga as an empirically verifiable practice of self-observation that cemented his influence on the development of yoga's modern transnational forms.

Central to Vivekananda's teachings was the canonizing of a 'classical' yoga that proceeded without interruption from putative ancient roots.[278] By extension, Vivekananda's widespread influence shaped a growing dichotomy that separated the embodied rituals and performances of Hatha yogis (which Vivekananda maligned as primarily physical and devoid of spiritual benefits of any real note)[279] from the contemplative practices given priority in his *Raja Yoga*. In actively denigrating vigorous, or "forceful" forms of Hatha yoga, Vivekananda diminished 'gymnastic' elements of its performance, emphasizing that despite the presence of physicality in yoga practice, "the main in it is mental."[280]

In its conscious construction of an uninterrupted lineage of a classical yoga, Vivekananda's *Raja Yoga* was an unidentifiable concoction, a confounding miscellany of neo-Vedanta and diverse esoteric

beliefs both eastern and western, combined with an "empirical epistemology, accessible to scientific and proprioceptive scrutiny."[281] Moreover, as St. Denis' writings additionally reveal, this iteration of classical yoga was hardly static in her own work, being continually reframed through the prism of Christian Science, just as Christian Science itself [282] was being reshaped by newly circulating redactions of the Bhagavad Gita.[283]

As Paramananda's pupil,[284] St. Denis inherited Vivekananda's valorization of the practices of the mind and spirit over those of the body, as well as a preference for the syncretic outlook proposed in *Raja Yoga*. Over the course of her choreographic career, she maintained a similarly plastic approach to her iteration of yogic principles, borrowing from numerous unrelated sources as she redefined American dance as a spiritual practice. In fact, as she was to enthusiastically remark of *Radha*, her Neo-Vedantic perspective offered no apologies for a dance choreographed "about a Hindu goddess dancing a Buddhist concept in a Jain temple."[285] Not surprisingly, St. Denis' choreography for *The Yogi* was formulated in this same indistinct stew of discourses, its monolithic portrait of a yogi the product of a casual miscellany of readings of the *Bhagavad Gita*, the teachings of Christian Science, Delsarte movement practices, "yoga exercises"[286] and the iconography of Saivism.[287]

Of these diverse discourses and practices collocated in *The Yogi*, it was the dance's physical restraint (reminiscent of the emphasis on still postures in Stebbins' Delsarte) that provided St. Denis with the movement vocabulary necessary to capture the 'essence' of the yogi. Dance historians have accordingly suggested that the dance's static structures derived from Delsarte, the "yogi's various postures and gestures suggesting his inward spiritual state...the discipline of his body and mind."[288] Certainly, as has been clarified elsewhere in this chapter, the still pose as derived from Stebbins' variant of Delsarte (which may itself have been closely linked to developing forms of transnational postural yoga) was closely associated with the body that had transcended its conditions, metonymic with the eternal, the superhuman.

As a result of the extraordinary confluence of influences that informed St. Denis' choreographic interests at this time, her vision of the yogi bore little resemblance to those depictions of fraudulent

tricksters and street performers in popular performance more generally. Instead, consonant with synchronous constructions of a classical yoga, St. Denis presented a sedentary, purified and fossilized vision and sensibility of the yogi-fakir complex which, as St. Denis herself had acknowledged, stood to benefit from such a revision given that the typology had been damaged as the result of "a number of fake yogi, trading on women's leisure and curiosity."[289]

Despite her attempt to remedy and reconstruct the yogi as authentic and transcendent, the choreographic technique deployed in order to achieve this essentialized vision was nonetheless a repetition of her trademark preoccupation with impersonation as a means of transformation. Notably, the tendency to hijack remote, exotic others that had characterized the arsenal of her performance techniques since *Radha* continued to play a central role in her representation of the yogi.

Perhaps this emphasis on impersonation derived in part from her work in the Vaudeville circuit.[290] Certainly, in St. Denis' early writings, such as her oft-cited essay regarding her encounter with the Egyptian goddess Isis through the iconography of a cigarette poster, we find evidence of the importance she afforded to performing the "living statue"[291] as if it were tantamount to performing divinity.[292] However, it is equally possible that St. Denis realized that discourses of fraud and impersonation already inhabited the yogic corpus such that she could, perhaps in a kind of homage, draw from its existing tropes. As previously described, the practice of impersonation has deep roots in the yogic traditions by way of Nāth rituals in which imitations of Śiva designed to realize second-Śivahood were predicated on impersonations or forgeries of the 'other' that could transmogrify the practitioner, enabling a recognition of self as the deity. Given that similar approaches to mimesis were enacted in numerous related South Asian performance traditions,[293] one might surmise (in keeping with the careful documentation of historian Srinivasan), that St. Denis' close contact with dancers who performed at Coney Island may have informed her own approach to impersonation as a transformative process.

The still pose as conceived by St. Denis likewise foregrounded the importance of mirroring the other, of impersonation as a salient means of experiencing the self as 'macranthropic.'[294] In other words, it is possible that the performance of stillness in the guise of yoga asanas or statue-posing as presented by

several dancers (such as Stebbins, St. Denis or Blanche de Vries)[295] in the early twentieth century, drew from scholarly understandings of the inert body, as performed in yoga, as a means of embodying the self as 'other,' the self that could be re-cognized as giganticized and transcendent.

Additionally, it is possible to interpret this emphasis on the still pose as the inheritance of scholarly understandings of yoga that proposed movement as characteristic of the human being (as Mircea Eliade explained in the 1930s), while the inert body, as exemplified in classical yoga's postures and practices of seated meditation, was explicitly associated with the creation of a new, superhuman order of being. In philosophical terms, the immediate purpose of performing stillness through yoga poses was to abolish any conformity to the basis of the human condition. The static posture in its basic refusal to move,[296] constituted a reversal of the order of materiality in the same way that prāṇāyāma (yogic breathing techniques), intervened in life through "the arrest, the suspension" of respiration.[297]

> What is certain is that the motionless, hieratic position of the body imitates some other condition than the human; the yogin in the state of asana can be homologized with a plant or sacred statue; under no circumstances can he be homologized with man qua man, who, by definition, is mobile, agitated, unrhythmic.[298]

Certainly, a similar strategy of using the static figure (associated variously with the non/superhuman) would be repeated time and again in St. Denis' choreographic work. From *Egypta* (1910), which provided her the opportunity to audaciously resurrect what she knew to be a mass produced image of an Egyptian goddess, to the transcendent, static figure of the yogi and her Madonnas of later years, St. Denis impersonated not just the exotic other (i.e. geographically and culturally remote), but the static other (removed from time and being), enabling the transformation and reintegration of the American person into what she theorized would be a transcendent "complete being."[299]

In this way, one might propose that as an early proponent of yoga as a form of physical exercise in America, Ruth St. Denis understood that the performance of āsana was not simply an imitation of "the gestures and sufferings of the divinity,"[300] but rather, that the practice of yogic stillness was a process of methectically embodying (and thereby becoming) that which one has mirrored. As St. Denis' essay "The Divine Mirror" (1920) confirms, St. Denis would continue to exploit impersonations of the static other as

a kind of mirror for the self, a process that she believed would elicit a perfected, 'macranthropic' being. In this way, St. Denis' writings persisted in describing embodiments of the other through the verbiage of "mirroring" into the 1930s: "To cease from thy searching in the world, and to begin the inward journey to the vast spaces of the land of Mind. There you will come to the great mountain of vision. On top of it, is the Divine Mirror, which will reflect thine own perfection."[301]

As her later work with Christian Madonnas reveals, the still-life remained metonymic with the divine in St. Denis' choreographic sensibility into her later life, the technique of still-posing foregrounded for its ability to facilitate the integration of subject and object, enabling the self to become recognized as undifferentiated from the other. In this fashion, whether on account of her inheritance of Stebbins' techniques of statue-posing, the teachings of Vivekananda or even the influence of fraud bequeathed by her Vaudeville training, the impersonation of the 'still-life' through static postures and remote icons held a position of importance in St. Denis' arsenal of choreographic techniques. It was the single best way to represent and realize the human as transcendent not only of identity, but of being altogether.

Concomitant with her choreographic explorations of the still-life, St. Denis also reframed her own role as a "teacher of physical culture,"[302] under whose careful instruction a student might achieve such transcendence. Articulating that the role of spiritual guide, physical instructor and choreographer were intertwined, she postulated that each of these roles was designed to enable a transformation of the self through the cultivation of a "streamlined,"[303] statuesque body. In this way, St. Denis proposed that both the exercises of yoga and dance shared similar goals, each seeking a physicality that had been distilled, simplified and stabilized to the ends of a spiritual transformation. In an essay entitled "Women's Career of Leisure Time," St. Denis details that the body's renovation may be achieved through the execution of barre exercises,

> …spend a small amount hunting up a dancing teacher and tell her that you want to start making over your body this season, in place of redecorating your house, or getting a new car. To streamline your body will not cost nearly as much, and you will bless me for telling you, all the rest of your life.[304]

Curiously, in the same essay, St. Denis conflates barre exercises with yogic exercises, thereby drawing a parallel between emancipatory discourses of yoga and the practices of dance in America. Referring to the "wise men of India,"[305] (presumably yogis) St. Denis also reminds that the purpose of streamlining the body through the performance of a series of exercises called the "daily dozen"[306] is to enable a reversal of the processes of being, most notably to stop time altogether. Thus, positing that performing such "slow motion"[307] exercises would confer upon the practitioner an ageless existence akin to that described in James Hilton's novel *Lost Horizon* (1933), St. Denis cemented the association not just between yoga and eternal youth (a homology that itself carries a long history) but between modern dance, eternal life and the discourses of yoga:

> I learned that the daily dozen is not our invention at all. The wise men of India have been doing their daily dozen for thousands of years — for they claim that a clear mind requires a sound, healthy body. Now the chief difference between the Indian exercises and what we call a daily dozen is that they performed them much more slowly and with much more concentration on deep, rhythmic breathing. These slow motion exercises work so well that they tell you in India that some of the wise men living in the clear air of the foothills of the Himalayas are over two hundred years old, today. Perhaps you've read James Hilton's famous book about such miraculous survivals, Lost Horizon. (It's being made into a movie, by the way) So don't think you have to be violent about your daily dozen or work up a perspiration. Do your daily dozen slowly, if you want to, but do them. It will only take a few minutes of your time each day — but it gives you in return the most precious of all nature's gifts — a beautiful and healthy body.[308]

It is worth noting the preceding passage's emphasis on the slowing of the processes of the body, and its instruction to disregard any impulse to vigorous motion that might "work up a perspiration."[309] Here too, St. Denis' framing of yogic exercises as a collection of radical, profoundly oppositional, anti-life practices,[310] share overlaps with her earlier iteration of the still pose in *The Yogi* as a kind of yogic arrest,[311] a state that represents invulnerability to the binary oppositions of the world, an ascesis that transcends ordinary existence.[312]

In this sense, the study of yoga crucially reframed St. Denis' ideas about motion and the meaning of stillness within choreographic practice. Adopting the vision of stillness as transcendence that she inherited both from Delsarte and the discourses of classical yoga (which according to the research of historian Nancy Ruyter, may themselves have been intertwined),[313] St. Denis positioned the posed body,

rendered momentarily fixed as metonymic of the eternal and the real. Conversely, she also tended to display motion as homologous with the flux of materiality.

The significance of still posing as technique by which the human might be surpassed appealed to St. Denis, who conceived that the capacity of such reversals to liberate beings need not be restricted to individuals, but could service the needs of the nation, if not the world. Indeed, for St. Denis, yogic techniques that aimed at psychophysical reintegration were not limited to the individual, but aimed at a broader regeneration of the nation. In this way, St. Denis positioned the cessation of movement through static poses as a crucial component of the regenerative processes of the nation. Seeking to create her own form of bodily training that would transform Americans into ideal citizens of a spiritual empire that rivalled those of the past (Egypt, Greece and India),[314] St. Denis systematically turned to those discursive constructs that might aid in transplanting the spiritual knowledge of those golden, classical empires onto American soil.

4.8 Superbody, Superpower: Recomposing a Spiritual Empire Through the Figure of the Classical Yogi

Contained in the Ruth St. Denis archives at UCLA is a curious outline[315] of a ballet the pioneering dancer proposed entitled "The Lotus Temple of Self-Realization." In it, she vividly summarizes her desire to recreate America as a new spiritual empire. Likely written in the 1920s, the document, like many of St. Denis' choreographic proposals, is somewhat esoteric and impenetrable. Nonetheless, the roadmap provided by this essay is particularly revealing of St. Denis' appraisal of America as a spiritual nerve-centre, a nation whose transformation she believed could propel extraordinary and powerful global renewals. As a nation whose "inventive gifts"[316] she claimed, "are enabling the whole world to become unified,"[317] St. Denis positioned the nation's spiritual regeneration (which was itself the result of the yogic transformation of its individual citizens) as metonymic with global metamorphosis.

Hoping to regenerate American spirituality through a recreation of the illustrious spiritual empires of the past, St. Denis postulated an organizational scheme in which each nation was associated with a

microcosmic function and contribution, her vaulting pavilion carefully circumscribing the function and contribution of each of the nations included. Thus, describing a plan for a "temple"[318] that enacts "the soul's dramas of liberation,"[319] St. Denis' organizational matrix offered a symbolic representation of the "specializations"[320] through which each human being (as constituent parts of the nation) might be initiated and transformed. Egypt, St. Denis wrote, was the builder of cities, as Greece was the artist. India, symbolic of spiritual attainment was the "Religionist"[321] and America was situated as the "great civilizer."[322] Additionally, each nation was characterized by one of St. Denis' choreographed works.

In this context, St. Denis' articulation of America as a dominant power, best symbolized by her choreography, *Liberation*[323] merits greater attention. Alluding to the co-extensiveness of the surpassing individual with the all-powerful nation, the parallel drawn between the American nation and *Liberation* is provocatively followed by a subheading underneath the title of the dance that reads, "Man conquers Time and Space by Invention."[324] That America is explicitly depicted as liberation itself, and is positioned at the epicentre of modern invention certainly leads one to consider the possibility that the transgressive, nonhuman typologies recruited by St Denis, despite having been originally conceived as antidotes to modernity,[325] may by the 1920s and 30s have functioned instead to reify and accentuate America's modernity, its industrial power set in sharp relief by the presence of 'primitive' figures. The deployment of the yogi as a peripheral other would in this way have been intimately connected to her desire to reconstruct the United States as a spiritual superpower, the inheritor and cradle of the world's most important religious traditions.

As a page contained in Ruth St. Denis' publicity materials located in the UCLA archives confirms, St. Denis in fact set herself up to be understood as a critical player in the formation of a new America that would reveal itself to be a new spiritual superpower. Believing America to be in preparation for a "great event,"[326] she announced, "sky-scrapers and aeroplanes…are the beginning gestures of a vast spiritual consciousness:"[327]

> The young dancers of America from the farms, the little towns and the cities, are consciously and unconsciously preparing themselves for a great event.
> Ruth St. Denis who came from a little country town in New Jersey, who has attained fame and devotion, feels that her whole life has been a preparation for this idea. She has had many offers to remain abroad, in Asia and Europe, particularly Germany would have built her a theatre of her own, but she has always felt that sometime she would be used as a valuable instrument for the good of America. She has always believed a great army for beauty could be mobilized that would accomplish resistlessly a great thing for her country in the way of revealing to the Orient and to Europe the beauty and spirituality that lies deep in the heart of the American people. She has always resisted the criticism that is so insistent and so superficial that America is nothing but a commercial and materialistic nation. She has believed that sky-scrapers and aeroplanes are the by-products, - are the beginning gestures of a vast spiritual consciousness, dwelling in the people of America, compounded of all nations, that will finally bring a great revelation of new life to the world.[328]

Characterized by the kind of nationalist and even martial verbiage of mobilization that was the hallmark of the physical culture movement in several other countries at this time (including England, Germany and France),"[329] the publicity materials make explicit St. Denis' primary mission: to renew the American nation through its spiritual acumen. As the passage testifies, this "treasure"[330] would be mobilized by a "great army for beauty"[331] which would not only revitalize America, but perform its national power on the world stage, making it a spiritual leader in the eyes of the Orient and Europe, destinations St. Denis believed had been the former bastions of art, culture and the religious teachings of antiquity.

Equally significant in the passage, is the conflation of America's industrial progress with its spiritual reintegration and renewal. Here again, in contrast to her writings and choreographies produced in the early twentieth century, St. Denis' reflections in the 1950s evidence a positive evaluation of the modern enterprise. In these writings, modernity was not to be interpreted as evidence of the new world's materialism, but rather its thirst for renewal, its skyscrapers and aeroplanes the portent of a national spiritual consciousness in America. That the development of an authentically American form of religious dance and/or physical practice should be accompanied by discourses that positioned America as an emergent industrial power is further evidence that if St. Denis sought personal and political emancipation through her impersonations of the yogi (as scholars have suggested she so frequently did with her

impersonations of exotic others), they were hardly isolated to the individual, but rather, aimed at the religious and industrial regeneration of the whole nation.

More importantly, as the following passage makes explicit, this quest "to evolve a higher civilization"[332] and "a better human race"[333] relied on a mandate to integrate and recompose the east-west dichotomy (east as stillness, and the west as vigorous) into the heart of the modern, nationalist enterprise. Thus, resurrecting those discourses of stillness that had characterized her choreography of *The Yogi* in 1908, St. Denis calls for the need to develop the stillness of the east (symbolizing the eternal qualities of a pre-modern culture) with the mobility and "vigour"[334] of worldly existence in America (the west):

> My message primarily is to those artists and teachers and students everywhere who intuitively think in realms of the eternal and the enduring, who are capable of the spiritual stillness of the East as well as the vigor of the West. If we are to see a better human race emerge from this present welter of error it will be because we have returned to those deeper impulses of divinity within us which will give form to a truly divine dance and evolve a higher civilization.[335]

While the association of political power with mobility in the St. Denis oeuvre echoes findings detailed in previous chapters in this study,[336] what is even more striking is that St. Denis' desire to "evolve a higher civilization"[337] is predicated on those polarities of stillness and vigour that were so clearly foreshadowed many years earlier in *The Yogi*. As St. Denis herself wrote in the early twentieth century, the inspiration for *The Yogi* arose out of a desire to see the "perfect substance"[338] of India; that is, its perennial existence and its static, unshifting nature. Even here, St. Denis' vision of India as a nation, is akin to that of her yogi, eternal and immobile, a transcendent (and therefore fossilized) revelation of a great spiritual truth:

> And so our great tour of India began as was inevitable we hurried from one engagement, one city to another, with scarce time to catch more than a glimpse of Bombay and Delhi and the plains, the jungle, and with the feel rather than the sight of the great Himalayas looming over us. I find this in my journal coming from Quetta to Lahore on March 1:
> India, old, dying, haggard, homeless, wandering, blind, sick and deformed, dreaming of other and inner worlds, trying to think through to reality, existing invisibly, perfectly in the midst of shadows, wars, disease and death; India, very, very old, and eternally young, because thinking on eternity gives youth that is ever at its noon. A vision for a ballet rose in my mind. India is seen sitting in strengthless, piteous patience. The last fringe of her great manifestation. She begs for alms of the world. the alms of love, of understanding; she sits in the pitiless sun, swathed in her last rags of filth and tatters, and frail flesh. Time passes; enters a Yogi, young, beautiful, filled with divine passion. He gazes with his outer eyes at India and is sad. He then meditates rising higher and higher in the sweep of his vision of life. He penetrates deeper and deeper through the vales of Maya. One follows the stages of his thought and vision as one by one the ugly, blinding veils are lifted from the body of India, and slowly she rises to her full height, and is finally freed in her glorious being, radiant, subtle, beautiful, untouched by the swift movements of time. We see India through the eyes of her Yogi. We see her in perfect substance, and finally merging into the Brahma from which she came.[339]

Describing the Yogi (notice the capital Y) as a kind of liberator, who in his clear vision, is able to finally free India so that it might be seen "untouched by the swift movements of time,"[340] St. Denis' 'India' and 'the yogi' are equally fossilized forces of stillness that stand in contrast to the vigorous pace of the modern era. Here, as elsewhere, her vision of the yogi as a "free spirit"[341] generates a notably static typology detached from worldly concerns. Not unlike India itself, the yogi appears as a vision extracted from time and historical context, emerging out of the mountain ranges, only to recede like a mythological vision less real than imagined, back into the mountain ranges, away from the concerns of civilization.

In the broad context of St. Denis' canon, one wonders whether the configuration of the east as inert/eternal served a coherent purpose in her oeuvre. Certainly, the yogi's stillness figures as antithetical to the hypermobility and sensuality of *Radha*, a dance which has been repeatedly read as emblematic of a quest for the emancipation of the white American female.[342] As has been detailed by dance historian Linda Tomko, the appropriation of this excessive mobility in *Radha* was a reflection of St Denis' "uneasy"[343] twinning of the two poles of nineteenth-century female morality, "ever shifting in its kinetic distributions of sensuality and mystical transport."[344] Given this, what did the appropriation of stillness as characteristic of the east signify within *The Yogi*?

If we consider historian Jonathan Z. Smith's theory that two dominating portraits of the primitive gained currency in the nineteenth century, namely that of the 'wild man' and the 'noble savage,' then an organizational matrix guiding St. Denis' choreographic motifs in *The Yogi* begins to take shape. According to Smith, the dyad of wild man and noble savage as 'others' that are remote, and "essentially not like us,"[345] represent two sides of the same coin. By extension, Smith has concluded, 'the West' was conceived of in nineteenth-century understandings as human; visible and recognizable, it was appreciated as the active architect of history.[346] Conversely, that which was regarded as beyond the ken of the mainstream was designated as passive, invisible and inhuman; illegible by virtue of the fact that it belonged to the rest of the world, it was characterized as the hemisphere that "undergoes history."[347]

Based on Smith's theory, one might interpret Ruth St. Denis' choreographic iteration of the yogi as a nostalgic depiction of a primitive other, a dance that choreographed the 'noble savage,'[348] as it offered its spectators a tragic reminder that modernity and its excesses of motion had evacuated the 'real,' the 'still' and the transcendent from its midst. One might also propose that St. Denis took it upon herself to elaborate the yogi's performance of stillness in order to harness the transcendent, eternal power of this nonhuman surrogate, making it visible within the vigorous and mobile forces of a new, modern America. If we take the latter proposition seriously, one might conclude that through her impersonation, the yogi's static, ahistorical body played a critical role in rehabilitating America's spiritual centres, and reinforcing its role as active, civilizing force of 'the West.' In addition, one might surmise that the lasting effect of St. Denis' vision of this sedentary yogi did much to resituate and validate yogic practices (both in their physiological and meditative formations) on American soil.

This she did through a conscious mobilization of dance and yogic practice as a means of reintegrating the American psyche, on an individual and national basis. Framing her presence as a revolutionary, St. Denis' religious affiliations (which shifted regularly through her lifetime and in the course of her choreographic explorations), provided the support for her repeated impersonations of the other which she claimed would serve to recompose the self, to "realize the highest ideals" and "unite all the Americas,"

> I call myself an American Christian Revolutionist….My General is God, my Captain is Christ, my ammunition, His message. His weapons in this bloodless warfare are the arts. My objective is to dissolve those materialistic and dividing attitudes which are weakening the forces of righteousness in this country. These forces, expressed through the arts and sciences, should serve to unite all the Americas in bringing out the realization of our highest ideals.[349]

Yet, in the context of St. Denis' declaration of her intention to revolutionize and reinvent the arts in America, the glaring de-politicization (and if we are to take Smith's theory seriously) and domestication of the figure of the yogi in her choreography is suggestive of how impersonation, like other methods of surrogacy outlined in earlier chapters of this study, is a performance technique associated with the acquisition of a surrogate's power. Certainly, the fact that St. Denis's impersonation of a superhuman yogi was performed in the absence of any real historical actor in America (or in India for that matter) that might be readily identified as an 'authentic' yogi, is an indication that the performance of impersonation facilitated the replacement (and eventual historical erasure) of those yogi-fakirs who performed at the World Fairs in Chicago and St. Louis, or as part of the exhibits at Coney Island. In this way, despite the oft-cited emancipatory zeal of St. Denis' choreographic legacy, *The Yogi* shares a cogent parallel with her re-imagined version of the nautch dancer in *Nautch* (a solo dance which she premiered in Vienna on 5 February 1908 as part of a cycle of five East Indian dances)[350] which in similar fashion, actively excluded the participation of the 'others' it recruited.

Likewise, one might argue that in positioning America as a centre of artistic and spiritual culture on par with the 'eternal' empires of antiquity, St. Denis, in conjunction with those spiritual leaders whose writings contributed to the construction of a classical yoga, enabled the birth of a new kind of yogi[351] within popular performance, one that had been divested of cultural specificity and political vigour, and had little relationship to real historical actors who called themselves yogis. Re-envisioned as an alternative to depictions of the fraudulent and hypermobile yogi in popular performance, St. Denis' vision of the yogi as still-life set in sharp relief America's modern energy and speed, accentuating its emergence as an industrial and spiritual empire.

4.9 Concluding Remarks:

Enjoying a polarized existence in popular performance in the early twentieth century, depictions of the yogi both positive and pejorative were born out of a common ground of techniques that appreciated fraud as a means of recruiting the peripheral other (deemed nonhuman) in the interest of personal, political and aesthetic renewals. Not surprisingly, the preoccupation with impersonation as an artistic technique that could uniquely expand categories of social, legal and political recognition lingered into the latter decades of the twentieth century, permeating the cinematic screen in Ingmar Bergman's *Persona* (1972),[352] where ambiguous twin shadows and illegible others morphed and mutated, alluding to the possibility that representation, by its very nature, is an exercise in fraudulent multiplicity, as one performs oneself and some remote other. Certainly, one gets the sense that Ruth St. Denis' own struggles with her identity both personal and professional, were such that she would have recognized in *Persona's* late twentieth century portrait of subjectivity, a kindred concern about the artifices of performance both theatrical and quotidian, which as proposed in Bergman's screenplay, might only be resolved by extinguishing motion, an act tantamount to opposing the rushing undercurrents of life itself:

> Every tone of voice a lie. Every gesture false. Every smile a grimace. Commit suicide? That's unthinkable. You don't do things like that. But you can refuse to move and be silent.[353]

Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated, St. Denis, (unlike the characters in Bergman's film) didn't simply intend to mitigate the conundrum of false representation, but worked under the presumption that performing the 'other' afforded cogent spiritual and political opportunities.[354] St. Denis' writings and her choreographic construction of the yogi certainly underscore her commitment to a particular aesthetic sensibility that proceeded in part from her study of yoga which led her to conceive that it is only through encounter with and representation of the other, that the boundaries of identity and thereby entitlement might be reconfigured.

Consonant with scholarly constructions of the classical yogi, St. Denis' choreography constructed a spare portrait of the yogi as a creaturely other whose efforts to renovate the self were actualized through complex reversals[355] that included the imitation of arrest and immobility. For St. Denis, the impersonation

of yogi as 'still-life' was the mechanism by which transubstantiation[356] might be enabled. Not unlike the still poses executed in Delsarte, the static minimalism of St. Denis' *The Yogi* was used to signal the potential transcendence of the human condition, a fact that Gilles Deleuze astutely recognized as a characteristic of the use of pose in the early twentieth century, and its emphasis on recomposition into the 'Whole.'[357]

Despite her classicized depiction of the yogi, Ruth St. Denis' performance of the figure shares much in common with popular visions articulated in the early twentieth century. Firstly, caricatures and impersonations of the yogi-fakir in popular literary and theatrical idioms proceeded from a common notion that the fraudulent embodiment of the other could confer upon the performer an expansion of power, presenting an opportunity for personal and political renewal. Secondly, along with all the other performances examined in this chapter, St. Denis' yogi was divested of sociohistoric specificity. Functioning as little more than a recruitable figure designed to animate the peripheries of the human, each instantiation of the yogi-fakir complex examined in this chapter confirms that the much-sought after renewals of the modern era, whether personal or collective, were dependent on the representation of creatures deemed interstitial and nomadic as fraudulent and beyond the human.

While St. Denis configured the yogi as superhuman, the figure of the fakir-yogi in popular performance drew attention to the construct's exclusion from the rank of human. As a corollary, popular representations also tended to foreground the yogi's vagabond nature and hypermobility. In this vein, it would be fair to say that negative valuations of the fakir as a fake, and the concomitant association of the fakir with a vagabond, even violent hypermobility that gained ground in the early twentieth century, functioned to remind Americans that citizenship was critically dependent on the public performance of normative visions of mobility.[358]

In this way, as has been established in previous chapters, mobility can be understood as a crucial component in the construction of the legible human, the performance of motion being central to how deviations from the human are framed and represented. Seen this way, the diverse representations of the yogi-fakir complex presented in this chapter expose the yogi as a typology whose itinerant mobility was

the site of its indeterminacy. In spite of this, impersonations of this interstitial creature served to both expand the cultural, religious and artistic identity of select communities of American citizens, just as it demarcated those deemed legitimate from those considered peripheral outsiders.

That is to say that these surrogations, like the many detailed in earlier chapters of this study, were not undertaken in a vacuum. That the vertiginous historical and political consequences of such hijackings contributed to the obfuscation and even erasure of historical others is undeniable given the historical context within which these fraudulent impersonations were performed. The performances of the SAF certainly reified existing asymmetries of power that governed the designation of insiders and outsiders within America, while simultaneously renegotiating the place of American art students within the artistic establishment.

Likewise, despite its ascetic leanings, St. Denis' presentation of the still yogi was at its heart, an exploration of the relationship between motion and the ideal American citizen. In her later writings, St. Denis returned to the dichotomies presented in *The Yogi*, reminding Americans that a recomposition of the forces of stillness (homologous with the east) with the vigour of the west would best serve the interests of modern America. No stranger to the discourses of fraud within American popular culture, Ruth St. Denis thus carefully positioned America as a locus of transformation, articulating a vision of a spiritual superstate in which the individual citizen's psychophysical integration (through yoga) was invariably co-extensive with the nation's industrial regeneration.

By extension, St. Denis' vision of yoga that grew out of her allegorization of *The Yogi* as the recomposition of the passive east and the active west, the meeting ground between the traditional and the modern, continues to inform the articulation of postures and their significance in the studio milieus of postural yoga in the twenty-first century. The still pose has remained the hallmark of postural yoga;[359] and even in its more vigorous transnational iterations, the fluid motion of breath-linked sequences in contemporary practice is invariably punctuated by repetitive pauses and arrests, attempts to hold time in suspension through the body's stillness. Today, as in Ruth St. Denis' early twentieth century formulations of yogic practice, the body's movements are punctuated with statuesque resting points, as the body, a site

of superhuman renewal, is distilled, purified and streamlined, regenerated to the ends of managing, if not steering, the unflinching pace of progress.

