

# **PROCEEDINGS**

# **DANCE HISTORY SCHOLARS**

Fifth Annual Conference  
Harvard University  
13-15 February 1982

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 CONFERENCE PAPERS, AVAILABLE AS A PROCEEDINGS  
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Note: This collection of papers has been compiled from camera-ready copies from the individual authors who wished to contribute their papers as a record of this 1982 Conference of Dance History Scholars. In order to achieve a volume immediately available to the group, no editing, a time-consuming process, has been done. Christena L. Schlundt, Compiler.

The problem of my paper concerns the role of the philosopher-aesthetician with respect to two particular groups: the arts public and the creative/performing artists, in particular with respect to the art of dance. The discussion necessarily concerns the goals and the methods for aesthetics, a subject recently addressed by John Fisher and Monroe Beardsley's editorial in the Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism (John Fisher and Monroe Beardsley, "Editorial," The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XXXVIII, no. 3, Spring, 1980, 235-237).

My interest in this problem arose from practical considerations. Recently I was asked to develop a format to relate aesthetics to dance for a tour of performances with a dance company in the U.S.A. My task was to prepare a program for the general public that would apply aesthetics, a humanities discipline, to the understanding of dance performances. The touring project had two aspects: symposia and performances. It was necessary to include the aesthetics presentation in the actual performances. In my mind the unusual aspect of the project was the challenge of how to present aesthetics to a public audience in the context of a performance. The sponsors were open as to how the task might be accomplished. The project required reflecting on the questions of this paper: What is the role of the aesthetician with respect to the public and to the performing artists?

One problem that such a project faces derives from the history and tradition of the discipline of aesthetics. As it has been practiced over the centuries, aesthetics has been addressed primarily to its own practitioners. Aesthetics is written in the language of abstract generalizations and uses technical vocabulary uncommon to the public and to the practitioners of dance who necessarily give priority to developing languages of the body. Fisher and Beardsley have asserted that the major goal of writing in aesthetics is "theory," consisting of general statements about the arts (Fisher & Beardsley, p. 236). Corresponding to that goal are two principal methods, empirical-inductive and critical-analytic. The empirical-inductive method bases theoretical generalizations in aesthetics on detailed observations and analyses of the arts, while the critical-analytic method is concerned with such matters as examining and clarifying linguistic concepts and principles that constitute aesthetic theory. Various combinations of these methodological elements are used by those of us who write on aesthetic theory.

Since aesthetics, in recent times at least, has been written almost exclusively with the small circle of aestheticians in mind, the problem is, how to get out of the circle of aestheticians speaking to each other in ways that are essentially inaccessible to the public or to artists.

In order to prepare for the dance project referred to earlier, it was necessary to accommodate two distinct views of dance: those of theory and performance. Theory based on the results of the aestheticians' explorations had to be presented in language that would interest a



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public audience, and be understood. It was equally important to adapt the aesthetics presentation to the format of the performers so that it would not appear to be merely "tacked on". The solution was that the choreographer and I worked together. I produced a script outlining the themes, and he choreographed a piece for the dancers and me to do jointly, in which the aesthetician's words and the dancers' movements were coordinated.

The intent was to make the verbal aesthetics as much a part of the performance as possible. The process included rehearsals, during which I kept the same stage rules as the performers, and opportunities for informal interaction. This process enabled me to get a feel for the rhythm of preparing a performance and subsequently helped me to adapt the aesthetic ideas to the format of a performance. The result was to show how the insights of a philosopher-aesthetician can be presented in a theatrical context. (At that time I was at work on a source book of philosophical writings on dance. This background provided an overview of the various approaches that philosophers have taken to dance over the centuries.).

During the course of the presentation I spoke of the "humanities," and their relation to the arts. I said, for example, "In the broadest sense a humanities scholar, for example the philosopher-aesthetician, is a student of human culture. His tools are primarily critical reasoning, verbal analysis, and description, and he frequently finds that aesthetic values are his subject matter." I went on to explain that philosophers from Plato to the present have written about dance, and noted the growing interest of contemporary philosophers in the dance. I explained that philosophy allows one to put in abstract terms the things that are seen and provides categories of thought for understanding dance as an art, for seeing its relations to other human endeavors.

The term "choreography," which is a combination of two Greek words meaning "dance" and "writing," enabled me to suggest a link between two areas of dance performances and aesthetics. I noted, for example, that a choreographer who makes dances and a dancer who performs provide the subject matter for the aesthetician who then theorizes about the activity.

The concept of style which is a subject of considerable interest to aestheticians and to choreographers, suggested itself as a common ground for relating aesthetics to the dance. Style is not an unproblematic or simple concept, as recent writings and symposia in aesthetics have shown. Two prevalent notions of dance style are based on national and personal embellishments. There exists a tradition of dividing dances according to characteristics established by the practices originating in the different countries. In this respect Russian, English, Danish, and American dance companies are said to each have a different look.

Two conflicting views emerge with respect to national styles. The "look" of a particular "national" company suggests an overall quality that can be associated with the performance style of the company. On the other hand, Anna Kisselgoff, dance critic for the New York Times, argues that dancers from the same national companies, who have essentially the same training and cultural backgrounds exhibit considerable personal variation or "personal style" in their dancing. (New York Times, March 5, 1978)

Applying the term "style" to dance, Roderyk Lange remarks that a style results from the choices of the dancer in stressing some of the components of dance to a greater or lesser degree, and in arranging their proportional display accordingly. (Roderyk Lange, The Nature of Dance. London: Macdonald and Evans, 1975, p. 80) Arnold Berleant suggests a similar view of style: "In a dancer, style...represents... the distinctive grace, flair, or individual adaptation by which the dancer imbues the movement with his or her personality." (Arnold Berleant, unpublished correspondence, January 19, 1978) I call this approach to dance style the personal embellishment thesis. A variation of this thesis applies also to choreographers. A choreographer's style, says Berleant, consists in utilizing an already existing dance genre "in ways that reflect a distinct vision and personal sensibility, as expressed through typical combinations and patterns of movement." (Berleant, 1978)

Given the existence of national traditions and personal variations among individual choreographers and performers, it is necessary to consider further the matter of dance style. A third approach to style has been suggested by Pitrim Sorokin who proposed that style includes both an ideational element, which is only implicit in the visual appearance, and a visual sensate element which can be seen. (Pitrim Sorokin, Fluctuation of Forms of Art: Social and Cultural Dynamics I, New York: Bedminster Press, 1962, pp. 247, 248) These two aspects are intended to establish the conceptual and the attitudinal approaches to dancing. In theory Sorokin's view is sufficiently broad to encompass both national and individual variations that emerge within the traditions of Western ballet.

An adequate theory of style must encompass for example, the perceived uniformity of style in the performances of a national company such as Bournonville's Danish Ballet or The Royal Ballet, and, at the same time it must recognize the contributions of personal embellishment of choreographers and performers.

The problem of dance style is not simply a question of national or personal aspects, however. The New York City Ballet under the direction of George Balanchine has become a national ballet for the U.S.A., but its overall style is due primarily to the personal vision of a foreign-born choreographer. Moreover Martha Graham, a native American choreographer, has developed her personal vision into a style of dancing that transcends all national considerations. In each of these cases the personal embellishment thesis correctly points to a truth: creative individuals are frequently the dominant force in shaping the variations of dancing styles. But the primary consideration in understanding a style must be upon the images that are seen and the ideas and attitudes concerning dance that underlie these visible elements.

It is appropriate, therefore, to represent Bournonville's, Bejart's, Balanchine's, and Graham's contributions to the dance as distinct styles. Their respective repertoires of dances, collectively speaking, are different because they represent different ideas and attitudes toward the elements of movement--steps, gestures, structure and process, (See Suzanne Farrell's remarks on structure and process in David Daniel, "A Conversation with Suzanne Farrell," Ballet Review, vol. VII, no. 1, 1978-79, pp. 1-15) expression and dynamics, and subject matter. The style consists of the approach to these elements in conjunction with the choice of music, costume, and theater design. The choreographer's

work in creating dances out of these elements is sometimes referred to as a matter of "coping with constraints" and selecting from ever-changing positive resources. (For an extended treatment of style in dance see Selma Jeanne Cohen's excellent discussion in Next Week Swan Lake. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1982) Dancers Natalia Makarova and Paul Taylor have both suggested that dance style requires a knowledge of what not to do. (Cited in Cohen, Next Week Swan Lake) For each choreographer the result is something like a language of movement that is more than the personal embellishments of individual dancers or national influences.

The above remarks represent the beginnings of how an aesthetician might approach the analysis of style in dance. But already it seems clear that such an approach, however oversimplified, would be difficult to present to a public unfamiliar with aesthetics. The solution that was adopted was to reduce the discussion to a single aspect of style, to speak of it along this line: Style is a concept that aestheticians use to designate different approaches to dance. A style of dance represents the movement language of the choreographer and dancers--steps and gestures--processes and structure together with the choice of music and set and costume design. Within the ballet it is possible to identify different styles: romantic (Bournonville), formalist (Balanchine), and jazz (Ailey). (The style labels, "romantic," "formalist," and "jazz," are themselves general categories allowing for variations and change when applied to different choreographers or to different phases within the overall work of a single choreographer.) The sections of the piece in which I appeared included elements of each of these styles. Then the other pieces in the concert following exemplified the various styles. During the course of the discussion it was possible to include various other aspects of style by reference to individual variations among the dancers and to refer to the national qualities of the various dances, thereby showing the complexities of the concept. The project was a very modest one to be sure. It does suggest a beginning by which to make a bridge out of the circle to a public.

## II

The project also opened up possibilities for establishing contact with the performer's point of view. This effort is again beset with problems. Dancers are highly gifted persons, but the demands of their program of movement training to prepare their minds and bodies for performance, does not necessarily allow for a comparable training in verbal, and, particularly, in philosophical discourse. (There are of course exceptions such as the choreographer-dancer Kenneth King, a former philosophy major and a writer who has contributed to such publications as Ballet Review and The Paris Review.) Consequently, dancers and aestheticians may have difficulty communicating.

There are various reasons for this fact, some of which result from the circumstances of a dancer's life style. Dancers in a company work very closely with each other. They depend upon each other for mutual success and even for physical safety, as well as for emotional security and companionship. Some dancers actually believe that dancers exist in a world apart from other persons. Fortunately it is possible to break through. The close contact with the touring company led to an unexpected

opportunity. Two principal dancers, John Meehan of American Ballet Theater and Ann Marie DeAngelo formerly of the Joffrey Ballet approached me and made inquiries about philosophy and its relation to dance. I expressed a corresponding interest in their views of dance as performers.

The discussions began with the question of the relative adequacy of words and dancing as means of communication. The dancers were convinced of the superiority of steps, gestures and the expressive elements in dancing for communication, and I felt obliged to ask for equality of words. These discussions led to an analysis of the various components in dancing: steps, gestures, technique, concentration, the expressive element or "presence," and a search for the comparable elements in verbal language. Questions arose: For example, are words and sentences comparable to steps and phrases? Are the rules of technique comparable to the rules of grammar? What is the role of the mind in dancing? What are the respective roles of ideas and feelings in dance and philosophy? A similar question applies to the body: dancers obviously use the body in their work. So do philosophers, but in a different sense. How do the performer's and the philosopher's views of dance differ? One dancer asked with full seriousness why anyone would want to watch a performance. She stated that it was very satisfying to do the dancing, because this performance brought together her own powers, physical, technical, and expressive, and provided a challenge. But she didn't enjoy watching dances by others. From this dancer's perspective the performance was an action done for a purpose: to master a discipline, to gain control, to achieve satisfaction, to achieve what she described as a "certain moment," when the movement, inner concentration, feeling and idea all come together. This is a performer's point of view.

What is the aesthetician's point of view? Plato (Plato, Laws, Books II, VII) and Aristotle (Aristotle, Poetics, 1455-1458; Politics, 1337-1342) saw dancing as a contribution to physical and intellectual culture. Plutarch (Plutarch, "Table Talk," in Moralia, Vol. IX) addresses the specific elements that constitute a dance. Adam Smith, (Adam Smith, "Of the Imitative Arts," The Works of Adam Smith, Vol. V. London: Strahan & Preston, 1811) Batteux (Charles Batteux, Les Beaux Arts: Reduits Un Meme Principe. Paris: Chez Durand) and others discuss the relation of dance to the other fine arts, such as music, poetry, and the visual arts. Bergson (Henri Bergson, Time and Free Will. New York: Harper and Row, 1960, pp. 11-13, 110-112) and Spencer (Herbert Spencer, "Gracefulness," in Essays Scientific, Political, and Speculative, Vol. II. New York: Appleton & Co., 1897) use particular aesthetic concepts such as grace to designate the essential, ambient or expressive quality of dance. More recently, philosophers have turned to questions involving the epistemological and ontological status of the dance work.

In their discussions of dance, aestheticians are inclined to look for general characteristics of the art rather than to specific characteristics of individual works. Aestheticians thus reflect a more general point of view than that of the performer. Yet such generalizations are useful only if they are faithful to characteristics of particulars. The aesthetician looking to dance performances might ask such questions as, what is the dance work of the performances? The search for answers has led philosophers to consider ways to designate the "dance work." A performance exists only for a finite duration in a particular space. It

lacks the relatively permanent status of a painting or sculpture. Hence it is not possible to point to the physical event, except for particular moments. In what form does the dance exist "in between performances"? Does it reside in the mind/body of the dancer, or in the choreographer's memory? On video tape or film? Or can it be preserved through notations? (Or does it exist at all?) Philosophers in search of a fixed object for their study turn to notation. Goodman's remarks on the possibility for dance notation suggest a way of using notation to identify particular dance works, but Goodman would agree that the notation, apart from performances, does not adequately constitute a full account of the dance work. (Nelson Goodman, Languages of Art. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967, pp. 64, 65, 121, 122, 211-218) Others, such as Dufrenne, emphasize the importance of the performer's contribution to the identity of the work. (Mikel Dufrenne, The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience, tr. Edward Casey and others. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1973, pp. 20-25, 74-78)

In any case it is clear that the philosopher's visual or conceptual view of the dance is much broader than the dancer's participatory view. It is an external as opposed to an internal view and is perhaps subject to emendation by insights gained from the insider's point of view.

My goal in the current projects is to produce an account of dance aesthetics that will include elements of both the performer's point of view and the broader aesthetician's views. Whether these projects will produce any significant results for aesthetic theory I cannot say; at the very least they will have provided a better informed aesthetician. It is important, however, for such projects to aim toward advancing the public's understanding of aesthetics, and to explore the relation of aesthetics to the creation and performance of dance. From my point of view the primary goal of aesthetics is to produce understanding of the art forms on a variety of levels. Theory in aesthetics can be appreciated for its own interest to aestheticians, but such theory is also a means to a fuller understanding of the art for creators and spectators of the arts. (An earlier version of this paper was read at the conference on Art in Culture, Ghent, Belgium, 1980.)

# THREE FACES OF PSYCHE

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BY

JUDITH CHAZIN-BENNAHUM

This paper deals with the importance of mythological themes in ballet at the time of the French Revolution, and notably the myth of Cupid and Psyche as recreated in the ballets of Jean Georges Noverre<sup>1</sup> (Jean Georges Noverre. Psyche et l'Amour. Ballet Heroi-Pantomime, Revived with new music by Mazzinghi, January 29, 1788, at the King's Theatre, in London, Printed by H. Keynell, 1788. One act.) Dauberval<sup>2</sup> (Dauberval. Psyche. Ballet Pantomime, Music by Gluck, Hayden, Sacchini, etc., and arranged by Dauberval, February 16, 1788, Bordeaux, Chez les Freres Labottiere, 1788. Three acts.) and Pierre Gardel<sup>3</sup> (Pierre Gardel. Psyche. Ballet Pantomime, Music by Ernest Miller, December 14, 1790, Academie Royale de Musique, Paris, Chez Ballard, 1804. Three acts.) Gardel was ballet master at the Paris Opera for more than 30 years and I give particular emphasis to Gardel's livret for Psyche. In this discussion, I shall focus upon the significance of the late 18th c. ballet livret, go on to examine the prologues to the Psyche livret by our three eminent choreographers, and finally consider Gardel's scenario noting dissimilarities from the earlier Noverre and Dauberval interpretations.

Psyche, the word for soul in Greek, was also the name of a mythological heroine frequently used in ballets during the 17th and 18th centuries. It received tremendous acclaim when Pierre Gardel first offered his version at the Paris Opera. Gardel tells us in his livret that both Noverre and Dauberval made ballets based upon Psyche and I wanted to look at their livrets and remark upon the changes. The livrets, sold at each performance, were booklets written by the choreographer in order to recount the story of his ballet in a concise manner. A ballet can be restaged with the crucial aid of a livret as occurred when Pierre Gardel revived his brother Maximilien's works, or when Hus fils revised Pierre Gardel's Psyche in Rouen in 1797<sup>4</sup> (Eugene Hus or Pierre Staupleton restaged Gardel's Psyche in 1797 in Rouen. He makes some changes which he excuses in his prologue entitled: "Le Citoyen Hus au Public de Rouen" -- 15, Juillet 1797.) or when Jean Aumer redid Dauberval's ballets. In order to test this hypothesis, I myself staged a version of the Psyche myth to music by Rodolphe at the University of New Mexico last spring. The word restaged has several connotations. In the case of Maximilien's ballets, Pierre knew and danced the choreography. However, without notation, an intelligent approach to the music, movement style, and technical vocabulary of the period as well as the scene and costume design, etc., must suffice the choreographer.

The livret may also have acted as an early copyright complete with act and scene changes, cast of characters, composers, dates, the censor's signature, etc. In the late 18th c. Greek and Roman myth ballets were revived and restaged with a new vitality and expressive energy that reflected the dramatic ideas that were being experimented within England by David Garrick and that were asked for by writers in the French language suggesting reforms in ballet such as the Encyclopedists -- Louis de Cahusac, Baron Grimm, Rousseau, Diderot, and the great choreographer Noverre.

During the Revolution, Greek and Roman gods were familiar to the elite audiences as well as the growing middle class.<sup>5</sup> (Alfred Cobban. A History of Modern France. Vol. II. (Middlesex: Penguin, 1957), p. 179) The myths persisted and no matter how much trouble Cupid or any other god caused in Paris, a happy ending was traditional, just as a happy ending was wished for the Revolution. Dr. Selma Jeanne Cohen noted in her study of Italian librettos (1766-1865): "For most of the ballets have happy endings. The audience expected a joyous dance to close the evening's entertainment and what better occasion could there be than a wedding, the hero and heroine happily united after all their harrowing adventures."<sup>6</sup> (Selma Jeanne Cohen, Freud de Gelosia! Italian Ballet Librettos, (1765-1865), New York: Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. 6, No. 9, November 1963) p. 556.) Italian or French, the proverbial relief of a happy ending was not always appreciated. For example, a thoughtful 18th c. choreographer, Gaspare Angiolini, critically exclaimed: "But I cannot stop myself from saying that there is nothing less suitable for ballet-pantomimes than the plans for the French Opera; one finds oneself in the land of enchantment and there is nothing less interesting today. The episodes are often unrelated and worse, brought on by a wave of a want."<sup>7</sup> (Gaspare Angiolini, Dissertation sur les Ballets-Pantomimes des Anciens, Programme au 'Semiramis' (Vienne: le 31 Janvier 1765) n.p.) I am informed by Dr. Ingrid Brainard that Angiolini also produced a Psyche ballet in April of 1789.

A thoughtful critic of the time, Baron Grimm, calls Gardel's Psyche the "most magical spectacle that has yet appeared in any theatre."<sup>8</sup> (Baron Grimm. Correspondance Litteraire, Vol. XVI. (Paris: Garnier freres. 1880) p. 135.) Grimm also praises the impressive dancing by Mlle Miller (Gardel's wife) as Psyche, Vestris as Cupid (he also danced l'Amour in Noverre's London Psyche), M. Laborie as Zephyr, etc. with the able assistance of a large corps de ballet."

In his prologue to Psyche Gardel's style reads as if he were whispering or confessing his private thoughts to friends at a dinner party. His manner tends towards 18th c. over-politeness and rhetorical flourishes.<sup>9</sup> (The Biographie Universelle emphasizes Gardel's erudition; he spoke Latin and played a fine violin. Bournonville also mentions Gardel's

talents in My Theatre Life (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press 1979) p. 452.) The reason for his prologue emerges as a clear self-defense against stealing others' ideas in order to avoid disturbing gossip. He concludes these brief comments with the philosophic statement that a career in the Arts, as in the Military, is burdened with obstacles, but that these difficult experiences "often assure success". Gardel need not have worried. The receipts at the Opera grew from 5,600 pounds on opening night to 9,300 pounds per night the next month. This was remarkable in a time of such economic strain and when, for comparison, an average evening's receipts were 2,000 pounds.<sup>10</sup> (These figures, found at the Opera Library in Paris, come from a handwritten manuscript, Le Journal de l'Opéra.)

Noverre's original Psyche ballet was performed in Stuttgart in 1762 with music by Jean Joseph Rodolphe. He revived it in London in 1788 with new music by Mazzinghi. In his Avant-Propos to the London livret, Noverre assumes that the reader is informed about ballet in general and the Psyche myth in particular. However, he still gives us a quick run-down of the plot, "in order to correct and instruct myself in case I stray from the subject." He defends certain departures from the myth for which he presents sensible reasons. For example, he removed Cupid's wings because Cupid, in his ballet, ceases to be a child, and wants rather to please Psyche as a real man. Noverre, with a true "esprit gaulois" didn't believe that one needed wings in order to make love. Psyche's wings must also go, as they interfere with "different group effects", a practical stage director's decision. Perhaps the single most significant statement Noverre makes, one that is suggested in his Letters, encompasses his credo as a major thinker in the dance world of the late 18th c., i.e., that one correct and inspired gesture is worth a thousand words. "Il faudrait beaucoup de mots pour exprimer un sentiment ou une pensée et il ne faut qu'un geste pour peindre l'un et l'autre. La pantomime est une langue universelle, qui, articule avec la rapidité de l'éclair."<sup>11</sup> (Jean Georges Noverre. Lettres sur la Danse et les Arts Imitateurs, (Paris: Ed. Lieutier, 1807), p. 38. "Car la pantomime a ses accents et son sublime ainsi que l'éloquence; son langage est plus bref et plus concis que le discours; c'est un trait vivement lancé par le sentiment; il va droit au coeur.") In short, Noverre describes a form of dance whereby quickly and dramatically the plot unfolds and comes to life with specific gestures, the flash of human movement that touches everyone in the audience.

Dauberval does not repeat this particular Noverrean precept in his 1788 prologue to Psyche although he does introduce another dramatic notion -- that character motivation makes for a more realistic and believable ballet. This he feels



he accomplishes with his novel portrayal of Venus whose fury was never properly explained in Noverre's Psyche. He boasts that he made his first Psyche as early as 1756 (he was born in 1742) for the opera house in Turin, Italy, and that Noverre followed him with his original Psyche in 1757. The earliest I can find is 1762. Dauberval disclaims knowing Noverre's 1788 Psyche and challenges his critics to find a more unique Psyche than his own, especially in light of his interesting characterization of Venus. "Let the public compare our two programs." However, he bows to his mentor Noverre by gracefully adding: "If I could now meet with this famous choreographer, I'd consider myself all the more fortunate to have been inspired by the same ideas." Dauberval (like Gardel) makes a plea for a magical success. Even Noverre pays lip service to previous artists who utilized the Psyche theme, although Noverre seems more concerned with painters and visual artists than writers.