[1] Nancy Reynolds and Malcolm McCormick, *No Fixed Points: Dance in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 21.

[2] Ibid.

[3] It is widely acknowledged within dance studies that the choreographic careers of several dancers (Isadora Duncan, Maud Allan and Ruth St. Denis) were propelled by embodying visions of 'difference.' See Jane Desmond, "Dancing Out the Difference: Cultural Imperialism and Ruth St. Denis's "Radha" of 1906," *Signs* 17, no. 1 (1991): 28-49; Priya Srinivasan, "Performing Indian Dance in America: Interrogating Modernity, Tradition, and the Myth of Cultural Purity" (Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern University, 2003); Susan Tenneriello, "The Dance Dramas of Ruth St. Denis, 1910-1931: Spectacles of the 'Orient', American Style" (PhD Dissertation, City University of New York, 2004); Jane Sherman and Christena L. Schlundt. "Who's St. Denis? What Is She?" *Dance Chronicle* 10, no. 3 (1986): 305-329; Deborah Jowitt, *Time and the Dancing Image,* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

[4] Suzanne Shelton, *Divine Dancer: A Biography of Ruth St. Denis* (New York: Doubleday Garden City, 1981), 25.

[5] In contrast, the following publications deal with the discourses of fraud more explicitly. However, neither of these studies are grounded in the context of American theatrical performance. See Lee Siegel, *Net of Magic: Wonders and Deceptions in India.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), and W. R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[6] "The Lotus Temple of Self Realization." Undated. Box 71, Folder 6, Ruth St. Denis Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[7] For parameters of the modern in dance history see Mark Franko, *Dancing Modernism/Performing Politics* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), xi.

[8] Given that the chapter covers a wide swath of interdisciplinary sources, it has been necessary to frame the study according to those historical designations of period most commonly recognized across the fine and performing arts. In this vein, it is worth recalling that historiographies of Ruth St. Denis often recognize her as a precursor of the modern era, rather than as exemplary of its culmination. In these historiographies, Martha Graham and Doris Humphrey would be more accurately called modern. Nonetheless, this study opts to use the term modern for the early twentieth century, while designating the late nineteenth century as either early modern or late Victorian.

[9] Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 36. Citing from Lee Siegel, Singleton maintains that the conflation of the Muslim holy man and the Hindu renunciate was commonplace in literature produced from the seventeenth century onwards. Citing Lee Siegel, Singleton remarks on the absence of "any methodological or functional distinction" between these groups. See Siegel op. cit., 149.

[10] David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 2.

[11] J M. Guinn, "Some Historic Fads and Fakes," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California and of the Pioneers of Los Angeles County* (1904): 148.

[12] Ronald G. Pisano, Bruce Weber, and Berry-Hill Galleries, *Parodies of the American Masters: Rediscovering the Society of American Fakirs, 1891-1914* (Stony Brook: Museums at Stony Brook, New York: Art Students League, 1993), 48-53 & 79. Excerpts available at http://www.angelfire.com/art2/granbury_artcellar/arap12/drw/fkr/afkrs.html.

[13] Carol Strickland, "A Long Lost Trove of Fabulous Fakes," *The New York Times.* http://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/27/nyregion/a-long-lost-trove-of-fabulous-fakes.html (accessed April 3, 2014)

[14] Ibid.

[15] Strickland argues that the SAF had anticipated the deconstructed, mixed material assemblages of Dada by a decade, and were therefore exemplary of an artistic heritage within the U.S. that deployed fraud and replication in ways that foreshadowed Warhol's experiments with replication in the 1960s.

[16] Strickland, op. cit.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Pisano, op. cit.

[19] Ibid.

[20] The exhibitions staged by the SAF raised money for scholarships at the institution. Pisano, op. cit., 48.

[21] Ibid. The Society's remnant pamphlets, programs and memorabilia make little overt reference to fakirs, yogis or occult traditions of any kind. Despite this, the SAF's logo and the frequent use of the word 'fakir' to describe the activities of their organization point to a conscious use of the figure to evoke the transgressive behaviour associated with the yogi-fakir complex. Moreover, accounts left by journalists, art critics and witnesses who attended the society's exhibitions, grand balls or gala events offer enough evidence to surmise that the use of fraud or the presence of known fakes in American theatrical performance was crucially related to the creation of a surrogate or accomplice, a recruit who could represent the outsider, a remote body that could be effectively caricatured, made monstrous to the ends of artistic renewal.

[22] "fakir." Oxford Dictionaries.com. 2014. http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/fakir (November 1, 2014).

[23] Ibid.

[24] Mark Liberman, "How fakirs became fakers," *Language Log (blog),* http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/~myl/languagelog/archives/001115.html (accessed April 3, 2014).

[25] Ibid. Liberman's fascinating entry details the semantic shifts that were enabled by a phonetic error associated with the word 'fakir.' Through a series of comparisons of the use of the word "fakir" in eighteenth and nineteenth century literature, Liberman suggests that pejorative understandings of the fakir obtain from a series of shifts that happened in American usages of the term in the nineteenth century. According to Liberman, "There's a whiff of the eggcorn about all of this; at least, the similarity in spelling and sound is likely to have played a role in encouraging what is otherwise an ordinary process of historical meaning shift."

[26] For more on this conflation see Kirin Narayan, "Refractions of the Field at Home: American Representations of Hindu Holy Men in the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Cultural Anthropology* 8, no. 4 (1993): 480. "Muslim fakirs have often been confused with Hindu sadhus, making for what strictly speaking constitutes an oxymoron the 'Hindu Fakir.' In fact, in America, fakir (pronounced faker) became the most popular term used for Hindu holy figures through the early decades of this century."

[27] Strickland, op. cit.

[28] "'Fakirs' Picture Show Open to Public Today," *New York Times (1857-1922)*, April 17, 1906, p. 6.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] H. C. Coyle, "Caricature and Criticism in Art Academies," *American Art /* 22, no. 1 (2008): 16.

[33] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (New York: Beacon Press, 1955), 11.

[34] Coyle, op. cit., 16 & 17. Coyle addresses the work of the SAF as having been built around the idea of 'caricature', which she determines, had a unified definition amongst those who organized student exhibitions of a similar nature. Coyle remarks, "The key element of a caricature —be it of a person or a thing— is that it takes some notable quality of its object and exaggerates it to the point of humour."

[35] Ibid.

[36] Huizinga, op. cit., 12.

[37] Coyle, op. cit., 17.

[38] Ibid. "In the late nineteenth century, the bohemian art student, with a colourfully decorated garret and eccentric attire, emerged as a stock character in popular literature, and the humorous exploits of actual art students both drew on these stories and confirmed their credibility."

[39] Ibid.

[40] Singleton, op. cit., 67. Singleton reports that one such publication was an American reprint of Hereward-Carrington's *Hindu Magic: An Expose of the Tricks of the Yogis and Fakirs of India,* a text which was designed to undermine the perceived supernatural qualities of the fakir, exposing his methods. See Hereward Carrington, *Hindu Magic: An Expose of the Tricks of the Yogis and Fakirs of India* (Kansas City: A. M. Wilson M.D., 1913), https://archive.org/stream/cu31924087818823/cu31924087818823_djvu.txt.

[41] James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 17.

[42] Ibid., 20. However, as Cook argues, part of the performance's appeal was its ability to stage and seek answers for that which had surpassed the human. For instance, in 1818 during its second European tour under Maelzel, a writer who called himself an "Oxford Graduate" proposed that it was operated by means of a hidden wire, thin as "catgut." See Robert Gray's manuscript cited in chapter one of this study, op.cit., 32.

[43] "Faking Fakirs Find Arrest is No Fake," *New York Times (1857-1922)*, April 15, 1913, 6.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Art Students League (New York, N.Y.). "Firelog of the Eleventh Annual Exhibition, (1902)." *The Society of American Fakirs of the Art Students' League of New York* . Metropolitan New York Library Council, Frick Art Reference Library.

[51] Likewise, the copyright in the same publication playfully redacted as "copylefted, 1902 by the Society of American Fakirs," is an inscription designed to reinforce the reader's sense of the Society's dedication to contrarian activities, and 'left-

handed' transgressions of artistic norms. My use of the term 'left-handed' here alludes to the possibility that the SAF may have been aware of the yogi as a tantric practitioner. Given that Pierre Arnold Bernard founded his Tantrik Order in America in 1906, it is not entirely unlikely that the Society of American Fakirs was aware of the fakir's association with tantric practices. For more on Bernard and the history of Tantra in America see Hugh B. Urban, "The Omnipotent Oom: Tantra and Its Impact on Modern Western Esotericism," *Esoterica: Journal of Esoteric Studies* 3 (2001): 249.

[52] Joseph Laycock, "Yoga for the New Woman and the New Man: The Role of Pierre Bernard and Blanche DeVries in the Creation of Modern Postural Yoga," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 23, no. 1 (2013): 110. Laycock cites from Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 34.

[53] Ibid.

[54] "Polynesian Ball by Fakirs of America," *New York Times (1857-1922)*, March 26, 1922, 21.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid. It is worth noting the symmetry between ludic performances of "island" otherness at this ball and the narrative of the American tourist in whose ears the ukulele whines a "never-ceasing symphony" obtains from a political context: American colonial expansion into the islands of Hawaii. In the 18th century the first American traders came to Hawaii to exploit the islands' natural resources. Over the following four decades Hawaii entered into a number of treaties with the US. In 1887 a U.S. naval base was established at Pearl Harbor as part of a new Hawaiian constitution. Hawaii became the 50th state of the union in 1958.

[58] There were precedents to this practice of themed balls in which illusions of elsewhereness were exploited. In years previous, the society's annual ball had been similarly themed. The "Sahara Desert" ball of 1920 for which attendees dressed in "Oriental and mystic costumes" served to underscore the SAF's interest in hijacking cultures and locales that could be used to reinvent their own artistic mandate. See "Fakirs Give Ball In 'Sahara Desert'," *New York Times (1857-1922)*, March 27, 1920, 13.

[59] It is worth recalling the etymological link here between the word legitimacy and those legal discourses (deriving from the Latin root *lex* and *legis*) that enable a human to be recognized under the law.

[60] "Fakirs and their Foes," *New York Times (1857-1922)*, January 20, 1889, 10.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "Losses of London 'Fakirs,'" *New York Times (1857-1922)*, June 29, 1902, 1.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] "Tales of Street Fakirs," *New York Times (1857-1922)*, January 11, 1904, 10.

[67] Regarding the historical depiction of gypsies as outsiders in art and literature see David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities, 1500-2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany.* London: Routledge, 2004; Kalwant Bhopal and Martin Myers. *Insiders, Outsiders and Others: Gypsies and Identity.* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2008).

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] The late Victorian Period (in keeping with the span of Queen Victoria's reign between 1837 and 1901) generally represents the years between 1870 and 1901.

[71] Arriving at the rate of only a few hundred a decade in the nineteenth century, five thousand South Asians eventually immigrated in the first decade of the twentieth century. Laycock, op. cit., 110.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Priya Srinivasan, "Performing Indian Dance in America: Interrogating Modernity, Tradition, and the Myth of Cultural Purity" (Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern University, 2003), 32. It is worth considering whether Srinivasan's insights can be transposed to the history of yoga in America. A number of studies in the area of modern postural yoga demarcate the development of transnational styles without explicitly addressing how the yogi and yoga were products of an unusual collision of the burgeoning nationalist discourses of South Asian gurus such as Vivekananda coupled with anti-Asian sentiment that was brewing within the U.S. Laycock's article does draw from Srinivasan's history in this regard, making it possible to surmise that this confluence facilitated a philosophical approach to yoga that deemed it 'classical,' thereby sanitizing it of its inherent contradictions and associations with those groups of peoples that were perceived to exist beyond the ken of the human. This of course, paves the way for greater questioning of how discourses of fraud were developed around the figure of the yogi in the twentieth century.

[74] "Fakirs Rays," *New York Times (1857-1922)*, June 7, 1896, 28.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] "Astrologers Bar Fakirs," *New York Times (1923-Current file)*, June 19, 1937, 19.

[78] Pejorative assessments of hatha yoga proceeded from several notable intellectuals and occult leaders including American Sanskritist E.W. Hopkins, Helena P. Blavatsky, and Vivekananda. Vivekanada's formulation of yoga in his publication *Raja Yoga* is key to understanding the shifting sensibilities and transplantation within the American context. Historian David G. White has pointed out the extent to which characterizations of a classical yoga that do not take into account those real historical actors deemed yogis has facilitated the prevalent identification of yoga with a sedentary practice of seated meditation designed to elicit

transcendence. White's research argues that the embodied soteriology of Vedic understandings of yoga (as exemplified by the 'ascent' of the warrior from the battlefield by means of a chariot hitched to the sun) was supplanted from the third century C.E. onwards, by meditation in elite, intellectual contexts. In this way, these embodied mechanisms of liberation were increasingly reinterpreted as visionary ascents, rather than performances, thereby rendering doing as knowing, remembering etc. As a result, there transpires an overarching semantic shift for the word yoga, which becomes increasingly identified with meditation. See D. G. White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 108.

[79] *The Monist* is one of the oldest journals of philosophy in America, founded in 1888 by Edward C. Hegeler.

[80] Richard Garbe, "On the Voluntary Trance of Indian Fakirs." *The Monist* 10, no. 4 (1900): 482.

[81] Ibid., 485.

[82] Ibid., 482.

[83] Ibid., 481

[84] Ibid., 482.

[85] Ibid., 483. In addition, Garbe makes the argument that there are religious distinctions that obtain from the use of either term. As he notes, "To begin with, I must remark that the Indians whom we are discussing should not be called fakirs. The word 'fakir' is Arabic and has come into the modern Indian languages through the Persian; it really means 'poor' as is applied to Mohammedan ascetics. But in the case which interests us here we have to deal, not with Mohammedans, but exclusively with Hindus, and the ascetics among the Hindus are called 'Yogin' (nominative Yogi). The word is derived from 'Yoga.'"

[86] The Theosophical Society, founded in New York City in 1875 had as its head the Russian Helena P. Blavatsky. Blavatsky's esoteric platform would go on to shape the landscape of modern postural practice. For more on Blavatsky see Urban, op. cit.

[87] H. Blavatsky, "Queries and Answers," In *Lucifer.* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1890), 57.

[88] Rianne Siebenga, "Colonial India's 'Fanatical Fakirs' and their Popular Representations," *History and Anthropology* 23, no. 4 (2012): 445.

[89] Ibid., 446.

[90] Narayan, op. cit., 477. It should be noted here that the fakir was not categorically derided as a negative typology across historical contexts. As anthropologist Kirin Narayan discusses, since at least the 4th century BCE, Greek testimonials pertaining to Hindu holy men (gymnosophists) offered positive constructions of the yogi/fakir as 'other.' According to Narayan, it was following the consolidation of British power in India after 1757 that depictions of the Hindu holy man began to deteriorate, becoming "saturated with negative meanings" that expressed India's backwardness. That Narayan's interpretation differs from Liberman's linguistic appraisal is further proof that scholarly understandings are divided regarding the historical causes of pejorative evaluations of the yogi-fakir complex.

[91] Siebenga, op. cit., 447. Siebenga identifies the creation of Indian types as an attempt made by the British to classify and understand the colonized population.

[92] J. S. Eyton, *The Dancing Fakir, and Other Stories* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922), 1. Notably Eyton defines a fakir as a "beggar, priest."

[93] Ibid., 2.

[94] Names of cities here are retained from the original text.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid., 4.

[97] Ibid., 8.

[98] Ibid.

[99] We might recollect that this importance given to the act of naming or recalling one's name is likewise associated with the association of a fixed, legible identity in the previous chapter on the sylphide.

[100] David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 39. White contends that the designation of a 'classical' tradition has canonized a particular range of ideas about yogic doctrine, effectively fossilizing the interpretation of yoga as a kind of 'viyoga', a reading of yoga that is Sānkhyan in its dualism. According to White, making room for the yogi as a historical actor, (i.e. as an active agent in the world) requires placing works such as the *Yoga Sūtra* and the *Bhagavad Gīta* (according to which the boundaries of classical yoga have been defined and demarcated by scholarship) in historical context. White argues that the particularities of scholarly definitions of a classical yoga are flawed because of the following points a) fluctuating definitions of yogic terminology in the particular period of time deemed classical (i.e. dhyāna, dhāraṇa etc) indicate discontinuities. b) There is an erroneous underlying assumption of continuity between this so-called classical tradition and traditions traceable to Vedic times. Given these oversights, historical deviations that have characterized yoga in practice both before and after this classical period are overlooked by scholarship. Moreover, later Vedāntic interpretations of the Yoga Sūtra (i.e. that of Vijñānabhikṣu in the sixteenth century) have dominated textual discourses, effectively undermining and overshadowing other instantiations of the yogi as historical actor. In fact, agency and performance itself have been undermined as a result of this insistence on a narrow textual tradition.

[101] White, op. cit., 173. I use the term duplicitous/multiplicitous to signify that identity 'doubling' and performances of the 'self-magnified self' (as White terms it), are related to fraud. As White demonstrates, the historical yogi engaged in practices of expansion and multiplication whereby the individual self would realize 'being' as coterminous with the cosmos. Using an example from the *Mokṣadarma Parvan* of the *Mahabharata*, White translates yogavidaḥ as "those who practice yoga" i.e. yogis, rather than the knowledge/teachings of yoga. The verses he cites here are more proof of yogis as something more than the

received notions of the meditative yogi would lead one to believe. Rather, White cites the yogi as an actor associated with many fiery, forceful powers, which can be used to enter the bodies of others. Of particular interest here is the word mahān ātmā, which he translates as 'self-magnifying self' from looking at the cognates of mahā (Latin and English: magnus, much). This word whose semantic field crosses over with that of Brahman implies that the self-magnifying self is one who is the infinitesimal in seed form, the smallest unit of unmanifest potential, capable of expanding to the infinite. This idea of self-magnification can likewise be understood as a process of 'Self saturation' whereby the yogi, performs 'mercurially,' that is, as if he/she were mercury. Able to swallow great quantities of Self, (much like mercury could swallow great quantities of gold or silver without changing its essential properties), the yogi, homologous to Śiva in his/her ability to reabsorb the entire cosmos periodically, practiced cosmic absorption or saturation. In this way, the identity of the yogi as a historical actor in this paper is understood as expansive, multiplex and mercurial.

[102] Lee Siegel, *Net of Magic: Wonders and Deceptions in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 149.

[103] White, op. cit., 212. White also notes that European witnesses at this time rarely distinguished between yogis, travelling magicians and fakirs.

[104] Siegel, op. cit, 149.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid., 151, 213. Siegel comments, "as the wandering holy man seemed to be a magician, so the wandering magician seemed to be a holy man." He also points out that the conflation of stupendous magic and yogic siddhis had developed over centuries, to the point that even erudite scholars were fooled by the magic of the jādūgar (magician) whom they took to be a yogi. Siegel points out how Jean Filliozat "mistakes the jādūgar for a yogi and proceeds to project onto the trick all that he knows about yoga, Patañjali, and the tradition."

[107] White, op. cit., 213. White quotes from Fryer.

[108] Siegel, op. cit., 150.

[109] Siegel also lists other appellations of the magician i.e. māyāvin. The modern stage magician often calls his craft: *māyā*, *māyājā*l or *Indrajāl* which means "illusion", "illusion's net" or "Indra's net." These terms are distinguished from the jādu magic performances of the street.

[110] Siegel, op. cit., 112. We also see that Naseeb has a ring on the left hand (which he calls the tantric hand) with a moon on it (i.e. candra sakti), while the bloodstone worn by Siegel on the right hand is the solar hand.

[111] Ibid., 3, 328. Siegel's travelogue narrates time spent smoking chillums with a bunch of Gorakhnāth Yogis who confirm that yogic siddhis are in fact, just magic. In his retelling, Siegel notes that the magicians claim that Gorakh apparently didn't think much of magic tricks save the ones that actually cheated the two big ones: time and death (kāla and Yama)

[112] Ibid., 159.

[113] David Gordon White, "On the Magnitude of the Yogic Body," In *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Nāths*. Eds. Lorenzen, D N, and A Munoz. (Albany: Suny Press, 2011), 79. The Nāths were so called on account of their founder Gorakhnāth, the putative author of the *Siddhasiddhantapaddhati* (dating between the late 12th and 16th centuries) a "step by step guide to the principles of perfected ones."

[114] Véronique Bouillier, *Itinérance et vie monastique. Les ascètes Naths Yogis en Inde contemporaine* (Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2004), 8. Veronique Bouillier notes that this term is no longer one used by modern Nāths who consider it derogatory and prefer the term *darśandhārī*, meaning "visionaries." Briggs also mentions that the appellation of the Nāths as kānphaṭa on account of their trademark split-ears and large earrings, may have originated as a derogatory comment aimed at the sect by Muslims.

[115] Briggs, 23.

[116] Ibid.

[117] G W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs* (Delhi: Motilal Books, 2001), 23.

[118] Ibid., 23

[119] Briggs, op. cit., 156. Briggs maintains that the sinister character (and, I presume, the fraudulence) of the yogi can be traced back to the Śaivist moorings of the Kānphaṭas who were preceded by the Kāpālikas. As Briggs argues, the sect was dedicated to the dark and destructive Śiva who himself did not emerge in writing until 200 BC. Śiva was preceded by the ferocious (and likely indigenous) god Rudra who appears in the Rg Veda as the "patron of robbers, rogues, pilferers and murderers, and the guardian of roads."

[120] Siegel, op. cit., 4. Quoting from Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 4.9-10

[121] Siegel, op. cit., 382. Quoting from Ṛg Veda 3.53.8

[122] As exemplified in the story of "The Little Devotee" recounted by White in *Sinister Yogis*.

[123] White, op. cit., 6. White states that the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* is the most popular collection in the literary body known as the "Vikrama Cycle." There are five principal Sanskrit rescensions associated with the *Vetālapañcaviṃśat*i that date between the 11th and 16th centuries. One of these five recensions is the *Simhāsanadvātriṃśika*.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid., 7. The tale is not found in the Sanskrit *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* or *Simhāsanadvātriṃśika* but in the Sikh anthology, the *Dasam Granth.*

[126] Ibid. The Persian version of the *Simhāsanadvātriṃśika* was commissioned by the Mughal emperor Akbar circa 1574 C.E

[127] Ibid., 9. White's translation is from the French translation (*Le trône enchanté*) of the Persian *Senguehassen Battisi*. It is not a translation of Singh's *Bhairavanand Yogi.*

[128] Ibid., 29.

[129] David Gordon White, "The Wonders of Sri Mastnath," In *Religions of India in Practice.* ed. Donald Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 399.

[130] White, op. cit., *Sinister Yogis*, 33.

[131] Ibid., 35.

[132] Likewise, in Kāḷidāsa's *Kumārasambhavam* (partially based on the Shiva Purāṇa), Siva appears to Pārvati as an ignorant ascetic who proceeds to slander Siva, presumably to test her devotions. When Pārvati castigates the loudmouth ascetic, he reveals himself to be none other than Śiva. Here too, the false ascetic is revealed as none other than Śiva.

[133] Siegel and Frederick Smith both address the performative embodiment of deities, noting the soteriological valuation of these performances.

[134] As White has demonstrated, the Nāth preoccupation with the acquisition of siddhis viz. bodily practices reaches back to the notion of vibhūtis found in Vedic texts of the third to first century BCE (i.e. *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, *Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad*), and persists in the texts associated with classical yoga, namely the *Yoga Sūtra* of Patañjali (2-5th century CE) and the Bhagavad Gīta.

[135] This reference to illusion presumes a Vedāntic approach, akin to that which informs Siegel's study of South Asian magicians.

[136] White, op. cit., "On the Magnitude of the Yogic Body," 86. Citing this coterminous relationship between the body and the universe as a "standard fixture of Hindu cosmological systems," White demonstrates how this abstract universal principle is reiterated as a theistic personal god in the medieval era, one that nonetheless continues to reveal the "true form" of human body that is permeable and continuous with the cosmos. White cites the gargantuan display of the Universal Form of Krishna as Yogeśvara to Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gita* (as 200-400 CE) as a prime example of the body that is magnified, a multiplication of itself.

[137] Siegel, op. cit., 11.

[138] Bouillier, op. cit., 25. Véronique Bouillier documents the growing power of Indian social reformers in the 19th century and the varied attempts to domesticate and regulate the unorthodox elements of yogic practice within Hinduism. Moreover, by the end of the 19th century - as a consequence of colonial census results and internal Hindu reform movements - there was a concerted effort amongst varied groups to make cohesive the social practices of Nāth membership. At this time, we see a move towards orthodox Hinduism and the defense of Sanātana Dharma, and the creation in 1902 of the Bharata Dharma Mahāmaṇḍala, an association based in Benares with provincial branches whose intention it was to promote Hindu religious education, the knowledge of sacred texts and to introduce reforms into the lives and societies of Hindus as a whole.

[139] White, op. cit., *Sinister Yogis*, 199.

[140] W R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 66. This immunity of yogis was however cut short (as documented by Bouiller), with the advent of the Hindu reform movement in the late nineteenth century and British colonial policies that curtailed practices of yogis.

[141] Ibid., 230. *Gosain* means "complete control over emotions." Pinch contends that this appellation of *gosain* for one that has conquered emotions can thus be understood to refer to bands of wandering ascetics associated with the Nāths.

[142] Pinch, op. cit., 60.

[143] Ibid., 67

[144] Ibid., 69

[145] Dirk H. Kolff, A. *Naukar, Rajput & Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market in Hindustan, 1450-1850*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 30.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Pinch, op. cit., 10.

[148] William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 2. Pinch doesn't refer to 'muscular bonding' explicitly (although the concept has been gainfully deployed by Joseph Alter in his study of wrestling akhāras), however, here I take it to be a worthwhile way of understanding those physical practices in *nāga ākhāras* that reinforced social cohesion amongst bands of ascetics. Taken from anthropologist William McNeill's 1995 publication, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*, it refers to the sense of social cohesion, and 'transcendence' invoked through movements performed in unison. Tracing an anthropological lineage that reaches back to Marcel Mauss' 'techniques of the body,' McNeill's influential study of the complex language of drill, dance and religious ritual eviscerates a common phenomenon across cultures: the socially cohesive capacity of movement ritual.

[149] Pinch, op. cit., 147.

[150] Kolff, op. cit., 194. The duplicity of the yogi can be understood as part of a performance of multiplex identity. As Kolff notes of Indian peasant-sepoys, "...whether in the service of the Mughal or the British East India Company, they did not easily resign themselves to only having one master. Their need to keep several options open not only formed their 'mutinous' character, it also explains why ascribed identities, whether caste, ethnicity or genealogical, were much less important in North Indian history than traditional anthropological observation has suggested."

[151] Ibid., 103

[152] White, op. cit., *Sinister Yogis*, 21.

[153] "The Little Devotee" is enshrined in the *Periyar Purana*, the most important regional Purana of Tamilnadu. Together with the many translations and adaptations it spawned, it was the most popular story in the Tamil religious canon of medieval South

India. On its popularity, see David Shulman, *The Hungry God: Hindu Tales of Filicide and Devotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[154] Māyā (at least as interpreted by Siegel) refers to the veil of illusion, deceit and trickery in the cosmos.

[155] As is clarified by historians Eric Ames and James Cook, the role of fraud in performance discourse was critically linked to the realistic display of the monstrous body in the early 1900s in Europe as well as in America during the early decades of the twentieth century. The exhibition of nonhuman others (configured according to visible differences such as race, class, disability) during this period was used to set up and negotiate boundaries between selves and others. Ames uses the term 'vivification' to describe the "organizing logic" used by German spectators who saw Native American bodies presented in spectacles not simply as objective data, but as "living embodiments of figures from the novels of authors such as James Fenimore Cooper..." (105) These fictional characters were not seen as ontological errors, they were considered 'historical reality,' at least according to the showmen and publicists who promoted the shows to the public. Invariably, these spectacles that enabled an uneasy overlap between the rhetoric of scientificity and materialization/manufacture of the other restricted the contributions of these 'others' and claimed authenticity when in fact, the shows were but simulations. For more on ethnographic preoccupations with the fraudulent other see Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 102-105.

[156] Ibid.,102. For more on this see Eric Ames. Ames' example here is Carl Hagenback's presentation of the Wild West show in Germany. In Ames' understanding, this shift in the early twentieth century represents more than "an escapist flight (from reality, modernity, civilization and so on), but an active engagement of the physical world on the level of the imagination and of the senses."

[157] Cook, op. cit., 29.

[158] Ibid., 19.

[159] The automaton chess player toured America in the early decades of the nineteenth century under its second owner, Nepomuk Maelzel.

[160] Wood, op. cit., 75.

[161] *Joice Heth Poster.* 1835. Somers Historical Society, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media. http://chnm.gmu.edu/lostmuseum/lm/100/ (accessed April 3, 2014).

[162] Ibid.

[163] Narayan, op. cit., 478.

[164] Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity. A Particular Study of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993), 65.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] *Joice Heth Poster.* 1835. op. cit.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Wood, op. cit., 76.

[171] Roach, op. cit., 44.

[172] Ibid., 187

[173] Ibid. Roach citing from Meserve. See Walter J. Meserve, *An Emerging Entertainment: The Drama of the American People to 1828* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press Bloomington, 1977).

[174] In this context, the specific use of the word fakir to denote a foreign, illegible outsider (whether in the work of the Society of American Fakirs or beyond) played a central role in carving out a niche for fraud as a performance technique. Fraud, and the impersonation of nonhuman others would not only be the means used by bohemian art students in the nineteenth century to renovate the ideals of contemporary art, but it would become the idiom by which heists of otherness would continue to serve an empire, and contribute to the reinventions of a modern, industrialized America.

[175] Roach, op. cit., 188.

[176] Cook, op. cit., 15.

[177] Ibid., 69.

[178] Ibid., 29.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Srinivasan op. cit. Citing from Tchen. See John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776-1882* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 55.

[181] Ibid.

[182] One might consider the significance of minstrelsy in America during this period as relevant to these concerns about the original vs. the replicant. For more on minstrelsy in America see Robert Toll, *Blacking up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) and Stephen Johnson, *Burnt Cork: Traditions and Legacies of Blackface Minstrelsy* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012).

[183] Srinivasan, op. cit., 35.

[184] "The Lotus Temple of Self Realization." op. cit.