Let me begin with Pierre Gardel's version of Psyche.

Gardel sets his first scene in a vast countryside dominated by the Temple of Venus that flanks the palace of Psyche's father. In the background is a painted sea scene with a high rock. These design elements will all play a part in the course of Gardel's ballet. Psyche enters this scene, at the beginning of the ballet, accompanied by her sisters and parents. Gardel makes frequent references to Psyche's family. As Psyche kneels to pray to Venus, the statue miraculously disappears. We remember that Psyche is a beauty, but she is also a mortal. Trouble begins when Psyche climbs on to the altar and assumes the same majestic position as Venus. People admire Psyche and give offerings to her. This arouses Venus' anger. In a coup de théâtre, the Temple of Venus disintegrates and Psyche faints. She is destined to suffer many torments alone. By way of further punishment Venus insists that Cupid, smitten with love for Psyche, participate in her destruction. This ends the first act. In the next act, we see lavish 18th c. painted backdrops worthy of Boucher or Fragonard depicting cherubim and cupids who flaunt their conquests and voluptuous delights. Here, Cupid masked as a monster lustfully courts Psyche. As she leans over to kiss him, a spark from Psyche's lamp burns Cupid and sends him into a brutal fury. The palace disappears and Psyche is seen lying in a desert where Venus swoops down and carries her off to Hell.<sup>12</sup> (Marie-Francoise Christout makes the interesting point that Kings of Hell and Devils were not easily believed by the turn-of-the-century audiences. In her Le Merveilleux et le Théâtre de Silence, p. 234: "Les Diableries sont froidement accueillies à l'Opéra. Sous l'Empire on juge celles de l'Acte III de Psyche de Pierre Gardel fort démodées.") The stage is split in two and a deep chasm forms in the center. "A

thousand tortures are invented to overcome the miserable Psyche." She begs for grace and release. Venomous serpents send deathly bites at her heart. She is beaten and watches her nuptial dress, a last vestige of her love for Cupid, thrown into the depths of Hades. "The horrible Furies rejoice with 'dances infernales'," while Venus gloatingly has Psyche chained to a huge rock, like Prometheus, where her agony will intensify. Psyche awakens and in a painful gesture of submission asks Venus to forgive her. At this moment Psyche's life-line is severed by the Parques and Cupid rushes in, too late to save her. He sets upon the women of Hell and throws them into the abyss. Crying bitterly at the sight of Psyche's crumpled body he unchains her hands and drops down to embrace her. Venus observes this pathetic scene and her heart weakens. She relents and awards Psyche immortality, calling upon the supreme power of her father Jupiter. The heavens open to reveal Mr. Olympus and a joyous dance celebrates the wedding of Cupid and Psyche. This leads to the final tableau on Olympus where Jupiter continues to reign over a peaceful dominion.

How the Paris audiences must have longed for such a salvation in 1790! Gardel's Psyche played to very good houses. Perhaps the spectacle of Psyche's suffering mirrored the resonant violence in the streets of Paris where people were becoming accustomed to bloody tortures both on and off the stage.

In Noverre's 1788 livret for Psyche, we notice several interesting aspects which differ from Gardel. For example, he calls his piece a Ballet Heroic Pantomime, rather than a ballet pantomime. It is much shorter (only 8 pp. as compared to Gardel's 15 pp.) and divided into 'parties' rather than Actes -- perhaps in order to distinguish it from a literary work. Instead of beginning with the palace of Psyche's father (her parents are not listed in the cast of characters), he cuts immediately to Cupid's sumptuous palace where it is evident that Psyche has already been seduced by Cupid, the god of love, in the guise of a mortal man. There are fewer scene changes and less complex action. Cupid resembles a traditional hero, especially in the long Hades scene where he fights off the demons and Parques. A fascinating last "partie" where we meet the stunning future mother-in-law, Venus, is devoted to a real confrontation between Cupid and his mother. Cupid manages to convince Venus that she must accept Psyche or he'll leave her forever. In this act, Venus is accompanied by Adonis, played by Didelot, her "amant cheri;" this character does not appear in Gardel's ballet. If Venus already has a devoted lover, Noverre suggests, then why should she exploit her son as dutiful worshipper? The impact of these singularly intense moments brings a clarity and simplicity to Noverre's story line. The last scene in Noverre's Psyche finishes cheerfully with dances and the marriage of Cupid and Psyche.

We are left with the sentiment that each one of Noverre's characters has learned something which justifies the happy ending to this myth.

Dauberval's February 16, 1788 *Psyche* livret also sounds a different note and tone from Gardel's. Like Noverre, Dauberval writes more economically (8pp.) He commences his ballet by depicting the rage of passion that Cupid sees *Psyche*, he repeats one hundred times that he adores her. It is curious how melodramatic Dauberval's descriptions tend to be. But then, melodrama as a genre, as well as an exaggerated style of presenting drama becomes common at the time of the Revolution.<sup>13</sup> (My dissertation dealt with melodrama in ballet and pantomime from the year 1787-1801 using the livrets as source material.) If Cupid strikes the reader as more emotional than the Cupids of Noverre or Gardel, then his *Psyche* really fulfills our notion of the typical Romantic heroine, a damsel in distress. She sits on Venus' sensational beauty. One unusual quality motivates *Psyche*; her every step is guided by a profound hatred for Venus. And Venus' despicable actions confirm *Psyche*'s dislike. Dauberval directs Cupid to appeal to grandfather Jupiter for help (in other livrets it is Venus who requests his powers). Venus is magically appeased; this conversion seems all the more remarkable in light of her Medea-like rage throughout the ballet. An exotic touch ends Dauberval's livret when the Nations enter with all the other nymphs, in the costumes of Americans as portrayed by Huron Indians, Asians as Chinese, Europeans dressed as Spaniards, and Africans dressed as Moroccans.

Thus we have seen three versions of the same myth. Pierre Gardel tells a longer, more complicated story with numerous scene changes that tend to emphasize dazzling visual transformations. Magic abounds and disguises are often used, hinting that things and people are not what they seem to be. The courting of *Psyche* in a long sensuous boudoir scene stresses the open sensuality of the drama and helps to underline Cupid's distress at having to choose between his mother and the tempting *Psyche*. Paralleling Cupid and Venus as a family is *Psyche*'s family who are intrinsic to the works of Apuleius, La Fontaine and Moliere. They are not mentioned by Noverre or Dauberval.

The French populace followed the activities of the Royal Family anxiously and very closely, from the time of the storming of the Bastille, through their escape to Varennes in 1791, to their imprisonment and finally to the beheading of the King and Marie-Antoinette in 1793. Gardel must have seen the importance of the family as a character both on and off the stage during the Revolution.

But it is Dauberval who creates the passionate and interesting character of Psyche. She is imperious, impetuous, and innocent. She tends to taunt the fates and tempt her own demise with her arrogant behavior. Noverre's statement lies in the humanizing of Cupid, and in the wonderfully tense and intimate confrontations that focus sharply upon the emotions that motivate human relationships.

I have no figures to substantiate the popularity of Dauberval's or Noverre's Psyche. But Gardel's has the honor of being the second most-performed ballet (564 times) at the Paris Opera. The first is Coppelia with 741 presentations.

The enduring attraction of the Psyche theme lasted until the 1850's when August Bournonville produced his version in Denmark.<sup>14</sup> (Auguste Bournonville, Psyche, a ballet in one act, music composed and arranged by Edvard Helsted, decorations by M.M. Christensen and Lund. Performed at the Royal Theatre for the first time on May 7, 1850, Copenhagen.) He knew that he was taking a chance on a myth ballet; audience tastes had changed drastically between 1800 and 1850. "I therefore steered my antique boat out upon the deep flood that had its source at the foot of Parnassus and its outlet in the Ocean of Oblivion."<sup>15</sup> (Auguste Bournonville, My Theatre Life, (Middletown, Connecticut; Wesleyan University Press, 1979) p. 189.) Sad to say that Bournonville's Psyche was a flop, as he admits, principally because his intention of bringing a deeper characterization of Psyche came to nought with dancers who couldn't act and an audience that was unsympathetic to the plot.

Perhaps the myth of Psyche as visualized by Gardel, Noverre, and Dauberval was a testament to a former world view that could no longer speak to the new public. Or, perhaps as Bournonville said, "Antique beauty is and always will be the ideal of the Arts."<sup>16</sup> (Ibid.)

If so, then we are due for a new Psyche!

# THE TEMPO OF FRENCH BAROQUE DANCES: EVIDENCE FROM 18TH-CENTURY METRONOME DEVICES

by Rebecca Harris-Warrick

In 1696 the French musician Etienne Loulié published a book of music theory entitled Elements or Principles of Music in which he described a metronome-like device called a chronometer that he had developed as a means of indicating the exact tempo of musical compositions. This device consisted of a pendulum suspended by a string from a wooden ruler in such a way that the length of the pendulum could be altered and the varying time of the swing of the lead ball could be used to indicate the varying length of measures of music in different compositions. In order to demonstrate the usefulness of his device, Loulié supplied tempo indications for the four movements of a sonata of unknown origins. He further stated that

"I flatter myself in believing that those who have fine taste, and who have experienced how much an Air loses of its beauty when it is performed too fast or too slowly, will be grateful to me for giving them a sure means of understanding its true tempo. This is particularly true for those who live in the Provinces, who will be able to know exactly the correct tempo of all the works of Monsieur de Lully, which I have indicated very exactly with reference to the Chronometer during the course of several years, with the aid of persons who have performed them under the direction of Mr de Lully himself." (Etienne Loulié, Elements or Principles of Music, Translated by Albert Cohen. New York, 1965, p.90.)

Tragically this valuable document has never been found. However, other French theorists throughout the 18th century refined Loulié's machine and used it to indicate the tempo of a sizeable number of pieces, many of them dances. It is these dance pieces which are of special interest to us, shedding light as they do on the thorny question of the tempo of the French Baroque dances. This information is of obvious relevance to both the musician and the dancer, but in today's presentation I will focus on its applicability to dancing in particular.

All of the extant French choreographies date from between 1700 when Feuillet published Chorégraphie, the first book of dance notation, and 1725, the date of Pierre Rameau's two books, the Dancing Master, and Abrégé de la nouvelle méthode. Therefore those metronome indications dating from this same period are of special interest. On your handout [see the end of this paper] you will see a chart of various dance types with the metronome markings from seven 18th-century French sources, dating from between 1705 and 1763. The last three are well

outside the period of the choreographies but I have included them as an indication of the remarkable stability of the French tradition and the conservatism of French musical taste.

The pioneering investigations into these early tempo markings were done by musicologists Eugène Borrel in 1928 and Ralph Kirkpatrick in 1938. They reported the indications given by l'Affilard, d'Onzembray, La Chapelle, and Choquel, and translated their pendulum markings given in 60ths of a second into modern metronome markings. More recently these sources have been reviewed by Professor Neal Zaslaw of Cornell University who also discovered further information in the *Mercure de France* from 1739 and in medical articles by the doctors Marquet and Buchoz who describe how to tell the pulse of a patient by using the tempo of a minuet as a norm. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Zaslaw, who made much of this information available to me and thoughtfully took the time to review this paper. In addition to the French sources, another major source of tempo information from the 18th century is J.J. Quantz, flute teacher to Frederick the Great of Prussia. His tempo indications are also based on the human pulse but I have not included them in the present study since although they may tell us how fast French dances were performed in Berlin in 1752, their applicability to Paris in 1725 is doubtful at best.

Returning to your handout, you will see that all of the figures in the chart show the time signatures of the musical composition and the tempo indication translated into modern metronome markings. Those figures enclosed in parentheses, which are most of them, are tempos given for specific compositions, not for the dance type as a whole. This is an important point to bear in mind, for although the French dances of any given type, for example the *bourée*, had very well-defined rhythmic characteristics in common with each other, there could be differences of tempo between, say, a specific *bourée* by Lully and a specific *bourée* by Destouches, as the two different *bourée* tempos given by d'Onzembray show. This specificity does not necessarily mean that one should refrain from generalizing about the tempo of the dance type as a whole but that generalizations should be made with caution and based on as much data as possible. In the case of the *bourée*, the four tempo indications we have are remarkable consistent over a period of thirty-two years, thus fostering a greater confidence in their reliability than the indications for, say, the *gavotte*. Those figures not enclosed in parentheses purport to give a tempo for the dance type as a whole.

The first three of the sources on the chart are the most interesting for us because they are both the earliest and the most complete. Michel l'Affilard, composer and theorist, included a number of pieces, mostly texted dance-songs for voice and continuo, in his didactic book Easy Principles for Learning Music Well. I should mention here that the original interpretation of l'Affilard's tempo markings by Borrel has recently been challenged by musicologist Erich Schwandt in the

New Grove and elsewhere. Schwandt believes that the metronome markings you have on your handout are twice too fast. This hypothesis, if correct, would obviously make a substantial difference to a dancer, but for reasons I lack the time to explain now, I am convinced that Dr. Schwandt is in error and that Borrel *et al.* are correct.

The pieces in La Chapelle's book the True Principles of Music have not been identified as to composer, but the dance pieces of d'Onzembray are all taken from well-known operas by Lully, Campra, Destouches, Collasse, and Mathot. For example, what is listed on the chart simply as a chaconne is actually the Chaconne des Arlequins from Lully's opera Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus and the passepied is from Campra's opera-ballet l'Europe galante (1697). Thus these figures provide us with an exciting glimpse of tempos from the operatic dance repertoire of the French Baroque despite the loss of Loulié's list. However this valuable document is not without problems. First, d'Onzembray did not include the music itself in the paper regarding his improved pendulum device that he presented to the Royal Academy of Sciences but merely a list of the pieces along with their tempo indications. In one or two cases positive identification has not been established. Second, d'Onzembray published his findings in 1732 when Lully, whose compositions account for 13 of the 22 pieces cited, had been dead for 45 years. However, before calling d'Onzembray's reliability into question, it must be remembered that Lully's compositions were still very well known during the 18th century, both through the numerous revivals of his operas at the Royal Academy of Music, and through the large number of published anthologies containing excerpts and arrangements of his works. The pieces chosen by d'Onzembray read like a partial list of the greatest hits of Jean Baptiste Lully and were certainly well known to 18th-century French audiences. However, tempo conventions may well have changed in the intervening years, so whereas we may be safe in seeing d'Onzembray's tempo indications as an 18th-century point of view on Lully's music, it is dangerous to assume that Lully would have necessarily agreed.

D'Onzembray's choice of pieces is exciting for an additional reason in that it forms a direct link to the choreographed dance repertoire of the early 18th century. While researching this paper, I discovered that two\*the compositions he lists, and possibly a third, have extant theatrical choreographies by Pecour found in the collections of his dances by Feuillet in 1704 and Gaudrau in 1712. These pieces are the sarabande from the opera Issé by Destouches (1697) and the passacaille from Persée by Lully (1682), both couple dances. You will have the opportunity to see a portion of these choreographies danced at d'Onzembray's tempo in a few minutes.

Turning now to the tempo indications themselves, we find that they hold a number of surprises. Several of them are considerably faster than most modern performers of Baroque music have assumed. For some dances there is remarkable

consistency among the sources, for others no agreement at all. These mechanical indications have to be evaluated in light of other information we have about the tempo of dance music, and to that end I have arranged the dances on your chart within metrical groupings in relative order of speed from slow to fast as they are commonly categorized by musicians and dancers of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. For instance, among the triple meter dances, the courante was generally held to be the slowest, followed by the sarabande, passacaille, chaconne, menuet, and passepied in that order. In most cases the metronome markings support this progression but there are two noteworthy exceptions. Contemporary writers stated that the courante was the slowest and noblest dance of all, yet both l'Affilard and d'Onzembray give it a faster tempo than the sarabande. This puzzle can perhaps be explained by remembering that the courante, which reached the height of its popularity as a social dance during the early part of the reign of Louis XIV, was out of fashion by the time the theorists under study today published their works. Perhaps as it became more of a piece for listening than for dancing its tempo increased, possibly under the influence of the Italian corrente or of the menuet, which replaced it in popularity as a dance. At any rate, I feel that these courante markings should not be taken too seriously as a tempo for dancing and that a slower pace is to be preferred.

The other dance that does not fit into the expected progression of tempo is the gavotte. In written accounts by authorities such as the dancing master Kellom Tomlinsom, the gavotte was said to be somewhat slower than the bourée with the rigaudon the same or slightly faster. The evidence in these charts as to the tempo of the gavotte is contradictory in the extreme. Whereas the tempo of the bourée is the most consistent of all the dances for which we have markings, the gavotte tempos vary between 97 and 152 to the half note. D'Onzembray shows the two dances in the expected relationship to each other, but l'Affilard gives them both the same tempo and La Chapelle has the gavotte much faster than the bourée. It is tempting to view La Chapelle's gavotte tempo as an error, but he gives the same tempo for two other dances. You may also have noticed that his tempos tend to be more extreme on both the fast and slow ends than the others. The only conclusion one can draw is the obvious observation that there must have been a greater range of acceptable tempos for the gavotte than for other dances. But still it is hard to imagine a gavotte being played, never mind danced, at 152 to the half note.

In order for you to get an idea of how some of these figures translate into sound and movement, I would now like you to see and hear a bourée danced at the most commonly given and quite lively tempo of 120 to the half note. You will be seeing the opening figures of a dance undoubtedly familiar to many of you, the Bourée d'Achille from Pécour 1700, the first published collection of ballroom dances. The music is by Collasse. I would like to offer my grateful



thanks to Margaret Daniels who will be demonstrating these dances and to musicians Kati Komlos, and Peter and Elizabeth Hedrick who helped me make the tape.

(Demonstration of the Bourée d'Achille at  $\text{♩} = 120$ .)

The tempo indications given here for the menuet, the most popular dance of the early 18th century, may force some of us to rethink our idea of that dance as very dignified and of moderate tempo. With the exception of La Chapelle, who once again places himself on the extreme end, these menuet tempos are very lively. This fast a menuet means that the passepied, which uses the same steps but is done in 8 time to a faster beat, has to move very quickly indeed. Peggy will now demonstrate both these dances using typical menuet steps to the music cited by d'Onzembray, the menuet and passepied from Campra's opera-ballet l'Europe galante. First you will see a menuet done at La Chapelle's tempo of a measure equals 42, which is in line with menuets as I and many others have generally conceived them.

(Demonstration of the menuet at  $\text{♩} = 42$ .)

Now you will hear the same piece recorded at the tempo given by both l'Affilard and d'Onzembray of a measure equals 71.

(Demonstration of the menuet at  $\text{♩} = 71$ .)

Finally here is the passepied recorded at d'Onzembray's tempo of a measure equals 100.

(Demonstration of the passepied at  $\text{♩} = 100$ .)

Such shockingly rapid tempos raise a number of questions. How do we know that l'Affilard, d'Onzembray and the others had dancing in mind at all? Couldn't dance tempos have been different in concert pieces from when people were actually dancing? In answer to this last, the harpsichordist St Lambert said in his treatise Principles of the Harpsichord published in 1702, that menuets for playing and for dancing were indeed somewhat different and that menuets for dancing were faster. In answer to the first question, we can't know for a fact that these theorists were thinking about actual dancing but in the case of d'Onzembray, all of the pieces to which he assigned tempos were taken from operas and all of them, with the single exception of an overture, were dance pieces clearly identifiable as such in the scores and livrets of the operas from which they were taken. Given what we know about the French dances and their importance to French music of all types from this period, it seems very unlikely that there were two separate tempo traditions in France, one for dances that were actually danced and others that were only played. Such a practice would certainly have provoked more comment than St Lambert's single remark about the menuet. These

metronome markings help establish a range of possible tempos for these dances. In some cases the range appears to have been quite narrow, in others quite broad. But lest you get the impression that all of these dances were done far faster than we have tended to believe, I would like you to see two much more moderate dances at d'Onzembray's tempos, the sara-bande from Issé and the passacaille from Persée. As I said before, both these pieces were choreographed by Pécour, and whereas these tempos may not be the exact ones used by Balon and Subligny, we know that at least one person in the 18th century thought these to be the appropriate tempos for these two dances.

(Demonstration of the Sarabande d'Issé at  $\text{♩} = 73$ .  
Music by Destouches, choreography in Gaudrau.)

(Demonstration of the Passacaille de Persée at  $\text{♩} = 95$ .  
Music by Lully, choreography in Feuillet 1704.)

18th-century French writers about dance music consistently stated that the chaconne was faster than its relative the passacaille, although how much faster was unclear. L'Affilard, d'Onzembray, and La Chapelle, although disagreeing in the exact tempo for each dance, all show that the difference in speed between the two was substantial. In order for you to hear how much faster the chaconne could be, I will play for you L'Affilard's chaconne at his tempo of 157 to the quarter note.

(Taped performance of L'Affilard's chaconne at  $\text{♩} = 157$ .)

Unfortunately time does not permit demonstration or discussion of all these dances, but I would like to briefly mention the gigue and the loure, the latter of which was also known as the gigue lente or slow gigue. Aside from Buchoz, who according to Prof. Zaslav gives the extremely fast tempo of 180 to the dotted quarter note in the midst of a confused discussion about patients with high fevers, the gigue tempos represent a reasonable range for this lively dance. Whereas gigue choreographies have one step unit per six-beat measure, the loure has two, one for each half measure, and several of the loure choreographies are quite difficult, involving steps such as full circle pirouettes with beats followed by a rond de jambe en l'air all as one step-unit. Therefore it is surprising, to say the least, that d'Onzembray gives exactly the same tempo for the gigue and the loure. One hopes that this is an error either of his or the printer, and certainly La Chapelle's tempo of approximately one third that fast is a much more reasonable speed for the loure.

In addition to the dance types listed on your handout, d'Onzembray gives tempos for several balletic entrées from the operas of Lully such as le Printemps from Phaéton or the entrée of the demons from Proserpine. With one possible exception, no choreographies have survived for these pieces,

but they help give some ideas about tempos for the numerous entrées of different types found in the operas and ballets of the period. These pieces are all listed in the articles by Borrel and Kirkpatrick.

The pendulum markings surviving from the 18th century offer us an important view into the past. Should we accept them as the absolute truth about the tempo of the French Baroque dances? Certainly not without qualification. Should we take them seriously? Certainly yes. The evidence they provide must be used to supplement what we can learn about tempo from other sources, not least among them the kinesthetic experience of dancers working in the reconstruction of this repertoire. A number of these tempos are problematic and it is possible that further investigation will lead us to discredit some of them for any number of reasons. On the other hand, it is possible that the problems lie in our 20th-century perceptions, not in the 18th-century evidence. Before dismissing some of these tempos out of hand, we as students of French Baroque music and dance should at least give them a serious try. We may find ourselves thinking about these dances in new ways. In conclusion, I would like to ask those of you who are involved in studying the music and dance of this period to communicate your thoughts regarding the tempo of these dances. Perhaps by bringing together ideas based on both personal experience and evidence from the past we can gain a better understanding of this perplexing and so very crucial question of tempo.