[185] Publicity Materials. Undated. Box 123, Folder 2, (1910s-1960s.) Ruth St. Denis Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. The full passage is as follows: "She has always believed a great army for beauty could be mobilized that would accomplish resistlessly a great thing for her country in the way of revealing to the Orient and to Europe the beauty and spirituality that lies deep in the heart of the American people. She

has always resisted the criticism that is so insistent and so superficial that America is nothing but a commercial and materialistic nation. She has believed that sky-scrapers and aeroplanes are the by-products, - are the beginning gestures of a vast spiritual consciousness, dwelling in the people of America, compounded of all nations, that will finally bring a great revelation of new life to the world."

[186] Srinivasan, op. cit., 59. This is corroborated by Priya Srinivasan and Mark Singleton. According to Srinivasan, nautch dancers performed alongside a great many others perceived as marginal and non-normative. As she remarks of nautch dancers, "Although they were performing on stages in New York in 1881, by 1884 and 1885 they were part of the P.T. Barnum spectacles displayed in dime museums, like other Asian women and men before them… Nautch dancing girls are advertised alongside Burmese, Nubian warriors, Australian cannibals, Buddhists, East Indians, Todas, Indians, Afghans, Hindus, and forty elephants, to mention a few, as part of the "Great London Circus" show." Singleton, citing the particular case of Yogi Bava Lachman Dass who performed 48 postures at London's Westminster Aquarium in 1897, likewise documents the prominence of the acrobatic, contortionist fakir in British contexts. See Singleton, op. cit., 56.

[187] Perhaps as a result of the growing conflation of the fakir with spectacular if fraudulent street performances, scientist Thomas Edison commissioned a number of short films dedicated to the growing American fascination with the typology of the fakir. In 1903, filmmaker Alfred C. Abadie's iconic film footage for *Egyptian Fakir with Dancing Monkey* (1903) depicted the fakir as a street performer whose main act consisted of conducting the dance of a trained monkey with a simple tambourine. Likewise, Edison's own *Hindoo Fakir* (1902) depicted in black and white sequences an elaborate performance of street magic in which bodies of supporting actors were made to disappear. As the aforementioned two examples (both of which were produced by Edison) demonstrate, neither was particularly concerned with whether the fakir displayed was in fact a fakir, or whether the performances were emblematic of an existing tradition of yoga or street magic for that matter. In the case of *Egyptian Fakir with Dancing Monkey*, while one could argue that the footage itself was the result of the cameraman Abadie's tour of the Mediterranean basin at the request of Edison in early 1903, little effort is made to contextualize the performance in those traditions of yoga with which fakirs were frequently conflated, making it incredibly difficult to classify the film as a document of anything but an Egyptian street performer. Likewise, Edison's film while termed a documentary in fact consisted of footage of a Vaudeville act that was heavily manipulated using 'camera tricks' such as stop-motion and double-exposure photography.

[188] Ruth St Denis, *Ruth St. Denis, An Unfinished Life: An Autobiography* (Brooklyn: Dance Horizons, 1969), 92.

[189] Hillel Schwartz, "Torque: The New Kinaesthetic of the Twentieth Century," In *Incorporations [Zone 6]* Edited by Jonathan Crary and Stanford Kwinter (New York: Urzone, 1992), 70. Schwartz demarcates 1840 (the year that marked the beginning of French musician and teacher Francois Delsarte's lectures in Paris), as the year that marked a critical shift in attitudes towards physical culture and dance.

[190] Ibid., 77.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid.

[195] These include the movement systems proposed by Blanche de Vries and others situated within America, as well as those gymnastic inventions initiated within the Indian subcontinent during the 1930s by exponents such as Tirumalai Krishnamacarya.

[196] Schwartz, op. cit., 89.

[197] Franko, op. cit., xi. Dance historian Mark Franko for instance, points out that modernity itself was "tied to 1920s experiments with labour efficiency."

[198] Gilles Deleuze, *The Movement-Image,* Translated by Barbara Habberjam and Hugh Tomlinson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986), 7.

[199] Notably, B.K.S. Iyengar's *Light On Yoga* included postures that were based on a mimesis of animals, nonhumans, deities, and monsters. According to historian Norma Sjoman, twenty-three postures in Iyengar's text "were named after different objects like mountain, tree and so on." Sjoman further adds, "Another thirty-three are named after deities or legendary figures. Twenty-two are named after animals and eleven are named after different states of mind. Seventeen are named after birds." While not a lot has been written on the historical context that may have supported or led to these mimetic performance of birds in the twentieth century, this would be a worthwhile area of study. For more on the history of postural yoga see N. E. Sjoman, *The Yoga Tradition of the Mysore Palace* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1999), 49.

[200] Deleuze, op. cit., 5.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Ibid., 4.

[204] Delsarte was first developed in Paris by the French musician and teacher, Francois Delsarte (1811-1871).

[205] G. Stebbins, S*ociety Gymnastics and Voice Culture: Adapted From the Delsarte System* (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1888), 11.

[206] Ibid.

[207] G. Stebbins *Dynamic Breathing and Harmonic Gymnastics: A Complete System of Psychical. Aesthetic and Physical Culture* (New York: E.S. Werner, 1890), 63.

[208] G. Stebbins, S*ociety Gymnastics and Voice Culture: Adapted From the Delsarte System.* op. cit., 38.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid., 29

[211] Illustrations for Posture Exercises "How to Remodel Your Body." (1903-1971) Ted Shawn Collection. MGZMC- Res. 31, Folder 706-707. Jerome Robbins Dance Division, New York Public Library. This indebtedness to Delsarte techniques and its deep and lasting legacy in St. Denis's oeuvre is evidenced in a folder contained in the Ted Shawn collection at the New York Public Library, where illustrations of Delsarte postures are compiled alongside statuesque photos of Venus de Milo and illustrations of ancient Egyptian figures.

[212] Shelton, op. cit., 73.

[213] "Temple Body." Box 71, Folder 7 Materials for dance dramas 1930s. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[214] Jowitt, op. cit., 138, 147. Also cited in 62 of Adrienne McLean, "The Thousand Ways There Are to Move: Camp and Oriental Dance in the Hollywood Musicals of Jack Cole," *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film* (1997): 130-157.

[215] St. Denis received her first start through the Vaudeville impresario, David Belasco. While "imposters were a time-honored tradition in the American theatre," (see Shelton, op. cit., 73) the presence of minstrelsy in Vaudevillian spectacle (i.e. yellowface and blackface) opened the doors to greater experimentation in fraudulent embodiments of the other in performance. Srinivasan argues that in this vein, Asian bodies were represented as having an excess of culture whereas black bodies were seen as fraudulent, as having no legitimate identity. Each had its "unique and problematic stereotypes, normalizing characteristics and racist overtones." See Srinivasan, op. cit., 63.

[216] Shelton, op. cit., 73.

[217] Ibid., 24 & 25. Shelton traces the rise in what she calls "hypocrisy" to a number of factors: Firstly, Shelton argues that St. Denis was introduced to a perilous and male dominated world of the theatre at a young age; and, being well aware of the risks of her engagement with unscrupulous agents (along with the necessity to survive), St. Denis learned to quickly couple a professed personal purity with public showmanship. Secondly, audiences in attendance were equally duplicitous in their aesthetic tastes. For one, in the Puritan worldview of her spectators, art was assumed to be a luxury associated with the wealthy classes. Puritanism generally denigrated activities that deviated from the pragmatic and necessary. Geographically isolated, these parochial audiences leaned towards the conservative. Secondly, during the early twentieth century, as women increasingly attended theatrical performances, the female spectator had been introduced into the composition of the leisure classes. Given these changing conditions, Shelton surmises that St. Denis carried with her a lifelong process of choreographing for her original audiences for whom hypocrisy, and a kind of false two-faced performance of propriety and sexuality was a given.

[218] Jowitt, op. cit., 45 Jowitt argues that these were designed in the same vein as the Orientalist pastiche seen in Ballet Russes depictions of harems.

[219] Ibid., 137

[220] Srinivasan, op. cit., 64. We might include among these the Page Act of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), the Alien Contract Labor Law (1885) and the Immigration Act of 1891.

[221] Reynolds and McCormick, op. cit., 21.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Untitled Essay. Dated April 24, 1936. Box 124: Folder 4. Ruth St. Denis Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[224] Srinivasan, op. cit., 37. Citing from Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1989), 95.

[225] St. Denis, op. cit., 7.

[226] Research published just shy of a century later than St. Denis' birth confirms that illegitimate children born in the state of California in the 1970s were subject to greater economic, social disadvantage, their psychological well-being compromised by the stigma associated with illegitimacy. The fact that illegitimacy continued to be an issue in the 1970s is a reminder of the long history of social and economic disadvantage for those born out of wedlock. See Beth Berkov and June Sklar, "Does Illegitimacy Make a Difference? A Study of the Life Chances of Illegitimate Children in California," *Population and Development Review* 2, no. 2 (1976): 201.

[227] Shelton, op. cit., 7. Shelton reminds that the scandalous aspects of St. Denis' home life may have been partly related to her mother's unconventional, progressive feminist views (not to mention her medical degree) and her father's alcoholism.

[228] St. Denis' repeated reinventions as enabled by exoticized presentations of difference does not require elaboration here, having been covered by several other scholars including Srinivasan and Desmond.

[229] Diamond, op. cit., 96

[230] Ibid, 96 & 99. Diamond reports that the most important influence on de Gouges' manifesto was Condorcet's "On the Admission of Women to the Rights of Citizenship" (1790) which criticized the patriarchal structure of the family and proposed equal education and complete legal and political equality for (bourgeois) women." Her daring manifesto, "Declaration of the Rights of Women" catalyzed what has been called France's first feminist movement, and made it clear that the revolutionary rhetoric of equality and freedom suffered from very serious limitations that prevented its main aims towards a national metamorphosis of the French nation from feudal and aristocratic conditions, towards an egalitarian democratic society.

[231] Ibid., 97. As Diamond (citing from the preface to *L'Homme Généreux* in *Oeuvres,* Volume 1) details, de Gouges understood that her voice as a writer had enabled a regeneration of her status, and had permitted a so-called 'fallen woman,' to ascend and aspire to the heights of salons presided over by the most prominent enlightenment writers of the day: "Men have all the advantages. Some, from the very lowest origins, have been seen to arrive at very great wealth and sometimes to great office;

and, without any work, women, if they are virtuous, remain in misery. We have been excluded from all power and knowledge; and yet, writing has not been taken away from us — which is extremely fortunate." See Benoit Groult, *Oeuvres D'Olympe De Gouges* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1986).

[232] de Gouges made every effort to remind male Republican leaders that it would be from the wilderness, from the margins of established power, and as the antidote to civilization, that women and several nonhuman others would emerge to liberate France. Effectively then, de Gouges' attempt to make visible the existence of multiple nonhuman others at the fringes of French society was tantamount to denying the centrality not only of the bourgeois male within the French empire, but constituted a potent denunciation of the humanist notion of civilization altogether.

[233] Shelton, op. cit., 7.

[234] Srinivasan, op. cit., 55. Srinivasan argues this point, clarifying that St. Denis' purported originality owed a debt to those dancers from whom she had learned her exotic dances.

[235] Publicity Materials. Undated. Box 123, Folder 2, (1910s-1960s.) Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[236] Ibid.

[237] "For Publicity: Ruth St. Denis: First Lady of the American Dance." Box 123, Folder 2, (1910s-1960s.) Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. In this document, which appears to be a publicity sheet intended for press, St. Denis refers to herself as the "originator of the Ethnologic or Interracial dance forms here in America."

[238] Publicity Materials. Undated. Box 123, Folder 2, (1910s-1960s.) Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[239] Reynolds and McCormick, op. cit., 21.

[240] "Wisdom Comes Dancing." Box 123 Folder 1. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. The document shows how St Denis lifted gestural vocabularies from Indian traditions i.e. *mudras* (hand gestures) and used them to systematically create a new kind of American spiritual expression. Key to this was the vocabulary of yoga. On page two of this project she cites a book on yoga (presumably *Yoga for You* first published in 1948) by the Russian Eugenie V. Peterson (otherwise known as Indra Devi) who had studied with T. Krishnamacarya. The manuscript clarifies that even though St. Denis' iteration of the yogi prioritized yoga's meditative capacities, she nonetheless remained in active dialogue with the highly physical forms of yoga being developed transnationally at this time.

[241] Handwritten note in red pencil. Box 123 Folder 1. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. The statement evokes yogic notions of transmogrification as it references neo-Vedantic discourses of all things being one.

[242] Taussig, op. cit., 13. Taussig refers to the embodiment of evil that, according to the indigenous tribes of Colombia, is thought to provide a protection from it. Mimesis in this way, renders the performer more powerful than the evil being represented.

[243] Ibid., 21.

[244] Ibid.

[245] Ibid., 15

[246] Catherine Malabou, *Ontology of the Accident: An Essay on Destructive Plasticity,* Translated by Carolyn Shread (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 53. Malabou quotes Marcel Proust, *À La Recherche Du Temps Perdu,* Translated by Laurence Grenier (Paris: Proustpourtous, 2005).

[247] Ibid., 52. Quoting Marcel Proust, *À La Recherche Du Temps Perdu,* Translated by Laurence Grenier (Paris: Proustpourtous, 2005).

[248] Ibid., 53.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Kimerer L. La Mothe, "Passionate Madonna: The Christian Turn of American Dancer Ruth St. Denis," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 66, no. 4 (1998): 758.

[251] St. Denis, op. cit., 241-242.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid., 106-107.

[254] The reminiscences of one observer entitled "The Exotic Spell of St. Denis." Box 87, Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[255] There are conflicting dates given for this performance. Most studies suggest it premiered in 1908. However, the photographs of Ruth St. Denis as *The Yogi* in the Denishawn Archives at the New York Public Library are dated 1906-1907.

[256] Shelton, op. cit., 95

[257] LaMothe, op. cit., 750. LaMothe pays special attention to St. Denis' evocation of the Christian Madonna in her later years, age 52-90.

[258] As St. Denis herself noted, the challenge for dancers such as herself and Isadora Duncan was not simply to make dance an art in America (a colossal challenge in itself), but to make dance a form of worship. A notable deviation from St. Denis' usual embodiments of female goddesses, *The Yogi* was a pantomimic solo composition devoted to the male ascetic who, according to St. Denis' narrative, had transcended being altogether. Yet, the real utility of the yogi within St. Denis' choreography, (like the

deployment of the fakir by the SAF) owed to the typology's ability to reference discourses of liberation through the representation of the cessation of physical activity.

[259] St. Denis' primary residence that she consistently returned to at this time was in Berlin.

[260] St. Denis, op. cit., 106-107.

[261] Shelton, op. cit., 80.

[262] St. Denis, op. cit., 98.

[263] Shelton, op. cit., 81. Shelton's description of the dance runs thus: "The curtain rose on an Indian forest. At center stage in a shaft of light lay a tiger-skin rug, and from the surrounding gloom glided a holy man in rags. He circled the rug and, depositing his bowl, sank into the cross-legged posture of meditation. Slowly he began a rhythmic rise and fall of breath. His arms extended from the torso to form a cross until his entire body folded forward, head resting between crossed ankles, hands before him on the ground. A breathless pause. In the distance the thin, high voice of a yogi chanted an invocation to Shiva. The holy man, listening, slowly rose to full height until he stood erect. At the cry "Shiva!" one arm staggered overhead, then another, and the yogi strode into the darkness, his arms upstretched to eternity."

[264] Ibid.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Ted Shawn. Lecture No. 3 (excerpt) and Ruth St. Denis on her dances Yogi, Gregorian Chant, and others [sound recording] Tracks 6-8. 15 minutes. MGZMC- Res. 31, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, New York Public Library.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

[269] In addition, numerous writings found in the UCLA archives document the extent to which the still pose in St. Denis' canon was associated with a kind of rigidity, a kind of *rigor mortis* that would have been in keeping with the dominant interpretations of yogic practice during St. Denis' day. Shelton also notes the rigidity of poses in *The Yogi*. See Shelton, op. cit., 81.

[270] Ted Shawn. Lecture No. 3 (excerpt) and Ruth St. Denis on her dances Yogi, Gregorian Chant, and others [sound recording], op. cit. Capitalizations refer to louder, emphatic voicing on original recording.

[271] Hoffmansthaal's letter is contained in Box 4. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[272] As previous sections of this chapter have demonstrated, the minimalist tableau of *The Yogi,* and its portrait of a hermetic renunciate seated in meditation was a departure from popular portrayals of the yogi-fakir in American performance.

[273] Shelton, op. cit., 84.

[274] Ibid. Shelton notes that at this time more than any other, St. Denis showed a pronounced interest in scholarly writings. One might additionally surmise here that German audiences versed in German idealism were familiar with the yogic discourses that were central to the choreography.

[275] St. Denis, op. cit., 98.

[276] Shelton, op. cit., 94.

[277] Ibid., 93.

[278] As White has argued, *Rāja yoga*, which exerted a significant influence on St Denis' own understanding of yoga, in fact has no historical lineage, and was a bold innovation on existing philosophical traditions. Grounded in western esotericism, Vivekananda's conceptualization of *Rāja Yoga* does not appear in the Yoga Sūtra (3rd century CE). White also reminds that Vivekananda's misunderstanding of nirvikalpa samādhi as understood in Vedantic context is pertinent to the definition and meaning of yoga according to the YS. The resulting practice which was based on an ingenious fusion of western science and neo-Vedanta, unfortunately denigrated anything that was not rational, cerebral, meditative and withdrawn from the external world. See D G. White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); and D.G. White, "'Open' and 'closed' Models of the Human Body in Indian Medical and Yogic Traditions," *Asian Medicine* 2, no. 1 (2006): 1-13.

[279] Vivekananda, Swami. *Raja-Yoga: Or Conquering the Internal Nature* (Advaita Ashrama, 1899), 13-18.

[280] Ibid., 11.

[281] Singleton, op. cit., 73 citing from E. de Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism* (London: Continuum, 2005), 166.

[282] For more on the foundations of Christian Science see Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (Boston: Yale University Press, 2007).

[283] Shelton, op. cit., 94.

[284] Paramananda was a member of Vivekananda's Ramakrishna Order.

[285] McLean, op. cit., 62. McLean citing from Terry Walter, *Ted Shawn, Father of American Dance: A Biography* (New York: Dial Press, 1976), 47.

[286] Shelton, op. cit., 80

[287] Ibid. The heteroglossia of St. Denis' choreography is corroborated by Shelton who states that St. Denis' vision of the yogi "reflected a passage in the Bhagavad-Gita which tells of the yogi." Yet, despite the putative influence of Vaiṣṇava devotionalism in the dance, St. Denis' recollection of her yogi in a recording contained in the NYPL collection confirms that the mystic featured in her choreography is Śaivite, with all the iconographic features attributed to such a character including rudrākṣa beads, the descent from the mountains and the calling out of the name Siva. Photographs of St. Denis' performance of the piece likewise detail its Śaivite influences. See Jerome Robbins Dance Division, The New York Public Library. "Ruth St. Denis in The Yogi."

New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed June 22, 2016. http://digital.gallery.nypl.org/items/510d47df-851b-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

[288] Ibid.

[289] St. Denis, op. cit., 127, 128.

[290] Shelton, op. cit., 21. "The theatre in 1894 meant Broadway as well as Buffalo Bill, the Opera and the circus, musical comedy, Coney Island, and curio halls." The first place to offer St. Denis a job was Worth's Family Theatre and Museum. Constructed around the idea of a living museum, it was not unlike a zoo or a circus or an exhibition in its presentation of variegated curiosities and entertainments.

[291] Untitled essay detailing her encounter with Isis on a Cigarette Poster. Box 124: Folder 4. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. The following quotations are compiled from this document that details her encounter with the iconography of Isis on a cigarette poster: "The pose was arresting in its simplicity and beauty, and suggested a whole world of new emotions and ideas... I had a definite vision which grew subtly but intensely of this figure being a complete being."

[292] Mircea Eliade, W R Trask, and D G White. *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 68. Even before her study of yoga, St. Denis had partnered impersonation with the still pose, which she believed had the essence of the whole comprised within it. She later expanded this notion of the complete being as homologous with the divine soul, in accordance with the Neo-Vedantic notions of the self giganticized. In this way, even St. Denis' early works exploited the opportunities inherent in what Eliade has called "imitating the iconographic model," wherein the ordinary human being could attune the body to the stillness of plants and organic life, becoming a manifestation of the performance of "embryonic, vegetative ontological modalities."

[293] For more on the crucial role of mimesis in South Asian performance more generally, see Phillip B. Zarrilli, *When the Body Becomes All Eyes: Paradigms, Discourses, and Practices of Power in Kalarippayattu, a South Indian Martial Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[294] Eliade, op. cit., 98. Eliade suggested that the Indian tradition of cosmicization results in a macranthropos, a man who is the giganticized version of the human being. This stage is precursor to the final stage in which the yogi dissociates completely from the cosmos.

[295] Joseph Laycock, "Yoga for the New Woman and the New Man: The Role of Pierre Bernard and Blanche DeVries in the Creation of Modern Postural Yoga," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 23, no. 1 (2013): 120. Laycock details that in 1914, de Vries was in charge of a yoga school for women in New York on East 54th street. Five years later, she opened an institute for teaching what she called "Yoga Gymnosophy," a phrase which was used to denote the particular borrowings from gymnastics, yoga, dance and theatre that comprised her practice. See also Stefanie Syman, *The Subtle Body: The Story of Yoga in America* (New York: Macmillan, 2010), 100. Syman relates that very little information about the exercises de Vries taught remains, but it is known that static poses were a mainstay of the teaching, and included backbends, headstands, standing poses and balances, front and side splits, nauli and breathing exercises. Notably, St. Denis and de Vries were both former Vaudevillians, which might help to explain their readiness to convert the practices of meditation into postures that were predicated on the embodiment of 'others.'

[296] With regard to this, it might be asked: Did this refusal to move so closely associated with the yogi in the modern era impact the development of modern dance? What was the relationship between figures associated with the renunciate traditions of India and those associated with sensuality, i.e. the highly mobile nautch dancer? Further studies in this area might serve to detail how notions of the 'contemporary' and 'modern' were developed in relationship with numerous practices that were considered fossilized.

[297] Eliade, op. cit., 55.

[298] Ibid., 54

[299] Untitled essay detailing her encounter with Isis on a Cigarette Poster. Box 124: Folder 4. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. One might add here that *Radha* is the notable deviation from these examples. St. Denis' choreography for *Radha* was an explosion of motion, characteristic (in St. Denis' view) of worldly sensuality. In this way, one could argue that those static figures she presented were emblematic of a refusal to participate in the world, and were consequently associated with religious transcendence.

[300] Ibid., 68

[301] "The Divine Mirror." Dated March 18, 1920. BOX 71, Folder 3. Smaller ballets 1917-1920. Ruth St. Denis Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. This document also provides evidence that St. Denis understood truth as a process of stopping, of extinguishing wandering, of inward retreat. Here again, archival writings evidence that in St. Denis' appraisal, motion was closely linked with the fluctuations of worldly life.

[302] Letter dated October 31, 1903. Box 45, Folder 1. Correspondence. Ruth St. Denis Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. Ruth St. Denis writes that she "answered an ad for a teacher of physical culture."

[303] "Women's Career of Leisure Time." Box 123, Folder 1. Ruth St. Denis Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[304] Ibid.

[305] Ibid.

[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid.
[310] St. Denis' approach here betrays dominant early twentieth century iterations of the yogi as an ahistorical being. These iterations have since been reconsidered and revised by D. G. White, Joseph Alter, Hugh Urban and others.
[311] Briggs, op. cit., 206. As Briggs notes, "Jog means to be dead when alive. One has to sing the song of nonentity using one's own meagre body as an instrument."
[312] Eliade, op. cit., 54.
[313] Srinivasan bases her insights on Ruyter's work that unearths a link between Delsarte and the Sanskrit treatise on the performing arts, the Natya Sastra (2nd century C.E.). While the connection between Deslarte and Asian movement vocabularies has not been adequately explored, Srinivasan turns to the work of dance historian Nancy Ruyter who suggested in the 1970s that the Natya Sastra may have influenced Delsarte. However, this same link was not mentioned in her later 1979 publication. Srinivasan likewise asserts Ruyter's claim that Stebbins studied with a "Hindoo pundit" whose breathing techniques (presumably yogic) found their way into Stebbins' American variant of Delsarte. Stebbins, of course, taught Ruth St. Denis in the 1890s. Based on this, Srinivasan contends that the women who embodied the Orientalist and Theosophical discourses presented to them by Stebbins "did not acknowledge the technique's intercultural borrowings." See Srinivasan, op. cit., 45. Singleton also draws a link between Stebbins and yogic breathing techniques, once again based on the work of Ruyter. See Nancy Ruyter, "The Delsarte Heritage," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 14, no. 1 (1996): 62-74.
[314] "Metaphysical pageants." Box 71, Folder 6. Ballets. 1920s-1960s. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. St. Denis looked to Greece, Egypt and India as predecessors of a new, reintegrated America that would be the hub of spiritual and artistic life worldwide.
[315] Although the document is undated, it was likely composed in the 1920s just following "The Pyramidal Pageant of Truth."
[316] "The Lotus Temple of Self Realization." Box 71, Folder 6. Ballets. 1920s-1960s. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.
[317] Ibid. Ruth St. Denis' plan for a temple that enacts "the soul's dramas of liberation." The temple was intended to bring artists to "greater spiritual activity…because of its beauty." Moreover, in her transhistorical style, St. Denis proposes that the temple is a symbolic representation of the specializations through which man unfolds his being.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Ibid.
[324] Ibid.
[325] Several scholars have noted her fondness for antiquity to depict 'primitives' and advocate for a return to a spiritual golden age. See Desmond, Srinivasan, Jowitt.
[326] Publicity Materials. Dated 1955. Box 123, Folder 2. Lists of writings. 1910s-1960s. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Athena S. Leoussi, "From Civic to Ethnic Classicism: The Cult of the Greek Body in Late Nineteenth-Century French Society and Art," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 16, no. 3-4 (2009): 394. Leoussi characterizes this classical revival as a kind of ethno-classicism that idealized the ancient Greeks as the fullest embodiment of a superior white race to which Europeans belonged. She claims that it is in imitation of the ancient Greek cult of the body that early modern French ideals of the body, health and national identity were formulated. Notably, as evidenced by her Delsarte heritage, these same Greek ideals were bequeathed to St. Denis. For more on martial verbiage in the international physical culture movement, see Jennifer Hargreaves and Patricia Anne Vertinsky, *Physical Culture, Power, and the Body* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 5-13.
[330] Publicity Materials. Dated 1955. Box 123, Folder 2. Lists of writings. 1910s-1960s. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.
[331] Ibid.
[332] "Personal Credo." Box 123 Folder 1: Undated writings. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid.
[336] By this, I mean to remind that the automaton chess player and the sylphide were constructs whose power was crucially associated with their reach, their extension and ability to move.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Notes on the Yogi. Box 123 Folder 1. Undated writings. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.

[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid.
[341] Ted Shawn. Lecture No. 3 (excerpt) and Ruth St. Denis on her dances Yogi, Gregorian Chant, and others [sound recording] Tracks 6-8. op. cit.
[342] See Desmond, Srinivasan, Jowitt.
[343] Linda J. Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 68-69.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 297.
[346] Ibid., 295.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Ibid.
[349] "Personal Credo." Box 123 Folder 1: Undated writings. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles.
[350] The term East Indian here simply replicates St. Denis' usage of that term in her description of the dances.
[351] By using the word 'yogi' here I mean to refer to St. Denis' conscious attempt to create a new generation of American yogis through her movement classes that combined diverse strands of dance and yoga into one stream. It was her hope that these new yogis would share little resemblance with those historical actors depicted as thieves, acrobats and pan-handlers in travellers tales, fables or in popular performance.
[352] *Persona,* directed by Ingmar Bergman (1966; Sweden, Criterion Collection 2014), DVD.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Indeed, one can see vestiges of the colonial era's fascination with fraud and impersonation (as techniques critical to renewals and reinventions of identity) in representations of the yogi as a fraudulent trickster in popular films released in the twenty-first century, see *Kumare,* directed by Vikram Gandhi (2013; America, Lorber Films 2014), DVD. The difference between these twenty first century illustrations of the yogi is that they do not conceive of the yogi as a nonhuman. That is to say that the figure may be derided, but overall, the configuration of the yogi's difference is not predicated on his illegitimacy, that is his lack of legal or political recognition in America.
[355] For a comprehensive study of alchemical mutations of the body in Hatha traditions, see David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[356] Handwritten note in red pencil. Box 123 Folder 1. Ruth St Papers 1880-1968, Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California Los Angeles. The notion of transubstantiation is repeatedly voiced in St. Denis' writings: "As we 'change' our image into the image of God we change the 2 into 1 substance thus as in heaven as on earth, the spirit of revelation is the practice of truth…"
[357] Deleuze, op. cit., 7. Central to this artistic mandate was the aforementioned notion of time that held sway within almost all of the visual and performing arts in which still poses (homologous to the photograph) were understood as having a peculiar power to generate within the immanent a glimpse of the transcendent, the eternal and the primitive. The still moment if you will, offered a way of understanding time as a continuous succession of ordered moments. As Deleuze notes, cinema was the exception to this rule. As a result, a dichotomized understanding of the yogi-fakir complex as either hypermobile (one that was pejoratively evaluated) or still and sedentary (as expressive of a classical ideal) grew within the artistic discourses of popular American performance.
[358] By extension, these ideas of active and passive also resulted in specific movement cues as visible markers of humanness that were also frequently thought to animate a dichotomy between east and west. In this vein, St. Denis' work, (so often demonized for its exotic appropriations) constitutes a curious ecology of choreographic representations that propelled this binary. This dichotomy was by no means a hard and fast distinction. To claim such boundaries would ignore the obvious association of the hypermobile *Radha* with a perceived sensuality of the east. One might however, argue that even the whirling pace of this dance was designed to iterate what St. Denis argued was the purificatory process of withdrawing from the senses, once again prioritizing hermetic stillness as a core value of the east. Nonetheless, by associating vigour and mobility with dominion, place, permanence and imperial power, (and by contrast, stillness as illustrative of that which is reaches for the transcendent, ahistorical or beyond the human) St. Denis proposed that it was the still body in *The Yogi* (symbolizing infinity) that, if usurped, could provide for America the new start, the spiritual renaissance, she sought.
[359] One example would be the 'ashtanga' syllabus popularized by Pattabhi Jois in the 1980s.

Chapter 5:

The Ghost's Return

5.1 Spectral Technologies of the Twenty-First Century and their Extra-Sensory Predecessors

In April 2012, deceased rapper Tupac Shakur's hologram performed at the Coachella Music and Arts festival in Indio, California. As dumbfounded spectators watched Shakur's phosphorescent[1] form levitate from a nocturnal stage amidst the crowd's deafening hum and the intermittent white flicker of cigarette lighters, few suspected his body was an elaborate revenant, a commemorative performance built from a tightly rehearsed digital choreography. As Shakur's virtual body prowled the stage, his shoulders slung low, his knees lurching, his body reinvoked the familiar indeterminacies of the staged apparition. So it was, that an apocalyptic bell pealed on every second bar of a grim, thudding bass line as if to reinforce the metaphysical significance of this dancing specter, reminding any observer that the ghost is the site of both life and death, presence and absence, and that its choreographies are marked by these 'twin horizons' (Nelson 2008).[2]

The very word ghost which proceeds from the Old English 'gast' and the German 'geist,' meaning "soul, spirit, breath, the principle of life"[3] has since its German iterations in the sixteenth century, been taken to refer to supernatural spirits that frighten, excite and disrupt the senses.[4] For this reason, those sensory provocations unleashed in the memories that haunt death's survivors are, as French philosopher Julia Kristeva has postulated, testament that the body's great double, its fluid remains, its memories, waste and corpses, are "what we permanently thrust aside in order to live."[5]

Ghosts, like all monsters then, are creatures consigned to the margins, that only survive by the presence of old wounds, in the flotsam and jetsam of unresolved memories that they are bound to 'haunt,' physically revisit and resurrect. Perhaps on account of this compulsion to retreat to the past, dancer/choreographer and anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston commented in her early twentieth century

study of African American folklore in *The Sanctified Church*, "ghosts hate new things."[6] And yet, in their flagrant display of life's 'remains,' there is nonetheless no denying that ghostly arrivals in dance and theatrical performance have "real presence and demand[s] your due, your attention,"[7] expressing a definite need to address the "conditions that call them up and keep them alive."[8]

Situating the ghost at the interstices of new technologies, religious traditions and the material realities of bodily performance, this chapter examines a diverse array of transatlantic ghosts in performance between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries, giving primary importance to the aforementioned Tupac Shakur hologram performed in California in 2012. Through deploying a range of methodologies from archival excavation to ethnographic inquiry and movement analysis, I identify the ghost as a surpassing creature that has long been used not only to commemorate absence through the creation of cultural and historically specific 'memorial topographies,'[9] but to tangibly reconstruct and transcend the conditions of embodiment altogether through technologies that augment and intervene in the foundations of sense perception. Brought to life by prosthetic technologies and commemorative practices that display the specter's remoteness from the living human body, I contend that ghosts call for a crucial expansion of 'normal' sensoria that enables an ontological revision of the borders of life (and by extension, the human) as they reshape the sociopolitical networks of survivors. In so doing, instantiations of the ghost in the history of transatlantic Anglophone performance offered in this chapter illuminate the history of twenty-first century virtuality, unearthing the relationship between embodiments of the spectral in performance and the cross-pollinated network of scientific, technological and religio-philosophical conversations from which they emerged.

Before all else, this study proceeds with the observation that ghosts intrude on the arena of performance as displaced 'others,' as the remains of life that exist to dislocate and disturb the senses. In this way, through their simultaneous absence and presence, they are at once mnemonic and anticipatory, retrospective and prospective. So it is, that the ghost haunts the borders of *soma,* that Greek word which means both the living body and the corpse*,* as it exhumes lingering questions about the endurance and stability of materiality.

I also argue that a common approach to technology as a numinous, mediating power has been responsible for the range of technological ghosts disseminated in interdisciplinary transatlantic performance (primarily in the United States and Britain) between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. In particular, each instantiation of the ghost discussed within this chapter is shown to be a product of sensory prosthesis (i.e. manufactured through technological processes that augment human sensoria), thereby revealing a common, overarching discourse about sense perception as a 'networked resource,'[10] that is the inheritance of nineteenth-century visions of technological modernity. In turn, I propose that the persistent notion of a networked sensoria between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries has enabled the ghost to perform strategic political reckonings, disseminating the tangible demands of those disappeared bodies who unheard and abandoned, perpetually return as scorned debris to invite material change, a reminder to the living of both what memorial remains can do, and what remains to be done.

As historian of religions John Lardas Modern has reasoned, the idea of the 'networked sensoria,' a condition in which one's agency might be interrupted by forces beyond the visible, proceeds from an antebellum interest in a 'secular metaphysics'[11] governed by metaphors of the network. Describing a mid-twentieth century America in which "the materiality of networks... had come to make demands upon the senses, seeping in and haunting the imagination,"[12] Modern postulates that a rapid proliferation of metaphors of the network which had pervaded the nineteenth-century religio-political, social and aesthetic imaginary, resulted in a reigning 'hauntology'[13] that would leave a lasting material imprint on American politics and the development of a secular identity in which all individuals were presumed bound in an invisible (and therefore spectral) network of connectivity.

Perhaps it is not surprising then, that twenty-first century performances of the ghost that are laced with futuristic high-tech discourses are, as visual arts theorist R.L. Rutsky observes, frequently permeated by religious terms and ideas. Emblematizing what sociologist Sherry Turkle has noted is the propensity of these new technologies to "seem magical," the technocorporeal ghost resonates "with our most profound sense that life is not predictable...they provoke spiritual, even religious speculations."[14] To expand a line

of inquiry opened by dance historian Felicia McCarren, one might suggest then that in using prosthetics to give material reality to absence and loss, the ghost is a mnemonic device situated at the nexus of the religious and the secular[15] that "makes present through evocation, what was absent."[16]

Nonetheless, if ghost performances frequently evoke religious speculations, one might still ask to what confluence of religious/secular[17] and scientific discourses does the Shakur hologram owe its tropes? Is it possible to chart a relationship between theatrical ghosts in the twenty-first century and spectral performances in the nineteenth? Can this relationship be situated within a broader history of religio-scientific and technological discourses that has facilitated the material production of ghosts since the Victorian era? Is Shakur's hologram a repeat performance of a nineteenth-century ghost that accessed the latest technologies to re-imagine not only the boundaries of the dead, but to mediate the memories and normative sociopolitical circuits of the living? Moreover, how have sensory disruptions invited by spectral technologies in the twenty-first century impacted conceptual frameworks that position the virtual body (or the digital ghost) in dance and performance as 'other' to life itself, a transgression of the normative bounds of the living, human body?

5.2 How To Make a Ghost and Why Bother? Interdisciplinary Debates about Secularism, New Technologies, Augmented Sense Perception and the Birth of the Virtual

To some extent, presumptions of a post-Enlightenment North American and European modernity that is necessarily secular, and whose technologies are the inheritance of rational, progress-driven scientific paradigms, have enabled historical symmetries between contemporary performances of the virtual ghost and their nineteenth-century spectral predecessors to be peremptorily dismissed. Since the 1990s however, several fields across the social sciences including religious studies and the visual arts (and to a lesser extent, dance and performance studies) have reconsidered this monolithic approach, challenging longstanding assumptions about the overarching relationship between modernity and secularization (Lachapelle; Owen; Partridge; Mays; Matheson).

Historian Christopher Partridge deftly refutes precedent historiographies by demonstrating that the religio-cultural milieu of modernity in the west was in fact a reconfigured hybrid of secularization and sacralization.[18] Historian of religions Alex Owen's seminal work, *The Place of Enchantment*, likewise disputes that modernity itself was characterized by an entirely secular worldview; rather, occulture in this context represented an intellectual revolt against the purposive or instrumental rationality that Enlightenment faith in reason and progress had bequeathed to the modern era.[19] In *A Secular Age*, philosopher Charles Taylor has similarly argued that the nineteenth century did not efface religion, but rather declarations of religious freedoms across much of North America and Europe resulted in its altered scope in social and political life.[20] To these findings, one might also add research generated by dance historians Joellen Meglin (2004) and Judith Lynne Hanna (1988), who have argued that artistic performances and productions once termed 'secular' were in fact the product of complex networks of heterodox religious discourses that were, as historian of religions Mircea Eliade conceived, "unrecognizable…camouflaged in forms, purposes and meanings which are apparently profane. . . no longer expressed in conventional religious language..."[21]

Accordingly, subterfuge runs as a deep and repetitive theme in contemporary evaluations of the influence of spiritualism (and other new religious movements) in the development of modern technological culture. As historians Sas Mays and Neil Matheson have argued, spiritualism was camouflaged within modernity's performance parameters from the outset; "understood in technological rather than in supernatural terms"[22] spiritualism's embeddedness within the sphere of science and technology "helped to popularize new technologies...invariably shaping modern culture."[23] To this end, the University of Westminster's Institute for Modern and Contemporary Culture boasts a Spiritualism and Technology research arm that exists solely to unearth the shaping influence of new religious movements in the nineteenth century on contemporary technological culture. The astute recognition within this interdisciplinary pool of research is that these avenues of inquiry will yield new understandings about the history of embodiment vis à vis the use of tools and technologies, clarifying their utility in reframing or artificially expanding ordinary, 'normative' sense perception.

Indeed, as several historians have noted, the philosophical moorings of sensory augmentation through tools and technological networks is hardly new to the twenty-first century. The possibility that a normative perceptual arsenal might be either artificially augmented or mediated has been variously described over the centuries by numerous thinkers including Greek philosophers Aristotle and Philo of Alexandria, to twentieth century Canadian communications theorist Marshall McLuhan and twenty-first century British biologist Rupert Sheldrake. In fact, it is in continuity with Plato, Aristotle, Philo and the ancients that Sheldrake cites an "extramission theory" in which the eyes for instance, "perceive by emitting rays that touch and mingle with the objects to which they are directed,"[24] thereby revealing the senses not as passive receptors, but as active shaping forces in determining reality.

Likewise, in some of the earliest schools of Hindu philosophical thought such as the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools, perception is understood as a process in which the eye con-forms to its object via the rays of light, a theory that effectively renders a channel of light (rather than the eye itself) as the organ of perception. This channel of light then moves outward and flows over objects as if it were pouring water, directly apprehending the object itself. In this way, insight is understood as an inner light that "dwells in the heart as punching holes out through its surface in order that its five rays (raśmi) that is, the sense organs, may spread outward, enabling the self to grasp ("eat" in the Sanskrit) its sense objects."[25] Invariably, these theories about the openness of channels of sense perception to sensory objects that also configured the human subject as porous, or open to remote manipulation were "also implicit in the widespread folk belief in the evil eye"[26] both in western and eastern traditions.

Similar pre-modern notions of the senses as a means of communication, or as media itself, were brought to the fore in the mid-twentieth century by Marshall McLuhan who in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* postulated that media, in the broad sense, could be conceived of as "extensions or amputations of the sense organs" making it possible to conceive "clothing as an extension of skin, the telescope as an extension of the eye, the telephone of the ear etc."[27] In this sense, one might propose that McLuhan's visions of a material body augmented by media was based on those theories[28] of sense perception popular in Antiquity and the Middle Ages that also brought with them an overarching

preoccupation with perception itself as a remote agent of activity.

Situated squarely between McLuhan's theories and those articulated in Antiquity, new technologies of the modern era (in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) likewise provided metaphors by which an extra-sensory, or supernatural sense perception could be described. As historians Janet Beer and Bridget Bennett have documented, telegraphy, which had closed the transatlantic communication gap during the modern era, provided the crucial metaphor by which communications from another world of the deceased could be materialized. In fact, this technological metaphor of telegraphy as a kind of metaphysical prosthetic was so widely recognized as a useful metaphor that the most significant scientific periodical of 1850s edited by Samuel Britten entitled *The Spiritual Telegraph*, took its name from telegraphy's metonymic relationship with extrasensory perception.[29] However, as historians Jonathan Crary and Sas Mays both document, for those communities invested in raising the ghost, (such as nineteenth-century spiritualists) the relationship between technology and extra sensory perception in fact went beyond analogical thinking, drawing instead parallels between sensory perception and electricity for instance, that were seen as descriptive.[30]

As discursive constructs that required extra sensory perception in order to be materialized or experienced, ghosts, in this way, were closely aligned with instruments and technologies that could augment normal sense perception, becoming metonymic with technologies that could intervene in sensoria to produce the paranormal. Like kaleidescopes or telescopes, nineteenth-century ghosts were communicative devices that on the one hand were thought to remotely palpate the deceased and on the other were taken as devices that could communicate truths to their spectators. Historian Jeffrey Sconce has accordingly argued, "many of our contemporary narratives concerning the 'powers' of telecommunications have, if not their origin, then their first significant cultural synthesis in the doctrine of Spiritualism."[31]

Despite such potent reminders that the history of performance (both ritual and theatrical) is crucially dependent on its situatedness in technocultural context, the notion of 'technosensual proprioception,'[32] or the idea that we cannot sever our bodies from the shaping impact of technological culture (and resulting

changes in sensory perception) has met with ambivalence not only within dance studies, but within the neighbouring discipline of performance studies. While a number of scholarly analyses generated in dance studies, visual arts, theatre and new media in the past decade (Jones; Rutsky; Foster; Albright; Shaviro; Hiller; Auslander) have embraced discourses surrounding the virtual body, other scholars who have long explored the primacy of the material body as the site and agent of culture have, on the whole, regarded such broad theories about the body's sensory reach and prosthetic existence through technology (i.e. data) with some degree of caution (Morris; Banes; Desmond; Phelan).[33] As a consequence, an overarching emphasis on the live body in dance studies over the past decade has meant that discourses pertaining to the technologically mediated, virtual body have receded.[34]

Perhaps this careful, calibrated approach to ghosts and technological discourses of bodily absence is the end result of hard-won battles within academia regarding the validity of carnal epistemologies in dance studies. In the adjacent discipline of performance studies for instance, Peggy Phelan's oft-cited dictum that performance is "representation without reproduction"[35] has reified the body's live-ness as the defining feature of performance. Disregarding the insights gleaned from discourses in biopolitical power (Hayles; Badmington; Haraway) that consider all things (live or not, data or flesh) as contingent, transitional, embroiled in ontological mediation, Phelan's approach instead reifies the live body as an absolute. Thus, despite efforts to rescue performance from the clutches of capitalist modes of consumption, Phelan's position (which has generated invaluable insight regarding the importance of the immaterial) invariably reinforces a binary that marginalizes the living from the dead, flesh from data, and more pertinently, the human from the tools of its context.

To draw upon Gregory Bateson's well-known example,[36] one might ask then, how easily can the cane be fractured from its user, technologies from the body? If one proposes a severance, the disturbing corollary (especially as regards disability studies),[37] is that the body is divorced from its tools, and the markers of technology as material culture. Yet, much like pointe work techniques in classical ballet are inseparable from the prosthetic apparatus of the shoe, the moving bodies of technosensual specters such as that of the holographic Shakur are inseparable from their organizing paradigms and haptic networks.

In maintaining that the carnal matrix must be permeable to new technologies, several scholars within performance studies have thus fittingly offered lucid critiques of Phelan's position that "in a strict ontological sense"[38] performance cannot be reproduced. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, a wave of theorists in performance studies including Philip Auslander (1999) Johannes Birringer (2008) and Rebecca Schneider (2011) voiced arguments about the historical and cultural contingency of liveness. Expanding this arena of inquiry, dance scholar Stamatia Portanova's recent publication, *Moving Without a Body* (2013) has proposed a radical empiricism that celebrates as real not only dancing bodies, but the abstractions and ghostly traces of choreographic thoughts and ideas.[39]

In a similar vein, Modern has argued that if "life is, and has been for a very long time, a haunting process in which one's actions are acted upon by others from a distance," then, not only people, but "concepts, representations, and words" also shape life at a distance.[40] We might similarly argue that technology and the paradigms we use to parse them are not only created *by* humans, but are in fact, modalities that also create us in turn, ensuring a "feedback loop"[41] between the monsters we create and the ways those monsters shape us. By the same token, we might understand the ghost (like the virtual body) as an extension of our material bodies, a prosthetic that can be choreographed to move and impact social and political realities.

My particular aim then is to situate the performance of twenty-first century virtual ghosts within a greater genealogy of religio-scientific spectres that experimented not only with the limits of human sensoria but used new technologies to either reference or seek a renewal/expansion of social and political norms. Here, it may be necessary to reassure that the material body is not under siege in this chapter; there is little argument that embodied research continues to be an invaluable source of knowledge within dance studies. Nonetheless, it is my objective in this chapter to draw attention to the ways in which a range of sociopolitical issues faced by living communities in mourning were made visible and tangibly communicated through the deployment of virtual bodies and ghosts in performance. In this sense, this chapter (like those that have preceded it) presents the ghost as a surrogate designed to represent a distant, foreboding 'other,' namely death itself.

It is worth noting that the scope of this study does not address the more vertiginous biomedical determinisms and eugenic discourses associated with the increasing proximity between humans and informatics. While this is an area well-worth investigating, this study's scope remains fairly narrowly centered on the history of the ghost as provocateur of a normative perceptual arsenal. In keeping with the overarching approach of this dissertation, this chapter does however, account for the slippery slopes of its representational figures, acknowledging that all surrogates carry a potential to function as slave bodies, their agentive powers suppressed to lesser or greater degrees by the ideologies they animate.

By the same token, in identifying the tangible, material impact ghosts exert on the environments in which they perform, this chapter does not aim to demonstrate that the Shakur hologram or any of the other performances named are the product of any one set of insular, self-contained religious discourses, or a monolithic enactment of a particular religious, scientific or technological tradition. To do so would misidentify spiritualism (for instance) itself as a cohesive, institutionalized religion rather than a loosely organized network of heterodox religious groups. Instead, common approaches to the ghost as a sensory provocation are carefully exposed to the ends of identifying the religious, scientific and technological underpinnings of the mediated sensorium and by extension, choreographic legacies of the nonlive, absent and/or virtual body within dance and performance.

In proceeding, I offer an archival analysis of Shakur's performance as documented in primary sources (newspapers, periodicals and magazines) published just following the performance at Coachella in 2012. These findings (segments 5.3-5.6) are supplemented by interviews with key personnel at Vice Records (conducted in accordance with current York University Senate policies for research involving human participants) involved in the manufacture of the hologram. This opening segment undertakes an analysis of the Shakur hologram as a memorial topography, identifying those themes of political martyrdom and resurrection that demonstrate the ghost's function not simply as a mnemonic device, but as a fulcrum of sociopolitical and ontological shift. In section 5.5, the theoretical paradigm of 'remote sensing'[42] as deployed by visual arts theorist Caroline Bassett is applied to the Shakur hologram in order to position the virtual Shakur as an exemplar of those techniques that render the physical body technosensual,

'networked' and co-extensive with the virtual. Segment 5.6 offers a movement analysis of a pair of child-ghosts featured in Los Angeles director Hiro Murai's video for the Flying Lotus track, "Never Catch Me featuring Kendrick Lamar" that considers the representation of those 'enforced absences'[43] invited by socioeconomic hardship in America's all-black ghettos.

Following this, in segment 5.7, I turn to the commemorative practices and technologies of nineteenth-century spiritualism to demonstrate how mass technologies (such as the daguerreotype, the photograph and the cinematic screen) particularly in America, evolved out of a heightened interest in the public imaginary for ritual resurrections of the deceased. The chapter then proceeds to a comparative examination of the technosensual underpinnings of the nineteenth-century forerunner of Shakur's hologram (5.8) a theatrical effect first presented on the British stage in 1862 entitled 'Pepper's Ghost.' Three textual sources serve to establish how notions of a sensoria augmented by new technologies (homologous with spiritualist notions of extrasensory perception and networked communications) were central in the ideation and manufacture of Pepper's Ghost. These include chemist John Henry Pepper's 1890 publication *The True History of the Ghost: And All About Metempsychosis*, engineer Henry Dircks' *The Ghost!: As Produced in the Spectre Drama, Popularly Illustrating the Marvellous Optical Illusions Obtained by the Apparatus Called the Dircksian Phantasmagoria: Being a Full Account of Its History, Construction, and Various Adaptations* (1863), and the Scottish physicist David Brewster's *Letters on Natural Magic* (1832).

In turn, the two sections that follow (5.9 and 5.10) detail how spiritualism co-opted the evidentiary discourses of the scientific establishment in advancing a number of utopian social and political reforms in the mid to late nineteenth century. In this way, I demonstrate that the philosophical contests enacted between rational science and spiritualism surrounding paranormal perception in the nineteenth century played a key role in anticipating the configuration of a ghostly virtual body on the twenty-first century performance stage. Detailing how the ghost was central to the display and circulation of these reformist ideals that sought to expand the rights and recognitions of a number of marginalized social groups, the segment reinforces how the ghost enabled the strategic interruption of social, political and religious norms.

Section 5.10 looks at the ways in which the Shakur hologram, Pepper's Ghost and spiritualist performances of the paranormal can be understood in relation to one another as part of a loose genealogy wherein sensory interventions were manufactured through ghosts and their related technologies.

The pursuant segment (5.11) entitled "The Virtual Body: Choreographic Paradigms of the Digital Ghost," draws attention to the digital ghost in contemporary choreographic practice. Drawing parallels between the influential notion developed by contemporary choreographer William Forsythe "of an abstract choreographic idea without the body,"[44] and scientific/technological processes of sensory mediation deployed in the nineteenth century, this segment foregrounds how Forsythe's commemorative work *You Made Me a Monster* (2005) draws parallels between the ghost and the virtual body, facilitating new conceptualizations of the ghost as a networked hybrid of flesh and data, absence and presence in the twenty-first century. Concluding remarks (5.12) follow this final segment.

5.3 The Memorial Topography of the Digital Ghost: Absence and Presence in Tupac Shakur's Holographic Performance (2012)

As *The New York Times* proposed, the commemorative spirit of the Tupac Shakur hologram was crucially linked to the traumatic nature of Shakur's untimely and criminally unresolved end.[45] At the center of unabated media coverage and controversy since he was shot and killed at the age of twenty-five in Las Vegas, Nevada on September 13 1996, Shakur's murder has been a source of persistent conjecture, speculation and commemorative performance. In 2011, Los Angeles Police Detective Greg Kading's publication of *Murder Rap*, exposed new details of the criminal investigation; and in 2014, former Death Row Records business associates, Reggie Wright Jr. and Lloyd Lake announced their plans to produce a documentary on the unsolved crimes entitled *Justice for the Murders of Tupac and Biggie*.[46] In addition to these offerings, a Hollywood feature on Shakur backed by veteran music producer Quincy Jones, an MTV special about his early days, a big-budget documentary film and planned volumes of future releases of Shakur's official recordings continue to magnify and feed the public frenzy for communal closure on this act of violence with a perpetual stream of media-driven resurrections that attempt to invite the return of Shakur's physical presence.

The appearance of Shakur's digital ghost at a popular arts festival in 2012 then, was but an extension of Shakur's posthumous legacy that has since his death in 1996, become increasingly associated with religious martyrdom and the resurrections/visitations they command. As early as 2001, journalist for *The New York Times* Neil Strauss reminded readers that the cover of Shakur's very first posthumous record "depicted him nailed to a cross, a hip-hop martyr."[47] Likewise, just a year prior to the holographic revenant's appearance at Coachella, CNN reported that online hackers had pirated a PBS website and posted a false story claiming the martyred rapper (who had been dead for fifteen years) had returned from the grave and was "alive and well in a small resort in New Zealand.'[48] In 2010, rapper Gorilla Zoe amplified Shakur's religious status in disclosing that for himself and many fans, "Pac was our prophet."[49] Taking inventory of the growing power of the rap star's influence in the years following his death, *The New York Times* aptly proclaimed Shakur's legacy nothing less than a "cultural revolution staged by a corpse."[50]

So it was, that the Los Angeles rapper Tupac Shakur's digital return, aptly dubbed the "resurrection of Pac"[51] by several critics in American and Canadian weeklies, provoked widespread awe and disbelief at the visual realism and kinesthetic accuracy of the deceased rapper's lifelike reanimations. As Leah Collins and Rebecca Tucker at Canada's *National Post* commented, the illusion created by Tupac's glowing presence onstage was indeed haunting, "effective enough to both stun and freak out thousands of festival-goers..."[52]

Perhaps then, like so many ghosts staged before him, Shakur's ghost can be understood as a disruptive figure situated to refract religious paradigms of transcendence that might assuage grief over his death. Certainly, for anyone who witnessed that first and only performance of the Shakur hologram at Coachella, it would have been hard to overlook the choreographic attention given to Tupac's appearance as a salvific 'second coming' that vanquished his violent disappearance. Standing with arms swung open, a lustrous crucifix swinging with the intermittent peal of church bells, Tupac's glowing presence (affirmed by his lifelike motion) was emblematic of a religio-mystical (and technological) attempt to vivify and recompose with precision the physicality and kinesthetic motion of his once living, now martyred body.

And yet, despite its widely-cited accuracy in simulating Shakur's presence, responses written by bloggers and audience members who attended the performance iterated the hologram's unsettling twining of both "presence" and "absence" in the performance, clarifying that in spite of all attempts to simulate Shakur's motions and gestures, the representation of the rapper's return as an apparition was equally dependent on making visible his physical absence:

> The apparition both reminded viewers of Shakur's enduring influence and presence in hip-hop, and of his absence. It was shocking and unsettling, but also imaginative and, well, awesome. He looked like a ghost, because he kind of was...[53]

A reprisal of the 'ghost,' that discursive construct long manufactured through clever conflations of religion, technology and the rational discourses of science, Shakur's spectral body on the performance stage presents a reminder not only of American modernity's fascination with progress-driven spectacles of technology, but also of the persistent desire to reproduce the body's physical presence, to preserve life against death, a commemorative impulse that French film theorist Andre Bazin has termed, the 'mummy complex.'[54] In inviting the bodies of the disappeared and miraculously restoring them, this reconstruction of life preserves bodily appearance from an inevitable absence, from "the flow of time, stow[ed] away neatly [...] in the hold of life."[55] Indeed, performance reviews that emerged in *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *LA Weekly* just following the astounding impact of this performance, were unanimous in praising the performance's ability to capture its presence, that is, its ability to seek "preservation of life by a representation of life."[56]

However, as aptly summarized by the president of AV Concepts, Nick Smith, the CEO behind the creation of Shakur's holographic performance, the unusually precise rendering of Shakur's motion and gesture through this hologram was something more than an attempt to preserve life. Instead, propelled by the technological promise of ontological transformation, the hologram which was said to move "like a character in an extremely detailed videogame: fluidly, but without the spontaneity for which Tupac was famous,"[57] was evocative of a resurrection, a complete recreation of his being, rather than an attempt at a static perpetuation of his previous body:

> "You can take their likenesses and voice," he says. "[You] can take people that haven't done concerts before or perform music they haven't sung and digitally recreate it."[58]

Wary of casting a real human to mimetically represent Shakur, the hologram's artistic co-creators Dr. Dre and Snoop Dog rejected the possibility that human actors might imitate Shakur, choosing instead to approach Digital Domain Media Group, the visual effects company credited with the creation of the Tupac hologram (and well-known for their early experiments in the staging of "virtual humans"[59] in Hollywood) to create a ghostly illusion, a digital likeness that could simultaneously commemorate and reanimate through carefully choreographed motion, both their deceased friend's disappearance and physical return.[60]

5.4 Exceeding the Human: The Shakur Hologram and Digital Choreography

As a consequence of the regenerative tenor of this particular holographic performance, the hologram's creators were insistent that the performance break new ground not only in its utilization of traditional methods of choreography, but in its deployment of new prosthetic technologies that could manufacture a virtual body, a presence for Shakur's revenant to inhabit. Presumably wanting to give the deceased Shakur a new lease on life, chief creative officer at Digital Domain, Ed Ulbrich emphasized the representational importance of generating a "real person," a precise equivalent of Shakur's living body: "This is not him performing at some point; this is a completely original, exclusive performance only for Coachella and that audience. And because Shakur was a real person with a devoted fan following, it was crucial to get all his mannerisms, the tone of his voice, the placement of his tattoos, etc., correct."[61] As if to further proclaim that Digital Domain had made the extraordinary leap beyond capturing motion into the realm of creating full-fledged, virtual equivalents of the human, Ulbrich stated, "The movie business is all about creating immersive environments for fans to escape into...[But] there's nothing more complicated than a human being."[62]

Adamant in their emphasis on both the human-ness of the technology and the labor associated with performance (i.e. the choreography) that underpinned this holographic

performance, mainstream press likewise appeared to suggest that the gravitas of this particular hologram was constituted by its ability to finally return the human gaze,[63] to finally stand toe-to-toe with its human creators. Thus, seizing upon a range of theories regarding new technological materialisms (or possibly even extropian fantasies reminiscent of the writings of Ray Kurzweil),[64] the reception of the holographic performance in mainstream media focused on its innovative technological synthesis of flesh and data, affirming the hologram's importance as a cyborg, a futuristic vision of the human being.

Indeed, there may be salient symmetries between the moorings of the Shakur hologram and ideations of the human that exceeds its material topography. As an apparition created through recourse to techniques both traditional and futuristic, through a combination of material effort and remote, prosthetic forms of embodiment, the Shakur hologram exhibits a fitting parallel with a range of new media theories regarding the way in which technologies shape ontic paradigms in performance by framing the human sensorium as co-terminous, 'networked' with virtual technologies. In this regard, visual arts historian Caroline Bassett's theory of 'remote sensing' offers a theoretical framework wherein the virtual choreography of the Shakur hologram may be understood not as a disembodied activity that exceeds and constrains the abilities of its human participants, but as an activity that demands new responses to embodiment from its human actors whose bodies learn to interact with data and technologies that expand the range of human perception, enabling a ghostly physicality enacted at a distance from the human body.

5.5 Remotely Sensing the Digital Other: Choreography at a Distance

Bassett borrows the term 'remote sensing'[65] from scientific explorations of the earth (its geographies, oceans, weather patterns, built structures) as conducted by the Government of Canada's Canada Centre for Remote Sensing, or CCRS. Bassett interprets the methods of interrogation, measurement, visualization, prosthetic touching and interpretive analysis used in these new techno-scientific processes as producing foundational shifts in how we perceive our

bodies in space:

> Remote sensing is the science (and to some extent, art) of acquiring information about the earth's surface without actually being in contact with it. This is done by sensing and recording reflected or emitted energy and processing, analyzing, and applying that information.[66]

As Bassett theorizes, remote sensing "is a kind of interrogation at a distance."[67] Remote sensors alter the sense of touch, extending and altering it profoundly. They make it possible to palpate objects at a distance, without direct contact. Articulating a kind of touch at a distance, Bassett argues that this prosthetic touch, if you will, is not disengaged from the body; but rather, that engagement at arm's length is still a physical engagement.