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	L'Affilard (1705)	D'Onzembray (1732)	La Chapelle (1737)
<u>duple meter</u>			
Pavanne	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 90)		(2 $\text{♩}$ = 72)
Gaillard			(2 $\text{♩}$ = 72)
Gavotte	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 120)	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 97)	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 152)
Branle	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 106)		(2 $\text{♩}$ = 152)
Bourée	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 120)	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 120) (2 $\text{♩}$ = 112)	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 120)
Rigaudon	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 120)	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 116)	(2 $\text{♩}$ = 152)
Tambourin			(2 $\text{♩}$ = 176)
<u>triple meter</u>			
Courante	( $\frac{3}{2}$ $\text{♩}$ = 90)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 82)	
Sarabande	( $\frac{3}{2}$ $\text{♩}$ = 72) (3 $\text{♩}$ = 86) ( $\frac{6}{4}$ $\text{♩}$ = 133)	( $\frac{3}{2}$ $\text{♩}$ = 73)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 63)
Passacaille	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 106)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 95)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 63)
Chaconne	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 157)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 159)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 120)
Menuet	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 71)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 71)	(3 $\text{♩}$ = 42)
Passepied	( $\frac{3}{8}$ $\text{♩}$ = 86)	( $\frac{3}{8}$ $\text{♩}$ = 100)	( $\frac{3}{8}$ $\text{♩}$ = 100) orig. [ $\frac{3}{8}$ $\text{♩}$ = 152]
<u>compound</u>			
Loure		( $\frac{6}{4}$ $\text{♩}$ = 113)	( $\frac{6}{4}$ $\text{♩}$ = 40)
Gigue	( $\frac{6}{8}$ $\text{♩}$ = 100) ( $\frac{3}{8}$ $\text{♩}$ = 116)	( $\frac{6}{4}$ $\text{♩}$ = 113)	( $\frac{6}{4}$ $\text{♩}$ = 120)
Canarie	( $\frac{6}{8}$ $\text{♩}$ = 106)		( $\frac{6}{4}$ $\text{♩}$ = 126)

Figures in parentheses are tempos for specific pieces.

Mercure de France (1739)	Marquet. (1747)	Choquel (1762)	Buchoz (1763)
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duple meter

Pavanne

Gaillard

Gavotte

(2♩ = 128)

Branle

Bourée

Rigaudon

(2♩ = 128)

Tambourin

triple meter

Courante

Sarabande

Passacaille 3♩ = 78-90

Chaconne

Menuet

3♩ = 60

 $\frac{6}{4}$ ♩ = 77

3♩ = 60

Passepied

 $\frac{3}{8}$ ♩ = 100( $\frac{3}{8}$ ♩ = 94)compound

Loure

Gigue

( $\frac{6}{8}$ ♩ = 104) $\frac{6}{8}$ ♩ = 180

Canarie

## THE COMPUTER AS AN ALLY FOR THE NOVICE

Christena L. Schlundt

First of all, let me be sure you understand that I am the novice in this paper. In no way am I pretending that I am here as an experienced computer researcher who is dispensing wisdom to all you dunderheads. I am the dunderhead. All that this dunderhead is pretending to do is share with you some of my experiences in trying to harness the computer to dance history. And also let me admit immediately that we, my research assistant Joyce Ford and I have not been successful at producing anything. In short, this is an in-progress report of a very frustrating process, offered only as a warning and not as a model. With that understanding, let us begin. I will take a short pause while those of you who, now informed as to the limitations of this paper, would like to go hear another paper or would like to go catch up on some sleep.

The purpose of my research, in the past and now, has been, first, to bring together scattered data in dance history.

Secondly, I try to put that data together in a form accessible to researchers, using means traditionally available. That is, I use alphabetical indexing and I order data chronologically. Information I offer to researchers can be found by looking it up in an index ordered by means of the alphabet, or it can be found by looking it up in a table ordered by chronological time.

Thirdly, I try and have tried to present the data complete in one entry, with all of its aspects in one cluster. I strive not to make the researcher go to one place for one aspect, another place for that, or to a table in the back for others. One entry, and all the facts are there.

A correlary to this statement about what I have tried to do in my research is an examination of what I have tried to avoid.

First, I have tried to avoid using newly made symbols. I'll use abbreviations for state names and months, etc., but I try to stay away from setting up abbreviations which become symbols unknown to the researcher. Perhaps you are familiar with some bibliographies in which there are so many abbreviations that the result is a new language which has to be learned before a search can begin. And I'm not just talking about foreign language abbreviations and symbols. The jargon of the computer world can be a foreign language!

Secondly, I have tried to avoid elaborate tables. I know it's the mark of the educated person to be able to read a table, but some tables, I've found, are there to obfuscate rather than clarify. I aim to avoid a table which must be deciphered before it gives up its information.

Thirdly, I try to avoid incomplete presentations. I am sure you are all familiar with those items in which you finally find the entry of information--and then it contains a paucity of facts.

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Or fourthly, there is the pitfall of superfluous trivia--opinions of anonymous by-standers or complaints of irrelevant bickerings. I have tried to present data for purely what it is, and to allow it not to carry the extraneous load of my own opinion or complaint.

Given all these pious observations, you might wonder what all the fuss is. The fuss is that that information, that data, that "research" which is the meaning of dance history, might very easily get lost in the shuffle of the computer. For one of the first things I had to learn was that that data, those entities which carry meaning, immediately become meaningless to the computer. This meaning becomes transformed into a concrete item called an entry. My data or entry, which grew out of my own drive to make available exactness of the what, where, when and who of certain dances by a certain choreographer, was pared down to letters, punctuation points and spaces. The name of the dance, the choreographer, the musician and/or lyricist, the idea or book, the set, lighting, costume designers, the place in which the dance was performed (city, house), the date and time in which it occurred, the supporting company or producer, the director, and, most alive for me, the dancers themselves, all became--letters, punctuation points and spaces. There was no way in which I could avoid those symbols.

For the computer sees those symbols as a series of bits (an "a", a comma, a space) in a line. These items, per se, are its meaning.

I had to find the means by which I would be able to tell the computer to take that series of bits and put them in an order. At the same time, that order had to be kept track of so that any bit could be retrieved at will, unencumbered by other bits.

In order to do that, I understand that the computer has to have so much information about each bit. This bit, so made handable by a computer, is called a byte.

Thus my data--names, dates, places--had to be counted out in terms of bytes, the number of which is not infinite but finite.

Thus my order--alphabetical, chronological--had to be computer ordered in terms of recallable bytes, the number of which is also finite--more limited than the number of bytes.

The number of this order's divisions available to me turned out to be ten. I could have ten parts to my data, all parts of which would be ordered both alphabetically and chronologically.

I've already given them to you--the cluster of information which would be a part of my data.

For example, I'm working on the chronology of the performances of dances by Daniel Nagrin and by Jerome Robbins--as in the past I prepared chronologies on Ruth St Denis, Ted Shawn, Helen Tamiris and Doris Humphrey. The choreographed dance is the core of the data. Clustered around it is the name of the choreographer, the name of the musician who wrote the music, a record of the idea about which the dance turns, the artist who designed the set, the lighting, the costume, the place and date of performance, the supporting company or sponsor, the director and, always, the performers names. Special awards for the dance could be tucked in where relevant.



This cluster had ten divisions which, in computer language, turned out to be called fields.

Putting those ten divisions of my data into a form that the computer would take turned out to be called preparing an entry.

My data, divided into ten parts, all lined up on a special sheet, in letters, punctuation marks and spaces, is an entry. That entry or data, in all its ten parts or fields, is the something I wanted researchers to be able to get when they asked, for example, "Was Fancy Free ever danced in Tokyo?"

Push the key designed to sort out Tokyo, and either the researchers would get nothing or they would get the dates of those performances, the name of the theatre at which Fancy Free was performed, the hour of the performance, the names of the dancers who performed at that particular performance, a reminder of who the composer was, who designed and costumed it, by what company was it being presented, and, possibly, what was the critical reaction to that performance. That information would come out in that entry with all of its ten parts (fields) intact, written out in letters, punctuation marks and spaces.

The total number of bytes in that entry could be so many. ((We used almost the most when we prepared entries for On the Town. Did you ever think of how many bytes (individual letters, spaces, punctuation marks, each of which has, say 4 bits in them) you would need to make an entry for all the data, including all the performers, in, for example, the Indian Dance in Annie Get Your Gun?))

So we have done our research, accumulated individual entries on the individual performances of the specific dance of specific choreographers.

How is this made available to the researcher?

There are a lot of choices here. I am considering making it available in two forms:

A running print (a print-out) of the entries, organized alphabetically and chronologically, can be cut up and bound, in order, like a book. These can then be reproduced and made available to your library.

Or the print-out, just as it comes from the computer, can be photographed, reduced in size, and recorded on micro-cards. The micro-cards can be reproduced and sold to libraries.

#### CONCLUSION

This process is here described dispassionately, as though I and my research assistant Joyce Ford have not been through a million frustrations. We have been working for two years, and so far we have only had false starts as results.

This has been a progress report. I hope that by the next time this group meets, in another year, that I will have a finished micro-card to sell. But I feel about this research as most of us have felt about our dissertations. We start from such ignorance that we seem never to get something put together. That's exactly how I feel about this research.

## Bibliography:

Weizenbaum, Joseph.

Computer Power & Human Reason: From Judgment to Calculation

San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1976.

This book contains an overview of the computer in society. Chapter I is entitled "On Tools." Then two technical chapters give the novice the rationale behind the computer: "Where the Power of the Computer Comes From" and "How Computers Work." Then several chapters discuss the outrageous claims the author thinks some researchers are making for computers, thus presenting the controversies in the field. The book closed with "Against the Imperialism of Instrumental Reason."

PLAYFORD, FEUILLET, AND APPLE II:  
NEW TECHNIQUES OF INDEXING MUSIC

Kate Van Winkle Keller

The Apple II and similar fruits of modern technology have changed the face of research. Traditional scholars may object to the consignment of "art" to a machine, but for those of us who are working with large amounts of material, it is either untold numbers of hours, index cards, and shoeboxes, or else a computer!

The friendly inexpensive microcomputer named Apple II, TRS, or ATARI beeping in the corner of so many offices and dens today is able to do anything its big brother at the University can do. It can accept and store all kinds of information, then search it, sort it, assemble it into logical order and print it. We need only type and proofread our data once. No multiple cards, no filing, no difficulty reading hastily penned notes. The terminal and processing space is always available at any time of the night or day. No low-priority waiting time, no system crashes, no "down-for-vacation" explanations, and no worry about bits and bytes. Programs are available which ask for data according to your pre-planned scheme, then store it or sort it as you wish. Once you set up a file system, you simply fill in the blanks.

The computer is best at handling numbers and words. But it is not limited to income taxes and mailing labels. Using a method recently developed for The National Tune Index, the same computer can handle dance music very nicely as well!

I introduced the NTI system of indexing melodies in 1976. Working with a colleague from 1977 to 1979, with support from The Sonneck Society and the National Endowment for the Humanities, I refined the system, collected, sorted and published a new kind of index in The National Tune Index: Phase 1, 18th-century Secular Music (New York: University Music Editions, 1980, with Carolyn Rabson).

This project concentrated on about 20,000 17th- and 18th-century British-American dance melodies in printed and manuscript sources, with the addition of nearly 20,000 contemporary songs, airs, and marches. Data was stored on machine readable tapes and discs, processed by computer, and printed directly onto photo-ready copy. Entire tune incipits were coded using a simplified but compatible version of DARMS. (Digital Alternate Representation of Musical Scores, conceived by Stefan Bauer-Mendelberg, initially called the Ford-Columbia Music Representation. Raymond Erickson, DARMS, A Reference Manual, Queens, New York, 1977.)

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The music was coded exactly as it appeared in the source, with its rhythms, clefs, accidentals, measure bars, text and authorship information. Once the material was assembled, we instructed the computer to translate each melody into two numerical formulae. For the first, using the tonic note of the relative major scale on which the melody was based as scale degree "1" or "DO," the notes were each given numbers in relation to this central pitch. For the second formula the computer measured the interval between each note of the melody and created a string of numbers showing the melodic structure by intervals. Although the relative pitches were unchanged, each tune was now in an universal key, free of rhythmic and chromatic elements, and could be sorted numerically into useful lists.

For Phase 1 three major music sorts were made:

1. Numerically by scale degree, regardless of octave displacement.
2. Numerically by stressed notes, using only the first note of each measure and half measure, thus eliminating many variant notes.
3. Numerically by interval sequence, retaining octave displacement and thus melodic curve.

Working with the tune as it appeared in the source, the computer was able to pare it to its essential elements and place it in sequence among others like it. In conjunction with the Text Index, which includes titles, alternate titles, first lines, indicated tune titles, burden texts, recitative texts, and chorus first lines, the published NTI is both a finding index and an analytical tool.

The unsorted data bank is available as well, for those who wish to search for particular groups of information such as interior text elements or melodic or rhythmic formulae. Some terminals with creative software can even display or play each tune exactly as it appears in the source. It would be possible also to create lists in photo-ready copy with the music transcriptions as well!

Obviously this was an enormous project which eventually required a large computer facility to process and sort the data. But a substantial portion of the material was first input and proofread on our microcomputer, Apple II, a system which cost less than \$3,000.00, and later transferred over the phone to the larger machine. We have since been experimenting with completely self-contained indexing of smaller groups of data. The memory capability of the microcomputer is the only controlling factor, and even that can be sidestepped with time and many discs.

If no consultant is available to write translation programs, excellent results can be obtained by coding music directly in the numerical formulae. This would reduce the amount of data and size of memory requirement. Using the number system of representing melodies, researchers can

make valuable indexes of material in their own special fields, and then use them in conjunction with the material in the NTI. With two disc drives and a data base management system our Apple will accept and process up to 10,000 tune titles, incipits, source identifications, and page numbers!

As interest in historically correct interpretation of early court and social dance has grown, the need for both text, title, and melodic indexes of the extant sources has become very clear. There is enlightening information hidden in many of the known sources. Scholars have cited one or another volume or edition of The Dancing Master as "The Source," often blissfully unaware that more detailed examples of the same material in similar or different forms exist. Now that all extant editions of The Dancing Master (J Playford, H. Playford, and John Young, 1651 - ca. 1728) have been analyzed using NTI procedures and are now accessible, we must look at contemporary French materials. Familiar tunes, dances, and titles can be found in published works of Feuillet, Dezais, Isaac, and others, as well as in contemporary manuscript collections. We can translate and card-index the titles, but until we reduce the melodies to sortable formulae, we cannot interfile them and discover the many correlations. Until now, we have depended on random translation, recognition, and musical memory.

For this paper we experimented with materials from eleven printed collections of French country and court dances dating from 1706 to ca. 1770. We encountered some problems which appear to be specific to the French literature, but after coping with them, we found the material to be entirely compatible with the presently indexed NTI, and some interesting analogues appeared.

The problems encountered were related to the French treatment of rhythmic stresses. In the British-American 17th- and 18th-century vocal and instrumental secular music, we found that anacrusis were unpredictable. The first notes of each measure were, by comparison, the most stable components of the music. Excellent indexes could be made by instructing the computer to begin each sorted tune with the first note of the first full measure. Anacrusis were included in the data bank, of course, because in the NTI system the music incipit is coded in its entirety with measure bars and half-measure locations indicated as well.

French treatment of the same material was identical in all respects with the exception of the barring in about 25% of the entries. This naturally caused problems with an index system organized on rhythmic elements. Like material barred differently would not sort together!

For example, "Jameko," or "Jamaica," as it was later called, appears first in the 1670 edition of Volume 1 of The Dancing Master. In this and every edition thereafter, the same tune appeared in almost identical form, beginning always with a full measure of music in cut time.



(transcribed from The Dancing Master, vol. 1, 9th ed., London: H. Playford, 1695, 79, "Jamaica".)

In Feuillet's collection of 1706 the same tune appears with much the same dance, also in cut time and in G instead of F. The title is "La Bonne Amitie" and, most important for the reconstructionist, the track of the figures is engraved under each section of music. The entire rhythmic structure of the tune was changed, however, by a shift of the bar line to the middle of the first measure. If, in sorting this material, we were to always begin with the first full measure, these tunes, alike as they are, would not appear so to the computer. But if we begin with any first full or half measure, both tunes would come close in the indexes. The eighth note is different and would cause a minor variant between the formulae.



(transcribed from Raoul-Anger Feuillet, Recueil de Contredances. Paris, 1706. Reprint. New York: Broude Bros., 1968, 1, "La Bonne Amitie".)

Scale degrees:	"Jamaica"	/13/345/65/6/53/4321/2/1/
	"La Bonne Amitie"	/13/345/65/1+/53/4321/2/1/
Stress notes:	"Jamaica"	1 3 6 6 5 4 2 1
	"La Bonne Amitie"	1 3 6 1+ 5 4 2 1
Intervals:	"Jamaica"	3,2,2,2,-2,2,-2,-3,2,-2,-2,-2,
	"La Bonne Amitie"	3,2,2,2,-2,4,-4,-3,2,-2,-2,-2,

When we began to index "Les Folies d'Isac" in Dezais' II Recueil de Nouvelle Contredances, we encountered a further complication. Two-thirds of the first measure of "Mr. Isaac's Maggot" in The Dancing Master became the anacrusis of the French tune. Unless we included the anacrusis in the sorted formula, none of the indexes would

reveal that the tunes are the same, and the dances related.



(transcribed from The Dancing Master, vol. 1, 18th ed., London: J. Young, ca. 1728, 190, "Mr. Isaac's Maggot.")



(transcribed from [Jacques] Dezais, II. Recueil de Nouvelles Contredances. Paris, 1712. Reprint. Gregg, 1972, 157, "Les Folies d'Isac.")

Scale degrees:	"Mr. Isaac's Maggot"	/532/1232125-/5-17-6-/
	"Les Folies d'Isac"	53/212321/25-5-117-/
Stress notes:	"Mr. Isaac's Maggot"	5      1      5
	"Les Folies d'Isac"	2      2
Interval sequence:	"Mr. Isaac's Maggot"	-3,-2,-2,2,2,-2,-2,2,-5
	"Les Folies d'Isac"	-3,-2,-2,2,2,-2,-2,2,-5

In the scale degree formulae the slashes indicate measure bars, and show the shift in the French version. This shift is not only mechanical, but affects the entire performance of the music. It is a curious problem for musicians and dancers.

This discovery of incompatibility again reminded us of a very important point in any indexing project. Before beginning, it is important to know as much about the literature to be indexed as possible. Problems such as this can be dealt with much more easily if the music has been coded in DARMS from the start. Some program manipulation would be necessary, but since all the music would be there, with each part defined, it would only be a matter of deciding which formula would create the best index.

In this case we could instruct the computer to begin the French music incipits on the first coded note, and the English incipits on the first full measure. The extracted stressnote formula might not coincide, as is

obvious in the sequences above, but the scale degree and interval sequence formulae are nearly identical. If you are working on a microcomputer as we were, and coding the numerical formulae directly, you would have to examine each entry and decide how it would best be translated.

The best indexes are those consistent with themselves, but sometimes strict consistency eliminates concordances! That is where the "see also" entries are useful. It might be necessary to enter problem tunes twice, once as they appear in the source, so that the data would be represented in the index correctly, and then again with such changes necessary to create a findable entry. A flag such as "(ED)" should be added to any such edited entries.

We have encountered the same kind of problem as we prepare to code folk song materials collected from traditional performers in the 20th century, although the problem is one of indistinct mode rather than rhythm. Our solution is to give two, or even three selections for the tonal center of "1," so that, if there is a question in our minds where the tonal center is, we can include our alternate thoughts as well, and ensure that at least one of the choices would be consistent with other scholars' appraisals. The tune would then be translated into two or three different formulae and appear in two or three places in the index. Most importantly, it would be findable.

As we continue to study the popular secular music of the 16th to the 20th centuries using this kind of melodic analysis, we see a common fund of musical material coming together in indexes. How it was used over the years, where it can be found, how it changed, when it did not change, where it traveled, who played it, who collected it - all is vital to our understanding of our cultural heritage and our reconstruction of it. Some tunes spanned centuries in use. The classic "Greensleeves" appears nearly fifty times in the material covered by the NTI-Phase 1. A popular Sharp revival country dance called "Nobody's Jig" appears in many editions of The Dancing Master, but can also be found as "La Conti" in Dezais' Recueil of 1712, as "Nomans Jigg" in a 1765 printed dance collection, "Brandy & Wine a Quick Step" in a 1777 American fife manuscript, "Queen of Hearts" in a later American manuscript, as "Megalsia" in a printed book of 1803, and "The Soldier's Delight" in 1807. An eloquent history of use of this music waits investigation.

Some of our favorite early dance tunes appeared with fierce political texts. "Lilliburlero" and "Yankee Doodle" are among these. When the songs and the dances come together, we have dynamic new information. Some of the dances in The Dancing Master can be found with diagrams of the figures in French sources. Bringing like materials together and creating a reference tool for an entire literature is the goal of each National Tune Index project. As we collect more information on new groups of sources, we expand the usefulness of the present indexes as well. "Do,



THE CHOREOGRAPHER IN THE COURTROOM:  
LOIE FULLER AND LÉONIDE MASSINE

presented by  
Heather Doughty

- I. The development of copyright protection for choreography has been an arduous process in this country.
  - A. The fight for recognition began back in 1892, when Loie Fuller sued Minnie Renwood Bemis for infringement of her copyright in "The Serpentine Dance."
    1. The New York Circuit Court which heard the case refused protection for Miss Fuller's choreography because it found that the dance did not tell a story and so did not fall within the meaning of a "dramatic composition" as described in the Copyright Act.
  - B. No changes in legislative or judicial treatment of choreographer's rights occurred in this country for more than eighty years, despite indications from the English Chancery Court in 1937 that copyright protection should be extended to dance.
    1. In Massine v. De Basil, Léonide Massine and Colonel Wassily de Basil litigated the ownership of seventeen ballets choreographed by Massine.
      - a. Massine, as creator, claimed copyright in his works.
    2. The report of the decision states that the presiding judge assumed that the work done by a choreographer in devising a dance was protected by copyright, although he did express some doubt in the matter.
  - C. It was not until the Copyright Revision Act of 1976, that choreographic works were expressly included in the subject matter protected by United States copyright legislation.
    1. As of January, 1978, a choreographer may claim copyright in his work without first having to show that it meets the narrative requirements set forth in Fuller v. Bemis.
- II. In any legal analysis of the development of copyright protection for choreography, the case of Fuller v. Bemis has been mentioned.
  - A. Although the case's primary importance in copyright history lies in its requirement that a dance tell a story in order to merit protection, other aspects of the decision have significance for the dance historian.
    1. It is of considerable interest that the case even exists.