By extension, Bassett argues that other less dramatic forms of remote engagement, including email communications and text messaging, are likewise embodied, requiring new cultural practices and bodily habits that prophesy "processes of human transformation at a smaller scale."[68] Thus, Bassett maintains that the remote sensors that make it possible to touch a surface from afar, or to interrogate it without direct contact is not illustrative of fantasy, or a cognitive exercise, but that these actions of 'sensing' from a distance are in fact resulting in profound transformations in human sense perception, and are "part of a broader series of technologically influenced shifts that are having an impact not only on scientific processes, but on everyday life."[69]

Correspondingly, as specified by *The LA Times*, the Shakur hologram which was neither based on archival footage, nor entirely the product of live embodiments, was the product of techniques of 'remote sensing.' In fact, the performance of the ghost was structured through the physical skills and enactments of its American hip-hop choreographer Fatima Robinson who, through the use of prosthetic technological processes such as motion capture technology, collocated and re-embodied a minutia of Shakur's physical gestures and motions, choosing and re-assembling their patterns and sequences in keeping with Shakur's mannerisms, in order to choreograph and dance a credible, 'new' performance.

In fact, according to the popular technology magazine *SmartPlanet,* these movement

motifs as danced by Robinson (whose credits include choreography for the HBO Inauguration event for President Barack Obama, the 2007 and 2009 Oscar Award Ceremonies, as well as choreography for several musical artists including Prince and Michael Jackson),[70] provided "a kinetic model of precisely how his body moved when walking, dancing, and so on."[71] Consequently, it has been widely surmised that Robinson's bodily movements provided a traditional physical model, which "might have been further refined by doing actual motion capture studies of people with his [Tupac's] build and physicality."[72]

Yet, if the new, remote choreographic processes deployed in Shakur's holographic performance issued challenges to existing conceptions of the human body's limits, it did so through the deployment of technologies designed to modify/augment the reach of human sense perception. That is to say, that the Shakur performance constitutes a notable example of a digital choreography in which notions of touch at a distance are explored, and in which digital technologies integrate with the human body, extending its capacity to mimic, to replicate, to remotely palpate the motions of not just the live body, but the deceased.

As journalists from several American newspapers have remarked, Shakur's digital resurrection was marked by a peculiar and pronounced mnemonic zeal[73] that distinguished it from a number of contemporaneous holograms that expediently used new virtual technologies to generate promotional campaigns predicated on the simulated presence of virtual celebrities (i.e. the Dita Von Teese hologram for Louboutin in 2012, or the Michael Jackson hologram in 2014). As the aforementioned Ulbrich of the now bankrupt Digital Domain revealed in an interview with *Billboard Magazine*, "We [weren't] using this to sell tickets. No one made any money."[74] Perhaps it was the absence of any explicit reference to a commercial product[75] that made it possible to hypothesize that a unique and pressing commemorative motivation spurred its creators who undoubtedly absorbed the steep labor and costs required to materialize "[Dr.]Dre's vision to bring this back to life..."[76]

Arguably then, despite the hologram's explicit technological appeal to futuristic discourses

(and potent parallels with the figure of the cyborg),[77] the Shakur hologram hardly gave up the ghost, exhuming as it did a repository of movements and gestures that were the vestiges of the past, reminders of the body he had once inhabited. So it was, that re-enacting and vivifying Shakur's deceased body would constitute a key part of this virtual performance; the memorial topography of his disappeared body (i.e. his ghostly remains) would constitute the space in which a troubled past could be rectified, and his untimely death ultimately avenged.

However, despite the explicit mission statement of its creators to "bring [Tupac] back to life,"[78] as well as the repeated characterization of the performance by mainstream press as a "resurrection,"[79] not all who witnessed Shakur's performance were convinced that this digital disinterment paid homage to the life and legacy of the mourned rap star. As Jason Lipshutz of *Billboard* lamented:

> Make no mistake, Tupac's Coachella appearance came from a place of love and appreciation, with Dre reportedly receiving the blessing of the rapper's mother before the concept was unveiled. But watching a visual re-creation of the rapper traipse around the stage in choreographed movements felt incorrect, as if trying to capture the energy that Tupac exhibited in his life and rhymes was a fool's errand. The hologram made me uncomfortable because Pac's life was special, and that unique flame has been extinguished. Why do we need to watch an imitation of Tupac when we have an incomparable plethora of his own art at our disposal?[80]

The excerpt poses a fair question: why craft a virtual body that appears little more than an unscrupulous or fraudulent replica of the once-living, now deceased? Was this in fact, an attempt to raise a new, virtual Tupac i.e. a cyborg, or to raise his ghost?

In *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* sociologist Paul Connerton proposes that "the art of memory relies essentially on a stable set of places,"[81] which whether real or imagined serves to create a sequence by which things can be recalled, an orderly topography comprised of "the disposition of places around us."[82] In exceeding the topographic scope of such 'stable places,' the ghost, like the cyborg, is a topos that at once serves to remind the spectator that the order of the living body is mutable, just as it interrogates death as a loss of a physical space, the absence of an inhabitable body. Frequently depicted

on these grounds as transcendent, flying creatures, the disruptive motions of nonhuman ghosts (which are not unlike that of sylphides and yogis) are metonymic with this loss of a physical space, their repetitive, paranormal returns to a living community characteristic of flesh displaced. Yet, ghosts (more so than cyborgs, for instance) are frequently choreographed to appear as if they are truly alive, their lifelike motion of immaterial spirits displayed as evidence of their ability to transgress or intervene in the conditions of life.

In this sense, the perambulant hauntings of ghosts are ones "in which abusive systems of power make themselves known... especially when they are supposedly over and done with (slavery, for instance), or when their oppressive nature is denied..."[83] Born of vacuums and forced disappearances, ghosts are like most exiles and emigres, creatures that long to return, to haunt their survivors and potentially intervene in the ontic and communal order of their origins. That is to say, the ghost distinguishes itself from the cyborg by way of a distinctive memorial topography exemplified in its movements: born of a peculiar variety of moral outrage associated with a troubled past, the ghost's insistent and splenetic return is irrevocably shaped by a desire for reckoning.

As has been previously detailed, there was something distinctive about the holographic Shakur, a haunting quality that can perhaps be best explained through recourse to the violent circumstances of his untimely death, an event that might itself be analyzed as a "lingering inheritance of racial slavery."[84] Along with recollections of the salvific presence of Shakur's hologram thus lingered a sinking sense that this revenant was but a slain avenger who, with smoking gun and coroner's report, returned like the ghost in Hamlet, the bearer of righteous retribution, to haunt the living with a long-list of the causes of his death, articulating the limits of life in America's marginalized, all-black neighbourhoods.

As historian Lucy Frank has documented, the social death experienced by marginalized subcultures particularly in the history of black America, has frequently resulted in a communal relationship "to mortality that was quite different from that of the socially privileged."[85] Such groups configured modes and representations of death in which death was not an end-of-lifespan event. Instead, like the interruptive, interstitial presence of Shakur's ghost, the persistent "absent presence"[86] of ghosts in

disadvantaged communities palpably represented the realities of socioeconomic hardship, the disruptions and temporal disjointedness of everyday life. Given the context of Shakur's traumatic death, it would be entirely reasonable to identify the return of his body as a curious technosensual mourning ritual that sought to map the vascillating tensions between the body's presence and its absence, "between glorifications of the thug life and beautifully moralistic elegies for the wages of that life"[87] in America's black ghettos.

Indeed, the conspicuous gasps and muffled weeping of spectators in videos of the holographic performance offer aural evidence of a possible unspoken reality, a narrative of historical trauma implicit within this performance that fed Shakur's symbolic capital as martyr to the routine casualties of ghetto violence that dictate not only how one lives, but predict how one might also die. In this way, as sociologist Avery Gordon has elegantly argued, "slavery has ended, but something of it continues to live on..." existing like a troubled ghost "in the social geography of where peoples reside... in the veins of the contradictory formation we call New World modernity, propelling, as it always has, a something to be done."[88]

On the one hand, one might cite the apparition's aforementioned representation of an "enduring influence and presence...and of his absence,"[89] as evidence of what Connerton has suggested are "mourning customs... invented in response to these catastrophes"[90] that respond to the scarcity of repertoires of practices that pertain to trauma. Certainly, in its baffling spirit of martyrdom and resurrection, Shakur's hologram might be classified as a particular type of public performance of mourning that in skirting the ordinary circumstances of death for which extensive ritual prescriptions have been devised, offered a new kind of response to slavery's persistent wound.

More importantly still, it is possible to conceive that the hologram's appeal to lifelike motion (as constructed by a choreographer and through recourse to exacting technologies) provided the mnemonic trigger for an elaborate, mass-media driven mourning ritual in which Shakur's virtual body was crucially anchored to his disappearance, his death and absence understood to represent "a complex system of repression..."[91] In this way, the tropes of martyrdom that pervade the Shakur hologram may be understood

as symbolic of his enforced disappearance, and therefore, an indictment of the sociopolitical conditions in which he lived, and the violence of his death. In other words, if the virtual Shakur functioned as futuristic provocation to the live, material body (i.e. as a cyborg), it did so in ways that were simultaneously 'ghostly,' that is by returning to issue politicized cautions to a living populace, and to articulate a culturally specific memorial topography in hopes of a reconstructed future.

Shakur's hologram however, was hardly the first or only politicized ghost to have returned to haunt the living with reminders of the deplorable socioeconomic conditions of marginalized black youth in America: it was but one of a handful of commemorative spectres and apparitions whose ambiguous bodies appeared dancing in films and videos made by Los Angeles hip hop artists between 2012 and 2014. Among these, a video made by Tokyo-born, Los Angeles bred director Hiro Murai for experimental producer, Flying Lotus and hip hop artist Kendrick Lamar's audio track, "Never Catch Me featuring Kendrick Lamar,"[92] mirrors the preoccupation with ghosts in contemporary hip-hop culture, drawing liberally from the echatological themes prevalent in the producer's 2014 record, "You're Dead!" In it, the corpses of two black children rise in unison from their funereal coffins to perform an elaborately choreographed dance of death in Compton, California, a city south of Los Angeles whose violent reputation has been synonymous with hip-hop crews and rappers since the 1980s.

5.6 The Dancing Dead: The Young, Black Ghosts of Compton

Functioning as memorial and poignant critique, the video for "Never Catch Me featuring Kendrick Lamar," opens in near-total silence. A cleft of light slips through a horizontal window, revealing the muffled outlines of a gurney covered in a shroud, as the camera advances towards a body at the center of a dark hospital room. From here, the screen yields to a chapel where a gathering of black men and women seated at wooden pews survey an open casket situated at the end of a narrow, carpeted aisle. The aperture slowly closes in on the corpses of two children, a girl and a boy, who lie adjacent in burnished wooden coffins.

Shortly after the song's opening, both figures sit up in their caskets, this initial movement unsteady and brittle, as if involuntary. From what looks like a seated trance, the child-ghosts leap from their resting

place, making what appears to be an automated exit from their coffins as the gospel choir claps its hands in a relentless rhythmic unison, an exacting metronome that accompanies their uncanny rebirth. Landing squarely in front of the altar, the twin souls swing, stomping out a tightly-choreographed sequence of jubilant maneuvers. Careening down the aisle, the rejuvenated pair who are awkwardly dressed in funereal formalwear, (a powder blue dress with knee socks and patent leather shoes and a boy's three-piece suit with bow tie), flap and rock in the exuberance of their duet that recalls myriad dance styles: the lunging step-swing motifs of the southern Charleston, the airy slide of Fred Astaire, the pop and lock of hip-hop and break.

As if the ecstatic lurching blur of the kinder-corpse revival were but an extravagant illusion, the gathered mourners sit with eyes vacant, transfixed by the still bodies in their stout boxes. The deceased however, continue to dance, their pulsating ambulations giving way to a slow motion run, rib cages pumping like swollen flotation devices, drawing them imperceptibly out of the chapel via the slim red runner. As the funereal mourning continues, the silhouettes of the ghosts are seen behind translucent curtains, far beyond the chapel, their choreographed performance of vernal death continuing into the all-black playgrounds of Compton. Leaping at last into the back of a gleaming hearse, the children giggle as they take swift command at the helm, one steering and the other riding shotgun. In the film's closing sequence, a coterie of children trail the snaking hearse, their arms swinging playfully, their bodies chasing death in the glint of a leisurely sunset.

Shot in the Los Angeles suburb of Compton, a city once known for the ruthless violence of its street gangs, the video offers through its young ghosts a fitting cautionary tale, at once anticipatory and mnemonic. The resurrection of its fledgling ghosts and the dancing of their virtual bodies is inextricably linked to the incalculable loss of Compton's many young children, the absence and presence of life so palpably communicated through the video's marriage of mourning rituals with the act of dancing, an affirmation of the body's powerful, motive presence.

Perhaps the particular advantage of performances that deploy this kind of "kinesthetic imagination"[93] in reimagining the dead is that they exact a profound material impact on performers and participants;

reworking history as a past still yet to come, the production of virtual creatures offer a gateway to complete transformation. As Roach offers, "Its truth is the truth of simulation, of fantasy, or of daydreams, but its effect on human action may have material consequences of the most tangible sort and the widest scope."[94] If we recall, the king's ghost in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* does not return simply to mark his own absence, but to invite the living to participate in both redressing past wrongs, and to restructure a common future. In this way, it is possible to argue that ghosts and technological phantasms exert no less a tangible impact on spectators than real live bodies.[95]

Seen this way, Murai's dancing specters are hardly creatures divested of technocultural or political context. Instead, these discursive constructs are re-animated in order to reconfigure mourning rituals for those bodies lost to violent social and political realities, their resurrected presence a reminder of the unnaturally early demise of so many black youth, their spectral bodies the marker of protracted cycles of sociopolitical injustice.

Fundamental to the video's materialization of these ghosts is of course the kinesthetic realism of the ghosts' disruptive motions as captured through the prosthetic technologies of film, as numerous close-ups of muscular motion stand in stark contrast to the static bodies of those who mourn their loss. One must after all, recall that the camera is a remote technology that in extending ocular perception, makes "the body disappear into a momentary agglomeration of sense-data."[96] In this sense, the revenants of these black bodies performed in mnemonic contexts points to an attempt to deploy the ghost's motions to represent not simply a technological victory over the body's physical limits (and by extension, death), but to offer a more pronounced critique of the socioeconomic hardships and vulnerabilities visited routinely upon black youth whose lives are held hostage by violence and poverty in cities that surround Los Angeles.

Notably, the materialization of ghosts as a means of inviting tangible sociopolitical shift was hardly a twenty-first century development. In fact, the power of the ghost to act as a politicized, evidentiary body (and to simultaneously transcend the conditions of that body) shares symmetry with a range of religio-scientific performances of the ghost that gripped the public imaginary in Britain and America in the mid

to late nineteenth century. These predecessors to the virtual Shakur sought to resuscitate the ghost by prestidigitatorial sleights of hand, the workings of rational science as well as new mass technologies.

5.7 Science, Spiritualism and the Ghost: Manufacturing Spectral Precursors in the Nineteenth Century

Owing to a combination of scientific discoveries and technological applications that had unexpectedly brought Mesmerism and Swedenborgianism back into fashion in Britain and the United States by the middle of the nineteenth century, a flourishing "ghost industry"[97] that mirrored the "provisional decline of the great religions"[98] took root in the aesthetic and technical vocabulary of early cinema, serving to circulate images of the transcendent and eternal spectre in the modern, popular imaginary. As a consequence, the nineteenth-century ghost became a site of mystical-scientific inquiry, proof that human sense perception could become co-extensive with external agents whose 'virtual' presence might be invited through the application of new technologies.

The specter's popularity in the mid nineteenth century however, was not isolated to the medium of film, nor was the discursive construct singularly associated with transcendence. In fact, ghost performances that formed a mainstay in that heterodox, transnational religious movement known as spiritualism were, like the Shakur hologram, anchored in an appreciation of the ghost as an immanent, evidentiary body whose impact could exact material consequences on a range of political and social causes through all manner of popular performance.

Spiritualism, as it was known, was predicated on elements of theatrical performance combined with the manipulation of new technologies. Convening performative practices such as the séance, in which the dead spoke to the living and through the living, it was understood that "the realm of the invisible shaped individual and social subjectivities."[99] By 1869, séances and performances that invoked the ghosts of lost ancestors through the combined efforts of traditional prestidigitatorial sleights of hand as well as new mass technologies had formed the bedrock of Spiritualist practice, and early advocate for the modern spiritualist movement, Emma Hardinge Britten, was able to define the movement as a religion based in the rational discourses of science:

> Spiritualism, with a large majority of its American adherents...is a religion, separate in all respects from any existing sect, because it bases its affirmations purely upon the demonstrations of fact, science and natural law, and admits of no creed or denominational boundary.[100]

More curiously, spiritualists (like nineteenth-century engineers and inventors for whom the scientific experiment was increasingly becoming fused with theatrical performance) blurred commonly held boundaries between religious ritual and public recreation. In combining "mediums skilled at music, singing and dancing in trance states" with communication with lost loved ones, spiritualist practice transformed revelation in many cases, "into slapstick and entertainment."[101] In this way, spiritualism especially in its American manifestations, was a cooperative early partner in the deployment of emerging mass technologies (i.e. the photograph and its antecedent the daguerreotype) that could transmit and circulate knowledge about ghosts in the public imaginary.

By the late nineteenth century, 'spirit photographers' such as William H. Mumler realized that their medium could produce a range of unearthly and formidable results, such as the appearance of a faint doubling that was left if the subject were manipulated during a long exposure, producing a vapor trail around its form.[102] Notably, the key element to affirming the ontological veracity of the photographed spirit involved the production of visual evidence of the spirit's motions in the material world, materialized as the photographer literally maneuvered the subject physically, moving him/her in order to generate the faint trails of movement, the remains of life barely visible to the untrained eye.

In fact, as Hardinge's novel *Ghost Land* (first published in 1876) clarifies, spirits were indeed noted for their movements; at once understood as "flying souls" and high flying clairvoyants, these creaturely planetary spirits for whom "the fetters of matter [had] become so loosened," were "all eye, all ear, all perception," and their augmented sensory perception wandered "the spheres of existence...behold[ing] the past, present and future..."[103] Similarly, drawing attention to motions of the astral body in *Isis Unveiled* (1877) the Russian head of the Theosophical Society Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) offered a description of mediumship as a ghosting of the self by which process the astral body could be separated from the physical (and mortal) body of a living adept.[104]

Notably transcendent of human conditions, the very powerful astral body cited by Blavatsky and others was exemplary of temporality suspended, the "wandering"[105] motion of the ghostly astral body was, like that of twenty-first century virtual ghosts or cyborgs, said to be limitless: "To the movements of the wandering astral form neither time nor space offer obstacles."[106] Notably, the ability for the liberated soul to fly, to move unhindered by material constraints as a consequence of the "*soul* [being] not knit to flesh" was not limited to the figure of the ghost or the astral body; in fact, for Blavatsky, this "secret of secrets" was likewise "practically demonstrated in the instance of Yogis, the followers of Kapila,"[107] reinforcing symmetries between the ghost, the cyborg and the yogi.

Yet, under the veneer of trickery and illusion in these performances of the ghost was the very real belief in a true artistry, or craft (as borne out by Blavatsky's preceding use of the word "practically") of manufacturing the physical body of the disappeared and deceased through the manipulation of new technologies. In this way, spiritualists who prided themselves on their modern rationality argued that the "fundamental appeal of materializations was the physical proof they provided of the existence of the departed;" the medium and the ghost could be felt and experienced through these new technologies that "offered evidence that spirits moved among the living."[108]

As a result, for adherents of spiritualism, communication with the spirit world offered more than confirmation of their faith in the existence of an after-life, it constituted an important pragmatic leap that distinguished modern religious movements: spiritualism considered it possible to base religious beliefs on physical realities, rather than on faith alone.[109] So it was that Margaret and Kate, the two young sisters of the Fox family in Hydesville, Upper New York State who had begun a series of attempts to communicate with a spirit source in 1848, took as evidence of the spirit world the auditory evidence of a rapping sound. In response, by tapping out a simple one rap for "no" and two raps for "yes," the sisters evolved their mnemonic performance, expanding their repertoire, opening their performances to others who could participate in séances in which they attempted to contact several spirits.

As their fame spread, the sisters began to organize their séances, increasing their facility with remote, spirit communications, opening their homes up to captivated audiences.[110] In turn, as fellow spiritualists

expanded the range of their performance activities, they mastered materializing poltergeists whose motions could be discerned through disruptions of household objects. Arguing that these remote communications with the invisible world of the spirits was empirical and verifiable, spiritualist performances of these highly mobile, disruptive ghosts that utilized new technologies were increasingly viewed as the equivalent to scientific exhibitions.

By all accounts, the creators of nineteenth-century ghosts understood that manufacturing interstitial creatures (one might call them spiritual prosthetics) to haunt the living was no simple process; the task of regenerating the body in theatrical performance depended crucially on scientific technologies that could stage complex, phantasmagoric illusions of the dead as active participants in the daily lives of the living. More particularly, there was a clear sense that these new technologies were not simply metaphors for ontological transformation, but were metonymic with those opportunities for a kind of technological transcendence of the human.

Mediation in this way, as manifest in séances and ghost performances, involved an active attempt to participate in and understand the process of mass mediation itself, whereby one's own agency was interrupted by forces beyond the visible. In this way, mediation and sensory disruption through the performance of ghosts "became a tool for empowerment."[111] In point of fact, the subversive potential of spiritualism's ghosts in the nineteenth century was anchored in the movement's ardent political activities, its members advocates of a utopian "family of reforms"[112] which included "temperance, abolition, women's suffrage, free love, dress reform, vegetarianism among other things."[113]

Representations of the ghost staged for public consumption by spiritualists were thus naturally presumed (at least within the movement itself) to exert tangible material consequences, inviting alterations in both sensory perception and sociopolitical norms. In this climate of new technologies perceived to be capable of evidencing the spirit, the physical performance of séances and spirit photography can be understood as more than the enactment of fantasies; rather, the discursive construct of the ghost can be understood as constituted by material practices and technologies that were deployed in order to exert a tangible impact[114] on a network of human interactions.

Central to this matrix of performances that straddled techno-scientific developments and the discourses of new religious movements was the development of a spectacular Victorian theatrical effect nicknamed 'Pepper's Ghost.' Widely-acknowledged as the prototype for the Shakur hologram, the Victorian ghost's central illusion (a three-dimensional spectral body that was able to walk through solid objects before disappearing)[115] and the inner workings of the digital hologram[116] are identical, making it impossible to understand the Coachella hologram as anything but a repeat performance, a revival of "the same thing that was happening in 1862."[117]

As the following segment will discuss, a common, if tortuous network of religio-scientific and technical preoccupations with sensory mediation is given voice in *The True History of the Ghost: And All About Metempsychosis* (1890) authored by John Pepper, and in Henry Dircks' *The Ghost!* (1863), serving to establish critical links between the twenty-first century hologram and its nineteenth-century prototype. As will also be detailed, the discourses elaborated in these texts were the inheritance of philosophies and theories established in the writings of Scottish physicist David Brewster whose influential *Letters on Natural Magic* first published in 1832*,* is cited in the writings of both Pepper and Dircks.

As all three texts conspicuously reveal, the novelty of the specter lay in its ability to produce through the application of new phantasmagoric technologies one of the live body's most feared and monstrous 'others,' that paranormal being known as the ghost that had been so carefully and routinely materialized and performed in spiritualist ritual. Here too, the extraordinary and inexplicable presence of the immaterial specter on stage functioned not only to topographically interrogate the limits of the living body, confounding audiences with a shockingly realistic (if digitized) portrayal of the departed, but to materialize an illegible creaturely alterity that might be recruited to exact tangible material consequences by contributing to the salient religious and political debates of the day.

5.8 Pepper's Ghost and The Performance of Science in the late Nineteenth Century: Hijacking the Spiritualist Paranormal

The technologies used for the first performance of 'Pepper's Ghost' relied on projection technology

that in mediating the presence of the human body, could permit the creation of a prosthetic double of the actor himself, a transcendent, ghostly other on the theatrical stage. By means of "a specially designed magic lantern"[118] concealed under the stage, a strong light was projected onto an actor who was likewise hidden below. The actor below the stage in this Dickensian predecessor was also positioned before a sheet of glass that not only ran from the pit of the stage to its topmost point, but divided the audience from the stage, crucially intervening in the actor's physical gestures and motions. Victorian audiences in this way, not unlike the twenty-first century spectators of Shakur's hologram, fell under the spell of an apparition materialized through the projection of a remote human actor's embodiments on a sheet of glass.

Originally invented by the British engineer Henry Dircks (1806-1873) and developed for the proscenium stage by British chemist John Henry Pepper (1821-1900), the debut of Pepper's Ghost[119] in the production of author Charles Dickens' play, *The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain* at the Royal Polytechnic Institute on Regent Street in London in 1862, not only marked a collision between scientific and spiritualist views of the body in the nineteenth century, but revealed the extent to which the materialization of a ghost, a transcendent peripatetic other, was indispensable in materializing a memorial topography that could disrupt ordinary sense perception, opening the door to psychic integration.[120] Certainly, for Dickens, the ghost's appeal rested at least partially in its therapeutic utility, its ability to invite an inventive, hypnotic state that could elicit psychological renewal in its spectators. In this vein, historians of the Victorian era (Groth; Gunning) have been quick to note that the technology of the ghost as devised by rationalist engineers John Henry Pepper and Henry Dircks is similarly indivisible from those Victorian discourses of the phantasmagoric that aimed at psychic regeneration through psychology, optics and the paranormal.

Given the breadth of intellectual interest in the phantasmagoric during the Victorian era, it is little surprise that several of the most distinguished scientists of the nineteenth century including William Crookes, Charles Richet, Oliver Lodge and Camille Flammarion were also adherents of spiritualism for whom the enthusiastic contemplation of the potential for spiritualism's discoveries to be "colonized by science,"[121] served as incentive for their scientific inquiries. As outspoken critics of spiritualism who were

nonetheless surrounded by its influence, scientists John Pepper and his collaborator[122] Henry Dircks were thus not only well acquainted with spiritualist claims to scientificity, but actively engaged their own apprehensions about the movement's growing influence in Victorian performance through developing a substantial archive of publications on the relationship between natural magic and scientific literature that they hoped would contribute to a scientific colonization of spiritualism's most popular tropes.

Fluent in the Victorian fascination with the occult, both Pepper and Dircks astutely translated the particular appeal of the ghost during the nineteenth century into scientific terms, attributing its popularity and importance as a prosthetic of the human psyche, a remote extension of the body that according to Henry Dircks, was an exemplar of those delusions that originate in "the visual nerve."[123] As a consequence, central to the philosophical moorings of Pepper's ghost, was its ability to delude the optic nerve, and to probe what Dircks considered was the plasticity of sensory perception that "plays a large part in the generality of this class of delusions... so aiding contagious belief."[124] So it was, that in opening his foundational treatise with a discussion of the importance of the kaleidoscope (an ocular prosthetic patented by David Brewster), Dircks drew a significant parallel between the Victorian fascination with the "beautiful philosophical toy"[125] and the technosensual optic of ghost.

Postulating that the development of a scientific arsenal of powerful visual stimulants and ghostly illusions offered epistemological benefits of a scientific nature, Dircks and Pepper argued that ghosts served a didactic purpose far more useful than as impetus for religious belief. In keeping with Enlightenment sensibilities and the emerging zeitgeist of the exhibitions of popular science, the pair thus proposed that the extraordinary popularity of spectral performances and the optical delusions they elicited could be exploited to the ends of a verifiable truth.

As several scholars have documented, the creation of a kind of popular science intended for the leisure classes (a group whose numbers were growing steadily with the expansion of the middle class) altered the function of science within transatlantic Victorian society, rendering it tantamount to an entertainment and a means of self-improvement.[126] Indeed, as a mainstay of the nineteenth-century popular imaginary, ghosts formed a crucial part of an overarching quest for personal regeneration embraced by the Victorian

leisure classes. As a result, a recurring leitmotif throughout the texts written by Dircks and Pepper is a conviction that scientific productions of the ghost (rather than spiritualism's spectres) were best equipped to construct the ludic context within which the spirits of the deceased would perform their didactic function informing, educating and regenerating the populace.[127]

Yet, despite the purity of the scientific ideals they professed, the ghosts disinterred by Pepper and Dircks were hardly the materialization of a monolithic Enlightenment ideology, being instead the product of a cluster of religious and scientific discourses that frequently overlapped, as they competed for hegemony over the virtual body in the public imaginary. As borne out in the writings of French popular science author Louis Guillaume Figurier (1819-1894) who penned several volumes about 'mysterious phenomena' during the nineteenth century, the popularization of Enlightenment science as accomplished through the works of popular science writers was itself the product of nineteenth-century collisions between rational science and new varieties of religious belief. As Figurier's writings demonstrate, a fusion of religious discourses with science was typical of this era in which a new technological consciousness created by rampant advancements in science was incorporated into cultural expression as another element of the French *merveilleux*, or as that which defied the natural order. As historian Sophie Lachapelle notes, "Many popularizers of science like Figurier thus incorporated claims of the supernatural into their popular accounts, presenting them as marvels on par with electricity or chemistry, soon to be integrated into the scientific corpus."[128]

In addition to these developments, academic research on the supernatural that was given sustained attention between 1800 and 1931, enabled a newfound legitimation of psychic research within universities especially in France where it developed as a new, discrete discipline that evolved around the *Annnales des sciences psychiques*, a journal published between 1890 and 1919.[129] In fact, between the 1850s and 1930s (the period in which Dircks and Pepper first staged their theatrical ghosts), academic research into the supernatural was proliferating rapidly.[130]

As a result, there was a heightened anxiety among certain nineteenth-century scientists including aforementioned inventor David Brewster (1781-1868), that spiritualist performances were at the threshold

of being accepting into the hallowed halls of scientific research establishments, thereby constituting a dangerous encroachment upon the foundational understandings of rational science and its methods. As a consequence, scientists and spiritualist leaders in the Victorian era were frequently at odds over the influential and lucrative terrain of spectral performances in popular culture. For Pepper too, whose enormously successful ghost had provided generous compensation for the inventor and had saved the previously struggling Polytechnic theatre from financial ruin,[131] the persistent popularity and pecuniary rewards associated with the performance of "Spiritual deceptions"[132] was troubling.

Yet, as the writings of Dircks and Pepper confirm, the pair's own rational appropriations of the ghost were likewise informed by monetary considerations. Pepper's text in particular, shrewdly recalls the reinvention of the ghost as having arrived at an opportune moment in the commercial exploitation of ghosts on the theatrical stage, "when the London world was ready for something new (as commercial men would say) in the ghost line."[133] Nonetheless, as Pepper reminded his readers, as a scientist, he "vigorously denounced"[134] that "whole tribe of persons who made money directly or indirectly out of what they called spirit mediums,"[135] positing instead a ghost manufactured and explained by the rational discourses of science and technology.