- a. The fact that an emerging female artist in the late 1800's had sufficient conviction in her rights to exclusively perform her own work that she sought legal remedy for what she considered theft of that work must be acknowledged as unusually perspicacious.
  - b. In Loie Fuller's memoirs, Fifteen Years of a Dancer's Life, her explanation of the circumstances which resulted in this legal action provides a background for reading the case report.
    - i. It seems that Fuller's former manager sent her out on tour for six weeks and in her absence, simply substituted another dancer in her place.
    - ii. Miss Fuller arrived back in New York to find that Minnie Bemis, one of the chorus girls, had "stolen" the complete "Serpentine Dance."
    - iii. Loie took immediate action -- first, she found a new manager and then she hired an attorney.
  - c. In June of 1892, Marie Louise Fuller appeared before Circuit Judge Lacombe seeking a preliminary injunction against Minnie Renwood Bemis for infringement of copyright.
2. The subject of the copyright claimed was "The Serpentine Dance" and the composition is described in detail in the published report of the court's final decision.
- a. Set forth in three tableaux, the description provides a unique glimpse into the state of Fuller's art before her relocation to Paris.
    - i. The floor patterns and skirt movements of the "Serpentine" are detailed, as are many of the images intended to be evoked by these devices.
    - ii. Furthermore, the use of lighting is indicated for each tableau.
  - b. Thus, it is possible to see in the description, just how early in her career Loie Fuller was using such elements as her special lighting effects and the depiction of natural forms.
- B. The description of "The Serpentine Dance" was filed with the United States Copyright Office, and its inclusion in full in the case report is unique in the annals of American case law.
1. Despite the care Fuller and her attorney took to register her work and claim copyright in her choreography, the New York Circuit Court denied her motion for preliminary injunction.

- a. The Court determined that Fuller's dance, as filed, was not a "dramatic composition" within the meaning of copyright legislation.
  - b. Until the passage of the 1976 Revision Act, "choreographic works" were not expressly included in the subject matter protected by copyright law.
  - c. Prior to the Fuller case, however, a number of judicial decisions had indicated that movement and gesture (notably pantomime) might be protected under the category of "dramatic compositions."
  - d. Fuller's attorney sought to extend this judge-made exception to choreography by arguing that if a work is capable of being performed or presented on a stage, it therefore must be a "dramatic" composition.
  - e. The Court rejected such a reading of the law, saying that it was essential to such a composition that it tell a story, portray a character or depict an emotion.
    - i. Fuller's dance was found to convey "no other idea than that a comely woman is illustrating the poetry of motion in a singularly graceful fashion."
  - f. This requirement of narrative content persisted in the United States until Congress finally amended the law in 1976.
- III. In England, however, a Chancery Court decision in 1937 approached copyright protection for choreography in an entirely different manner.
- A. Massine v. De Basil arose from a dispute over the ownership of some seventeen ballets staged or choreographed on the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo by Léonide Massine.
    - 1. Massine claimed copyright in his creations.
    - 2. Col. de Basil asserted his ownership of the rights in the ballets under the terms of Massine's contract with the company.
  - B. When the actual reports of the case and subsequent appeal are examined, they reveal little about the actual dances which were the subject of the litigation.
    - 1. Unlike Fuller v. Bemis, this case does not even list the titles of the ballets involved, let alone describe the choreography.
    - 2. Instead, the reports furnish more information about the commercial relationship between the antagonists.
      - a. The details of Massine's contracts with

- the Ballet Russe are explored in both the case and the appeal.
3. Ultimately, the conflict was resolved by the Court's interpretation of Massine's 1934 contract with the company.
    - a. The contract was held to be a "service agreement," containing an implied term that de Basil, as employer, should be entitled to such rights as might arise from any work done by Massine during his term of employment.
      - i. When Massine acted as choreographer for the Ballet Russe, he was a salaried servant in the eyes of the law.
      - ii. The rights in the ballets covered by the contract vested in de Basil.
- C. In speaking of the rights in the ballets involved, Judge Luxmoore of the Chancery Court stated for the record that he was assuming that the work done by a choreographer was a matter of copyright which could be infringed, although he expressed some reservations.
1. The learned judge began his opinion with the observation that a ballet was composed of a number of elements including music; costumes, scenery and choreography.
  2. The doubt he expressed as to whether or not a choreographer's work was copyrightable seems to stem from his feeling that a ballet is a composite work of these elements.
    - a. Granting a distinct copyright to the choreographer for the steps or notation of the dancing appeared troublesome to the judge.
      - i. Where, as in this instance, someone other than the choreographer (here, de Basil) owned the rights to the music, scenery and costumes for the ballets, Luxmoore thought it likely that a situation could arise where no one would be able to perform the integrated works.
  3. In any case, this language pertaining to copyright of choreography in Massine v. De Basil is dicta — loosely defined as an expression of the opinion of the court which is not necessary to support the reasoning of the actual decision.
    - a. As dicta, Luxmoore's treatment of copyright of choreography had no legal impact (in terms of precedence) on future decisions.
    - b. Nevertheless, the difference between Lux-

moore's qualified assumption of copyright status for choreographic works and the Fuller court's attitude regarding dance must be noted.

- IV. When the Fuller court refused to grant copyright protection to Loie Fuller for her "Serpentine Dance," the dance world suffered an irretrievable loss.
  - A. By requiring that dance had to tell a story to be protected by the Act, the Court excluded any abstract works created in this country from legal protection against piracy.
  - B. This coupled with the fact that it was to take Congress another eighty years to recognize choreographic works, made it unnecessary for a choreographer to register his/her work for copyright purposes.
    - 1. Consider what would have been gained, if since 1892 all choreographers who created dances in the United States had deposited complete records of these works with the Library of Congress.
    - 2. Such a resource would have been invaluable.
    - 3. The loss to the dance community may be seen as tragic.

LYDIA THOMPSON: OR, THE CHARGE OF THE LEG BRIGADE

Barbara M. Barker

"The degeneracy of the stage in this city is something appalling," began an article describing the New York theatre in the years following the Civil War. Stage degeneracy is, of course, as old a cry as the theatre itself. All too often it is used to oversimplify a complex situation. For example, Romantic ballet degenerated into ballet-spectacle, or the delicate pointe work of the Romantic period into the empty technical display of succeeding generations. How can we be sure? What are our criteria? According to Webster's dictionary to degenerate means to become unlike one's race, to fall off (de-from, + genus - race, kind), or to sink below a former condition. Within the theatre and dance the accusation has often been associated with popular success, as though elitism implied higher artistic quality.

In nineteenth-century American theatre, degeneration was exemplified and, some thought, partially caused by Lydia Thompson and her British blonde burlesque troupe. From the New York debut of Thompson's company in 1868 through her final American tour over twenty years later, the British singer/dancer/actress was lambasted by journalists and the clergy as scandalous and brazen. Not only was she considered, with few exceptions, beneath serious critical discussion, but she had the temerity to be successful, so successful that advocates of legitimate theatre felt she threatened the very survival of Shakespeare, of Sheridan and even Boucicault, as well as traditional European ballet. Her name still has the power to raise the eyebrows of most dance and theatre historians. Weren't Lydia and her followers the villainesses who gave the ballet-girl a bad name by substituting legs for talent and quantities of exposed flesh for artistic quality? What possible place did Lydia hold in American theatre and dance?

Lydia arrived in New York in September of 1868 with a company of five; Ada Harland, Pauline Markham, Liza Weber, Harry Beckett, musical director Michael Connolly, and Lydia's manager and soon-to-be husband, Alexander Henderson. Eleven additional actors were hired in New York and they opened at Wood's Museum -- combination theatre and menagerie. One wing of Wood's featured an exhibition of freaks, dwarfs, a human skeleton and so forth, and the other wing was a theatre where Lydia and company debuted in F. C. Burand's burlesque extravaganza, Ixion, or the Man at the Wheel.

Ixion's cast was smaller, and the production more simply staged than contemporary spectacles at Fisk's Grand Opera House, Niblo's Garden Theatre and the Academy of Music. In addition, the production was hampered by dialogue that was not particularly witty. Indeed Ixion's success depended entirely upon the vitality and appeal of Lydia Thompson and her four supporting artists.

Lydia began her career as a child dancer in the Christmas pantomimes in Her Majesty's Theatre, London. She was, according to the New York Times, a blonde of the purest type, saucy, blue-eyed, golden-haired, and blessed with a softly-rounded figure. Although her

singing voice was not beautiful and her dancing untrained in the traditional sense, Lydia had a sense of comic timing and, according to journalist Richard Grant White, an infectious gaiety of heart and overwhelming glee which audiences found irresistible. The stage brightened with her very presence, wrote the Spirit of the Times critic October 13, 1869, "but she is not a bit of an actress."

Members of Thompson's company were chosen as much for the contrast they presented to Lydia as for their talent. Ada Harland, judged the cleverest and most graceful member of the troupe, was a well-trained dancer and a brunette. Eighteen-year-old Cockney Pauline Markham did not particularly excel as a singer, dancer, or actress, but she was a beauty. Statuesque and blonde, Markham was an imposing stage figure and complemented the petite Lydia. Liza Weber, on the other hand, was small and blonde but not exactly pretty. Her gift lay in comic mime. In Ixion for instance she played the part of a swell, with mincing gait, quizzical eye-glass and affected drawl.

The burlesques in which Lydia and her company appeared were spoofs of classical and literary dramas. Dialogue was written in verse, of questionable literary merit replete with bad puns. Everything was fair game: current political foibles, ladies' fashions, even tongue-in-cheek versions of theatrical anachronisms. Ixion, for instance, included an unexplained clog dance introduced by two comedians in the midst of a love scene. The lovers, totally disregarding any sense of dramatic unity, joined in the dance. Clog dances, sailor dances and such were inserted indiscriminately even into the Shakespearean productions of the day. In fact, one of the biggest hits of an 1869 Tempest production in New York's Grand Opera House was a Can Can.

Thompson's burlesques included songs, using the well-known melodies of Offenbach with new lyrics about the diamonds of Jim Fisk, sung under the Rhine by a bevy of blonde naiads dressed in pink tights and gauze and suspended from the flies. A male performer, dressed as a ballerina, performed a comic version of one of the grand ballets being presented at the Opera House, imitating the style of the reigning New York dancer, Giuseppina Morlacchi. It was followed by a "Grand Moral Ballet of strong minded women" in which the leading exponents of women's rights were caricatured in various gyrations.

Each of Lydia's productions included the ubiquitous device of nineteenth-century spectacle, the Parade of the Amazons, always with a comic twist; elaborate preparations for a Grand Triple Sword Combat for instance, only to have no enemy appear. There were comic versions of the Can Can, minstrel breakdowns, jigs, French and Italian opera, a dance exaggerating the fashionable female silhouette titled "The Grecian Bend," and transformation scenes in which the scenic effects were confused, half the trees of a forest, for instance, descending in the midst of a ballroom. Interspersed throughout the evening were running jokes such as that in an 1869 production of Robinson Crusoe. One of the actors periodically commanded another to "put it in the bag," and everything on the stage was thrown into a large burlap sack, including giant footprints and the hats of the audience members who had the misfortune to lay them on the stage close to the footlights.

Lydia Thompson's burlesques were ideally suited to the audiences in post-Civil War America. Public reaction to the tensions of the war showed itself in a materialistic frenzy. Great fortunes were accumulated, built by graft, speculation and war profits, and there was a

fury of extravagance in public entertainments. On the surface, the nation was gaudy and bright, covered with the gilt of affluence. Beneath the glitter, however, were the greys and blues of renounced hopes and the visible smut of early industrialism. A new class of citizen, the Shoddy aristocrat, supplanted New York's pre-war elite. Shoddies worshipped success. It was a crusade. Lydia's performances lampooned these war-made rich, and yet were enjoyed by them. She offered a light-hearted escape from painful memories of the war. Audiences could laugh at themselves and enjoy thinly disguised allusions to Jim Fisk, Tammany Hall and the corruption of the Grant administration. However questionable the values of the time may look in retrospect, Lydia's burlesques reassured Americans that a little chicanery was O.K.

Skeptics pointed out that the immediate and unparalleled success of Thompson's troupe was demonstrable proof that post war American society was deteriorating. Audiences were caricatured as rows of leering, bald-pated men more interested in flesh than art. Lydia's audiences, however, were made up of a cross section of society. According to Richard Grant White's article, "The Age of Burlesque," in the July, 1869 *Galaxy*, Lydia filled theatres with "comfortable, middle-aged women from the suburbs and from remoter country, their daughters, groups of children, a few professional men, bearing their quality of their faces, some sober looking farm folk, a clergyman or two, apparently the usual proportion of non-descripts, among which were not many young men."

Before the end of her first New York season, Lydia and her company had graduated from the freaks and animals of Wood's Museum to the more luxurious and prestigious surroundings of Niblo's Gardens. Their simple productions were embellished with all the accoutrements of nineteenth-century spectacle, a corps de ballet, elaborate transformation scenes and the like. All the productions featured the same peurile dialogue and atrocious puns but were mounted on a scale which post-war audiences appreciated. The combination of burlesque and spectacle, of flaxen-haired, scantily dressed beauties and classical ballerinas, of bawdy humor and art, was surefire. It served Lydia and her imitators well until the mid-1880's. Lydia herself crossed the Atlantic fifteen times and toured from coast to coast. She traveled with her principals and four or five leaders of the chorus. For each new engagement her advance agent would precede the company to the new city, select a chorus of dancers, usually untrained, teach them the marching formations, give them their music and arrange costuming. Early on the day of opening night Lydia would arrive with the principles in time for a single dress rehearsal. Lack of rehearsal time and of local talent often had humorous results. In Virginia City Nevada, for instance, no female performers would be recruited for the production of *Lurline*. Instead, the local bootblacks were pressed into service. Dressed in Turkish costumes the boys presented such an ill-assorted group of knobby knees, knock knees, scrawny legs and sheepish expressions that the rest of the cast exploded with laughter when Pauline Markham addressed them, "I see you standing like greyhounds in the slips straining upon the start." Virginia City's silver miners were non-plussed, being quite accustomed to their bootblack chorus ("Lydia Thompson's Stage Record," *The Sunday Herald*, May 26, 19--., Harvard Theatre Collection).

The theatre in Virginia City was located over the prison and on their way to and from the dressingrooms the performers had to walk over the cells of the prisoners. "They would thrust their arms up through



the iron bars to catch hold of us," reported Markham in a later interview. But, she added, there were many rewards. Audiences spent freely, throwing gold nuggets to their favorite performers instead of bouquets (unidentified clipping, Harvard Theatre Collection).

Nevertheless, touring conditions were difficult, exhausting, and dangerous. Many locations could not be reached by train, and so the performers traveled in cramped dusty stage coaches, armed against Indian and other attackers. And they were underpaid. There was of course, no salary for rehearsals prior to the opening of the show, and once in production their wages were below average. Backstage conditions were unsafe. Frequently Lydia's company worked without a free day or a break between afternoon rehearsal and evening performance. They were subject to a series of fines, often arbitrarily imposed. In addition, Thompson's companies had one problem that was uniquely their own, their manager. Intemperate and often cruel to the performers, Henderson kept the blondes in a perpetual state of debt. From their weekly salaries he deducted a percentage for costumes, another for living expenses during the periods when productions were in rehearsals, fines for backstage misdemeanors and so on. Although all the deductions were legal they had the effect of turning the dancers to indentured slaves. Correspondence from Pauline Markham to A. T. Stewart, owner of Niblo's Garden Theatre, explains a typical situation. "My salary at the theatre is so bad that I cannot meet a large bill, and besides that, before I left London I was unfortunately obliged to borrow of Henderson £50 and this week he wishes me to pay him (n. d. Harvard Theatre Collection)." At the height of her popularity as the toast of New York Markham's salary was \$50 a week. Even the second-ranking dancers at Niblo's Garden Theatre were paid more. When Markham left Lydia to take the role of Stalacta in an 1870 revival of The Black Crook at Niblo's her salary doubled.

In addition to being penurious, Henderson had a fiery temper which often made trouble for the company. Tales of his clashes with critics and editors are well documented. When Wilbur F. Story, editor of the Chicago Times, assaulted the blondes in his newspaper, "Bawds at the Opera House! Where are the police?" Henderson and Thompson waylaid Story and publicly horsewhipped him. And there were other journalists with whom the manager came to blows. None of these escapades did the company's public image much good. What they gained at the box-office they lost in public respect. Theatrical critics joined lecturer and moral reformer Olive Logan in a campaign to rid America of the "blonde scourge." Logan was unflinching in her attacks and she was persuasive. Success in the theatre following the arrival of Lydia and company was based, not on talent or training, claimed Logan in an article in the June 30, 1869 New York Times, but on an affirmative answer to theatre managers on the following five questions:

"Is your hair dyed yellow?

Are your legs and bosom symmetrically formed and are you willing to expose them?

Can you sing brassy songs, and dance the can can, and wink at the men, and give utterance to disgusting half words which mean whole actions?

Are you acquainted with any rich men who will throw you flowers, and send you presents, and keep afloat dubious rumors of your chastity?

Are you willing to appear to-night and every night amid the glare of gaslights and before the gaze of thousands of men, in this pair of

satin breeches, ten inches long, without a vestige of drapery on your person?"

The Blondes had been modest enough when they first arrived in New York, explained Logan; however as time passed they became emboldened with success, they grew brazen and saucy and vamped the men in the boxes. Worst of all, reports of their success reached England and an army of flaxen-haired burlesque women took ship for America. Rivalry between companies became fierce, as to who could be the most indecent, the most vulgar. Logan waged war on the blonde leg brigade with a religious fervor. She intended to rid America of the scourge, "if it took all summer."

It took more than a summer. Theatrical annals of 1869 and the early 1870's are filled with blondes of every description, blonde minstrels, Continental Blondes, Mme Frothingham's Naughty Blondes, an All-blond Black Crook touring company and so on. The yellow-haired epidemic was characterized in the New York Times of February 5, 1869 by, "a tendency in the patients to dispossess themselves of their clothing a series of piercing screams called comic singing...distorted and incoherent ravings called puns, and finally strong convulsions denominated 'breakdowns' and 'walkarounds.'"

Were Lydia's productions as scandalous as Logan indicates? Thompson vehemently denied immorality and immodesty, pointing out that her performers' costumes were no more or less immodest than those worn by the ballet girls in The Black Crook, or women in the travesty roles in Shakesporean productions and operas. She claimed that she kept a continual watch on the dresses of the ladies in her choruses. "When on stage I had only to look at the young lady who had pinned her trunks up too high at the side, and whom I might not before have noticed, and I would see her hand seek out the offending pin and remove it." We dressed for our roles, claimed Thompson, nothing more nothin less ("Lydia Thompson's Stage Record," Harvard).

The fact that Lydia and her company were extremely good at what they did, however, did not outweigh the facts. The charge against the leg brigade was joined in by the press, and the moral majority and they were not accepted within the theatre by fellow performers. In addition their manager was denounced as a public embarrassment. For each member of Lydia's original company, including Lydia herself, Burlesque became a stepping stone to legitimate theatre. In an open letter to the Chicago Times, shortly after the Story incident, Lydia explained in an article in "The Play of the Period," (Harvard) "I went into burlesque, not as a source of amusement but to enable me to earn a livelihood...I thus appear in the class of entertainment that is the most remunerative." Then too, burlesque was, she believed, an excellent training ground for other forms of theatre, "You must dance a little, sing a little, speak lines with point and learn a little of everything."

Ada Harland was the first performer to leave Thompson's company. She remained at Wood's theatre as an actress in the stock company when Lydia moved to Niblo's. Four years later Harland retired from the stage to marry critic and scholar Brander Matthews. Eventually Harland succeeded in living down the stigma of her career in burlesque. Notices of her death in 1924 made no mention of her earliest career. Rather she was identified as the British-born wife of a Columbia professor of dramatic literature and the daughter of an English physician.

Liza Weber, too, left during the first season. She organized

her own company and attempted, rather unsuccessfully, to break into legitimate theatre. Not much of a business woman Weber mismanaged her affairs, and theatrical newspapers of the early 1870's frequently carried reports of various bankruptcies, of scenery and costumes being impounded, and of Weber being arrested when she tried to leave towns in which she had debts. She was not, it appeared, well suited to the legitimate stage. She died in poverty in Buffalo, New York.

Markham also devoted herself to becoming an actress. Her correspondence with close friend and theatrical agent T. Allston Brown is a poignant record of the end of a career. In the 1890's she toured in minor parts with second-rate acting companies, making barely enough to live. "The manager is going to cut everybody in their salaries after tonight," she wrote to Brown on May 2, 1893 (Markham correspondence, Harvard). "It will be a shame if he does for I can't live on \$30, and I am sure I could not on \$25. If you hear of anything in leading or heavy don't forget me, will you?...I do wish I could get something for next season. I don't want any more burlesque." August 15, 1893 (Harvard) Markham wrote again, requesting a loan because she was being evicted, "I am afraid (the landlady) is going to keep all my trunks for my room rent, \$36."

Walking home from the theatre in Louisville, one black night in 1893, Markham fell into an open excavation and fractured her leg. For weeks she lay in a hospital. The only money she received was \$18 a week from the Actor's Fund. She sued for \$10,000 and eventually received a settlement of \$4,000, but after her leg healed it was difficult to find work. On one of her final tours, as a minor player with "The Flying Vulture Company," she wrote, December 25, 1893 (Harvard), giving Brown her itinerary: Christmas day 1893, Freeland Pa., 26th Sanford, 27 Mahony City, 28 Mt. Carmel and so forth. Gone were the days the beautiful Pauline had stood knee-deep in flowers on the stage at Niblo's. Freeland and the Flying Vulture Company were not the big time but at least it was not burlesque. Pauline had graduated to the legitimate theatre. "I have worked hard," she said in an interview, "and year by year I have gained a better position."

Lydia remained in burlesque until the mid-1880's and then became an actress in farce-comedy. She died in 1908, a wealthy woman, respected and respectable. In an unpublished essay on Burlesque at the Harvard Theatre Collection, Thompson expressed regret over the decline of this theatrical form in America. It began when audiences demanded that spectacle accompany the burlesques. Wit and satire were, she felt, eventually lost in a maze of lavish scenic effects, variety acts, and ever more scantily dressed girls. By the end of her career, burlesques and the burlesque audiences had changed (Thompson, MS, Harvard):

And way down in the front by the footlights glow,  
The bald headed men sat in the front row  
They had big glasses to see all the sights  
Including the blondes who danced in silk tights.

Were Thompson and her leg brigade degenerate? Although she did not contribute a new form of theatre in America (Burlesques existed before her 1868 arrival and continued long after she turned to legitimate theatre), certainly it is in her work that British burlesque reached its full stature in America. Was there art in Lydia's burlesques, or did

she merely capture the prevailing spirit, i.e. vulgarity, of the age? Years of standing-room-only audiences indicate that she was popular despite the objections of critics. She had many imitators who followed the same formula, and yet, few if any are remembered. Weren't Lydia and her troupe far more degenerate when they bowed to critical disapproval, denied the form of theatre which they knew best and tried to adapt to an entirely different genre? Perhaps we have judged Lydia too hastily and should re-open her case, and in the process review our definition of degeneracy.

## THE YEARS 1875-1929; DANCE ARRIVES IN NEW YORK

Karen Nelson

Scanning the entertainment section of a contemporary edition of the Sunday New York Times leaves a decided impression of abundant dance activity, even during the summer. Looking through 130 years' worth of back issues of the Times makes it apparent that the dance picture in New York has been undergoing a process of clarification over an extended period of time. There have been certain constant features in the picture, notably concern over how to balance financial and artistic considerations in producing dance programs, how much emphasis to place upon star performers, and how, in general, to promote dance events effectively. This paper surveys dance coverage in the Times (founded 1851) in order to give a sense of how consciousness of dance evolved in New York from about the last quarter of the 19th century up until 1929. [For Times circulation figures for the years 1896-1950, see M. Berger, The Story of the New York Times, 1851-1951 (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1951), pp. 569-570. For 1896 circulation figures of other New York papers, see p. 112.] At the beginning of this period, the audience in New York for regular seasons of dance was tiny. By the end of the period, enough interest had been mobilized to nurture the careers of a significant number of resident dancers and choreographers. Future years would see countless financial reverses, but the constancy of native dance as a feature of American culture had been established.