As a consequence, Dircks proposed that the ghost be left to the domain of the natural sciences, suggesting that discussions regarding the ontological veracity of ghosts was better handled by "the medical profession than [left] to the mass readers to whom it would be rather difficult to popularize the tracing of such marvels to disordered states of the bodily organs."[136] In this way, alongside disparaging references made to the "spectre-smitten,"[137] gullible masses, Dircks repeatedly championed the capacity of rational science to outperform spiritualist 'miracles,' evidencing what might be considered a canny attempt to appropriate those aspects of spiritualist performance (i.e. the ghost) that he conceded, "never failed to draw crowded, admiring audiences."[138] In this way, ghosts became pivotal constructs in the debates between science and new religious movements in the Victorian era.

5.9 Religio-Scientific Heritage of Pepper's Ghost: Physicist David Brewster on Scientific Performance

Notably, the deeper magical ancestry of the ghost as appropriated by scientists during the Victorian era only helped to bolster a sense that the ghost could function as techno-magical creature, a being that might actually scientifically pioneer the borders of the known. So it was, that in attempting scientific resurrections of the ghost that could upstage its spiritualist predecessors, Dircks and Pepper turned to the writings of physicist/inventor David Brewster, who in tracing the ancestry of optical and acoustic illusions, argued that the mechanics of constructing miracles such as "the walking statues at Antium, and in the Temple of Hierapolis"[139] proceeded from a long history of technologies that had succeeded in remotely materializing the numinous, thereby drawing broad homologies between the discourses of magic and religious ritual with prosthetic technological inventions (i.e. such as microscopes and kaleidoscopes) developed in the natural sciences. In fact, as Brewster argued, the remote materialization of "invisible bodies"[140] was the product of a common heritage of religious performances and the scientific technologies that had rendered them palpable:

> The power of bringing the remotest objects within the very grasp of the observer, and of swelling into gigantic magnitude the almost invisible bodies of the material world, never fails to inspire with astonishment even those who understand the means by which these prodigies are accomplished. The ancients, indeed, were not acquainted with those combinations of lenses and mirrors, which constitute the telescope and the microscope, but they must have been familiar with the property of lenses and mirrors to form erect and inverted images of objects. There is reason to think that they employed them to effect the apparition of their gods; and in some of the descriptions of the optical displays which hallowed their ancient temples, we recognize all the transformations of the modern phantasmagoria.[141]

Brewster cited an expanded range of epistemological benefits of discovery that might result from such optical mediations. Proposing that "when aided by the telescope...it is able to discover the forms, the phenomena, and the movements of bodies whose distance is as inexpressible in language as it is inconceivable in thought,"[142] Brewster confirmed that in the "boundless range of observation"[143] sought through the eyes, the Victorian ghost could offer to audiences precisely what he considered was the benefit of scientific study: through remote, ocular engagements, audiences could experience "phantasms of the senses"[144] that expanded knowledge of the natural world. By extension, he also concluded, "The eye is consequently, the principal seat of the supernatural."[145]

Notably, Brewster's proposition that "of all the organs by which we acquire a knowledge of external nature the eye is the most remarkable and the most important,"[146] served to occlude the importance of tactile prosthetic engagements with the world in ways that would foreshadow a persistent logocentrism that has afflicted a century's worth of research in the social sciences. Nevertheless, we might acknowledge that contemporary attempts to vivify the ghost through the application of the latest virtual technologies owes a debt to Brewster's enormously influential nineteenth-century theories that, far from dismissing the lore of ancient magic, instead affirmed the fundamental importance of magico-religious performances while disputing their ability to evidence sound principles.

As J. A. Smith, author of the foreword and several chapters in *Letters on Natural Magic* reiterates, Brewster's understanding of the natural sciences posited that the objective of science was to discover facts rather than to inspire faith, and if these facts should "go to prove the phenomena of Mesmerism..."[147] then there should be "no objection to prove them if they be true."[148] To this he adds,

> Our aim is neither to support Mesmerism and its pretensions, nor to be severe against anything on account of which its adherents honestly think it can really lay claim to consideration. The aim here is to direct inquiry and what is known to be truth, and stimulate investigation in the right direction.[149]

By the same token, there is in Brewster's text, an open discussion regarding the fact that science might do well to study spiritualist practices in order to guard the terrain of scientific inventions, or to guide their wise usage.[150] Not surprisingly then, Dircks follows suit in recognizing the philosophical symmetry between the Dickensian production of the ghost and those ghosts materialized through magical practices that drew broad parallels between the spiritualist medium and the performer of science on the theatrical stage, who as he comments in the following excerpt, "with stretched wings, angel or dragon-like...thus communicat[es] with the invisible world:"[151]

> Let the transparent mirror be fixed at any suitable angle for the purpose, quite immovable when once placed there, being a fixture, and hid by a curtain or other means. Beneath the mirror, lying on his back, stretched on an easily springing frame, the actor, with stretched wings, angel or dragon-like, flapping away, is seen by the admiring audience hovering over the magician, or whoever it may be beneath; thus communicating with the invisible world, as supposed possible in remote ages, and sincerely and enthusiastically believed in many modern proselytes to the spirit-rapping mania -- a subtle superstition, which has sadly lost

ground since the introduction of this later system of necromancy made popular.[152]

In exploiting spiritualist performances in order to expand the terrain of science, Dircks likewise reinforced technology's ability to produce fantastic materializations of the unknown. This terrain (originally belonging to magic) he would remind, had now been colonized, vanquished by science and the spectacles of popular entertainment:

> Mesmerism throughout all its harlequinades, down to its present disguise under spiritualism or spirit-rapping -- with all its music, its passes, and its mediums -- has never had nerve enough or *nous* enough to produce such thorough full-length ghosts as are now every day to be seen at the Polytechnic, Drury-lane (sic), the Britannia, Canterbury Hall, and other popular establishments of every grade in the metropolis.[153]

Sharing Dircks' zeal for technology's triumph over spiritualist performance, Pepper similarly wrote that "the author's friends and the public all know how steadily he has opposed the so-called Spiritual deceptions, which generally are not a half nor a quarter as clever as the tricks of a first-rate conjuror."[154] Conforming with Brewster's arguments, Dircks and Pepper clarified in kind that their issue with spiritualist revenants had not so much to do with spiritualism's validity as a belief system, as with its inability to produce material evidence of the ghost as an objective reality. For Pepper and Dircks in this sense, the typology of the ghost offered vital, uncharted terrain; it presented an important opportunity to materialize, test and didactically present unexplained instances of sensory perception in the production of new scientific knowledge, while enabling the appropriation of spiritualism's performances of the supernatural.

However, just as textual evidence certainly confirms that Pepper's ghost grew out of complex, technosensual appropriations of magico-spiritualist performance, the historical record is equally vocal in affirming that spiritualist performance in the nineteenth century also involved the strategic appropriation of the discourses of rational science and technology. The now well-researched link between mass spectacle and spiritualism has clarified that spiritualism, especially in its American manifestations, was characterized by an understanding that mass technologies somehow announced the birth of a new spiritual era.[155] Thus, an ongoing contest between rational science and spiritualism elicited in-kind responses,

especially from spiritualists in America, which were delivered in the form of new performances such as séances, mediumship and spirit photography that "seeming to promise to scientists the potential discovery of hitherto unexplained 'forces' and powers... in turn attracted the deployment of the latest technologies, instituting a two-way conversation between the often-incompatible worlds of science and spirit."[156]

Yet, this conversation between spiritualism and science was most often, not only a series of contests over ideology, but moreover, a battle over the implications of those ideological beliefs on a range of sociopolitical norms. This further recalls a surfeit of disparaging remarks made by Dircks in reference to spiritualism's association with an array of utopian causes that dismissed their adherents as "dupes [that] belong to a less dignified class of humanity."[157] Worth including among these remarks is the statement made by Dircks regarding spiritualism's "terribly freezing effect on the effeminate and the ignorant."[158]

This imputation that spiritualism's popularity amongst women and the lower classes was due to its basis in superstition implicitly announced the threat posed by spiritualism's reformist ideals to the status quo. The looming danger of female-led domestic religious practices had its root in a response to what historian Ann Braude has called the "dictatorial pulpit"[159] of the Protestant church, which offered no platform for women on which to speak. In this vein, the spiritualist movement, along with varied alternative groups such as the Quakers, Shakers, and Seventh-Day Adventists, encouraged women not only to speak, but to assume positions of authority. In fact, thought to have a particular openness to spiritual communication, women outnumbered their male counterparts as mediums during the nineteenth century, sanctioned as they were by the "spirits who spoke through them."[160] Indeed, for Pepper and Dircks, the ghosts performed in spiritualism's loosely organized subculture were emblematic of spiritualism's problematic appreciation of female domesticity in which power emanated from within the domestic sphere, rather than from without.[161]

Eventually, the displacement of spiritualism's domestic and communal practices from the sphere of ritual or sacred activity into public performance culminated in a range of modern mass engagements with the ghost that cross-pollinated the discourses of science and new religious movements, making it clear that technology in the form of mass media had been saturated with a new spectral metaphysics in which

"the photograph [kept] company with death by marking stopped time; the flickering film [screened] the phantasm of technology."[162] It was in this sense, not lost on scientists that spiritualism had, in its movement towards mass performance, co-opted many of the discourses of the scientific establishment, the popularity of its performances constitutive of a real threat to the much-hoped for entrepreneurial opportunities inherent in rational science's collaborations with the paranormal. In the evaluation of many nineteenth-century scientists, spiritualism's ghosts were hardly innocuous performances of superstitious folklore, but were constructs choreographed to disseminate a highly politicized message about the body and its ability to regenerate and sustain a subversive community and its network of operations through private ritual and public spectacle.

Moreover, given the well-documented patent cases for Pepper's Ghost detailed in Pepper's writings, it is reasonable to presume that the legal measures sought by the pair to confine ownership of the ghost to its scientific inventors signaled a desire not only to profit from the Victorian obsession with ghosts, but to guard the ghost as the property of those who might use it solely to the ends of rational science and technology, rather than to share its authority with a heterogeneous group whose performance preoccupations and political agendas signaled a threat to Enlightenment ideologies. Nevertheless, the sheer amount of space afforded to discussions regarding spiritualist performances in texts written by Pepper and Dircks is evidence that the Polytechnic ghost was revived in active dialogue with spiritualism's spectacular attempts to resurrect the deceased body through the ghost's mnemonic power.

And while Brewster, Dircks and Pepper claimed as their scientific mandate, "to strip the phenomena (spiritualist performances) of the marvelous,"[163] their own testimonials reveal scientific demonstrations of the ghost as an attempt to place religious wonder in the hands of science, camouflaging it within the technologies of modern performance, exhuming the "thaumaturgic wonder"[164] of religious ritual. Thus, just as John Pepper and Henry Dircks satisfied the public appetite for paranormal beings that were the "absolute realization of all that had been dreamt, or ever had occupied frenzied fancies,"[165] so too did they simultaneously claim these spectral constructs, these Victorian ghosts as the discursive recruits of rational science.

5.10 Pepper's Ghost, Spiritualist Performances and the Shakur Hologram: Symmetries and Divergences

For all the antipathy that divided spiritualism from science, a common respect for the commemorative value of the specter on the Victorian stage united Pepper, Dircks and their rationalist contemporaries with spiritualist performers. As historian Helen Groth notes, Charles Dickens, whose play *The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain* had given form to Pepper's ghost, was a rationalist skeptic who wrote of specters with the underlying sense that there was a very real medical opportunity that accompanied the fragmentations of the psyche in which apparitions (which were, according to Dickens, really materializations of banished memories) made their presence felt.

In Pepper and Dircks' likewise medicalized understandings of the spectral, the figure of the ghost similarly stood for those psychic disturbances that constituted the natural abode of memory.[166] The spectral presence, in this way, embodied an experience of sensory dislocation, and offered a profound opportunity to induce a kind of hypnotic state induced by the kind of "intense reverie"[167] that fuelled a growing interest (one that Dickens himself shared) "in the therapeutic powers of Mesmerism."[168] Thus, Pepper's Ghost, while a product of rational science, was nonetheless a construct that had conceded a "grain of truth in the pretensions which Mesmerism has made."[169] In this sense, the commemorative power of the nineteenth-century ghost was crucially constituted by its ability to function as a memorial topography, a reordering not only of the boundaries between life and death, but a restructuring of sense perception that was homologous with the kinds of gnosis associated with ancient alchemy and natural magic.

A necessary counterpart to this association of the ghost with the psychic disturbances of memory was the display of the ghost as the double of life itself, a fact made visible in the morphology and motion of the ghost (and as it might be recalled, the Shakur hologram) on the performance stage. A clear account of what audiences would have seen in that first Dickensian production of Pepper's Ghost is related in the following excerpt written by Dircks:

> A student is seen sitting at a table spread over with books, papers and instruments. After a while he rises and walks about the chamber. In this there is nothing remarkable. But the audience is perplexed by a different circumstance: they see a man rising from his seat and see him walking about, but they also see that he still sits immovably in his chair so that evidently there are two persons instead of one, for, although alike in dress, stature, and person, their actions are different. They cross and recross; they alternately take the same seat; while one reads, the other is perhaps walking; and yet they appear very sullen and sulky, for they take no notice of each other, until one, after pushing down a pile of books, passes off by walking through the furniture and walls.[170]

As Dircks indicates, there is "nothing remarkable" about the ghost as a figure in itself. Instead, it is the appearance of a double, a doppelganger that as he notes, is symmetrical in all regards (i.e. dress, stature and person) save his "actions," that gives reason for pause. That is to say, in Dircks' account of the dramatization of the ghost, the only thing that distinguishes the spectral double from the human (the original), are the ghost's actions, and more importantly the quality of its motion.

Notice how the protagonist who sits "immovably" at his desk is contrasted with the ghostly double, choreographed to rise from the desk and perambulate the stage, representing those spatial transgressions of boundaries frequently associated with those creaturely others that expose alterity, restructuring the known. Certainly, Dircks' description of the invasive assault by the ghost on a pile of books and the itemization of physical barriers, walls and furniture trespassed, account for what in this dissertation, I have argued are the disruptive qualities of many monstrous nonhuman figures, whose characteristics are shared across the instantiation of Pepper's Ghost and the Shakur hologram alike.

More importantly, Dircks' account is illustrative of how the ghost as represented by both spiritualists and scientists in the nineteenth century was never simply a corporeally transcendent figure forged solely from the disjunctions of memory, removed from the social and political realities of the present. Rather, as a complex hybrid of religio-scientific ideologies, the Victorian ghost whether represented in séance, spirit photography or in theatrical production, was a dangerous presence both mnemonic and anticipatory whose unimpeded, choleric motions in the world were palpable, capable of unleashing unseen material consequences and inviting tangible change. In this sense, one might note that the shared technocultural kinship between the Shakur hologram and Pepper's ghost has resulted in

a shared approach to the representation of the ghost in theatrical performance as a figure situated to signal or invite shifts to multiple normative centres.

There are, however, salient differences between certain early spiritualist performances and the Tupac hologram that pertain primarily to the representation of the human body in motion. Unlike spiritualist photographs or daguerreotypes, the Shakur hologram was not a static production; it did not capture life everlasting in the presentation of the body's mummified stillness. Rather, the digital hologram is an accelerated version of Pepper's ghost; it intimates three-dimensionality and motion as it facilitates repetition,[171] or a looping re-enactment of life, as the body of the deceased is resurrected and reanimated through what this dissertation has termed, remote choreography.[172]

Nonetheless, the symmetry of the Tupac Shakur hologram with Pepper's ghost (in both religio-philosophical and technological terms) makes it possible to recognize the shared lineage of the twenty-first century virtual body with those mnemonic (and haptic) engagements that were the cornerstone of ghostly illusions produced on the Victorian stage. Certainly, the pervasive public reception of the Tupac hologram as a resurrection trope owes to a broad, heterogeneous stream of religious discourses that while not explicitly identified by its creators as belonging to any one particular tradition, contained metaphysical presuppositions that were woven into the fibers of Victorian prosthetic technologies. In this way, spiritualism was spun into the pluralist camouflage of modern American belief, facilitating what historian Catherine Albanese has argued is the surreptitious survival of strains of spiritualism in the religiously polyglot proclivities of the 'new spiritual America' of the twenty-first century, "in which the tools of mass marketing, the computer-age technological universe and the mystical capacity for exotericism keep pace."[173]

It should come as little surprise then, that shortly following the Coachella performance, Digital Domain received inquiries from several religious organizations about the possibility of digitally recreating religious figureheads.[174] In this sense, the widely-acknowledged mnemonic tenor of the Tupac hologram is unmistakably linked to both scientific and spiritualist claims regarding the evidentiary nature of the

material body in the nineteenth century, particularly as it was sought through the application of new technologies that might revive the deceased.

There are still other parallels worth observing between the Shakur hologram and its nineteenth-century predecessors, both spiritualist and scientific. The tools and technologies that were deployed in each of these commemorative performances reinforced a network of social relationships, ensuring a regular communication between people and the spirits of the dead that not only confirmed the experiential or psychic validity of the spectral, but also provided a social cohesion out of which new claims for social and political recognition/inclusion (i.e. those family of reforms sought by spiritualists) could be made or contested.

One could argue then, that as an emergent technology, the digital performance of Shakur was no less a locus of mystical revelation (and scientific advancement) than the advent of the spirit photograph, the séance or even Pepper's Ghost, performances that sought to interrogate not only the nature of death, but to reshape the realities of the living through commemorative recruitments of the disappeared, or interventions in sense perception.[175] In this process, the figure of the ghost was also used to remotely 'palpate' and 'sense' the deceased from afar, thereby generating a technosensual body, ontologically revised and renewed. Animated by a heightened "adoration and fear of technology" that is as pervasive in the twenty-first century as it was in the nineteenth, the metaphor of a circulation of communications between spirit and matter served in this way to transform what would otherwise have been considered the sinister effects of an all-pervasive mediation of the human body by new technologies.[176]

In this context, Tupac's digital body serves to replicate the qualities associated with the spirit photograph, its substitutive ghostly presence suspending temporality, its 'special effects' altering one's sense perception and even re-organizing known topographies of embodiment, producing a sense that the human being might be reborn into an "amplified, connected, expanded corporeality."[177] Thus, in accordance with what has been identified as a desire on the part of the creators of Shakur's hologram to design a being that was one-step more lifelike, a neorealistic improvement from previous technologies,

the virtual Shakur appears to announce a twenty-first century ghost that like its ancestors, turns to the workings of memory to recast the future.

5.11 The Virtual Body: Choreographic Paradigms of the Digital Ghost

If the nineteenth-century ghosts discussed in the previous segment laid the groundwork for the development of prosthetic techniques in the Shakur hologram, it did so through the inheritance of technologies that enabled a disruption of ordinary sense perception. As has been discussed, these ritual and theatrical technologies that sought to resurrect the spirits of the deceased were devised in a climate of heightened interest surrounding the spectral in both scientific and spiritualist discourse during the nineteenth century.

Echoing this religio-scientific heritage, twentieth century technologies and digital resurrections that drove the human body beyond its legible borders were likewise greeted with a "cultural mythology"[178] about the vitality of new media that was the inheritance of older, Victorian discourses. As historian Jeffrey Sconce has established, the advent of monstrous technologies such as television and radio were understood within the techno-mystical metanarratives of their predecessors, and were consequently thought to be alive, deemed to be "somehow like humans, animate and sentient."[179]

As such, it stands to reason that an examination of ghosts in the work of contemporary choreographers in the twenty-first century might likewise illuminate, if ever so faintly, philosophical continuities with their nineteenth-century predecessors that are not only worth noting, but that are crucial to understanding how constructions of the ghost in nineteenth-century performance laid the groundwork for manifestations of the virtual dancing body in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[180]

In this segment I propose that the techniques of phantasmagoric prosthesis or extra-sensory perception so carefully developed by ghostly forerunners in the nineteenth century were critical in generating twenty-first century theories and choreographic instantiations of the virtual body. In this sense, I contend that instantiations of the virtual in performance are as Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin (in refining Marshall McLuhan's analysis) have offered, "remediations;"[181] they are transplantations of older techniques of sensory mediation originally used in nineteenth-century theatrical contexts into twenty-first century

media. Thirdly, I argue that instantiations of the digital ghost in the twenty-first century are at once like their analog predecessors in their efforts to commemorate the body's limits, just as they are attempts to surpass and resurrect through technologically mediated performance, the very constitution of the human being.

To begin, it is necessary to clarify the homology drawn between the ghost and the virtual body which I propose, obtains precisely from the way in which technology in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has intervened in the body's sensory processes, making it possible to remotely choreograph data or other objects that fall outside the boundaries of the human body. In this sense, one can argue that performances of the spectral in the twenty-first century address a common network of questions about the nature and limits of the human: Is it possible to remotely sense other beings, objects and data through the integration of new technologies? How far do the vectors of the human body extend? Is it possible to choreograph beyond the body's topography and its proposed limits? Or, as choreographer William Forsythe has asked, is it possible for choreography "to generate autonomous expressions of its principles without the body?"[182]

Certainly, scholarly theorizations of the spectral body within dance studies draw upon a potent lineage of discourses that homologize the ghost and the technologically mediated body. As dance historian Ann Cooper Albright has considered, dancer Loie Fuller's turn of the century body abstracted and prostheticized by new technologies was but a precursor of the digital ghost presented in Bill T. Jones' *Ghostcatching* (1999*)*. Using *Ghostcatching* as an example, Albright surmises that the technologically mediated, virtual body exemplifies an absent presence that can be represented as the traditional ghost. Not unlike the Tupac Shakur hologram, this ghost homologous with the data body is the product of both digital processes and carnal embodiments of those who manipulate it remotely.

The contribution made by Bill T. Jones' digital ghost, Albright argues, is that the advent of such new technologies can enhance sensate awareness "changing our perceptions and our corporeality" and "the proprioceptive environment that can be set up by digital transmissions."[183] That is to say, that Bill T. Jones' virtual body, not unlike those theatrical ghosts that preceded its performance, is an instantiation of

what Caroline Jones has termed remote sensing, a performance in which the sensory reach of the body is magnified through the use of the latest technologies.

The conflation of the ghost with the virtual body need not always turn to the most recent technologies however, in probing the relationship between absence and presence, the live and deceased. As has been carefully articulated by Patricia Baudoin and Heidi Gilpin in "Proliferation and Perfect Disorder: William Forsythe and the Architecture of Disappearance,"[184] an overarching acknowledgement of bodily absence forms a fundamental part of contemporary choreographer William Forsythe's choreography. We might for instance, take the ghostly disappearances of the body exemplified in his choreography, *You Made Me a Monster* (2005) as iterative of the ways in which objects in performance may mediate sense perception, resulting in the formation of new subjectivities.

This point is most simply described through recourse to the very first choreographic act that precipitated the birth of *You Made Me a Monster,* which premiered at the Venice Biennale on 28 May 2005. As numerous dance critics have described,[185] the piece was instigated by a kinesthetic reconstruction of the human frame in cardboard; an homage to Forsythe's deceased wife, the rebuild doubled as a ghostly, commemorative body. As Forsythe has recollected, the gift of a cardboard skeleton kit that his wife had been given prior to her death provided the medium through which he, in a grief-stricken state, would attempt to rebuild her body. As he recalled of the inspiration for the paper construction, Forsythe commented on the surface whereupon he could remotely palpate his wife's disappeared body: "I randomly bent, folded and attached the various intricate pieces until there was a model of something I understood. It was a model of grief."[186] In inviting spectators to likewise reassemble human skeletons made out of cardboard and attach them to metal poles spread across the performance space however, Forsythe understood that his act of mourning, the staging of a double, might not only interrogate the limits of the individual human body, but restructure the ecology of the collective, addressing the body's relationship with others, with objects, etc.

Not entirely unlike the staging of the Shakur hologram in which the deceased was recomposed and reanimated through a medium other than the material body, Forsythe's 'model of grief' offered an

instantiation of the ways in which nonhuman others (i.e. objects, data, technologies) play an integral role in the way humans may come to make sense of being mediated, not simply by those mass technological processes ordinarily thought of as 'media,' but by objects and by extension, by death itself. In essence, what Forsythe's 'model of grief' implicitly recognizes is the enormous importance of the intervention of tactile objects, of nonhuman creatures and "eerie monstrosities"[187] in choreography, and how these creaturely others that reside at a distance from the human may on occasion be indispensable to the process of communicating our relationship to death (and the diseased, unstable body) as a figure of alterity.

In fact, this invocation of the nonhuman other in the form of a cardboard ghost, is precisely what enables this particular choreography to address death as an unknown, a foreign topography in which "tumours like aliens are recombined in unrecognizable vectors, creating new circuits through the body."[188] Referring to Forsythe's performance of *You Made Me a Monster* at the Haus Berliner Festspiele on 26 August 2005 during the *Tanz im August* dance festival, dance historian Kirsten Maar explains how Forsythe's piece, widely acknowledged to have been a monument to his grief over his wife's struggle with cancer is ultimately about "how an uncanny otherness can destroy the self from the inside out, leading ultimately, to the elimination of the bodily subject."[189] In this sense, like the Shakur hologram or the nineteenth-century Dickensian spectre, Forsythe's monsters are provocative creatures that offer a sensory shock to the system, issuing cautions and premonitions that neither the human body nor its senses are entirely intact, its walls permeable to media, to objects and to the cancerous other, death itself.

By extension, in keeping with nineteenth-century precursors of the virtual, there is in *You Made Me a Monster* a heightened attention to the reorganization of spatial arrangements that is nothing new to Forsythe whose other works are attempts to present to spectators the possibilities of physical recombination, of the unpredictable, mutable nature of matter. Not unlike Pepper's Ghost, Forsythe's production of *You Made Me a Monster* offers a "variety of techniques by which one's own body can become foreign"[190] in order to reconfigure a spectator's sense of order. In this way, Forsythe's nonhuman paper skeletons and mutant bodies confirm the human body as permeable, co-extensive with objects and data. We might also notice how this particular piece accordingly conflates not only the ghost and the

virtual body, but also twines both creatures with the typology of the monster.

The body, particularly in the context of this commemorative piece, can therefore not be reified as any more live, any more significant than objects, than data or even ideations. The body is considered as a "meta-phenomenon, simultaneously visible and virtual, a cluster of forces, a transformer of space and time, both emitter of signs and trans-semiotic --being in space and becoming space."[191] What is being communicated in this twenty-first century paradigm, especially within Forsythe's work, is that the body is no longer confined or fixed, its boundaries are shifting and permeable. More significantly perhaps, movement in Forsythe's choreographic universe involves a recognition that the interstitial body has extended into relationship with what dance/performance theorist Erin Manning has proposed are multiple 'mov-objects'[192] and bodies.

Forsythe's *You Made Me a Monster* constitutes a striking example of a contemporary choreographic work that shares more common ground with both the Shakur hologram and nineteenth-century instantiations of the ghost than one might presume at first blush. In its enthusiastic celebration of the interaction between objects that resemble bodies and bodies embroiled in movement as a unpredictable process of transformation, Forsythe's multimedia installation, like the Shakur hologram, relies on a concept of human sensoria as 'networked' with other bodies, objects and data.

More importantly, objects in this way can be as Maar reminds "another dancer's shoulder or hip,"[193] thereby impacting the ways in which movement is performed. Here too then, the motions of the ghostly body are specific to its function as a figure of alterity, an entity that can "extend beyond its actual bodily boundaries..."[194] Thus, describing a kind of remote sensing, dancers increase their awareness of the body's permeability by attempting to react to objects, the "space of the body is the skin extending itself into space, it is skin becoming space --thus, the extreme proximity between things and the body..."[195]

Thus, while the presence of technological mediation in choreography signals a deviation from those traditional approaches to embodiment in the discipline of dance (and to some extent) performance studies, it is nonetheless clear that mediation may also be accomplished more generally, through the deployment of non-digital objects in performance. Certainly, in *You Made Me a Monster*, the cardboard ghost that

inspired the choreography clarifies that the epistemes that undergird embodied practices in dance can be made visible through various media and at varying distances, both material (i.e. bodies and objects) and immaterial (i.e. data). In this sense, Forsythe's choreography for *You Made Me a Monster* may be understood as a process in which subject-object relations are reconsidered through sensory engagements that demonstrate "how sensing bodies can become technological to produce an "amplified, connected, expanded corporeality."[196] In this approach, Forsythe is characteristic of many of his contemporaries in the new media arts, who are, as visual arts theorist Caroline A. Jones maintains, "neither concerned with transcending the body through a pure and total art, but nor [are they] content to live within the confines of a visceral body,"[197] seeking instead to "extend, prosetheticize and integrate with technologies in ways that are supple."[198]

5.12 The Ghost: Concluding Remarks

Only That Which Is Gone Belongs To Us[199]

In a short two-page tract entitled "On The Theory of Ghosts," Horkheimer and Adorno advocated for a theory of ghosts that would create "the correct relationship with the dead: unity with them because we, like them, are victims of the same condition and the same disappointed hope."[200] It was perhaps in this recognition of the kindred nature of the living and the dead that sociologist Avery F. Gordon noted that "...when the dead return for the world of the living, they are always ghostly, they are alive with the force that has prompted their return."[201] Perhaps then it is by discerning those 'forces' that connect a ghost to its community and by which it returns, that we might begin to document the historical importance of the ghost as a physical performance construct, deciphering its Janus-faced existence as a construct both mnemonic and anticipatory, capable of commemorating the disappeared while simultaneously reconstructing new human ontologies.

As the performances examined in this chapter reveal, hauntings are after all, a means of accounting for and recalling the disappeared, a process of disinterment that necessarily results in a series of material revisions. As each of the performances examined illustrates, the return of the ghost is invariably

associated with sociopolitical shift clarifying that the ghost grieves not simply what is past, but "all the pasts still yet to come."[202]

Fittingly then, a diverse array of transatlantic ghosts performed between the nineteenth and the twenty-first centuries were configured as deliberate provocations to sensory perception, their return by means of technological sleight-of-hand designed to rectify or redeem a broken social and political order through a public performance. Thus, while one might presume that the transcendence of the ghost enables it to hover unhinged from the sociopolitical realities of its creation, I propose that the spectral other (like each of the nonhumans considered in this dissertation) can be understood as a discursive construct designed to negotiate normativity by means of its choreographic distinctions, its particular, patterned movement qualities. By extension, these ghosts (such as Shakur's hologram) frequently return to demand an expansion of legal rights and inclusions for those marginal others that are its survivors, or conversely (as in the case of Pepper's Ghost), to reify an existing sociopolitical status quo.

Underpinning the ghost's transformative power is its transgressive motion, which whether depicted as eerily lifelike or aberrant and creaturely, signals an attempt to query or regenerate a normative centre. In fact, it could be argued that the most visible thread binding the diverse ghosts explored in this chapter derives from their common use of choreographed motion to communicate the creature's alterity, its significance as nonhuman, as a creature that is not alive. From the kinesthetic accuracy of the holographic Shakur to the propulsive step sequences of the child-ghosts in the Flying Lotus video, to the aerial motions of spirits captured in nineteenth-century spirit photography and séances, the disruptive charge of Pepper's ghost and the mutable, permeable physicality of Forsythe's *You Made Me a Monster*, choreographed movement is the evidentiary locus of the disappeared, the topos of the non-living 'other.' So it was, that the obstreperous motions of a number of ghosts performed between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries remotely palpated life's most belligerent and inscrutable 'other' (i.e. death) through the application of new technologies that made it ever more possible to 'sense' from afar the ghost's ambiguous presence.

Given that the genealogy of the Shakur hologram may be traced back to performances that investigated sensory augmentation in the nineteenth century, it might be considered that the twenty-first century ghost operates in a religio-scientific and technological matrix that has long aimed at ontological mutation and sociopolitical intervention through provocations of 'sensibility.' This study has in investigating the parallels between a number of transatlantic ghosts, thus uncovered and framed a pattern of symmetries between choreographic instantiations of 'remote sensing' in the twenty-first century with ghost performances of the nineteenth by recourse to what we could call metaphysical approaches to a mediated subjectivity. In addition, I have argued that this conflation of the ghost with technological mediations appears to have permitted a representational polysemy, a blurring of boundaries between the ghost and the virtual body, whereby the ghost (especially in its digital iterations) may represent not only that which is the 'other' to life, but also that which is virtual, or 'other' than flesh.

Accordingly, despite the plethora of foreboding questions posed to the discipline of dance studies, it might be argued that the ghost (both analog and digital) has not only enabled an expansion of the human's physical boundaries, but has long operated as an integral discursive construct in mediating the human's relationship to its most vexing other: death. Thus, while there may be risks associated with acknowledging the relevance of the virtual body within dance studies, the pitfalls of reifying the live body, (and thereby marginalizing those bodily practices that are deeply embedded in contemporary technologies) may prove more costly.

As literary historian Christopher Keep has commented about the perceived threat of digital technologies to discourses of the book in literary studies, institutional hegemonies (especially those regarding technology) that have become engrained require that a field must shrink a bit from the future, enacting a "complicity with a range of discursive practices that seek to pathologize modernity in order that they might then offer themselves as a cure."[203]

Within dance studies, one of the risks of maintaining such hegemonies may well be that the history of embodiment itself might shrink, impregnable to contextualized technosensual understandings of dance and performance as cultural processes that have long shaped and been shaped by the technological

representation of ghosts, phantasms and other discursive constructs related to bodily absence. It may well be then that as a discursive construct designed to interrupt the hegemony of the living body, the ghost is a construct poised to disrupt the long-held separation of the body from the tools of its networks, facilitating further research into the history of the virtual body (and the technologies that supported its creation) within dance studies.

For as the French word *revenant* (literally, "to come back again") indicates, the ghost always returns to haunt the presumed stability of the physical body, foreshadowing the realities of life itself. If, as anthropologist Marc Augé theorizes, the life of every individual can be understood as defined by its twin horizons; that is, by those who have gone before and the inevitability of one's own death,[204] then the ghost permits a necessary exploration of both hindsight and foresight, constructing the human in terms of its ontological limits. As a corollary, in recognition of pervasive and customary inequities associated with being, the ghost intrudes being to provoke socio-political norms, interrogating the existence of so many enforced absences, bringing to the fore those bodies that as a consequence of slavery or other lingering atrocities were forcibly disappeared. It is frequently in these zones where an oppressive reality is denied or unrecognized that haunting spectral presences intervene and present themselves in performance, using new technologies designed to augment and prostheticize the reach of human sensoria, giving renewed physical and politicized presence to the deceased.

[1] The word phosphorescent is used here to allude to the subtle halo that lit Shakur's frame. Much like the vapor trail sought after by American spirit photographers in the nineteenth century, this lighting effect was not actually created through the use of the chemical. Rather, my use of the word is meant to evoke a broad heritage of techniques (in this case the Victorian technique of using phosphorous to simulate the supernatural) used in performing the ghost on the theatrical stage.

[2] Christopher T. Nelson, *Dancing with the Dead: Memory, Performance, and Everyday Life in Postwar Okinawa*(Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 136. Nelson quotes from anthropologist Marc Augé who uses this term 'twin horizons.' See Marc Augé, *Non-Places: An Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity,* Trans. John Howe (London: Verso, 2000).

[3] "ghost, *g.*" Oxford English Dictionary 2015. OED Online. Oxford University Press. 7 April 2015 <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/78064?rskey=aUpwZl&result=1#eid/>

[4] John Lardas Modern, *Secularism in Antebellum America: With Reference to Ghosts, Protestant Subcultures, Machines, and Their Metaphors: Featuring Discussions of Mass Media, Moby-Dick, Spirituality, Phrenology, Anthropology, Sing Sing State Penitentiary, and Sex with the New Motive Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), xxvii.

[5] Herbert Blau, "The Surpassing Body," *TDR (1988-)* 35, no. 2 (1991): 80. Blau cites from Kristeva. See Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection,* Translated by Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 3.

[6] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xix. Gordon citing from Zora Neale Hurston's findings on the southern Holiness Pentecostal movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See Zora Neale Hurston, *The Sanctified Church.* New York: Marlowe & Company, 1997. The relationship between African American traditions of conjuring and hoodoo that and the performance traditions of new religious movements (particularly those performances that involve the production of ghosts) is an area worthy of greater investigation especially given that few of the dance traditions associated with hoodoo have been given sustained attention within dance studies.

[7] Ibid., xvi.

[8] Ibid., xix.

[9] Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 85. This is a reference to Paul Connerton's notion of topography, i.e. spaces and their relationship to bodily memory. According to Connerton, the body as it exists in a specific cultural/historical topography shapes memories. This is nested within the structure of the body itself has its own topography (which is culturally universal) and it's own set of morphological characteristics that are intertwined with our acts of memory. "Topography, the disposition of places around us, exist as a mnemonic *for* the body, and it exists as a also *by virtue of the fact* of the body's own topography."

[10] Modern, op. cit., 7. Modern reasons that the notion of networked sensoria served to undermine notions of "immediacy, presence, punctuality."

[11] Modern, 7, 10. "Secularism names a conceptual environment... emergent since at least the Protestant Reformation and early Enlightenment." Modern, in keeping with Foucault, compares secularism to a kind of imperial discourse in which metaphysics meant dealing with the "materiality of incorporeal things -- phantasms, idols, simulacra." He consequently examines "the metaphysics of secularism in terms of its spectral power..." See also Foucault, "Theatrum Simulacrum," in *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews Michel Foucault,* ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 169, 170.

[12] Ibid., 33, 40.

[13] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever*. Trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 68. It is worth noting here that the hauntology is situated not only in the ontology of ongoing 'being' but in future 'being'. I should also mention here that Modern does not himself turn to Derrida in articulating his secular metaphysics.

[14] Sherry Turkle, *Life on the Screen* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 166, 167.

[15] Modern, op. cit., 21. According to Modern, the similarity between the religious and the secular was made possible by a "long distance triangulation with the metaphysics of secularism."

[16] Ann Cooper Albright, *Traces of Light: Absence and Presence in the Work of Loie Fuller* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2007), 43. Albright quotes from Felicia McCarren's 2003 publication, *Dancing Machines*. See Felicia M. McCarren, *Dancing Machines* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003). The notion of absence and the vanished body in this paper is indebted not only to Albright's discussions of Loie Fuller and her embodiment of the 'idea' at the fin de siècle, but to Susan Foster's work semiotic explorations of the 'vanished bodies of the past.' Despite the fact that Foster and many other dance scholars have moved away from these semiotic discourses, this paper nonetheless maintains there may be distinct advantages in cautiously revisiting some of these earlier discussions regarding absence, and further developing what Ann Cooper Albright has called the 'digital ghost.'

[17] I formulate my argument here in terms of the religious/secular in order to reference a range of new interpretations of modernity vis. a vis. new religious movements that is more carefully explained in an ensuing section. In brief, however, the forward slash here is used to reference arguments made for instance by Modern regarding a 'secular' worldview in Antebellum America so deeply influenced by diverse strains of Protestantism, evangelical Christianity, esotericism, Scottish 'common sense'

philosophies and a number of other discourses. While Modern defines this emergent American sensibility as 'secular,' other historians have argued that this syncretic sensibility is characteristic of new religious movements.

[18] Christopher Partridge, *The Re-Enchantment of the West Volume I: Alternative Spiritualities, Sacralization, Popular Culture and Occulture* (London: Continuum, 2005), 4.

[19] Owen argues the turn to esotericism at the turn of the century as a widespread religious reaction against the imprisoning straitjacket of what Max Weber termed, *Zweckrationalität.* See Alex Owen. *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 241.

[20] Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 3, 423.

[21] Mircea Eliade, "The Sacred and the Modern Artist." In *Art, Creativity, and the Sacred.* pp. 179-183. Edited by Diana Apostolos-Cappadona (New York: Crossroad, 1984) as cited in J L. Hanna, "The Representation and Reality of Religion in Dance." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (1988): 299. It must be said here that Eliade's essay does not address spiritualism's relationship to art. However, his insight into the ways in which modes of religious expression had necessarily shapeshifted and/or been subsumed by modern art warrants attention here.

[22] Sas Mays and Neil Matheson. *The Machine and the Ghost: Technology and Spiritualism in Nineteenth to Twenty-First Century Art and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 16.

[23] Ibid., 10.

[24] David Howes, Ed. *The Sixth Sense Reader.* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), 8.

[25] D G. White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 155.

[26] Howes., op. cit., 8.

[27] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge: MIT press, 1994.),81-84.

[28] I say western notions here with some caution since both the origin of the theories of perception named and their circulation are difficult to pin down with certainty. It is clear that by the nineteenth century, great transnational philosophical exchange had taken place between forms of esoteric thought, possibly making many of these distinctions between east and west more difficult to discern. For more on the exchange between esotericism in transnational context, see Hugh B. Urban, *Magia Sexualis: Sex, Magic, and Liberation in Modern Western Esotericism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) and *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion: Selected Papers Presented at the 17th Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Mexico City 1995,* Edited by Antoine, Faivre, and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1998).

[29] Janet Beer and Bridget Bennett, *Special Relationships: Anglo-American Affinities and Antagonisms 1854-1936* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 92.

[30] For more on this see Sas Mays and Neil Matheson op. cit., 16. See also Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: MIT press, 1992), 129.

[31] Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence From Telegraphy to Television* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 25.

[32] Caroline Jones, *Sensorium: Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art,* Edited by Caroline A, Jones and Bill Arning (Boston: MIT press, 2006), 2. In her foreword to the anthology Jones confirms, "the late 80s and the decade of the 1990s saw extensive cultural inquiry into relations between the body and electronic technologies." Jones contends that following this, the early twenty first century made subtle shifts in this discourse. In this vein, Jones alludes to the experimental work of many contemporary artists in determining the limits of their 'technosensual' comfort zones. My understanding of technosensual proprioception thus derives from Jones' writings on the development of technosensuality in the visual arts, which is predicated on what Jones and others theorize is the 'sensorium;' that is, "a subject's way of coordinating all of the body's perceptual and proprioceptive signals as well as the changing sensory envelope of the self." If we understand that technosensuality impacts sense perception, then it necessarily impacts our proprioceptive sensibilities and aptitudes.

[33] Given the overarching genealogy of the social sciences and its roots in the eighteenth century German *geschichtwissenschaft* (or the scientificity of historical research), this accusation has been leveled, to lesser and greater degrees, at most disciplines within the social sciences. Performance studies, having emerged out of theatre studies is generally considered an exception to this hegemonic disciplinary attention to the text. Nonetheless, dance studies remains, of all these disciplines, the one most devoted to discourses that de-center the assumptions generated by traditional academic epistemological frameworks.

[34] Indeed, on the one hand, this retreat from considerations of the virtual has resulted in a fruitful proliferation of studies that consider 'real' material bodies. In particular, the emphasis on the 'lived body' can be felt in Gay Morris' article, "Dance Studies/Cultural Studies" (Morris 2009), as well as in Jane Desmond's introduction to *Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies in Dance* (Desmond 1997). In Desmond's assessment, several scholars including Foster, Scott and Cynthia Cohen Bull "bring a depth of dancing experience to [their] essay[s], and the result is a similarly rewarding 'meat and bones' engagement with [their] material" (15). Following this line of inquiry, Desmond continues to say, "not only is the body an object of knowledge and of discourse, it is also a lived entity whose practices and perceptions are culturally shaped and shaping" (15)...

[35] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 148. With regard to discourses of absence and presence also integral to this discussion, see *Of the Presence of the Body: Essays on Dance and Performance Theory,* Edited by André Lepecki (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 1-9.

[36] Gregory Bateson, *Steps to An Ecology of Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 271.

[37] This of course, has significant ramifications for the disable performer whose motions may be 'reproduced' by means of recourse to his/her technological prosthetics. Is the disabled body less 'live' than the one that can dance without prosthetics?

[38] Ibid.

[39] Stamatia Portanova, *Moving Without a Body: Digital Philosophy and Choreographic Thought* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013), 137. This term is used in the same sense as that deployed by Portanova who argues, "We do not call bodies only *real,* but also thoughts and ideas." See also Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 128.

[40] Modern, op. cit., Xxix Turning to nineteenth-century America, Modern argues that the spectrally infused narratives of Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne and others point to an overarching preoccupation with the powers of spirit that act as remote agents of activity.

[41] Ibid., xxxi.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Gordon, op. cit., xix. Gordon draws a distinction between absence and 'enforced absence.'

[44] Portanova, op. cit., 138.

[45] Neil Strauss, "Critic's Notebook: Hip-Hop Requiem; Tupac Shakur Is Mourned, His Legacy Mined," *The New York Times.* April 11, 2001. http://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/11/theater/critic-s-notebook-hip-hop-requiem-tupac-shakur-is-mourned-his-legacy-mined.html.

[46] Jake Paine, "Time to Close the Book on the Tupac and Biggie Murders?" *LA Weekly.* April 10, 2014.

[47] Strauss, op. cit.

[48] "Hackers Pirate PBS Website, Post Fake Story About Tupac Still Alive," *CNN Tech.* 2011.

[49] Shaheen Reid, "Tupac Remembered by Rick Ross, Paul Wall, Zaytove," *MTV News.* September 13, 2010.

[50] Strauss, op. cit.

[51] Gil Kaufman, "Exclusive: Tupac Coachella Hologram Source Explains How Rapper Resurrected," *MTV News*, 16 April 2012.

[52] Leah Collins and Rebecca Tucker, "Tupac Hologram at Coachella: How Did They Do That?" *The National Post* (Toronto, Ontario), April 16, 2012.

[53] Tim Molloy, "Tupac Hologram Joins Snoop Dogg at Coachella: Rappers Reunite During Snoop Dogg's Set with Dr. Dre," *The Wrap* (Los Angeles, California), April 16, 2012.

[54] R.L. Rutsky, *High Techne: Art and Technology from the Machine Aesthetic to the Posthuman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 33. Bazin links the medium of cinema to the religion of ancient Egypt, in which the preservation of life depended on a representation of life in the body of a mummy.

[55] Rutsky, op. cit., 34.

[56] Ibid., 33. Ibid. Rutsky quotes from Andre Bazin about the mummy complex.

[57] Molloy, op. cit., 2012.

[58] Hayley Tsukayama, "How the Tupac Hologram Works." *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), April 18, 2012.

[59] Dan Rys, "SXSW: Digital Domain's Ed Ulbrich Gives the Scoop Behind Coachella's Tupac 'Hologram'," *Billboardbiz*, 12 March 2013.

[60] Roberts, op. cit.

[61] Deborah Netburn, "Tupac Shakur Hologram at Coachella 2012: What, That Old Thing?" The LA Times (Los Angeles, CA), April 17, 2012.

[62] Rys, op. cit. 2013.

[63] This statement reflects Walter Benjamin's interpretation of photography as a medium predicated on the incomplete gaze enacted between the camera and the human being. In Benjamin's analysis, the camera cannot return the human gaze. See Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (New York: Prism Key Press, 2010). Here, it is worth noting that newer theories such as 'remote sensing' problematize this notion that the gaze is not returned by suggesting instead, that the camera's gaze does view the subject, but at a distance once removed from the human. In this way, the relationship between the camera and the human is asymmetrical, but nonetheless reciprocal. The moving body's relationship to technologies (particularly the cinematic screen) then, also results in a relationship that fundamentally changes sense perception.

[64] For more on Kurzweil's extropianism, see Ray Kurzweil, *The Age of Spiritual Machines: When Computers Exceed Human Intelligence* (New York: Penguin, 2000). Notwithstanding any current theoretical debates about whether this particular holographic representation may be characterized as a transhuman or posthuman or simply nonhuman (which must necessarily be avoided given the scope of this paper), it is nonetheless worth noting how Shakur's holographic performance takes forgranted the co-extensiveness of the body with technologies. It is possible to conceive that the hologram referenced a transhuman, highly deterministic vision. It is also equally possible that its creators subscribed to an attenuated, critical posthumanist discourse in which the determinisms of the cyborg are more carefully considered. It is also possible that that hologram drew from what is now being called 'the nonhuman turn' in the social sciences in which the human's role is being altogether reconsidered in biopolitical context. See Richard A Grusin, Ed. *The Nonhuman Turn.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015).

[65] Caroline Bassett, "Remote Sensing," in *Sensorium: Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art.* Ed. Caroline A. Jones. (Boston: MIT List Visual Arts Center, 2006), 6.

[66] Ibid., 200.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., 201.
[69] Ibid., 200. It is important to note that while these remotely sensed events often extend the normative operations of the body's senses, they do not necessarily involve reciprocal relations between the probed and prober. The energy exchanged or generated in these interactions with data often results in an asymmetrical dynamic. For example, touch, when mediated by technologies, is not always immediately felt by the touched.
[70] The list of contributors for the Shakur hologram as cited on the website for the London International Awards Winners includes the name of its choreographer. See http://entrysystemlia.com/winners/mediums/d70c3dc615aaa3065e2edd4ecdb6a7da/categories/d70c3dc615aaa3065e2edd4ecd98260e/entries/5174df6f290fca9da905e709e0e6fcfc?type=winners
[71] John Rennie, "Computer Simulations Are Already Bringing Back Versions of the Dead and Restoring Lost Faculties. How Far Can They Go?" *SmartPlanet.com*, 14 May 2012.
[72] Ibid. Despite much curiosity, newspaper reports have postulated that Digital Domain Media have remained secretive about the details of this coveted new technology in order to protect the technology's replication.
[73] Strauss, op. cit.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Here we might consider the Dita Von Teese hologram created for Louboutin in 2012 or the more recent appearance of a Michael Jackson hologram at the Billboard Music Awards on May 20, 2014. The Dita von Teese hologram was created by the London based company Musion for the Design Museum's exhibit on shoe designer Christian Louboutin. Both of these (and several others) were created as marketing devices used to promote either a brand or related products. That is, they were not in and of themselves, the point of the production. This is not to imply that the Shakur hologram can be economically de-contextualized, but it is worth noting that economic gain does not appear to have been the primary consideration behind its creation.
[76] Kaufman, op. cit.
[77] Rennie, op. cit. The reference to Shakur as a virtual human recurs in several newspaper reports.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Jason Lipshutz, "The Problem with the Tupac Hologram," *Billboard.* April 16, 2012.
[81] Connerton, op. cit., 85.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Gordon, op. cit., xvi.
[84] Gordon, op. cit., 139.
[85] Lucy Elizabeth Frank, *Representations of Death in Nineteenth-century US Writing and Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 3.
[86] Ibid., 2.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Molloy, op. cit.
[90] Connerton, op. cit., 17.
[91] Ibid., 112.
[92] Los Angeles producer Flying Lotus is the nephew of the late jazz pianist Alice Coltrane, and her husband, saxophonist John Coltrane.
[93] Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 27.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 34. In Roach's circum-Atlantic evocations of ritual performances, the cadaver assumes the role of a surrogate, a substitution whose immaterial presence has a material impact on its environment. Roach elaborates on a "politics of communicating with the dead" which involves the performance of memories. In explaining the necessity of communicating with the dead, Roach summons novelist George Lamming's use of Hamlet's ghost to illustrate the point. A virtual being that shapes the material trajectories of Hamlet's future, this disembodied ghostly presence exerts a tangible presence as it determines what is to be forgotten, which memories are to be preserved, and the reconstruction of the future. In this way, Roach argues Hamlet's ghost is nothing less than an omnipresent substitute for the living.
[96] Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception* (London: Verso, 1989), 10.
[97] Ibid., 29.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Molly McGarry, *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 6.
[100] Ibid., 58.
[101] Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 223.

[102] McGarry, op. cit., 110. Thus, exemplifying what Marshall McLuhan noted was part of the historical logic of media to "oppress the older media until it [found] new shapes and positions for them." See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge: MIT press, 1994), 158. The medium of photography transferred the preoccupation with prosthetic techniques that had developed in forms of live performance to the medium of photography.

[103] Emma Hardinge Britten, *Ghost Land Or, Researches Into the Mysteries of Occultism, Illustrated in a Series of Autobiographical Sketches, in Two Parts* (Chicago: Progressive Thinking House, 1897), 185.

[104] John Patrick Deveney, *Astral Projection or the Liberation of the Double and the Work of the Early Theosophical Society.* Theosophical History: Occasional Papers (Fullerton: Spirit of the Sun Publications, 1997), 4. According to Deveney, spiritualist notions that the living could remotely project doubles to communicate with the deceased predate the early 1870s. Spiritualists did however, have a concept of the dead being able to communicate with the living at seances etc. However, it was not until the mid 1870s, with the introduction of occultism at the hands of Colonel Olcott, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (who jointly started the Theosophical Society in 1875) and Emma Hardinge Britten that the "notion of the role of the double of the living 'adept' as controller or instigator of the phenomena" began to take root. The basis of this belief was the notion that the living body was in fact a spirit no different from that of the deceased. As Emma Hardinge Britten affirmed, "There are no phenomena produced by disembodied spirits, which may not be effected by the still embodied human spirit, provided a correct knowledge of these powers is directed by a strong and powerful will."

[105] Ibid., 29.

[106] Deveney, op. cit., 29. Deveney citing from Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles: The Theosophical Company, 1982), 2: 588.

[107] Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles: The Theosophical Company, 1982), 2: 565.

[108] McGarry op. cit., 106-107.

[109] Sofie Lachapelle, *Investigating the Supernatural: From Spiritism and Occultism to Psychical Research and Metapsychics in France, 1853--1931* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 9.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Modern, op. cit., 41.

[112] McGarry, op. cit., 4. Women seeking such rights were but one expression of the Spiritualist emphasis on independence and individualism. They encouraged civil rights for all, speaking for abolition, universal suffrage, equal access to health care, and economic reform--all values in keeping with the renewed emphasis on the democratic ideals of the American Revolution. See also Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America.* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 84.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Roach, op.cit., 34.

[115] Helen Groth, "Reading Victorian Illusions: Dickens's Haunted Man and Dr. Pepper's Ghost," *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 1 (2007): 56.

[116] While the nomenclature of the 'hologram' is misleading given that writers at *The Week* confirmed the Shakur spectacle was but a two-dimensional projection, the terminology nonetheless serves to pay homage to a stream of futuristic ideations and technological fantasies dating back to the Victorian era that ideated a three-dimensional "digital resurrection" in order to interrogate sense perception in much the same way as processes of remote sensing function in the twenty-first century.

[117] Ethan Smith, "Rapper's De-Light: Tupac 'Hologram' May Go on Tour," *The Wall Street Journal* (New York, NY) April 16, 2012. Author of several books on special effects for theatre, Jim Steinmeyer told *The Wall Street Journal* in 2012 that the technology used to stage the Shakur hologram was identical to that used to stage Pepper's Ghost.

[118] Groth, op. cit., 56.

[119] As film historian Tom Gunning has noted, an earlier iteration of this theatrical ghost coincided with the dramatization of occult writer Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *A Strange Tale* (1862). According to Gunning, in conflating the supernatural with emerging technologies, this earlier iteration of the ghost dissolved the boundaries "between mystical and scientific inquiry," setting the stage for ensuing magico-technical iterations of the theatrical ghost. See David J. Jones, ed., *Gothic Machine: Textualities, Pre-cinematic Media and Film in Popular Visual Culture, 1670-1910* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011),109.

[120] Groth, op. cit., 50. In explaining Dickens' own relationship to the ghost staged in 1862, Groth (in citing Fred Kaplan), has commented that "Dickens's interest in the therapeutic powers of mesmerism might have provided a useful source for this evocation of the dissociative hypnotic state induced by intense reverie." See also Fred Kaplan, *Dickens and Mesmerism: The Hidden Springs of Fiction* (Princeton University Press Princeton, 1975).

[121] Mays and Neil Matheson. op. cit., 8.

[122] Dircks and Pepper did not remain collaborators; a rift developed over theatrical issues and the two parted ways by 1863.

[123] Henry Dircks, *The Ghost!: As Produced in the Spectre Drama, Popularly Illustrating the Marvellous Optical Illusions Obtained by the Apparatus Called the Dircksian Phantasmagoria: Being a Full Account of Its History, Construction, and Various Adaptations* (London: E. and FN Spon, 1863), 1.

[124] Ibid., 28-29. Notably, Dircks gives an overview of literature written on the supernatural, including a discussion of the Irish *banshee* and proclaims that the popularity of "ghosts and hobgoblins" is hardly gone, but instead thriving in the works of several

publications including more scientific studies on the subject, among which he praises Sir Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* as a paradigm example.

[125] Ibid., 1.

[126] Lachapelle,op. cit., 3.

[127] The didactic function of the ghost was arguably equally visible in the original production of the ballet *Giselle* in 1841. The relationship between the ghost in Romantic ballet and theatrical iterations of the Dickensian ghost are well worth exploring in a future study.

[128] Lachapelle,op. cit., 3.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., 6.

[131] Groth, op. cit., 55.

[132] John Henry Pepper, *True History of the Ghost: And All About Metempsychosis* (London: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1890), 55. The full quotation reads, "The author's friends and the public all know how steadily he has opposed the so-called Spiritual deceptions, which generally are not a half nor a quarter as clever as the tricks of a first-rate conjuror."

[133] Ibid., 46.

[134] Ibid., 28.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Dircks, op. cit., 28.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid., 23.

[139] David Brewster, *Letters on Natural Magic.* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1883), 92.

[140] Ibid., 93

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid., 95.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid., 106.

[145] Ibid, 97.

[146] Ibid., 95.

[147] Ibid., 72.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid., 73.

[150] Ibid., 91.

[151] Dircks, op. cit., 62.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid., 62.

[154] Pepper, op. cit., 55.

[155] Mays and Matheson, op. cit., 6.

[156] Ibid., 7.

[157] Dircks, op. cit., 30.

[158] Lachapelle, op. cit., 13. The comment makes explicit the extent to which females were perceived to be prominent leaders within esoteric organizations. Russian female head of the Theosophical Society Helena Petrovna Blavatsky is the most notable example. In this same vein, there was increasing importance afforded to the performances of mediumistic women in France. For example, in 1858, Mary appeared seventeen times to the young Bernadette Soubiris whose shrine remains an important site of pilgrimage In addition, increasing reports from France about adolescent women who were possessed of a presence that would "make furniture fly" began to emerge around this time. See Sofie Lachapelle, *Investigating the Supernatural: From Spiritism and Occultism to Psychical Research and Metapsychics in France, 1853--1931* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 13.

[159] Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 6.

[160] Ibid., 84.

[161] McGarry, op. cit., 4.

[162] Ibid., 7.

[163] Brewster, op. cit., 129.

[164] David J. Jones, op. cit., 24. There was by the enlightenment a polarized response to the commemoration of death that vascillated between the old and the new, a "confluence of an ancient magical imagistic tradition and a nascent scientific enlightenment seesaws between a desire to produce thaumaturgic wonder and an equally novel interest in dissolving the superstitious mystification of charlatans via the demonstrations of science."

[165] Dircks, op. cit., 23.

[166] Groth, op. cit., 48.

[167] Ibid., 49.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Brewster, op. cit., 69.
[170] Dircks, op. cit., 65.
[171] Smith, op. cit. *The Wall Street Journal* reported that though the projected image has been widely described as a "hologram," it is a 2-D image, and not a hologram, which is three-dimensional. This curious misnomer alludes to the hologram as a performance that consciously deploys a kind of fraud, hoax, or an illusion. While an exploration of the role of fraud in this performance exceeds the scope of this paper, this line of inquiry may prove fruitful in future studies about the esoteric religious discourses that arise at the nexus of new technologies and commemorative performance.
[172] This is my own concept that borrows from Caroline Bassett's notion of 'remote sensing' which she applies within the confines of visual art. I argue that if remote sensing is a theoretical framework for understanding our changing sense perceptions, 'remote choreography' might afford space within dance studies to consider the ways in which choreography explores notions of 'prosthetic reach,' and is not singularly confined to the topography of the human body.
[173] Albanese, op. cit., 514.
[174] Rys, op. cit.
[175] McGarry, op. cit., 111.
[176] Modern, op. cit., 35. Liberal Protestants are said to have been concerned with how the individual could avoid becoming nothing but a "tool, copy, echo of the public will." Similar fears were expressed about the loss of the individual's voice in light of "pamphlets, periodical publications, newspapers..."
[177] Caroline Jones, op. cit., 2.
[178] Mays and Matheson, op. cit., 7.
[179] Ibid.
[180] This is not to say that there are not salient differences animating these disparate historical and cultural contexts, but that existing continuities point to a persistent understanding of the ghost as metonymic with technology, a construct that has through its integration with new media, surpassed human boundaries.
[181] Philip Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 21. Auslander cites from Jay David Bolter, and Richard Grusin, "Remediation," *Configurations* 4.3 (1996): 311-58.
[182] Portanova, op. cit., 139.
[183] Albright, op. cit., 190.
[184] Kirsten Maar, "Uncanny Connections," In *Performance and the Politics of Space: Theatre and Topology,* Ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Benjamin Wihstutz (New York: Routledge, 2013), 255. Maar cites from Patricia Baudoin and Heidi Gilpin, "Proliferation and Perfect Disorder: William Forsythe and the Architecture of Disappearance," *Parallax* 1 (1989): 9-24.
[185] See Zo Anderson, "Focus on Forsythe, Sadler's Wells, London Review: Tracing the Steps of Life and Death," *The Independent.co.uk.* http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/reviews/focus-on-forsythe-sadlers-wells-london-1671952.html (accessed January 15, 2015) and Luke Jennings, "Art From the Bare Bones of Grieving," *The Guardian.* April 26, 2009. http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2009/apr/26/dance-cheek-to-cheek-review (accessed January 15, 2015).
[186] Maar, op. cit., 252.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid., 252.
[190] Jose Gil, "Paradoxical Body," *The Drama Review.* 50:4, T192 (Winter 2006), 22. Gil's prosthetic extensions of the self are also cited by Maar.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Portanova, op. cit., 62. Here, I refer to the notion of the 'mov-object' as "virtual movement objects" that correspond to "gestures and steps, bodily alignments, speeds and rhythms." For more on mov-objects and process philosophy in dance, see Erin Manning and Brian Massumi, *Thought in the Act: Passages in the Ecology of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
[193] Maar, op. cit., 256.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Gil, op. cit, 22.
[196] Caroline Jones, op. cit., 2.
[197] Ibid., 44.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Kate Jenckes, *Reading Borges After Benjamin: Allegory, Afterlife, and the Writing of History* (New York: SUNY Press, 2007), 57. Jenckes quotes from Borges. This concluding segment turns to a quotation attributed to Argentinian author Jorge Luis Borges, whose poignant and influential work on allegory and sepulchral rhetoric has reshaped contemporary approaches to discourses of temporality, identity and representation.
[200] "The Theory of Ghosts" in *Dialectics of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments,"* Trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 178-9. This statement is not meant to be read as any kind of overarching theoretical framework

for the ghosts in this chapter, especially given Horkheimer and Adorno's criticism of the capitalist 'culture industry' and their general disdain of popular culture.