The year 1929 was a cultural as well as an economic watershed. By the end of 1929, John Martin could look back on three years of monitoring dance developments in New York for the Times and see that the number of dance performances per se had increased significantly: from around 35 during the 1927 season to 64 in 1928, and then to 129 in 1929. [May 19, 1929, sect. 9, p. 22. (All unlabeled dates refer to editions of the Times.)] He could look forward to the imminent formation of permanent American dance companies: Martha Graham was pulling her company together, and Balanchine's name was being bruited about in connection with the establishment of a ballet company. [Feb. 17, 1929, sect. 9, p. 8.] The year 1927 had been marked by Isadora Duncan's death and by the release of The Jazz Singer. Diaghilev died in 1929 and Anna Pavlova in 1931. So, roughly speaking, 1929 marks for New York the drawing to a close of the careers of a generation of dance innovators and pioneers and the rise of their numerous successors, and 1929 is also about when the technology of motion pictures and of broadcasting had been perfected to the point of making films and radio highly attractive alternatives to live entertainment.

During the last quarter of the 19th century, and even into the first decade of the 20th century, there was no such thing in New York - on a regular basis - as ballet for ballet's sake. There was ballet for the sake of opera, there was ballet for the sake of variety, and there was drama for the sake of ballet, but the main focus of theatrical activity was on opera per se, on drama per se, and on popular entertainment. In an 1882 column, a Times writer offered an explanation of what New York was missing: "Properly speaking, a ballet is a pantomimic representation of a story, accompanied by appropriate music. Such productions have the title of ballets d'action, and . . . may be seen in every great city of the civilized world during the theatrical season, except in London and New York." [May 7, 1882, p. 6.] As far as dance forms other than ballet are concerned, there were occasional concerts presented prior to 1900, but here too the market for full evenings of dance was as yet embryonic.

There were several rival opera producers in the city and numerous producers of drama and melodrama. In addition, a number of theaters were given over to variety shows. All of these enterprises were intended to run in the black (their earnings were frequently reported in the Times), and some were also intended to be artistic. Otto Kahn, a member of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Opera Company, spoke of trying to present "what the public wants in the best manner." [Nov. 11, 1911, p. 13.] The tension between remaining solvent and achieving a reputation for quality is amply illustrated in the chaotic career of James Henry Mapleson, an Englishman who was a leading producer of opera in New York in the years 1878-1886. According to a Times report of 1879, "He declares that his aim is now, as it has been, to establish Italian opera here in such a way that bad or indifferent performances will never again be tolerated and to do that he will incur any expense that a cultured public will justify him in bearing." [Nov. 4, 1879, p. 8. See also H. Rosenthal (ed.), The Mapleson Memoirs: The Career of an Operatic Impresario, 1858-1888 (NY: Appleton-Century, 1966).] The work of the opera company's dancers was essentially taken for granted in Times reviews and, one may infer, by the public. The total of four lines devoted to the premiere of Les Papillons, a short ballet which rounded out an 1878 program featuring Lucia di Lammermoor, was not untypical. [Nov. 16, 1878, p. 5.]

Ballets offered in theatrical spectacles were more central to these productions' success than were the ballets in opera and were reviewed in more detail. An example would be the dancing in Sardanapalus at Booth's Theatre in 1876. The ballet incorporated into this staging of Byron's play featured foreign principals, as was customary. The somewhat sardonic review in the Times commented on the anachronism of

introducing tarantellas and other contemporary dances into a ballet set in ancient times, and went on to say: "The new ballet which was presented last night is of great elaboration, is delightfully tortuous and involved, and is more than opulent in lustre and color. The ballet corps proper is large and well trained . . . the principal dancers are a trifle monotonous. They seem to be forever expecting admiration and applause. . . . The costumes and all accessories are in keeping with the liberal policy of the management heretofore in connection with all the spectacular plays which it has given to the public." [Oct. 31, 1876, p. 5.] The commercial spirit behind these theatrical spectacles encouraged managers to push for an "extreme" style of dancing. Dolores Bacon, in a 1901 feature on the current state of ballet in the U.S., elaborated: "If the American ballet should find it desirable to be elegant, it would certainly be elegant after the fashion of a certain nouveau riche of whom the Baroness Sellière once wittily said: 'She attempts to be the grande dame - but it seems to me she only succeeds in being damn grand.'" [Sept. 1, 1901, mag. supp., p. 3.]

There was a tradition of visits by foreign dancers to what is now the United States dating back to the mid-18th century. A culmination was the immensely successful two-year tour of Fanny Elssler which began in New York in 1840. A quarter century later the dancing in The Black Crook helped make that show popular enough to sustain revivals over a forty-year period. [See Dance Magazine, Jan., 1964, p. 65, for a contemporary account of the attitude of Black Crook devotees to ballet per se.] Still, despite such isolated instances of intense public interest in dance, dance as an art remained underdeveloped in New York through the 19th century. There was no regular source of outstanding dancers because there was no regular call for their services, and, conversely, there was no regular continuing presentation of dance in its own right in large part because there was no cadre of outstanding performers whose reputations could draw the public. Importing foreign dancers was complicated. Transatlantic communication was expensive; travel by ship was time-consuming and, for dancers, to some degree debilitating. Jewish impresarios were impeded by Russian passport restrictions in lining up U.S. bookings for Russian artists.

By 1891, the Metropolitan Opera House, opened in 1883, had the most professionally structured ballet troupe in the city, said in the Times to be "as like that at the Paris Opera as anything we have. There is as much similarity as is possible between an ephemeral institution under private control and a permanent establishment maintained by the government. At the New-York Opera a dancer is engaged for the season; at the Paris Opera she is engaged for life." [Mar. 29, 1891, p. 17.] There were eighty dancers in the troupe,

five of whom were principals and about twelve soloists. In addition to the twenty Americans, there were dancers from England, Hungary, Germany, France, and Italy. The ballet master spelled out the problem with season-to-season hiring: ". . . I have worked very hard with [my class]. When I came the management gave me for the ranks the dancers they had obtained. I have done with them what I could. The result you see is not bad. But in Europe all is very different. In America everything is for a season. You get your dancers quick; you must teach them in five lessons the work of five months, and quick; you must make the best effect you can. Then all is over and nobody knows what will happen next year. In Europe you are in one place many years. You train your ballet to a very careful standard, legitimate, capable of carrying out the most elaborate works. And when a great occasion comes you can give your public a masterpiece, something that makes [a] reputation for all concerned. America is a great country. But for the fine arts it moves too quickly to be thorough." [Ibid.] The Times continued to follow the fortunes of the Metropolitan Opera Ballet, including its formation of a school in 1909.

The methods used to draw audiences to the theater at the turn of the century were similar to what we are accustomed to now. The typical newspaper of 1900 was much smaller than today: the Times ran to about 16 pages on weekdays and cost 1¢, while the Sunday paper was about 30 pages priced at 3¢. Theater advertisements tended to be correspondingly modest in size. There was a general distinction between the "dignified" ads for opera, and other events intended to be perceived as artistic, and the ads for events their producers hoped would appeal to very large numbers of people. In dance, practice varied. The ads for Diaghilev were quite small and understated, while those for Gertrude Hoffmann's "Saison des Ballets Russes" were unusually large and exclamatory. Most of the advertising effort for drama and live entertainment went into lithographic bills to be posted in commercial establishments and train stations and to be pasted on billboards. "Billing the streets" was considered unseemly for opera.

Ticket prices also varied according to the nature of the entertainment offered in a particular theater, with a basic distinction between "standard" prices and "popular" prices. As the Times reported, different classes attended the two types of theater: "At the low-priced theatres the majority of the audiences are of the working class, a minority of the clerical, and a minute remainder is made up of vagrants and leisure class persons. At the high-priced theatres the leisure class appears to be in a slight majority over the business or clerical, the working class figuring at about 2 per cent." [May 28, 1911, sect. 7, p. 2. Social stratification reached its height at the opera, where



being a boxholder was a privilege reserved to the elite.] In 1901 Loie Fuller argued that she was having trouble filling Koster & Bial's because her potential audience ignored popular-priced events. However, raising the ticket prices did not help, and she had to close after nine days of what was to have been a ten-week run. [Jan. 11, 1901, p. 2.] As time went on, theater managers had to begin taking into account the very low prices movie houses were able to charge - as little as five cents for some seats.

Unpaid advertising has always been a blessing for performers, especially when, as was often the case with dance during the period under consideration, something more or less novel was being offered for which an audience had to be developed. Unpaid advertising came in the form of photos of artists in the photogravure section of the Sunday paper (as early as 1911, photos of Fokine, Karsavina, and Schollar were published [Aug. 27, 1911.]), of short news items, and of reviews. There was not, however, any possibility of free newspaper ads as there was for opera in Europe. [Dec. 5, 1909, mag. sect., p. 4.] At least once the Ballet Russe name figured prominently in an ad for the make of piano used exclusively by Diaghilev's company at the Met. [Jan. 18, 1916, p. 12.]

In the case of reviews, the Times record is respectable. The tone of reviews is generally sophisticated, but, as one would expect, contemporary moral standards shade judgments, and early reactions to innovative dance are not always perceptive. Adeline Genée was the only bona fide ballerina to appear regularly on the New York stage outside of opera in the years just prior to Pavlova's arrival. A typical vehicle for Genée was the musical play of 1909 called The Silver Star. According to the Times reviewer: "The little fairy of dancers was warmly welcomed at the New Amsterdam last night, as she deserved to be. For her own exquisite share in the performance is not to be admired the less because it is part of one of those 'shows' which by some inscrutable decision of her managers are believed to be necessary for an American success." The reviewer closed by noting, "It still remains to be proved that a series of ballets such as the dancer appears in in London would not appeal to the American public." [Nov. 2, 1909, p. 9.] As best one can judge from a distance of several decades, reviewers made reasonable distinctions in evaluating the work of different individuals. For instance, a woman named Michael Elliot who danced in the style of Duncan was said to have "neither the technique, the spontaneity, the grace nor the art of her predecessor, and so she only succeeded in a moderate degree in claiming any serious attention." [Oct. 13, 1909, p. 11.] Every so often a critic would reserve judgment, as was the case with the opening of Gertrude Hoffmann's "Saison des Ballets Russes." The Times reviewer begged off, saying, "Opportunity to see

dancers of this sort has been so slight that it is impossible to judge the merits of the players in this ballet." [June 15, 1911, p. 9. During this period reviews in the Times were unsigned. During the years 1906-1907 and 1910-1913, the dance reviews were generally the work of Carl Van Vechten, whose official function was to serve as assistant music critic.]

The Times frequently published interviews with dancers, dance teachers, and ballet masters. An example, dating from 1911, is a full-page feature on Rosina Galli, a 17-year-old Italian hired to perform with the Chicago-Philadelphia Opera Company. Galli spoke of the fear she had felt of failing before American audiences who "so much liked the Russian dancers." In her view, "the Russian dance [of Fokine - so far seen in the U.S. only in Hoffmann's pirated versions], although it is undoubtedly beautiful," did not seem "really classic at all." As it turned out, Galli was well received by the public, but she was having trouble getting used to appearing almost exclusively in operas: "Both at San Carlo and at La Scala we had more featuring of ballet performances. Sometimes for whole evenings [there] would be dancing by the opera company's ballet. In Italy dancing was not so incidental. It was really an entertainment in itself." Readers were informed that Galli's success was due to two factors, her pleasure in dancing and the hard work she had been putting into developing and maintaining her technique since an early age. [Nov. 12, 1911, sect. 5, p. 9. Galli enjoyed a long professional career, including service as the ballet mistress of the Met from 1919 to 1935. Note that Pavlova had been quoted in 1910 as saying, "[In St. Petersburg] the ballet is as important at the Imperial Opera as the production of opera itself. Two nights a week the ballet is given, and the other nights opera. These ballets are long. They last from 8 o'clock until 12." (Feb. 28, 1910, p. 9.)]

Some of the Times dance features were historical pieces, such as the history of skirt dancing which came out in 1892 [July 17, 1892, p. 15], and an irregular series of articles on the evolving status of ballet in the U.S. [See, e.g., May 7, 1882, p. 6; and Sept. 1, 1901, mag. supp., p. 3.]

New Yorkers were kept apprised of some overseas dance developments. Isadora Duncan's early foreign successes were chronicled [see, e.g., Jan. 11, 1903, p. 14], but Diaghilev's were not. During Diaghilev's first two seasons in Paris, cable dispatches to the Times from France reported in considerable detail on the socializing of Americans spending part of their summer in the French capital, but apparently those Americans were not much caught up in the furor surrounding the Ballet Russe. [See, e.g., July 4, 1909, sect. 3, p. 1. Gabriel Astruc's negotiations with the Met for a season of Italian opera were treated as front-page news.

[Oct. 20, 1909, p. 1.] Diaghilev had to wait until his company participated, along with many prominent Americans, in the 1911 Coronation season in London to get passing mention in the Times. Diaghilev's company, referred to as "the Russian Imperial Ballet," was described as "incomparably the best thing in its own line in the world." [Mar. 12, 1911, sect. 7, p. 10.] There were occasional feature pieces on the European dance scene in the Times, such as the item in 1880 on the "hardships and privation" of the French "ballet-girl." According to the Times correspondent: "In no department of public amusement is a more rigid economy practiced than in the salary of dancers. Advancement comes very slowly, and there is a great deal of competition for every vacancy in the higher ranks of the profession. Even after the most meritorious and indefatigable labors the native French girl constantly finds herself eclipsed by Russian and Italian dancers." [Aug. 1, 1880, p. 8. See Aug. 22, 1909, sect. 3, p. 2, for a report of a meeting of French dancers to discuss the possibility of unionizing.]

Because the United States did not have a tradition of institutionalized ballet as the 20th century began, the field was open to exponents of other forms of theatrical dance. At first, most Times reports of noncommercial work outside ballet dealt with amateur performances by society women. In fact, theater notices tended to be printed on the society page. By 1910, the Times was covering "classic" dance (i.e., "Greek" dance as practiced by Duncan), ethnic dance (including, in particular, Spanish dance), "aesthetic" dance, novelty dance (such as that of Fuller), and dance in vaudeville and musical comedy. With Pavlova's arrival in 1910, the Times could begin providing firsthand coverage of the work of Russian dancers.

Russian ballet was presented to Americans in two basic styles, the traditional lyric classicism of Pavlova and the neoromanticism of Fokine. In the summer of 1909, Pavlova's advance publicity described her as "the premiere danseuse of the Russian ballet, which is said to be the greatest and most costly in the world." [July 11, 1909, sect. 3, p. 1. The repeated delays in bringing Diaghilev's company to the U.S. were often attributed to the daunting expense that would be involved. (See, e.g., July 8, 1911, p. 9.)] Once Pavlova arrived in New York, the Times reviewer was much taken with her and suggested that "If Pavlova were a regular member of the Metropolitan Opera Company it would also be safe to prophecy a revival in favor of the classic ballet." A few days later, he continued in this vein, suggesting that Pavlova's and Mordkine's performance was so compelling that they could successfully lead a staging of the whole of Coppelia, rather than performing just the first act on a program which opened with a full-length opera. [Mar. 5, 1910, p. 9.]

Gertrude Hoffmann first made a name for herself by presenting imitations of the dances which had won Maud Allen acclaim in London. Her "Saison des Ballets Russes" at the Winter Garden in 1911 continued in this sensational vein. The ballets presented were Theodore Kosloff's stagings of Fokine's Cléopâtre, Schéhérazade, and Les Sylphides. In an article announcing the season, these pieces were described as "all dramas expressed in rhythmic motion, without any relation to the formal French and Italian schools of dancing." [June 9, 1911, p. 13.] The oversize ads referred to "the introduction to the English-speaking world of the new cult of art which has enraptured and enslaved the pampered Parisians for two years." [June 18, 1911, p. 2.] The difference in spirit between Hoffmann's recension and the Diaghilev original became apparent on the road where she tried to drum up business by introducing vaudeville acts along with the ballet. [Sept. 20, 1911, p. 13.]

Diaghilev, on the other hand, was quoted in the Times as insisting, "This is not a 'show' that I am going to take to America. It is an art exposition." [Jan. 9, 1916, sect. 4, p. 16.] Towards the end of 1914 the Times heralded the company's upcoming U.S. tour by printing two feature articles, including an interview with Diaghilev, and numerous photos of company members. [Sept. 26, 1915, sect. 6, p. 5; and Dec. 5, 1915, sect. 4, p. 12.] Once Diaghilev arrived in New York, there was another interview in which he emphasized his constant theme of the need for iconoclasm in art. As for ballet, it was "even yet in its early stages in Russia. The experiments become every year bolder and more original." [Jan. 23, 1916, sect. 6, p. 6.] The first Times review of Diaghilev's company was unusually lengthy for a dance review - over a column long. Its author's summary impression was that "What was shown on the stage of the Century Theatre last night constitutes the most elaborate and impressive offering that has yet been made in this country in the name of the ballet as an art form." [Jan. 18, 1916, p. 12.] Unfortunately, the Ballet Russe's second U.S. tour, which ended in late February, 1917, was the last before Diaghilev's death. In the years between 1917 and 1929, Bolm, Fokine, Pavlova, and Mordkine kept Russian Ballet before the American public. It was also during this period that the first generation of American modern dancers and choreographers were gaining their early training and stage experience. However, the most steady professional work in dance was being done in vaudeville theaters, in movie houses, and in musical comedy.

On the vaudeville circuit, especially interesting dance was to be found in so-called "advanced" vaudeville, an experiment which did not prove financially viable. [See, e.g., Oct. 18, 1907, p. 11.] When Pavlova appeared at the Hippodrome in 1916, she performed in her customary style.

For less well-known dancers, the audience in a variety theater could only be won over by dancing based on strongly defined movement and acrobatics set in a context of striking scenic and mechanical effects. [See, e.g., Sept. 5, 1909, p. 9. ("Beautiful Jewel Ballet" at the Hippodrome.)] In the early years of cinema, some theaters, such as the Roxy, combined live shows with movies. Ballet masters were hired to devise routines for the chorus girls and soloists. The Times kept track of all this activity. For instance, John Martin offered an analysis of the work done by Maria "Gamby" Gambarelli at the Roxy: "Not the most thoughtful dancer in the world, nor the most subtle, she has nevertheless developed a type of movement that carries with clarity and precision to the remotest corners of a large theatre better than any other dancer in her field." [Nov. 27, 1927, sect. 2, p. 12.] S.L. Rothafel, the manager of the Roxy, worked on the principle that Ballet had to be "debunked" in order to engage the audience in his theater. [Aug. 12, 1928, sect. 7, p. 6.]

Once opportunities for serious ballet training were opened up to significant numbers of Broadway chorus girls, the quality of dancing in musical comedy changed noticeably. A Times writer described the work of one dancer: "The dancing of Alice Joyce last season with 'The Passing Show' was a revelation to many a theatregoer of the possibilities of a combination of grace, snap, and originality, accompanied by a lurking comedy, that with all its adherence to musical comedy principles was nevertheless the embodiment of precision of line, poise and clean-cut tempos in the execution of a medley of steps that have been enumerated. To the understanding this was the fruit of daily training in the strict technique of the Russian ballet school under Tarasof." [Sept. 6, 1925, sect. 10, p. 22. For more on dance training in the U.S., see A. Barzel, "European Dance Teachers in the United States," Dance Index (Apr.-June, 1944). Note that even after Americans were able to get sound training in the U.S., there was a tendency to claim European finishing. Martin pointed out that this deprived U.S. schools of the public credit they needed to build prestige. (Oct. 14, 1928, sect. 10, p. 10.)] This commentator explained to readers that, "technically, musical comedy embraces eccentric, step [i.e., jig, clog, buck and wing], ballet, acrobatic, and jazz," and indeed his description of actual choreography makes some of the movement for massed choruses sound like a remarkable hodgepodge of styles. [Sept. 6, 1925, sect. 10, p. 22.]

By 1929, dance had arrived in New York. There were over 100 concert performances that season, schools had opened in which Americans could receive systematic training, a dance library was in operation, Dance Magazine was in its fourth year, and the Times had hired a full-time, first-class

critic. John Martin would play a notably constructive role during the '30's in helping to develop the audience for modern dance, but he had already made a major contribution to the robustness of dance in New York by bringing method and routine to dance coverage in the press. [Martin was slow in warming to Balanchine's work.] Even before Martin's arrival, the Times had established a commendable record over at least half a century of making space available for dance commentary of various kinds. Over and over again, readers were informed of the rigor with which serious dancers are trained, of the commitment to artistry which underlies excellence in performance, and of the desirability of testing American audiences to see if they would support full evenings of dance.

Dance had arrived, but had scarcely settled in. The financial cares associated with producing full evenings of dance are profound even today. Martin cited with approbation the view of Gavrilov who was contemplating forming a company, that "dancing in America must build for itself a solid foundation in organized companies working under intelligent direction if it is to become something more durable and vital." [Apr. 8, 1928, p. 5.] Companies could sponsor scholarship training, and they could allow rising dancers a chance to serve an apprenticeship on stage rather than having to start right off with solo recitals. Most basically, permanent companies would provide a degree of employment and income security which so far had never been available to dance performers.

The role of a newspaper in covering dance is dynamic. On the one hand, a newspaper, with its limited space, chooses items for its columns according to what people are already interested in. On the other hand, any self-respecting newspaper is alert to novel material it expects will interest readers. In particular, as Diaghilev's career demonstrated, people can be persuaded that something with which they are unfamiliar, such as innovative dance, is worth investigating. Once movies and radio became effective competitors for the attention of the public, the role of newspapers in maintaining consciousness of dance, among that portion of the readership which was at all susceptible, became even more central. Aside from serving as the major medium for paid advertising of dance events, the newspapers' routine coverage built up a public sense of the legitimacy of dance.

JEAN BERAÏN AND COSTUME DESIGN IN LE TRIOMPHE DE L'AMOUR

Debra H. Sowell

The extant costume designs for The Triumph of Love are the best documented group of costumes designed for a specific production by Jean Berain, the artist who collaborated with Lully and Beauchamp in productions for Louis XIV. An understanding of these costumes may interest dance historians simply from the point of view of developing "visual literacy" in interpreting iconographic evidence of the period. But beyond this familiarity with period costume styles, the study of Berain's designs for this production raises a few issues that may be of interest to those attempting to write accurate histories of the ballet. The purpose of this essay is two-fold: first, to place Berain in the proper historical context, and second, to address two questions of specific interest to dance historians, namely, how do the actual costume designs compare with the constructs of oft-quoted theorists such as Menestrier, and was Camargo really the first dancer to shorten her skirts?

Jean Berain was born into a family of gunsmiths in 1640, and he learned engraving as part of the family trade.<sup>1</sup> His talents earned him a post at the Cabinet des planches gravées du Roi, where he was in charge of engravings of buildings. In this position Berain gained experience in working with the popular decorative motifs of his day as he copied the work of his superiors, one example being Le Brun's ornamentation for the Apollo Gallery in the Louvre. Berain also studied with the king's chief designer, Henry Gisse, whose position Berain assumed a year or so after Gisse's death in 1673. As the new Dessinateur de la chambre et du cabinet du Roi, Berain was no longer an engraver but a designer whose job it was to furnish ideas for the king's surroundings and entertainments. He was responsible for the royal family's clothing, furniture and decorative objects for their apartments, fireworks and illuminations at royal festivities, settings for judicial ceremonies and funerals, designs for naval vessels and figure-heads, patterns for lace and tapestries, and, of course, settings and costumes for theatrical spectacles presented before the king.

The most common elements used by Berain in his varied responsibilities were grotesques, arabesques, and an overriding symmetry of form. The term "grotesque" referred to the decorative mingling of foliage with real or imaginary animals, as were found in the wall designs of Roman ruins in their underground "grottoes."<sup>2</sup> The "arabesque" was a pattern of Graeco-Roman origin consisting of "flowing lines and flowers, leaves, branches, and scrollwork fancifully intertwined."<sup>3</sup> The acanthus leaf played a major role in these

patterns. Symmetry served as an organizing element in Berain's designs, providing balance and order amidst the profuse decoration. (See Figure 1; all figures follow the text.)

One can see examples of these elements in two undated costumes, Homme en habit de Ballet and Dame en habit de Ballet (see Figures 2 and 3). The overall lines of the man's apparel derive from the traditional male costume à la Romaine worn both in carrousels and in tragedies on the stage. The male costume à la Romaine was modeled loosely on the military dress of Roman emperors and consisted of a cuirass or breastplate molded to the form of the torso, a tonnelet or knee-length skirt, a small sword, leg stockings and high-laced boots, and a hat or helmet with large feathers. The Homme en habit de Ballet has varying patterns of acanthus leaves and swirling arabesques, grotesques in the form of monster heads on the chest and shins, geometrical trim and tassles around the border of the tonnelet, scrolls on the upper chest and shoulders, stripes and tassles on the fabric hanging from the elbows, and many jewels set in strips of fabric at the chest, shoulders, waist, and neck. Costume historian Carlos Fischer assures us that the castanets indicate that he is a professional dancer.<sup>4</sup>

In the woman's costume one sees the same multiplicity of patterns and detail. Her silhouette, however, is closer to the social dress of the period, with a suggestion of the breastplate and an echo of the tonnelet in her overskirt. This dress contains both concessions to contemporary fashion and obvious theatrical touches. Falbalas or flounces were a popular trim invented during the second half of Louis' reign; here they line the lower edge of the bodice. The large gem between the breasts was also a part of contemporary styles; it was suggestively called a "tâtez-y"--touch here!<sup>5</sup> The theatrical touches in this woman's costume include the plumed helmet with the large jewel over the forehead, the hair that falls down in curls instead of being lifted up in the popular fontange style, the mask in her hand, and the billowing scarf which was known as la mante. The latter was a long strip of fabric, usually of gold or silver gauze, that was attached to the back of the head and that fell over the shoulders and down the back. Costume historian Jules Quicherat says that the mante was worn by princesses and duchesses for court ceremonies to suggest antiquity.<sup>6</sup> Here they parallel the antique elements of the man's costume à la Romaine.

Despite the varied nature of Berain's responsibilities, he was best known by the public for his designs for the theatre. Berain's work for the Académie Royale de Musique began in the mid-1670s when he started designing costumes for court productions at Saint-Germain-en-Laye which were later transferred to the public stage in Paris. Two theoretical treatises that commented on costuming before Berain's rise to prominence at the opera were Saint-Hubert's How to Compose a Successful Ballet (1641) and Michel de Pure's Idée des spectacles anciens et modernes (1668). St. Hubert defines ballet as "a silent play," asserting that "costumes and



actions must enable the spectators to recognize what is represented."<sup>7</sup> De Pure agrees with Saint-Hubert and carries the logic even further, insisting that the creator of a ballet should study the relics of antiquity in order to dress the production correctly and avoid confusing his spectators. Both theorists agree on a fundamental rule, "la convenance," or the appropriateness of costumes. The designer must avoid making costumes that are too elegant than would be fitting for a character simply because the performer desires to dress richly. Another assumption was that every mortal--be he king, bourgeois, or pauper--has a characteristic exterior by which his dignity and merit are made known to those who behold him. This belief reflects the Renaissance neoplatonic tradition, which held that the mind conceptualized abstractions not through words but through images. Words required interpretation, but visual experience carried its message directly to the understanding. This belief led to the stage practice of having dancers and singers hold properties, or attributes, in their hands. These props, such as Neptune's trident, identified characters in the "silent play" and were easily understood by audiences of the period. Saint-Hubert considered these objects more important than the dancing itself, for he counseled choreographers to "create steps and figures that permit the dancers to perform with what they have to carry."<sup>8</sup>

With the theorists' admonitions and the basic elements of Berain's style now in mind, let us turn to the surviving designs for *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*. This entertainment was the court ballet of the 1681 carnival season at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. It came after the zenith of the court ballet and was only a temporary return to the genre which had been so popular earlier in the century. The plot can be easily summarized: "Amour" or Cupid, the son of Venus, conquers gods and mortals who do not, or dare not, love. Mars and his warriors are disarmed by cupids; Amphitrite abandons her longstanding hostility against Neptune; and the glacial Boreas is warmed by inner fires and abducts Orithia from the midst of her Athenian maidens. The chaste Diana is attracted by the traits of Endymion; Bacchus, followed by Indians, leads a consoled Ariadne; and finally Mercury announces the triumphal procession. Pan, Zephyr, Flore, nymphs, and sylphs join Apollo and his heroic shepherds for the entry of Cupid. The latter's throne is marked with the symbols of power of major gods and heroes (such as Jupiter's thunderbolt and Hercules' club), as if to suggest love's complete victory. Finally, the scene changes for the apotheosis, which presents the Olympian gods joining the chorus in praising love's might. Berain's engraved frontispiece for the printed edition shows this final scene (see Figure 4).<sup>9</sup>

The six extant designs for this production are mostly of secondary characters rather than the major deities. We have the nymphs from the suite of Orithia, two male and one female Indian costumes, a *mystère* who appears in the same entrée as Endymion, and Endymion himself. The libretto indicates that a professional dancer, le sieur Favier l'aisné, danced the

role of Endymion. (See Figure 5.) In Greek mythology Endymion was a young shepherd who was so beautiful that the moon kissed him one night and caused him to sleep forever. In this costume one finds not the usual breastplate but rather a fashionable, tight-fitting coat called a justaucorps. The justaucorps covers most of his skirt, and both are trimmed in the popular flounces of fabric. Large gems set in agrafes (fastenings) ornament the front and shoulders of his coat, and a chain of precious stones crosses his chest. His necktie is of satin or muslin, in contrast to the brocade of the outer garments. His mantle is calf-length, made of fine fabric--perhaps lace--matching the hanging fabric at the elbow. In the tradition of the costume à la Romaine, he wears a winged helmet topped by ostrich feathers. All these elements combine to show Endymion as a handsome figure elegantly dressed, one who could believably attract the reluctant Diana.

The mystère in Figure 6 is not a dancer but a singer who performs a duet with la Nuit just after Diana is touched by Endymion's charms. His costume has a long train that we do not see in the dancers' costumes, but otherwise many elements are the same: grotesques or masks on the chest and knees, the suggestion of the breastplate and skirt (which has very different lines in this costume), the plumed hat, and hanging fabric at the elbows. This allegorical figure of mystery has many jagged lines, especially noticeable in the skirt, that suggest his ephemeral nature.

The elbow is often accentuated in Berain's costume designs, usually with hanging lace or strips of fabric. We see a similar accentuation of the elbow in the two male Indian costumes for this ballet. In the story line, these Indians are followers of Bacchus, who has just returned from the Indies. The first male Indian (Figure 7) is a singer whose costume has a train. The rich fabric of the tonnelet has scrollwork and acanthus leaves, decorated with occasional gems and edged with geometric trim. The torso is hidden partially by a piece of striped fabric which drapes over the front and is fastened by three bejeweled aiguillettes on the shoulder. His neck is circled by a metal collar with jewels, and his headdress consists of ostrich feathers atop a small toque with an aigrette of precious stones. He wears a black mask and gloves because all people from primitive tribes were thought to be negroid.

The second Habit d'Indiens (Figure 8) was the costume worn by six dancers, including the dauphin. Here again one sees the familiar articles of attire, this time with more geometric designs in the fabric. Strips of fabric cross the torso, adorn the shoulders in bows, and hang down the back. The dancing Indians' legs are less encumbered than are those of the singing Indian, who had garters and high-topped shoes.

The Habit d'Indienne, the female counterpart to the male Indians, has a curious mixture of elements (see Figure 9). An unusual amount of leg is exposed, but modesty is maintained by the drape in front and the long, heavy train. We know from the libretto that this costume was worn by two

professional female singers, not dancers. The Indienne carries a fan of feathers, and feathers hang from the bottom of her breastplate, covering much of the tonnelet. The billowing mante suggests antiquity, but the feathers above her forehead are arranged in the popular fashion known as the fongtange.

These Indian costumes, which were ostensibly intended to represent characters from a specific foreign land, raise the issue of regional accuracy. What degree of verisimilitude did audiences--and, by extension, theorists such as Menestrier--expect in regional costuming? Menestrier makes his standards very clear in his work Des Ballets Anciens et Moderns, which was published just one year after the Triumph of Love.<sup>10</sup> By comparing and contrasting Menestrier's rules for costuming with the extant designs for this production, we may draw some limited conclusions.

Like the earlier theorists, Menestrier states that in ballet, costumes and movement must speak for the silent actor. He, too, gives "appropriateness" as the primary rule of costume design. Historical costumes must be as accurate as possible, and for regional dress a designer must refer to illustrations in geographical works. One such work was Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il Mondo, which was published in both French and Italian in 1590. Vecellio's two volumes capped a half century of Renaissance costume manuals, and he borrowed from his predecessors and from travel accounts. The existence of what were considered to be authoritative sources on cosmopolitan dress explains the theorists' calls for accuracy, and Vecellio's influence on Inigo Jones' costumes for masques has been ably demonstrated by Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong.<sup>11</sup> But Berain's Indians show little resemblance to Vecellio's illustrations of male and female Indians of condition from the Orient.<sup>12</sup> (See Figures 10 and 11.) Rather than authenticity, we find in Berain's costumes for Indians the elegance and richness that the writer of the court paper, the Mercure Galant, stressed in describing Berain's designs for various productions. Although Berain's costumes were in keeping with court tastes, they drew a cry of protest from across the channel, as may be seen in John Weaver's Essay Towards an History of Dancing (published one year after Berain's death). Weaver criticized French costuming for giving elegance precedence over appropriateness:

I must confess that they dressed well, but consulted Finery before what was natural; insomuch that I have seen Sailors, Clowns, Chimney-sweepers, Witches, and such like, performed in Shoes lac'd and Ribbanded, Red-silk Stockings, and sometimes Cravat-strings.<sup>13</sup>

Menestrier's second rule is that costumes should be varied and that the same type of dress should never appear twice. The two male Indian costumes (for singer and dancers) are a good example of Berain's compliance with this expectation. Menestrier's third rule is that within the individual entrées,

uniformity of style and color should be maintained if the subject matter permits. Although we cannot judge the colors by the extant engravings, we do see enough stylistic resemblance between the dancing and singing Indians to say that Berain also met this demand.

When Menestrier leaves the general guidelines relating to artistic principles (such as the balance between unity and variety) and elaborates on conventions for specific characters or allegorical figures, his pedantry sets him further apart from the inventiveness of the prolific designer. The theorist claims that some figures (or personages) in ballet have been so well defined by past representation that they leave nothing to be invented or created.<sup>14</sup> He gives as an example Mercury, with his winged cap and sandals, his caduceus, and so on. Menestrier later gives a very detailed description of Cupid, who "should be dressed in rose-hued fabric embroidered with flaming hearts, his eyes bandaged, a bow in his hand; and a quiver on his back."<sup>15</sup> Again, we cannot judge the color based on the frontispiece, but it appears that Berain's Cupid differs significantly from that described by Menestrier. Of course, Cupid's identity in this production was very clear. We must conclude that although Menestrier's rules and descriptions are well-founded intellectually, they can reflect neither the diversity that would be necessary because of the sheer number of designs required of Berain over the years nor the changes in court fashion that influenced theatrical attire. We can, however, benefit from Menestrier's elaborate descriptions if we accept them as examples of the symbolism that informed Berain's audiences.

Another one of Menestrier's rules is that costumes should not hinder the movement of body and limbs. He observes that for men the dress of the ancient Romans allows the most freedom to the legs. He considers feminine costumes to be the least suitable to dancing because they are, of necessity, long. This brings us to the final issue of this essay: was Camargo really the first dancer to shorten her skirts, or was it done long before her time?

The Camargo story has been told many times, probably because the Baron Grimm recorded in his Correspondence Littéraire that, "Camargo was the first who ventured to shorten her skirts."<sup>16</sup> In a column in the February, 1948 issue of Dance Magazine, George Chaffee called the Camargo legend "poppycock" and dismissed it as so much childish romanticizing.<sup>17</sup> He used pictorial evidence to dispell the myth and included three designs by Berain. One piece of evidence that he put forward was the last design from The Triumph of Love, the Nymphes de la suite d'Orithie (see Figure 12). Actually, this example raises more questions than it solves, for the libretto of the ballet indicates that Orithia's followers were portrayed by men, not by women. We also learn from the libretto that Orithia's suite was composed not of nymphs but of Athenian maidens; the nymphs appeared with Diana in the following entrée. So, the very title of this print is problematic, making it a poor choice for Chaffee's argument.

Another misleading example given by Chaffee was a bacchante costume by Berain; it is undated and cannot be tied to any specific production. (See Figure 13.) The costume is certainly meant to represent a female figure, but the strong tradition of masked boys in female roles makes this inadmissible evidence. Costume historian Adolphe Jullien explains that before The Triumph of Love, allegorical and mythological figures were sex-related; nymphs, dryads, bacchantes, and shepherdesses were portrayed by boys in masks, while furies, Envy, and Discord were portrayed by men.<sup>18</sup>

Despite these mistaken examples, Chaffee did put forward two engravings which proved his point. The one designed by Berain was a portrait of Mlle. Dufort in a Folie costume (see Figure 14). Chaffee himself predicted that despite these proofs, people would continue to repeat the Camargo story, as has often been the case.

Because Le Triomphe de l'Amour occurred considerably after the apex of the court ballet, it has not been treated in many of the volumes that cover that period. This may be why a considerable amount of uninformed speculation and false assumptions have appeared in print about these costumes and their setting. For example, a beautifully illustrated book on design for the ballet that was published in 1978 states that the "shortened over-tunic in the costume for the female Indian indicates that this was in fact a role taken by a male dancer," ignoring the fact that the libretto indicates not a male dancer but two female singers.<sup>19</sup> We must be more informed about this important production and more responsible in our use of its iconography.<sup>20</sup>

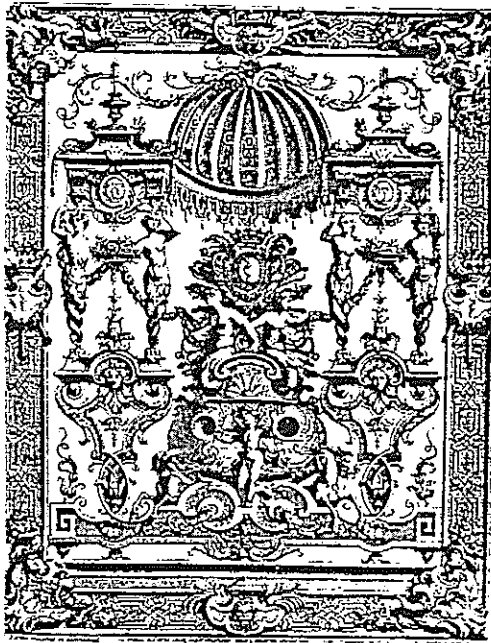


Fig. 1. Berain, Panel



Fig. 2. Berain, Homme en habit de Ballet



Fig. 3. Berain, Dame en habit de Ballet.



Fig. 4. Berain, Frontispiece to Le Triomphe de l'Amour



Fig. 5. Berain, Habit d'Andimion du balet du Triomphe....



Fig. 6. Berain, Habit représentant le mistere au balet...



Fig. 7. Berain, Habit d'Indien du balet du Triomphe....



Fig. 8. Berain, Habit d'Indiens du balet du Triomphe...



Fig. 9. Berain, Habit d'Indienne du balet du Triomphe...



Fig. 10. Vecellio, Indien de condition, de l'Orient





Fig. 11. Vecellio, Indienne de condition, de l'Orient



Fig. 12, Berain, Habit des Nymphes de la suite d'Orithie



Fig. 13, Berain, Habit de Bacchantes



Fig. 14. Berain, Mademoiselle Dufort



## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>All biographical information on Berain is taken from Roger-Armand Weigert's authoritative dissertation, Jean I Berain: Dessinateur de la Chambre et du Cabinet du Roi (1640-1711) (Paris: Université de Paris, 1936). Weigert does not accent the "e" in Berain's name, a decision based on his thorough research of the family lines.

<sup>2</sup>Benvenuto Cellini, The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini, trans. George Bull (New York, Penguin, 1956), pp. 62-63.

<sup>3</sup>Encyclopedia of the Arts, ed., Dagobert D. Runes and Harry G. Schrickel (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), p. 57.

<sup>4</sup>Carlos Fischer, Les Costumes de l'Opéra (Paris: Librairie de France, 1931), p. 33.

<sup>5</sup>Jules Quicherat, Histoire du costume en France, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1877), pp. 533-34.

<sup>6</sup>Quicherat, p. 535.

<sup>7</sup>M. de Saint-Hubert, "How to Compose a Successful Ballet," Dance Perspectives, No. 20 (1964), p. 31.

<sup>8</sup>Saint-Hubert, p. 31

<sup>9</sup>The version of the libretto used in the preparation of this paper was originally published in Paris chez Christophe Ballard, 1681. It is reproduced in Victor Fournel, Les Contemporains de Molière (1863-65; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1967), II, pp. 627-647.

<sup>10</sup>Claude Francois Menestrier, Des ballets anciens et modernes selon les règles du théâtre (Paris: 1682). For a convenient translation, see also Father Menestrier, "Baroque Ballet Costumes," in A Source Book in Theatrical History, ed. A. M. Nagler (New York: Dover, 1959), pp. 187-92.

<sup>11</sup>Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973).

<sup>12</sup>Cesare Vecellio, Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il Mondo (1590; rpt. Paris: Firmin Didot Frère, 1859), II, plates 478, 480.

<sup>13</sup>John Weaver, An Essay Toward an History of Dancing (London: J. Tonson, 1712), p. 167.

<sup>14</sup>Menestrier, Des ballets anciens et modernes, p. 139.

<sup>15</sup>Father Menestrier, "Baroque Ballet Costumes," p. 192.

<sup>16</sup>Lincoln Kirstein, Dance: A Short History of Classic Theatrical Dancing (1935; rpt. Brooklyn: Dance Horizons, 1974), p. 208.

<sup>17</sup>George Chaffee, "The Balletophile: 'skirting' the issue," Dance Magazine, Feb. 1948, p. 21

<sup>18</sup>Adolphe Jullien, Histoire du Costume au Théâtre (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1880), p. 40

<sup>19</sup>Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp, Design for Ballet (London: Studio Vista, 1978), p. 35.

<sup>20</sup>The panel in Figure 1 is reproduced from D. Guilmard, Les Maitres Ornemanistes (Paris: E. Plon, 1881), plate 33. All other illustrations are courtesy of the Harvard Theatre Collection and the Archives of the Paris Opera.

Philadelphia; Jewish Publication Society. 1965, p. 54) and until recently I had no idea that dance was one of the areas included. To my surprise I found rabbinic writings with many different kinds of answers about how to dance and how especially to dance at weddings.

These sources are little known, probably because the material is in Hebrew. When I was in Israel in December and in January, 1982, the Israeli dance scholar Zvi Friedhaber shared some of his findings in the rabbinic writings of the Responsa. He has begun to codify actual rabbinic quotes about how the European Jewish communities of the Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods danced at weddings. I have translated some and will share them with you. But, first, here is a scenerio of a Jewish wedding.

At the heart of the ritual is a wedding contract or ketuba. This is drawn up before the wedding and signed and witnessed prior to the ceremony. It explains what the provisions are for a Jewish home, what the couple agrees to do and what happens if there is a divorce--how much the groom will pay the wife. (You see there is nothing new about a wedding contract).

During the ceremony, which takes place under the open sky with a wedding canopy or huppa held over the couple's head, the ketuba is read aloud. The rabbi says the special blessings, there is an exchange of rings and a blessing over wine. After the couple drinks, the bridegroom breaks the cup by stamping on it to remember even in joy the destruction of the Temple.

The ceremony itself takes very little time. However, the festivities can last a whole week. Dancing occurs at many points. In some communities during the ceremony the bride's family walks three times round the groom standing beneath the wedding canopy, in other communities, the magic circle binding all the families together is expressed by circling seven times round or even up to thirteen.

Much can be said for the meaning inherent in the different dances of the wedding celebrations. The scope of this paper is not, however, all the dances of the Jewish wedding. That I am leaving for the CORD (Confress on Research in Dance) Conference to be held on June 27 and 28, 1982 at the Jewish Community Center in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Conference, called "Dancing into Marriage: Jewish Wedding Dances" will illuminate the dance of many Jewish communities and what ocured there. These include the European or Ashkenazic, the Sephardic or Jews of Spanish origin and the Oriental or Jews from Arab countries and further East.

I want to pick up the thread of actual sources for all these dances, and discuss them in the frame of Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods in Europe. Let us start with a broad outline of Jewish life during the Medieval period. It is not an attractive picture at first glance: no sooner had the people recovered from the horrible blood-bath of the first crusade in 1096 when the second one in

1144 reduced them to utter misery. Subsequently, Jews were blamed for the horrors of the Black Death of 1348-9. They could own no land, nor engage in handicrafts. They were dogged by expulsion from country after country. Nevertheless, by the close of the eleventh century, Jews had established communities in a number of regions, including Cologne and the Rhineland.

An engaging picture of the Jewish community from the inside emerges in the Responsa literature. I found the first evidence for the establishment of the tanzhaus or dance house in the Responsa from the Augsburg community of 1290. (Friedhaber, Zvi, "Separation of a Handkerchief," in manuscript, 1982, p.4). Rabbi Judah Hahasid noted that "a pious man was sitting in dance house and heard one of the singers at the dances mentioning the name of God in his song." This first glance into the manners of the dance house mentions singers who accompanied the dancers with song.

The professional Yiddish singers of Medieval time had set repertoires; they could entertain for two or three evenings without repetition. Not only would they sing love songs, perform dances and accompany weddings, but they could recite epic poems which even included translations of the Arthurian cycle of Legends about the Round Table. These were so widely known that friends of the Jewish hostess at a party with such a singer might describe her home by saying that "it reminds you of King Arthur's Court." (Rubin, Ruth. Voices of a People. New York; McGraw-Hill. 1973, p. 21).