[201] Gordon, op. cit., 112.

[202] Nick Cave and the Bad Seeds, "Sorrow's Child." *The Good Son*. Mute Records, 1990. CD.

[203] Christopher Keep, "Of Writing Machines and Scholar-Gipsies," *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 29, no. 1 (2007): 63).

[204] Nelson, op. cit., 136.

Chapter 6:

CONCLUSION

6.1 Choreographing the Monster: The Fulcrum of Transformation

> I am the camera's eye. I am the machine which shows you the world as I alone see it. Starting from today, I am forever free of human immobility. I am in perpetual movement. I approach and draw away from things — I crawl under them — I climb on them — I am on the head of a galloping horse — I burst at full speed into a crowd — I run before running soldiers — I throw myself down on my back — I rise up with aeroplanes — I fall and I fly at one with the bodies falling or rising through the air.[1]

The cinecamera's monstrous, cybernetic eye, described by Soviet documentary filmmaker Dziga Vertov as "forever free of human immobility" and "in perpetual movement,"[2] shares an unusual resemblance with the four constructs examined in this dissertation. This creaturely other, Vertov intones, has, in surpassing the ontic boundaries of the human, rectified the flawed sightlines of the human, enabling (like the microscope) greater observation into the visible world.

This study has taken as its central concern the possibility that the nonhuman might be viewed as a similar transformative mechanism[3] that in making visible the dynamics of distance between self and other through movement, mobilized ideologies, facilitating a series of important historical shifts and renewals through performances on the theatrical stage. Each of the five preceding chapters has consequently traversed broad cultural and historical territory, and in uncovering the contextual specificities of each performance, revealed a performance landscape populated by regenerative discursive constructs. Often based on real historical actors, these figures sprang to the fore of theatrical performance in times of sociopolitical crisis and/or religious foment.

Long understood as an agent of culture capable of reconstituting the parameters of the legitimate, not only has the moving body in western performance traditions been "entangled in a net of signifiers crucial to designating the possibility of human status in the first place,"[4] but the participation of bodies in

the dynamics of choreography more specifically has, since at least the sixteenth century, been seen in western Europe and North America as nothing less than a technique that could be used to transform, legitimize and regulate the uncivilized. As a consequence, existing understandings of choreography generated in dance studies that attend to the ways in which choreography has been used to curate the human body most often do so through heightened focus on the human being.

This study on the other hand, sheds new light on nonhumans and those creatures of the imagination so carefully materialized in theatrical performance whose bodies veer away from the recognizable and the normative. These preliminary findings support the conclusion that performance techniques based on materializing or exploiting 'remoteness' to stage divergences and alternatives to the normative human are preeminently choreographic in nature. Reconfigurations of the human depend not only on the representation of a morphological distance between the human and its other, but conspicuously depend on displaying patterned motion, or choreography, as an axis of the normative.

As a consequence, the research in this dissertation not only reveals a cluster of philosophical ideas about the nonhuman as an arbiter of sociopolitical norms in transatlantic performance, but also identifies a common arsenal of performance techniques used to choreograph the movements of these provocative constructs, identifying a network of monstrous others in transatlantic dance and performance where no prior specialized studies on the topic exist. In the process, I demonstrate that the nonhuman and/or monster must be understood as part of a "tradition of reproduction of the self from the reflections of the other..."[5] in which a choreographic dynamic is enacted through the peculiar and transgressive movements of nonhumans. As a consequence, the aberrant mobility of the nonhuman exposes the plasticity of normative social constructs, provoking the ontology of the human altogether.

Accordingly, the conceptual framework of remote choreography serves to disambiguate the monstrous other in extant literature as transgressive not only in morphological terms (as has been so often implied by existing research on monsters in literary criticism, religious studies and a number of other disciplines), but vis à vis mobility. From the involuntary or remote-controlled motions of the automaton to the hypermobility of the sylphide, the enstatic inertia of St. Denis' yogi or the insistent return of the

many revenants explored in the preceding chapter, each of the figures examined in this study is characterized by its mobile provocations. In this way, the research illuminates the inextricable link between motion and historical constructions of a normative centre, drawing attention to the crucial importance of mobility in representations of the human in performance. Drawing such conclusions invariably reinforces epistemes particular to dance studies that posit the moving body as central to historical constructions of normativity, as a locus of palimpsestuous reconstruction through training systems (i.e. choreographies) designed to groom, curate, overhaul or transform individual and collective identity.[6]

That the nonhuman morphology should depend on the exaggerated display of transgressive or aberrant mobility is not entirely surprising. As French cultural theorist Paul Virilio has astutely recognized, the projects of empire, war included, are dependent on physicality, materiality and specifically, on motion. By extension, one might also argue that nonhumans make visible the material possibilities of motion as 'force' within the establishment or maintenance of empires, as has been evidenced in those chapters that have examined the Hapsburg empire, the French republic and the modern, American nation. For this, the concentrated display of intelligent motion (the automaton chess player), stillness (St. Denis' construction of the yogi) or war-like propulsion and hypermobility (most notably with witches and sylphides, but also yogi-fakirs) was crucial to mediating the boundaries of the normative human and maintaining its dominion over numerous others.

As this dissertation demonstrates, if remote choreography (the materialization of a creature's distance from the human by recourse to movement) can assemble the human, it can likewise serve to undo that same construct. In keeping with the findings of the four case studies, we might conclude that the four nonhumans included in this study are characterized by precisely this dynamic pattern: choreographies of nonhumans are the doing/undoing of the normative human. Designed to intercept 'being,' nonhuman 'others' are constructed through transformative techniques of distancing that necessarily render them *illegible* and *kaleidoscopic.*

6.2 The Illegible, Kaleidoscopic Other: A Composite of the Real and Imagined

While an examination of these four case studies (related to one another through a common heritage of transatlantic performance techniques) is not designed to support totalizing conclusions that overlook their temporal, geographic and cultural particularities, there are nonetheless a number of overarching commonalities shared between these illegible and therefore unrecognizable figures. As noted in this study's introductory remarks, the normative authority ascribed to the words legitimate and legible derives from their etymological links to the Sanskrit root *lag* (meaning "word" or "bond") and by extension, their common relationship to legal discourses. Accordingly, each of the nonhumans delineated in this research is not only beyond recognition in morphological terms, but emblematize beings that have by their divergent mobility, exceeded not simply the normative social and political order, but frequently, the ontological confines of the human. As a consequence, they are beings that are of dubious or no known legal status.

Repeatedly materialized through techniques designed to exploit the chasms and interstitial spaces in which reinvention is made possible, the recruitment of 'illegible' 'unrecognizable' creatures examined in each of the cases considered in this dissertation are, whether benign or menacing, implicated in ideologies that sought to reassess/regenerate the normative human, reinventing the boundaries of legitimacy, identity and inclusion. As archival data unearthed in each chapter corroborates, the four figures construed as illegible can be understood as composites of alterity assembled in discourse with numerous historical 'others,' both real and imagined, supporting the conclusion that the monsters performed were not unspecific. Rather, they were constructed to reflect the difference of very real historical others deemed transgressive, or 'other' than human.

Moreover, as each of the case studies has borne out, the illegibility of the creatures examined was correlated with the representation of a kind of kaleidoscopic difference (as characterized by their extraordinary plasticity and polysemy) as key indicators of their transformative potential. For instance, as detailed in chapter two, the difference ascribed to von Kempelen's automaton chess player was hardly monolithic, owning instead an ambiguous and multiplicitous alterity that was at once technocultural,

religious and political. It was this compounded difference that enabled the automaton to function as recruit, in turn renewing the position of the human within the Hapsburg Empire. Similarly, the extraordinary plasticity of the discursive construct of the yogi as repeatedly performed by British and American artists and performers in the early twentieth century was nothing less than the materialization of a kaleidoscopic recruit, an historical and aesthetic wild card whose illegible presence signified radical transformation, whenever circumstances might have warranted.[7]

Accordingly, in each of the cases presented, the illegible other permitted the creation of what this study has named a recruitable, hijacked or surrogate body/mechanism that might be remotely choreographed to the ends of renewing or reifying a normative ideal. In this sense, the construction of the nonhuman as an imperial recruit recurs in three of the case studies (von Kempelen's automaton, the sylphide and even St. Denis' ideation of the yogi) each of which reveals their symbolic significance as an imperial surrogate. And while neither the ghosts of chapter five, nor the automaton Nino can be understood as the remote-controlled agents of empire, their motions were nonetheless choreographed to illustrate by way of difference, a normative centre. In other words, in their beleaguered exile, involuntary returns and paralytic mechanical failures, a common choreographic pattern was given voice. That is to say, their compromised mobility warned of an excess of power elsewhere within a complex orbit of power relations.

Naturally, the aforementioned polysemy of each figure posed a number of challenges related to naming and identifying with monolithic precision, those partly historical yet re-imagined bodies that underpinned the performance of the four nonhumans considered. Yet, it can equally be argued that aiming for such straightforward identification would have missed the point of these performances entirely.

Archival sources pertaining to at least three of the constructs (automaton, sylphide and yogi) confirm their polysemy as the inheritance of magnified visions of difference named in diverse performance traditions and historical texts (literary, religious, political). Seeking to tease out a single historical actor as each figure's most important referent would have resulted in a reductive analysis of the findings. Instead, given that archival sources pertaining to all four of the case studies present evidence of

the nonhuman other's function as a palimpsestuous variable X awaiting signification by its contextual refractions, it would seem reasonable to conclude that in such ambiguity lies the utility of these discursive constructs. Their ability to signify and by extension to transform, one might conclude, derives from their function as 'freeplayers'[8] (to use Derrida's term) that provoke and overwhelm in their dizzying refractions of otherness.

Accordingly, in this study I have attempted to marry a broad methodology with the kaleidoscopic nature of the creatures chosen, thereby revealing a heuristic by which the nonhuman in dance and performance might be understood. Prismatic at every angle, one recalls that the automata of the second chapter, the sylphides of the third, the numerous yogis of the fourth and the ghosts of the final chapter reflect the characteristics of numerous monstrous others not only within their own context, but occasionally even overlapping with visions of difference named in other chapters.

Traversing foreigners and robots, itinerants and amazons, mendicants, double-agents, ghosts and machines, these performed constructs, despite their differences, share eerie similarities with one another. As such, this study's conceptualization of the refractions of the nonhuman other as kaleidoscopic has particular advantages. It enables these parallels and symmetries that might otherwise be missed to be foregrounded, clarifying that despite their obvious contextual differences, each of the case studies presents a strategic vision of alterity, designed to provoke/shift/reify the parameters of a normative centre. In this sense, the breadth of this study's methodology serves to foreground the extraordinary plasticity and range of the discursive constructs themselves, their intersecting relationships with one another and their redactions over time.

6.3 Techniques of Distancing and Remoteness: Manufacturing the Monster

The findings of this research suggest that the development of an arsenal of performance techniques (many involving the use of new technologies) figured prominently in the manufacture of creaturely distance from the normative, enabling each figure to be perceived as surpassing 'others,' whether robots, 'remotely controlled' machines, or supernatural beings. Predicated on a group of techniques and/or technologies associated with enabling a leap away from the human and its material

body, each of the figures analyzed can be said to exemplify the creation and/or maintenance of an interstitial space, a prosthetic territory made possible by performance.

Consequently, through the examination of four diverse discursive constructs, this study has unearthed an arsenal of techniques of 'distancing' that permitted the creation of creatures that transgressed the human. The nonhumans discussed in this study are thus expressive of how techniques and technologies that manipulate the distance between the human and its other (which can be accomplished through myriad techniques including impersonation or touch at a distance), are deployed not only to reproduce the human, but to undo and/or surpass it altogether. That is to say, that the display of the nonhuman other in each chapter not only establishes what the human is not, but also serves to test or introduce new iterations of what the human could or should be.

As a result, each case study presents evidence that a diverse, yet nonetheless related array of techniques was used to remotely choreograph those nonhuman beings of confounding mobility in performance. These include: 1) The use of toys and evocative objects to develop pretense and play in performance 2) the use of traditional prestidigitatorial tricks, illusions or sleight of hand 3) the use of new technologies to create a virtual or surrogate being, or to render the human networked or technosensual 4) the use of fraud and/or impersonation to invite identity shifts and renewals.

Skewing the motions and morphologies of its creatures beyond recognition, all the case studies deploy one, if not several of these techniques in tandem. For example, the automaton chess player, the sylphide, and the ghost partake in dynamics of provocation that deploy a combination of techniques. Frequently, (as seen in the automaton chess players of von Kempelen and Paolo Ventura) a confounding mixture of new technologies including sleight of hand techniques, the pretense associated with toys and the use of fraud was used to manufacture those creatures that transgressed natural law and the human's physical boundaries.

In addition, we can conclude that the technosensual other, whether actualized or ideated, was at the heart of at least three of the four case studies presented. In part, this may owe to the fact that the generation of such fantastic, monstrous others (with the exception of Ruth St. Denis' performance of the

yogi) required the explicit expansion of technologies in order to support their display on the theatrical stage. For instance, the materialization of the sylphide on the theatrical stage necessitated the expansion of pointe work in ballet, permitting the ballet blanc's prostheticized, hypertrophic displays of airborne femininity. A similar case can be made for the fifth chapter's virtual ghost, a twenty-first century holographic spectacle that is demonstrably related to a range of nineteenth-century spectral predecessors. The manufacture of von Kempelen's automaton too, enabled early ideations of a remote-controlled machine, or a 'robot,' a technological ideation so scientifically challenging to produce that von Kempelen turned to fraud to materialize it. So it was, that a human being concealed inside the machine's commode in order to control the automaton chess player's intelligent motion continued to sustain technological fantasies about the body that could be manipulated from without, and by another.

What then does it mean that St. Denis' performance of the yogi diverges from the remaining case studies, all of which present a common technique of either using or cooperating with the latest technologies to craft the nonhuman? Here, one can turn to St. Denis' archival writings to support conclusions that St. Denis' immobile protagonist in *The Yogi* was configured as an antidote, an alternative to the forces of modernity and their technological advancements. Displayed as a paragon of asceticism, an ancient, fossilized figure whose power could be invoked through impersonation and through the performance of his Delsartean stillness, St. Denis saw little need for technologies that could enable transcendence. Instead, her early writings reveal that the regenerative processes of the nation would be dependent on the practice of static postures, on the performance of an eternal stillness.

Even here however, it is possible to argue that the underpinnings St. Denis' performance of the yogi (like those of the other three chapters) turned to those techniques of distancing associated with remote choreography, whereby the human might be palpated and animated from afar. For the process of remotely embodying an 'other,' through the performance of impersonation or creating copies/likenesses, is tantamount to making a kind of displaced contact with that person or entity. Turning once more to Michael Taussig, if mimesis is essentially "to get hold of something by means of its likeness,"[9] then St. Denis' portrayal of the yogi in her choreography *The Yogi* (or for that matter Isis in *Eygpta*) can be

understood as a two-layered process involving both the copying or imitation and the actual sensuous connection between the "body of the perceiver and the perceived."[10] Copying in this way is always somehow related to the power gained through contact, despite the fact that the nature of the contact might be at a distance, deferred or once-removed. In this way, all performative representations are physical identifications; they are bodily relations that reside in a murky network of sensory perceptions and power dynamics.

Accordingly, one of the cardinal contributions of this study is the acknowledgment that not only does the nonhuman in performance represent the distant, foreign other, but that the process of generating the transgressive other requires technologies, tools and modes of representation that enable or enhance perceptions of its deferral, distance and remoteness. In this sense, the study begins to close what has been a fairly substantial gap (at least in dance studies) between the history of moving bodies and the history of technologies used in choreographic practice. I argue that attempts to contextualize understandings of dance and choreography within the history of science and technology affirms and identifies the close kinship and ancestry shared between the nonhuman and the virtual body in ways that are not only necessary, but crucial to reframing contemporary understandings of dance as a profoundly mediated act, accomplished through techniques and technologies that are networked through bodies, objects and data.

6.4 Technosensual Others: Involuntary Motion and Remote-Controlled Force

As I have argued, practices of representation that result in the performance of difference do not only involve ideas; they also entail working with and on bodily and other matter, including data and virtual elements. By the same token, such material practices not only creatively reorder ideas and meanings, they can reconstitute identity, changing our understanding and experience of what it means to be human in very consequential ways. Given this, one of the main contributions made by this research has been to demonstrate how performing alterations to the human through acts of surrogation or performed hijackings of the other are by no means entirely benign. Instead, the processes of redesigning the human is, as anthropologist Janelle Taylor notes, comprised of the customary inequities and asymmetries of power that accompany human relationships and the development of social networks.

> ...the outcome of materializing practices remains unpredictable in part…they can entail bitter conflicts, stark inequalities, and deadly serious struggles. The body, one might say, is not so much a thing as an -ing. That is, not simply the inert objects on which mind and culture perform their meaning making, bodies take shape and take place through practices of all sorts: feeding, legislating, training, cutting, explaining, beating, loving, diagnosing, buying, selling, dressing, and healing, among others.[11]

As such, the nonhuman morphology and its transgressive mobility as detailed in this study represents a frontier, a boundary that often is erected or maintained in performance in order to prevent miscegenation with the other, and to curate the relationship between insider and outsider. As several of the chapters have clarified, this fear of infiltration by those considered as outsiders, whether the slave, the prostitute, the machine, data or death itself, is part of the construction of a centre that is defied by its oppositional margins, its boundaries and perimeters. Several of the figures named in this study, including von Kempelen's automaton chess player, the Sylphide and Ruth St. Denis' performance of the yogi are emblematic of this dynamic whereby a nonhuman serves to maintain or restructure the status quo.

In this way, the figures examined exemplify how choreography as a means of patterning motion, be it through the use of bodies, objects or data, is so closely related to the creation or maintenance of an ideology, or the deliberate construction or affirmation/regeneration of a body politic. All four examples (automaton, sylphide, yogi and ghost) in fact, illustrate how the construction of an illegitimate being facilitates the periodic reconsideration of the human and its social, political, religious and even ontological boundaries.

Not surprisingly, such performances of the monster are accompanied by perilous consequences for those historical others whose reimagined bodies have been recruited to represent transgressions of the normative. As previously iterated in the body of this study, primary source evidence unearthed in each of the chapters underscores how exploitations of the creaturely other are central to identity shifts, frequently necessitating reinvention of the human altogether. The recruitment of the automaton chess player for instance, initiated changing perceptions about the value of human labour while the discursive constructs of the sylphide reified the new republic's surveillance over the 'dangerous' mobility of marginalized

and/or political women during the July Monarchy. Similarly, hijackings of the yogi by the SAF and others encouraged the historical erasure of those real historical actors named yogis whose performances (and possibly embodied teachings)[12] at Coney Island and other amusement parks/circuses provided choreographers with a wealth of choreographic material. As dance historian Priya Srinivasan astutely reasons, if Ruth St. Denis, (who is often credited with having uniquely pioneered the terrain of modern dance)[13] was able to see further into the future of American modernity, she was only able to do so by standing on the shoulders of these uncited giants.

It stands to reason that the creation of these imagined constructs was conversely, also a source of material advantages for those who constructed them. Most notably, the findings of chapter two demonstrate that the display of Von Kempelen's intelligent, remote-controlled robot chess player indirectly helped to expand those discourses on mechanization that fed ideations of a thriving industrial economy. Similarly, the display of female hypermobility synonymous with the Sylphide is demonstrably linked with the gender hierarchies erected by the new republic in which bourgeois males constituted the social and political cornerstone. Sadly, the benefits of identity expansion associated with St. Denis' hijackings of the yogi as well as the many others named in chapter three, similarly belong not to those peripheral outsiders named as yogis, but to those normative American citizens who used their identities to reconfigure what it meant to be American *tout court*. And although it is possible that some performers of these constructs (such as Marie Taglioni, for instance) did reap the material advantages of the popularity of the nonhuman as palimpsest, the actual performers of such constructs were on the whole, simply the last link in the long chain of the nonhuman's production.

Here, we might wish to revisit the case study relating to the Tupac Shakur hologram, which raises some important questions about the ramifications of those techniques and technologies of distancing that permit a radical reconsideration of human ontology. As detailed in chapter five, several scholars in dance studies have postulated that instantiations of the virtual are caught in a web of asymmetrical power relations that endanger the role of the human body and its labour in ways that resuscitate the precarious ideations of the eighteenth century automaton chess player, a creation that many theatre scholars have

recognized as an early iteration of the robot, if not a precursor to the drone. Yet, in the case of the Shakur hologram (as well as the ghosts in Hiro Murai's video for the Flying Lotus track examined in the same chapter), it is notable that revived technosensual others were recruited by insiders of a marginalized group, i.e. by those who mourned the losses of those deceased bodies. By extension, these surrogations were performed by a subculture of outsiders, becoming tantamount to a kind of political protest, a communal reckoning.[14]

Nevertheless, there may in fact be good reason to remain cautious about the ways in which virtual bodies may be used to legitimate the disappearance or appearance of material bodies. Indeed, in its design to rework the human being by trespassing its carnal boundaries altogether, the holographic enterprise more generally (for example, as spearheaded by corporations such as Digital Domain) teeters on the edge of an extropian fantasy that bears its own portentous biomedical discourses that this dissertation has by necessity, chosen to omit from examination.

In this regard, conducting this research has provided a useful reminder of the necessity of studies within the history of dance that attend to the ethical dangers of virtual surrogations and the choreography of nonhuman subjects. Such remediations however, can only be offered within fields armed with sufficient data regarding the history of nonhumans in theatrical performance. In this sense, my dissertation fulfills a critical function in closing this gap. It is hoped that this foray into the history of the nonhuman in dance studies will spark the future research necessary in order to complete the task of parsing how existing power structures inform instantiations of the virtual.

6.5 Disciplinary Implications of Remote Choreography and New Avenues of Inquiry

As elucidated at the outset of this study, the conceptualization of remote choreography in this dissertation contains an invitation to develop nuanced interdisciplinary discourses that can address the intersection between moving bodies and normativity. Seeking to transpose the knowledge gained in choreographic practice into other disciplines, the paradigm was conceived to help meaningfully address how performance constructs that display their distance from the human have embodied (and therefore intervened in) tangible social and political realities. The choreographic construction of an illegible other

in each of the case studies presented thus raises important consequences not just for dance historians, but points to the need for a broad-based reassessment of the importance of the moving body for researchers in the social sciences more generally.

For as my findings suggest, choreography may propel a deeper analysis of how normativity is performed in diverse contexts. More precisely, I would suggest that an understanding of remote choreography dismantles longstanding historical assumptions regarding the human as able-bodied in academic discourse. That is to say, that in identifying mobility (in addition to morphology) as an axis of the normative, the human is revealed as historically constructed through representations of ability/disability, i.e. through recourse to displays of mastery or aberrance on stage. If the nonhuman body's movement (choreographed as either supernormal or as disabled) is crucially linked to ascriptions of the normative and more significantly, to the acquisition of legal recognitions, then the case studies assembled demonstrate how bodies staged as 'other' challenge historically stubborn binaries dividing the able-bodied from the disabled. In like manner, I would venture further in suggesting that remote choreography may be a valuable construct in understanding a diverse array of quotidian performances (i.e. tattooing practices, cosmetic surgery or even eating disorders) in which transgression, as performed through patterned, repetitive motion, constitutes an important axis of ontological renewal and redefinition.

In this sense, my research offers timely resistance to traditional approaches to dance/performance history that foreground the human in ways that automatically configure its hegemony. In this era of accelerated climate change, interdisciplinary historical analyses that draw from a variety of discourses in the humanities and social sciences discern not only the techniques by which creaturely others have been constructed in performance, but how hierarchies that have separated the human from the animal, male from female, insider from outsider, have long been mobilized through a chain of bodily practices that includes choreography. In foregrounding a host of nonhuman others (cyborgs, automata, sylphides, yogis, ghosts) the study presents an alternative to humanist narratives, chronicling often overlooked hybrid categories (i.e. human-machine, human-animal) and alternative ecologies of bodily difference that have shaped the history of theatrical dance. In the process, it is possible to conceive that this study might

instigate more thorough and careful reconceptualizations of the human in dance history, that in turn can recirculate into the natural sciences via the fields of environmental ethics, critical posthumanism and biopolitical power.

Equally crucially, this study positions the illegible nonhuman in direct conversation with discourses pertaining to bodily performance under the law, thereby expanding the potential for the epistemes generated in dance and performance studies to be utilized in a number of judicial contexts. As evidenced in my introductory remarks regarding the Robert Djiekanski case, or findings pertaining to the automaton chess player's significance as an emissary of the Hapsburg Empire, remote choreography may be used to parse events as they unfold in the theatre of the courtroom, or in a theatre of war. For if the legal body "is a social body produced by practices"[15] then the choreographed motions of mutants, monsters, plants or creaturely others in performance produces the evidentiary basis for discerning how all beings, especially those considered 'others,' are "always interpellated by the law."[16] Choreographies of this remote variety, using the guise of the nonhuman, stage and restage these interpellations for new consideration, to be contested "as a site of changing possibilities that acknowledge the necessity of universal rules for vastly different people."[17]

Finally, given that the nonhuman in several of the case studies presented was materialized through the application of technologies, the research contextualizes the history of the nonhuman moving body in a technological context that invites manifold response, engaging cross-disciplinary conversations pertaining to human rights in several disciplines including dance studies, performance studies, religious studies and law. Such continued theorization and historical excavation of the relationship between the human and its nonhuman others is especially critical in the twenty-first century, given that the tools and networks of physical regulation and surveillance (maintained through mass media, online social networks, cyber warfare) are no longer immediate. Instead, the techniques that shape mobility are increasingly evolving to become what Virilio has called "a kind of telescopic sensing towards an imagined encounter."[18] In this era of instant mediations, we are, as theatre historian Herbert Blau has commented, "amidst the megabytes, minimizing the instant;"[19] and the body's presence and its physical force, more

and more remotely enacted, is recruited by entities at a distance from the body itself. In these virtual worlds, as in those prosthetic ones that have preceded it, there is a necessity for scholarship to carefully examine the virtual immersions of everyday life, and the mechanisms and hypothetical spaces of transformation offered by theatrical performance. In those remote choreographies, performances of the other are open invitations to maintain or reinvent the human, reconfiguring its legal entitlements and responsibilities, and with it our orbits of power.

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[1] Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema*: *The Logistics of Perception,* Trans. P. Camiller (London: Verso, 1989) p. 11. Virilio cites from Dziga Vertov, *Kino-eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984).

[2] Part and parcel of the victories of a 'kino-glaz' (cine-eye) realism, Vertov's words offer a description of the capabilities of the cybernetic eye, a technosensual device that captures things as they are (the normative) but also perceives the world anew.

[3] In saying this I do not mean to imply that Vertov would have been pleased by the thought of his theories being used to describe fictional constructs performed in narrative performances. Vertov was fiercely committed to working as a documentarian, dismissing fiction in film as "an opiate of the public." Nonetheless, the explicit parallel he draws between the human eye and the cinematic apparatus is worthy of comment. See Dziga Vertov. *Kino-eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov,* op. cit.

[4] Gerald Siegmund, "Negotiating Choreography, Letter, Law in William Forsythe," in *New German Dance Studies,* ed. Susan Manning and Lucia Ruprecht (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 210.

[5] Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 150.

[6] I use the word palimpsestuous here to describe the body as locus of reinvention that is continually overwritten with cultural significance and yet nonetheless bears the traces of former inscriptions.

[7] The ghost of Shakur, whose virtual body was likewise devised in dialogue with numerous alterities, (the revenant rapper, the immaterial cyborg) was nothing less than a figure of exaggerated alterity, an apparition whose commemorative performance was at once mnemonic and anticipatory, an opportunity to give presence to the deceased while ushering in an emancipatory, technosensual future.

[8] David Lodge, *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (London: Longman, 1988), 108. Lodge cites from Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference:* "language bears within itself the necessity of its own critique, deconstructive criticism aims to show that any text inevitably undermines its own claims to have a determinate meaning, and licences the reader to produce his own meanings out of it by an activity of semantic 'freeplay'."

[9] Taussig, op. cit., 21.

[10] Ibid.

[11] J. S. Taylor, "Surfacing the Body Interior," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 745.

[12] See Priya Srinivasan, op.cit. Srinivasan argues that St. Denis work was not only loosely inspired by her observation of nautsch dances but was based on dances she was taught by nautch dancers themselves. In this, she emphasizes that St. Denis was indebted to her embodied training.

[13] See Priya Srinivasan who writes against the historiography of St. Denis as a pioneer of modern dance.

[14] Chapter five clarifies that the hologram was staged at the request and under the direction of Dr. Dre, an insider to the socioeconomic realities that haunt the subject matter/idioms of hip-hop music. In contrast, one might consider Pepper and Dircks' staging of the ghost that reified existing notions of normativity as defined by Enlightenment values.

[15] Siegmund, op. cit., 211.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Virilio, op. cit., 15.

[19] Herbert Blau, *Reality Principles: From the Absurd to the Virtual* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 106.

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