The entertainers who appeared at social gatherings in homes and dance houses wandered from city to city much like the Goliards. They joined with others on the highways and trade routes of the Middle Ages. These roads swarmed with craftsmen, Talmudic scholars, merchants, clerics, clowns and musicians who wandered across all of Europe. In this way the style of dance and song in the tanzhaus surely spread from Jewish community to Jewish community.

All dancers in the tanzhaus were expected to wear a certain kind of sash. It was elegant and expensive. This imperative was discussed by Rabbi Yisrael Isserlin who lived from 1390-1460. In the Rabbi's writing, Friedhaber's research (Friedhaber, Zvi, "Separation of a Handkerchief," in manuscript, 1982, p. 4) brought to light an incident when Rabbi Isserlin was asked to judge the validity of a marriage resulting from a problem over a sash. Was the marriage valid? The response went as follows:

"Reuven rented a sash from Simon for two dinarim so that he might gird and adorn himself with it at the dances during the days of a wedding. While dancing with the sash, a woman asked to borrow it from him so that she too might be able to join the dances. Reuven replied, 'if you will consent to wed me with it, I will give it to you and you will be able to join the dances.' She answered 'yes' and Reuven gave it to her in front of witnesses." However, Rabbi Isserlin found her engagement to be invalid.

The cost of these dance sashes reached such astronomical proportions, it is noted that a grandfather on his deathbed left a considerable amount of money to his unborn granddaughter so that she might buy herself such a sash to join in the wedding dances.

Some rabbis had a negative view on how to carry out the obligation to dance at weddings. Rabbi Yohanon Luria from Alsace wrote in his 15th century Responsa Meshivat Nefesh, "woe is us concerning the evil custom during festivities with dance and song and drink when the men take their women, even the wife of another and embrace them with their bare hands and dance with them and they even dance with the bride." (Friedhaber, Zvi, "Separation of a Handkerchief," in manuscript, 1981, p.3). Luria prohibited mixed dancing in his community and also prohibited women from dancing before the men. His reproach is so strong that we can assume that wedding dances indeed did include all the forms he was trying to legislate against: mixed couple dancing, solo dancing by women, and free choice of partners.

Luria, however, allowed choreographic freedom for one group at weddings: the eligible young women. They could jump, twirl, and dance in front of the young men. Through their dancing they might attract husbands, which was a suitable result of good dancing. It was the married women Luria worried about. They must be protected from the untoward results of touching a dance partner with ungloved hands or showing off in front of other men.

A variety of dance developed in Jewish European communities because of the mitzva or obligation to dance, contrary to the church's outlook. Many references can be found for the mitzva dance or dance of the good deed. Rabbi Moshe Zechut of 17th century Mantua, Italy, wrote about its practice in his community when he was pressured by his financial supporters to be a bit more lenient on the prohibition of mixed dancing. He wrote in 1687 that "At the time of a wedding of a virgin with a young man each of the men of the community are permitted to dance one mitzva dance with the bride on the condition that there is a handkerchief separating the hands of the dancers. The dance leader, or the one teaching the dance, however, is permitted to dance with no separation." (Ibid, p.3).

Apparently, whether in Alsace or Italy, it was customary not only to limit the men to dancing only with other men, but to prevent the intimacy of bare hands touching. Thus, rabbis imposed the requirement that a kerchief separate the hands of the partners. This custom has been maintained at ultra Orthodox and Chassidic weddings until today.

Rabbi Zechut mentioned the dance leader in his letter to his community. This dance leader or dancing master is a familiar concept, of course, from the Renaissance. Although I knew about the dancing master Guglielmo Ebreo--William the

Jew of Pesaro--who was identified with his religion, I never connected the role of dance master of the Renaissance with Jewish dance or Jewish wedding dances.

Walter Sorrell mentions this in his new book, Dance In Its Time: The Emergence of an Art Form. (Sorrell, Walter. Dance In Its Time: The Emergence of an Art Form. New York; Anchor Press/Doubleday. 1981, p. 37). In discussing the dancing master and the tanzhaus he says, "In such a narrow world of lively people it was to be expected that in those dancing halls the ceremonial character of the dances would give way to recreational gatherings. In spite of the rabbis' efforts to prevent mixed dancing, it became unavoidable. It spontaneously happened that the best fiddlers would also be appointed as callers who had to arrange and oversee the dances. This was no slight feat considering the multitude of people on the dance floor of limited size... no doubt they developed dances with imagination...inventing steps and gestures with the prescribed possibilities for ecstasy and joy. With a large crowd on a small dance floor it was the best training ground for the future dancing master."

Italy during the Renaissance captures the imagination and is admired for a multitude of reasons. This period was also a fortunate one for the Jews. The genius, vitality and humanism of the 14-16th centuries brought about a synthesis of Christian and Jewish cultures.

Jews were in no sense aliens to the Italian cultural life for they had been a part of it even before the destruction of the Second Temple. Mantua, according to historian Cecil Roth (Roth, Cecil. Jews In The Renaissance. Philadelphia; Jewish Publication Society. 1964, p. 22) was the most distinguished and cosmopolitan of all the communities, followed by Venice.

Italy was famous for its pageants at that time and the Jews also created displays. Weddings were very elaborate. For example, if a bride came to the wedding from a different city, an escort of family and friends, mounted or on foot, came out to greet her (the same kind of procession you see in Shakespeare's "The Taming of the Shrew"). It was regarded as a great restriction when, in order to prevent adverse criticism, a vote in Forli limited the maximum number of mounted celebrants to fourteen.

I took great pleasure in reading Roth's details in his book Jews of the Renaissance. (Ibid, p. 275). He noted that Hebrew teachers in cultured households gave instruction not only in the Bible and the Talmud, but also, in the allied subjects of singing, music and dancing. Although by 1697 the rulers of Venice tried to reduce what they regarded as the excessive luxury of the Jews by prohibiting the employment of a dancing master in a bridal house, these expert dancers found outlets for their virtuosity. A characteristic occupation of Italian Jews during the Renaissance was teaching the arts of music and dance to Christians.

The most important of the dancing masters was Guglielmo Ebreo. I do not need to mention our debt to Guglielmo in revealing so much of the court dances of the Renaissance to us. What is interesting to note is his connection to weddings. His most dazzling efforts graced the house of Sforza at Pesaro in 1475. Guglielmo staged the marriage of Costanzo Sforza with Camilla d'Argona, and he enlisted assistance for the rejoicing from his fellow Jews. "Half of the banquet was organized under the Sign of the Sun and the other half under that of the Moon," according to Roth. (Roth, Cecil. Jews in the Renaissance. Philadelphia; Jewish Publication Society. 1964, p. 22.) At one point, the Jews of Pesaro danced in procession past the bridal couple. In their midst was a wooden elephant on which rode the Queen of Sheba, who sat on a gold throne under a canopy of silver. Two more elephants bore towers on which were a number of beautiful young women bearing lilies and orange-red flags (oriflammes). When the Queen of Sheba arrived abreast of the bridal couple, her wooden elephant was stopped, she dismounted from under the canopy fabric and she delivered an address in Hebrew. This was a prelude to presenting the wedding gift from the Jewish community. She then danced away with her escort. The closing interlude was a performance by 12 youths representing the labors of agriculture. Other dances were performed by 120 youths and maidens all making their way into the dining room accompanied by musical instruments. All the dances were composed by Guglielmo who "we are told was responsible for introducing the fashion of the moresche, embodying not only dances but also mimicry before the grand spectacle."

Although such displays were not directly associated with Jewish wedding dances, they showed the heights to which a dancing master from the Jewish community could rise.

About the time of the Renaissance to the north in the German Jewish community, the tanzhaus activity gave rise to a specialized profession: the master of ceremonies or badhan. He carried forth at weddings sometimes even performing in costume: he was indispensable for the spirit of the occasion. Dance was one of his important tools. By the 16th century the concept of the literary entertainment of the Yiddish minstrel disappeared but the clown/acrobat/dancer/marriage entertainer had become a fixture. In some ways he carried on the old traditions of the Yiddish minstrel, combining humorous stories with serious messages. (Nulman, Macy. Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music. New York; McGraw-Hill. 1975, p. 22.)

During this later period Jews moved in large numbers from the Rhine eastward. Poland became the main concentration of Jewish settlement and the ruling spiritual center of all other Jewish communities in Europe until the Nazis brought its destruction.

As in earlier times, it was considered a mitzva (good deed) to participate in the preparations and celebration of a wedding and to contribute to the joy of the bride and

groom. A set form developed for the week long wedding ceremonies and the badhan shaped the forms and variations.

Early on the wedding day, the badhan attended the bride at her house. He set the proper mood for her. (Rubin, Ruth. Voices of a People. New York; McGraw-Hill, 1973, p. 102.) She sat in a chair surrounded by her female relatives and girl friends while her hair was braided as a prelude to being cut--a rite of passage for Jewish women in that part of Europe before marriage. As wives, they wore wigs. The badhan would provoke the bride to tears by reminding her of the inevitability of death. In the midst of her tears, the badhan called aloud the name of each woman present, and each came forward, embraced the bride and performed a mitzva dance during which she circled the bride.

The bride and the groom were later led from their houses to the marriage ceremony in processions consisting of family, friends, the rabbi, a band of musicians (or klezmorim) and townspeople under the direction of the badhan. The crowd was led to the courtyard of the synagogue for the ceremony. Following this and a wedding meal, the badhan again came forward to direct the festivities.

Some of the dances were miniature statements about behavior as in the Broiges Tanz or Angry Dance, which was presented before the new couple. It portrays a man and woman (or sometimes two women) who quarrel and then are reconciled, showing that married life is not always smooth. In addition to ordering the dances, and to singing, the badhan was also a dance caller who led community dancing such as the sher (a quadrille), mitzva dances and also kosher tanzes or dances of preparation for a good life.

The Polish Chassids in the 18th century arrived at the most ecstatic conventions in their mitzva dances of the wedding ceremony. (Friedhaber, Zvi, "Separation of a Handkerchief," in manuscript, 1981, p. 4.) First the separation of the couple by a handkerchief finds even greater focus amongst the Chassidim, but they also developed other elaborate forms of the mitzva dance.

Examples of the joy the Chassids infused into the mitzva dance are described often in the Responsa. Rabbi Motely, (Ibid. p. 5.) the son of the Rabbi Nachum Hamagid from Chernavil, for example, would grasp the corner of his handkerchief while the bride held on to another corner. He would dance for an hour, continuing even if the fatigued bride stopped. "he was not in this world and his disciples said that if their mentor had lived at the time of Hillel and Shamai, he would give the answer of how to dance before the bride."

Throughout the long and diverse period of Jewish wedding dance from Medieval to Baroque periods we see that the skills of individual performer, dance master, rabbi and master of ceremonies were capitalized on for inspiration and guidance. Even if dance leaders were at odds with the



religious leaders of the community, the outcome in the celebrations was always the same: Dance. Dance has always been interwoven into the daily life and aids one to be just, live righteously and to be joyous unto the Lord to celebrate life.

We see that Jews danced in personal and communal joy to carry out the dictum to rejoice. We need only to look at the daily prayers to see the presence and importance of dance. David's Psalm #30, often recited, reminds us:

Sing praise unto the Lord, O ye his loving ones  
Thou has turned for me my mourning into dancing  
Thou hast loosed my sackcloth and girded me with gladness.

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## NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES FOR THE

## STUDY OF YUGOSLAV DANCE

by

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and

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For the study of nineteenth-century Yugoslav dance, there are the same kinds of sources that might be used in researching other European or American dance of the same time period. One could profitably follow the lead of Gretchen Schneider in her studies of the nineteenth-century American ball, for example, and examine Yugoslav dancing spaces, wearing apparel, and artifacts associated with dance. One could seek occasional references to dance in memoirs or travel journals - perhaps even in some yet unknown diaries or letter collections that are waiting to be discovered. The few illustrations or photographs of people dancing might be analyzed and certainly the music for dance when it has been notated.

This paper, however, is not about any of the above, but rather on written sources that contain substantial information on dance and have been published in the nineteenth century. Such sources are few in number. We know of about twenty--fifteen of which are listed in Yugoslav Dance: An Introduction and List of Sources Available in United States Libraries (Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter with the collaboration of Hans C. Ruyter, Palo Alto, California, 1981).

Yugoslavia has been a political entity only since 1918, and the nineteenth-century materials provide information on dance from five of its six modern republics: Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. Missing is material from the republic of Macedonia which remained under the control of the Ottoman Empire until World War I.

None of the sources is a separate publication on dance alone. They are either periodical articles or sections of larger studies on political or ethnographic areas or on musical culture. There having been no recognized field of dance research in the nineteenth-century South Slavic

areas, the material has been written by linguists, ethnographers, folklorists, composers, writers of literature, and even a physician and a natural scientist.

The dance that is written about in these sources includes types that we would identify as ballroom dance, folk dance, ritual dance, and dance-drama. The adjective most often used by the nineteenth century Yugoslav writers in referring to their traditional dances is "narodne" which may be translated as "folk", "national", or "people's". We will see further on that some contemporary urban ballroom dances as well as traditional village dances would be considered "narodne".

The interest of nineteenth-century South Slavic intellectuals in South Slavic traditional folk dances was, of course, a part of pan-European enthusiasm for the "folk" and all aspects of folklore and folk arts - an enthusiasm that characterized the Romantic era. It was intimately bound up with widespread interest in national identity, native language and customs, and eventually nationalistic yearnings for political autonomy. Before the nineteenth-century Slav Revival, Eastern European populations comprised, on one hand, an educated class who spoke French and German and looked to the West for cultural models and, on the other, peasants who spoke local languages and were still rooted in traditional cultural patterns. In the course of moving toward nationalistic awareness and ambitions, the rural and urban populations were purposefully brought closer together by those who promoted nationalism. For example, Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) -- perhaps the greatest historical culture hero of Yugoslavia -- compiled a dictionary of the Serbian language based on peasant usage; reformed the orthography of Serbian to facilitate its use in written form by the general public; promoted the writing of books in the Serbian vernacular rather than in an artificial literary language; and collected and published a vast amount of folk customs, songs, and stories (See Duncan Wilson, The Life and Times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, 1787-1864; Literacy, Literature, and National Independence in Serbia, Oxford, 1970). In a perhaps less lofty vein, dance composers were incorporating elements of peasant dance into urban ballroom kolos thus making them "narodne" in a sense and acceptable to the nationalist spirit.

It should be noted that the influences between city and countryside flowed (and continue to flow) in both directions, although the nationalist writings would lead one to believe that the urban intellectuals wanted only to get back to "native purity". In fact, however, they would select and refine folk art elements for urban and educated consumption and for nationalist purposes. When such modified material would find its way back to a peasant context it could influence traditional practices.

For obvious reasons, there is far more nineteenth-

century Yugoslav material on folk songs, folk customs, folk stories and children's games than on folk dance. In the first place, interest in folklore was closely tied to linguistic studies and reforms. Verbal expression thus took precedence over all else. Secondly, there was neither tradition nor means (in the form of recording equipment, collecting methodology, or analytical concepts) for systematic research in dance. Nevertheless, there is a variety of types of material represented in this small collection of published sources. It includes lists of names of dances associated with particular geographical areas, some general and theoretical material, discussions of the contexts in which dancing occurred, music and songs that accompany dance, political statements involving dance, and a small amount of actual description of dances. We will sample some of this material.

The earliest nineteenth century source for dance is Vuk Karadžić's Serbian Dictionary published in Vienna in 1818 (first edition). Vuk did not deal much with dance in any of his many publications, but there are occasional references, definitions of terms, and descriptions such as the following on a ritual dance custom:

Some summers when there is a drought, a number of girls go round the village from house to house, and sing and conjure, that rain may fall. One of them strips altogether, and thus bare she binds and covers herself with all sorts of grass and flowers so that her skin cannot be seen at all, and she is called the "rain-maker". . . and thus they go from house to house. When they arrive in front of a house, the rain-maker first dances along, and the other girls stand in order and sing various songs; then the woman of the house, or someone else, takes a pot or bucket full of water, pours it over the rain-maker, and she must go on dancing and moving all the time. In the rain-makers' songs at the end of each line of whatever kind [ , ] they sing: "Oi, dodo, oi dodole," for example:

Our rain-maker prays to God,  
Oi dodo, oi dodole  
That the dewy rain may fall,  
Oi dodo, oi dodole.

In present time [1818], the rain-makers dance almost throughout Serbia... (Ibid, p. 376. Wilson has translated this passage from Vuk's Srpski rječnik [Serbian dictionary], Vienna, 1818).

The leading contemporary Yugoslav dance researcher, Olivera Mladenović, maintains that Vuk was in fact much

more interested in dance than would appear from his published works and that he had collected material that would have seen print if he had lived longer (In "Vukova dela kao izvor zaproučavanja orskih narodnih igara" [The works of Vuk as a source for the study of folk dance], Kovčević: Prilozi i grada o Dositeju i Vuku, Beograd, 6:90-105, 1964.

The collections of song lyrics published by Vuk and others in the nineteenth century also contain many references to dancing. The following examples were collected and written down by Franjo Kuhač (1834-1911), a composer and folklorist who is considered the founder of Yugoslav ethnomusicology. The first provides some hints about the nature of the dance itself.

Ej, Knit the kolo! Ej, let us knit  
 Ej, whom shall we take?  
 Ej, beautiful Mara  
 Ej, sway, Ej, sway (Taken from Stjepan  
 Stepanov and Ivo Furić, Narodne pjesme i kola iz  
 Slavonije [Folk songs and kolos from Slavonija]  
 Zagreb, 1966, p. 31, no. 89. Translated by  
 Hans C. Ruyter).

The second suggests a feeling about dancing:

I am a poor boy; I have nothing anywhere  
 I have a dark horse that costs three oxen  
 I do not dance kolos with it,  
 But I ride it as a proud animal  
 And then you should see it when it begins to run.  
 Then I go to the farm  
 There a drum beats  
 And I jump and dance  
 Until I have danced enough (Ibid, p. 7, no. 14.  
 Translated by Hans C. Ruyter).

On a more prosaic level is a pair of sources that are important despite the brevity of their dance references because they represent an early attempt to list all the dances in a geographical region. These are two volumes by Milan Đuro Milićević: The Principality of Serbia (Kneževina Srbija, Beograd, 1876) and The Kingdom of Serbia: New Areas (Kraljevina Srbija: Novi Krajevi, Beograd, 1884). In these works, the author describes in great detail all aspects of life in the various areas of Serbia. He includes for each a list of the dances popular in that region--occasionally including a bit of information beyond the dance name, or even the words to a dance song.

Between 1842 and 1872 there appeared a number of articles that dealt with the urban ballroom kolo and emphasized nationalistic concerns. The first four--all published in the 1840's appeared in Danica, a literary

magazine and forum for writers promoting the "Illyrian" idea. The founders of this movement believed that the Slavs were one people with different dialects. They called the South Slav dialect "Illyrian" after the ancient inhabitants of the area--taking the cue from Napoleon, and they wanted all who spoke it to consider themselves "Illyrians". This movement spread throughout Croatia and even into Serbia and other areas (Antun Barac, A History of Yugoslav Literature, Ann Arbor, 1973, pp. 105-110).

Two of the articles in Danica are by the politician, author, and natural scientist, Ljudevit Vukotinović, an ardent "Illyrian". In the first, "The Drawing Room in Zagreb" ("Salon u Zagrebu" Danica Ilirska, Zagreb 8 [6] : 23-24, 1842), he writes of what was in his estimation the finest ball of the year. Organized by a group of nationalists, it was given on January 27, 1842 and called "An Evening of National Entertainment" (narodna zabava). Vukotinović disliked this title arguing that the word "narodno" should be reserved for loftier events - "to commemorate old or new Slavic ways, to open parliament, to welcome an important member or guest. . ." in other words, the "sacred word narodno" should not be lightly used.

Otherwise, Vukotinović found the ball pleasing and beautiful. The national theme was carried out in the decorations, the colors of the ladies' gowns, the notices in Croatian language, and the introduction of a much admired new ballroom kolo that had been taught to the young men and ladies by one Marko Bogunović, a navy officer. Vukotinović was particularly pleased that the Countess Sidonia Erdődyeva "deigned to step into this kolo and lead it", knowing that she would be criticized by some for lowering herself to do a native dance. Apparently the introduction and performance of this dance was somewhat controversial. It was a figure dance that had been arranged from a variety of folk dance elements, and while nationalists loved it, at least one person mocked it as a "Bear Dance".

The South Slav kolo or its ballroom derivatives became such an important symbol of nationalist fervor, that a ball had to include such dancing to be considered proper and fitting by the Illyrian enthusiasts. Vukotinović, in his second article, "Summer Festivities in Zagreb" ("Letošnje poklade u Zagrebu", Danica Hrvatska, Slavonska, i Dalmatinska, Zagreb, 9 [9] : 35-36; 9 [10] : 39-40, 1843), praised those who included national elements in their entertainments - such things as music, dance, language, and costume - and criticized those who did not. He refused to go to entertainments where there was no "patriotism". The Illyrian point of view is also expressed in a short anonymous report in Danica about nationalistic balls in Serbia where, according to the author, there was "no freak or monster who would call this folk dance of ours a bear

dance". An obvious cut at Zagreb! The article ends, "Hooray for the Serbian aristocrats who honor our national dance and raise its standing with their dignity". ("Sveslavjanske vesti" [Pan-Slavic news] by B. Danica Ilirska, Zagreb, 10 [11]:43-44, 1842.) The fourth article from the 1840's was "Whose is the Kolo?" ("Čije je kolo?" Danica Horvatska, Slavonska i Dalmatinska, Zagreb, 12 [31]:123-125, 1846.)

What was this national dance that the patriots set up against the more traditional ballroom fare--the by now international quadrilles, polkas, and cotillions? The term kolo is considered to be of old Slavic origins with the meaning of circle or wheel. As a dance form, the term usually refers to a group dance in which the participants are linked in a closed or open circle. From this position they move left or right, toward the center of the circle or outward. The steps and movements done in a kolo may be sedate and slow or fast and exciting--in the latter case perhaps a bit wild for a high class ball, which would lead to modifications and refinements. The Yugoslavs believe that the dance and its name were brought into the Balkans by the earliest Slavic tribes (Olivera Mladenović, "Forms and Types of Serbian Folk Dances", Dance Studies, Volume 4 [Jersey, Channel Islands, 1980], pp. 56-58), thus making it an important element in the quest for national tradition and identity.

The patriotic enthusiasm for the kolo demonstrated by these articles had its counterpart in the serious folk dance research that developed toward the end of the century. In 1872, Franjo Kuhac (whose songs were quoted above), published a seventeen-page article in six installments in Vienac, which was at that time the main Croatian literary magazine. In "Ballroom Kolo" ("Dvoransko Kolo", Vienac zabavi i pouci, Zagreb, 4 [4]:58-61; 4 [7]:106-107; 4 [8]:123-124; 4 [9]:138-140; 4 [10]:154-155; 4 [11]:170-173), he provides historical background, description of steps, and diagrams for the performance of the very dance that was introduced at the January 27, 1842 ball described by Vukotinović. In the text and footnotes of the introduction to the dance (the first installment), Kuhac includes thoughts on dance in relation to both musical development and national pride and consciousness, the names of folk dances he has collected, and references to various people involved with dancing or balls--all of this in addition to a thorough discussion of "Dvoransko Kolo", its sources, its figures, and how it compared with other kolos. This treatise is the earliest of the nineteenth century sources to offer a measure of satisfaction to the twentieth century dance researcher. While many questions are left unanswered (or unclearly explained), there is a wealth of detail and thought-provoking leads here.



Most of the subsequent nineteenth-century sources are similarly substantial. The most important of these would be the 215 pages Kuhac devotes to dance in his multivolume work on South Slavic folk songs (Južno-slovjenske narodne popievke, [South Slavic folk songs], Vol. III, Zagreb, 1880. See pp. 194-408 on dance). While this is basically a selection of 200 dance songs or their variants, the section includes eleven pages of general information on Yugoslav folk dances, plus informative and descriptive notes for approximately one-quarter of the songs. Most of the dances and dance songs are from Croatia or Serbia, but there are a few from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Slovenia, and even one or more from Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Russia. Another example is a 51-page article by the Slovenian linguist and ethnographer, Ivan Navratil, on the kolo and other folk songs and dances in one region of Slovenia ("Belokranjsko kolo in nekoliko drugih narodnih pesmic in iger z razlago" (Belokranjsko kolo and some other folk songs and dances with commentary) Ljubljanski Zvon (Ljubljana) 8: 294-298, 337-345, 412-417, 492-500, 551-556, 615-616, 676-682, 743-749, 1888). This was published in installments in Ljubljanski Zvon, a review of literature and criticism that was founded in 1881. And, there is a thirteen-page article about customs on the island of Korčula written by the ethnologist, Vid Vuletić-Vukasović. It includes text and illustrations as well as a discussion of the Moreška, ancient European dance-drama depicting battle between the Moors and the Christians ("Običaji na otoku Korčuli: I. Moreška: II. Debeli kralj: [Customs on the island of Korčula: I. Moreška: II. The fat king] Vienac zabava i pouci (Zagreb) 22 [46]: 739-742; 22 [47]: 754-758; 22 [49]: 787-790, 1890).

Finally, mention must be made of twenty pages devoted to dancing in the 66-page monograph, "Otok", by Josip Lovrečić and Bartol Jurić (Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena, Zagreb, 4:46-112, 1899. See pp. 93-112 on dance). They include discussion of who dances kolos, when they are danced, where they are danced, what is worn for dancing, kolos without accompaniment, children's kolos, and the particular kolos danced in this Croatian area. In addition, there are song texts, musical notation, and more. This work, published in a major Croatian academic journal devoted to the study of folk life and customs, set an example for subsequent dance research and reporting in the twentieth century.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the contours and richness of the Yugoslav dance heritage were becoming known, although there were few actual descriptions of dance movement. It would require the work of twentieth-century dance researchers with notation systems and cameras to record and analyze the movement. Nevertheless, the

nineteenth century sources, written by leading intellectuals of their day--almost all of whom appear in the national Yugoslav encyclopedia--and published in major periodicals, provide us with a wealth of information which has been barely explored even by Yugoslav dance writers. It is information which could be used to increase our understanding of dance as an element in rural and national culture, dance used for political purposes, mutual rural-urban influences on dance, and the historical background of present-day Yugoslav folk dance.

DANCE CHANGE IN CONTEXT OF THE GYPSY ST. GEORGE'S DAY,  
SKOPJE, YUGOSLAVIA, 1967-1977

Elsie Ivancich Dunin

Abstract

St. George's Day (Đurđev Den in Macedonian, Hederlezi in Romani) is celebrated over four days, May 6-9 by the largest population of sedentary Gypsies in Yugoslavia, who are located in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. A second observation of this holiday after a ten year period provided an opportunity to note changes in the dance/dancing that were the result of other community changes. The Gypsy self-identity from "cigani" to "romi" produced a beginning interest in "roots." A physical move from a crowded Gypsy quarter to a spacious housing development in a Skopje suburb produced collective changes in living lifestyle. The temporal comparison of the dance context using expressive markers of dress, music, dance reflects the social changes that occurred in this Gypsy community. The presentation incorporated slides and video taken at both the 1967 and 1977 events.

Under the title "St. George's Day Revisited: 1967-1977" a version of this paper will be included in the 1982 Proceedings of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter Meeting, held at Wagner College, Staten Island, New York, February, 1982.

# NORMA GOULD: FORGOTTEN PIONEER

Naima Prevots

Norma Gould died recently at the age of 92 in the Arizona Convalescent Home in Santa Monica, California -- on July 30, 1980 to be exact. Only two women are known to have visited her at the convalescent home during her last years. One was a Mrs. Forsythe, a woman Gould had met in 1960 upon joining a metaphysical society in Santa Monica. Her other visitor was Karoun Toutikian, a Los Angeles dancer, teacher and choreographer who had known and respected Gould since the nineteen twenties. Many of us have read about Norma Gould as Ted Shawn's partner both in Los Angeles and in his first tour across the United States for the Santa Fe Railroad. Who was Norma Gould, what is her importance for the history of the early American modern dance, and why have we known so little about her?

It is very likely that we have known very little about Norma Gould because most of her activity was in Los Angeles and she never really publicized herself. Her most active period as a teacher, artist, choreographer, writer and lecturer was from 1915 to 1940 and during that period she was a vital creative force in the development of dance in Los Angeles. Gould continued to teach and choreograph during the next twenty-five years but her activities were greatly diminished and very sporadic. There is a tape of one of her last classes taught in 1967, and after that she became too ill and confused to be on her own. When she was finally admitted to the Arizona Convalescent Home in 1976 she was totally unable to take care of herself.

We are most fortunate that through the lucky accidents of time and place some of Norma Gould's personal momentos are now available for study. These materials were on their way to the garbage can when Mrs. Forsythe, her guardian, was clearing out Gould's apartment prior to placing her in the convalescent home in Santa Monica. Karoun Toutikian came to help in the final stages of the move and was able to salvage from the garbage can the following items: 2 ballets in manuscript form; a pageant script that she wrote and sold; over one hundred pictures dating from 1906 to 1940; two large scrapbooks with material covering the period 1911 to 1938; Gould's 1924-25 lecture notes for her pageantry course at the University of Southern California; assorted programs; announcements, costumes and a tape of a 1967 class taught by Gould. After salvaging these belongings of Norma Gould, Karoun Toutikian placed them in a trunk for storage. In September of 1980 I began a series of oral interviews in connection with my research on dance at the Hollywood Bowl from 1926 to 1940. Norma Gould performed at the Hollywood Bowl in 1929 and 1930, and Karoun Toutikian performed at the Bowl in 1933 and 1935. My first interview with Toutikian was in February, 1981. Over a period of several months, Toutikian was able to locate the various Gould momentos, and she gave them to me to study.

What insights do these new materials shed on the importance of Norma Gould? The numerous pictures provide us with specific information about the nature of her movement exploration, her choreography and her teaching. The scrapbooks give a knowledge of her importance in the cultural life of Los Angeles and in the general life of the community and provide details as to her

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numerous activities. Gould's lecture notes for her pageantry course show the nature of her thinking, her intellectual background, her ideas about dance, and connections between the American pageantry movement of 1909 to 1925 and the early American modern dance. The notes for dances show the kind of choreography she was doing and the programs show the kind of music she used, the audiences she performed for and how she survived as an artist.

Norma Gould was a Los Angeles native and she graduated from Los Angeles Polytechnical High School in 1908. She did some teaching at her high school while she was a student there, and she opened her own studio in 1906 at 1333 Georgia Street in Los Angeles. According to articles in the scrapbooks, she studied ballet with Kiralfy and Chalif, and she had extensive background in music and in Dalcroze Eurythmics. She made several trips to New York to study while she was a high school student, and also during her professional career. One newspaper article from 1920 had as its headline "Norma Gould Back from Study Trip" and noted as follows:

Miss Norma Gould, director of the Norma Gould School for Dancing and of Pageantry in the southern branch of the University of California, has returned from New York City where she has been gathering material for the advancement of her school. This season Miss Gould made a close study of the Dalcroze system of eurythmics, which she considers an essential factor in dance, not only because it is the basis of musical understanding and interpretation through bodily expression, but stimulates development in mental alertness and poise. She took additional training in Russian, Hungarian, Polish and Czecho-Slavic dances from Chalif, an authority on the Slavic, made an accurate study of the French period dances, such as Pavan, Sarabande, Passepied, Minuet, etc. with Rosetta O'Neil, and was a member of the advanced classes in the Unitrinian School of Personal Harmonizing, where she graduated in 1914.

Aside from her study trips to New York, Norma Gould chose to stay in Los Angeles. It is clear from reading the scrapbooks that she played a pioneering role in dance in that city as a teacher, choreographer, lecturer and entrepreneur. As a teacher and choreographer she was a pioneer in search of dance forms that would go beyond traditional steps and be expressive of ideas and feelings. As a teacher she trained dancers who went on to have careers of their own, not only in Los Angeles but in other cities, and she was a pioneer in creating a linkage between professional performance and education. She did this through her teaching at the University of California and at the University of Southern California, at her studios, during her summer sessions for teachers, and during her summer classes for children, teenagers and adults.

Norma Gould owned and operated four dance studios in Los Angeles and they were at the following locations, given in chronological order: 1333 Georgia Street, 460 North Western Avenue, 118 North Larchmont Street, 831 South La Brea. The demand for her teaching was very great, and in several instances she had students teaching for her in what she called "branch studios". Her summer classes in what is now Idylwild and in other places in the mountains surrounding Los Angeles, were very popular. Thousands of students of all ages were trained

by Norma Gould and her faculty in her various studios and classes. Karoun Toutikian remembers Gould as being a very exacting teacher, one who insisted on strict discipline and order in the classroom. Her teaching was eclectic and in her studios she offered classes in ballet, dances of different nationalities, Dalcroze Eurythmics, pantomime, and interpretive dance.

Norma Gould's students were closely linked with the teaching of dance in Los Angeles - in private studios, at the University of California, in high schools and in various summer programs. From 1917 through the late 1920's many of the teachers of dance at UCLA had been trained by Norma Gould - Marion Wallace, Bertha Wardell, and Ina Thatch. Marion Wallace also taught dance in a summer session at Stanford University and Bertha Wardell taught in a summer session at the Pasadena Community Playhouse. Gould's students also developed dance programs at other places: Mary Carroll at Santa Monica High School; Leah Wooton and Lillian Hayes in connection with the Los Angeles playgrounds; Violet Guthrie in coordination with the Santa Monica School system; Dorothy Misner through the Physical Education Department of the Covina schools; Martha Gill at Marymount. One of Norma Gould's students was Dorothy Lyndall. After teaching for Gould and performing with her, Lyndall opened her own studio in Los Angeles. She taught for many years, and it was with Dorothy Lyndall that Myra Kinch received much of her early training.

It is clear that Norma Gould as a teacher always stressed performance. There is an interesting clipping in one of the scrapbooks which notes a "wonderful program of interpretative dancing" given by the Physical Education Club at the University of California, Los Angeles (then a Normal School). This program took place in 1916 and featured four dancers - Dorothy Lyndall, Ann Walters, Bertha Wardell and Mildred Burns. The first three were listed on the program as students of Norma Gould and the fourth (Mildred Burns) was listed as a student of Ernest Belcher. Gould not only trained teachers and future professionals in the area of concert dance, she also trained students who went on to do work in the movies. Many newspaper clippings in the scrapbooks talk about Norma Gould's studios as important institutions in the cultural life of Los Angeles and the Southwest. She and her students performed very often not only in her studios, but in theatres, for women's clubs, for special groups and at large outdoor public festivities.

When Norma Gould moved into her second studio on Larchmont Street in 1922, she began offering summer sessions for teachers from all over the country. It was during this period of time she began to achieve wider recognition. Several newspaper clippings in the scrapbooks make note of Norma Gould's work in 1923 for the American National Association, Masters of Dancing, and one of the clippings has the following comments:

National recognition of Miss Gould's artistic achievement came with the appointment to teach at the recent Convention of American National Association, Masters of Dancing, where she offered original dance compositions which will be used in educational institutions throughout the country. The work was received with great enthusiasm by the teachers . . . The Eastern teachers returned home with an amplified respect for the West and what our schools are doing.

Norma Gould also played a pioneering role in her own teaching at UCLA and USC. Not only did she encourage her students to teach in the universities, she herself as a practicing professional was actively involved in this endeavor. In 1920 she is listed on the faculty roster of the Physical Education Department, Women's Division, at UCLA, and she taught there for two years. In 1921 - 22 she also started teaching at the University of Southern California and continued teaching there for three years. Her appointments to teach at both universities were widely heralded by the press, and it was noted that she was adding a new dimension to education. Her appointment at USC received particularly wide coverage in many newspaper articles.

When she first started teaching at USC, the press said Gould would be "teaching dance courses in connection with some of the most advanced work in physical education". It was also noted that her courses would have the same academic respectability as Greek and Latin and students could now get a Master's degree with an emphasis on dance. During her first teaching assignment at USC the announcements made a point of emphasizing that Gould was to be associated with Dr. William Skarstrom of Wellesly College, Dr. Leroy Lowman of the Los Angeles Orthopaedic Hospital, and Dr. Baird Hastings of the Rockefeller Institute. The association of Gould with these eminent men was important for this meant that dance was a serious endeavor, and that she as a dancing teacher had academic respectability. The press reiterated many times that Norma Gould's dancing and teaching had spiritual and aesthetic components, and there was no question but that her form of dance had serious implications as art and education and stood apart from and above dance that was mainly entertainment.

One important aspect of Norma Gould's work at both UCLA and USC was her work in pageantry -- she taught courses in the subject and she staged pageants with the students. The American pageantry movement started in the Eastern United States in 1905, and it was a clearly defined movement whose leaders came together in 1913 to found an American Pageantry Association, which resulted in the issuance of guidelines for pageants. They also published a "Who's Who in American Pageantry" in 1914. The major writers on pageantry, (among them Percy Macakae and George Pierce Baker) sought a return to meaning and spirit in dramatic expression. They emphasized outdoor presentations and their aim was total theatre. In the pageants voice, movement, set, costumes and idea were all designed to create an integrated, artistic presentation.

The American Pageantry Movement was one in which new forms of expression were sought that would be more meaningful than those which existed in the commercial Broadway theatrical productions. The pageant writers were influenced by the European experiments in theatre - particularly those of Gordon Craig, Adolph Appia, and Max Reinhardt, and they sought a form of theatre that was poetic rather than naturalistic. Movement was an important part of the pageants and there were often a wide variety of expressive dances in the various productions. The interest in pageants began to decline towards the early nineteen-twenties.

The work of Norma Gould is provocative in terms of the relationship between the early American modern dance and the American pageantry movement. It is clear in the work of Gould that her interests in expressive dance and pageantry were interwoven, mutually reinforcing interests. In the framework of her pageants and her pageantry courses she was able to experiment with movement and reach a large audience of students and onlookers. We do know that other pioneers in dance were involved in pageants. Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn staged a pageant at the outdoor theatre in Berkeley in 1916. Gertrude Colby, a pioneer in dance education at Columbia Teacher's College, is listed as the director of dances for the Pageant of Schenectady in 1912, and was dance director for later pageants. Lester Horton's first major theatrical and dance experience was in the pageant Hiawatha, initially staged in Indianapolis in 1927. Horton came to Los Angeles in 1929 to perform in the Hiawatha pageant, presented at that time in the amphitheatre at Eagle Rock.

One of the most interesting aspects of Norma Gould's pioneering work was her attempt to bring together young professional artists of various aesthetic persuasions and create a forum in which performances and ideas could be exchanged. The first studio she designed on Western Avenue had seeds of this idea. It was not until she built and designed her studio and theatre on Larchmont Avenue that this idea came to full fruition. It was on Larchmont Avenue that she created her Dance Theatre -- a pioneering attempt at a dance umbrella series. Gould opened her Dance Theatre and the Larchmont Avenue studio in 1932, and in 1935 moved her activities to a studio on La Brea Street.

Dancers who came to perform at the Dance Theatre also were engaged to teach there. The list of dancers and dance groups Norma Gould presented from 1932 to 1938 (the last year of the scrapbooks) is impressive; Tina Flade, Waldeen, Teru, Tom Youngplant and Hopi Indians, Angna Enters, Detru and Aztec-Mayan Dancers, Grace Borroughs, Han and De Negre. Jack Reinhart, Hasoutra, Charles Teske, Okajima, Lester Horton, Luz Garoes of Mexico, Sumita and Lilivati Devi, Frances and Rosemary Stack, Prince Modupe, and the Nigerian Ballet, Helen March, Melissa Blake, Dorothy Jarnac and David Thimar and the Red Gate players. Two pianists gave special programs of dance in music and they were Verna Arvey and Francisco Avellan.

The Dance Theatre was based on Norma Gould's vision that all kinds of dance should be encouraged and seen, that audiences have to be developed and built and that young dancers need exposure to many different kinds of technique from masters of various forms. Over the years that she ran the Dance Theatre many different people were listed as her associates. Different programs for the various years list the group that formed the "associates" for that year, and these people probably functioned as a decision making board and a fund raising group. Some of the "associates" over the years were: Muriel Stuart, Anna Duncan, Lester Horton, Marjorie Dougan, Wanda Grazer, L.H. Behymer, Philip and Odetta Newberg.



It is interesting that the last entries in the available scrapbooks are newspaper clippings and programs that document Gould's 1938 ballet Lenox Avenue. Gould created this ballet to William Grant Still's Lenox Avenue. "a musical picture of Harlem life." The ballet was so popular after its first performances on May 1 and 2 of 1938 that it was repeated on May 22 to encompass those who were turned away. The music was played by Verna Arvey at the piano and the Hall Johnson Choir sang two choral episodes. A newspaper report of the event stated that the evening was "accompanied by an exhibit relating to the finest aspects of Negro culture (books by Negro authors; books concerning Negro life; manuscripts and printed scores by William Grant Still; photographs of the Art of Sargent Johnson, famed Afro-American sculptor; photographs of Negro dancers - all drawn from the collection of Verna Arvey, as well as handcraft by Florence Russell Phillips)".

Because of the international reputation of Ted Shawn and Ruth St. Denis there will always be interest in their interactions with Norma Gould. Gould's scrapbooks contains many pictures of her performance activities with Ted Shawn, and there are several newspaper clippings about their engagement at the Majestic Theatre in San Diego, where they performed five shows daily "dances of every nation, dances of every age" with a change of program every Monday, Wednesday and Saturday. One of the newspaper articles about the Shawn-Gould engagement at the 1,000 seat Majestic Theatre noted that they were "interpretive dancers formerly on the Orpheum circuit . . . These dancers have a repertory of 40 classic dances with costumes and scenery for each . . ."

Both Shawn and Gould benefited artistically from their association, as they were both searching for expressive forms in dance, and they were both open to all dance as creative expression. After her partnership with Shawn disbanded, Gould returned to Los Angeles and was very active as a lecturer and performer. In 1915 she lectured and performed for a national convention of Music Teachers in San Francisco on "Music Made Visible". That same year she toured Texas and Louisiana. She was assisted by a dancing partner named Ted Lehman and they were accompanied by a forty-piece grand symphony band directed by Don Philippini.

During the period of the Denishawn School it is likely that Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn and Norma Gould interacted in Los Angeles - a small community in those days. One picture from 1918 in Gould's scrapbook shows Denis, Shawn and Gould performing in the Red Cross Pageant together.

From 1915 through 1920 Norma Gould gave many performances and lectures for club groups. In the 1920's Gould toured the Southwest again with Adolph Tandler's Little Symphony, and in 1928 she was the first native California choreographer to be presented with her group at the Hollywood Bowl. In 1929 she appeared on the symphony series at the Bowl and danced to Shubert's Unfinished Symphony - to great acclaim and for a very large audience.

There were many pioneers who helped create and influence the American modern dance. Norma Gould's artistic life was long and varied and she helped shape the dance world in Los Angeles for many years. There is more research to be done in connection with her life and work, but all the material now available points to a woman who was an original, independent, creative artist - a pioneer with a strong, expressive spirit. Her search for meaning in dance started early and persisted throughout her long and active career. Norma Gould's accomplishments and her interactions with other artists help add to our understanding of the complex and multi-faceted roots of American modern dance.

P. J. S. Richardson and the Birth of British Ballet

Beth Genné

In the literature on dance in Britain, two women are most frequently given credit for the creation and development of a British national ballet in this century. They are Dame Ninette de Valois, founder of the Royal Ballet, and Dame Marie Rambert, the founder of the Ballet Rambert and, like Dame Ninette, a teacher of several generations of British dancers and choreographers. Others associated with these two remarkable women as instigators of the renaissance of classical dance that began in the late-twenties in London, are Sir Frederick Ashton, England's foremost choreographer, and Constant Lambert, the Royal Ballet's first musical director. I would like to add another name to this constellation of founders. He was neither choreographer, dancer, nor musician, but his impact on the development of British ballet was such that it can be truly said that without him, or someone like him, British ballet would have developed in a very different way and with much less rapidity. His name was Philip John Sampey Richardson; he was, for nearly half a century, the editor of the British dance journal, The Dancing Times, and his efforts to promote the cause of British ballet, beginning more than a decade before its "founders" began their activities, insured an audience ready and receptive to their ideas, the well-trained dancers to perform their works, and an effective and influential propaganda organ, The Dancing Times, to publicize, promote, and support their activities.

In June of 1915, sixteen years before the official establishment of the small troupe of dancers that, led by Ninette de Valois, would evolve into the Royal Ballet company and school, Richardson published the following statement in the editor's column of his magazine:

It is my ambition to see an officially recognized School of Ballet founded in this country under the direct patronage of the Sovereign. It may be years before such an event will come to pass.... Do not tell me that the British public do not care for or want ballet. If they are given good ballet, they will flock to it. (P. J. S. Richardson, "The Sitter Out", The Dancing Times--to be subsequently referred to as "D.T."--June, 1915, p. 302).

This ambitious declaration was written in the midst of World War I, when prospects for the establishment of a native British ballet looked especially grim. That very year had seen the end of ballet at the Empire which, with the Alhambra, was the last of the London houses to feature this dance form as a permanent part of its program. With the loss of the

Empire, Phyllis Bedells, its première danseuse, and the small pool of British classical dancers like her, were faced with an ever-narrowing field of choice: they could dance in musical comedies and revues in the company of acrobats and comics, or they could "turn Russian" and, hidden under Slavic names like their colleague Hilda Munnings (Lydia Sokolova), try for a position with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes or with Pavlova's small touring company.

Richardson's stout determination in the face of this rapidly deteriorating situation was, however, typical of the man. Five years earlier, he and publisher T. M. Middleton had bought The Dancing Times, a small magazine first published in 1894 as the house magazine of the Cavendish Rooms in London, and transformed it into a national dance periodical. Richardson (who the present day Dancing Times now considers its founder) was to remain editor of this magazine for forty-seven years until his retirement in 1957, years that saw his prediction of 1915 come to pass in the birth and flowering of a native British school of ballet--a birth at which he was a vital assistant, functioning simultaneously as organizer, propagandist, and critic.

"I sometimes marvel at our stupendous audacity in launching a dance magazine in those days", he wrote in 1931 on the magazine's twenty-first anniversary, "and at our attempts to sow the seeds of 'better teaching' and 'better dancing' on such apparently barren ground". Richardson was indeed audacious. Thirty-five years old when he started working on the magazine, he had been a keen ballroom dancer for nearly fifteen years but, by his own admission, his knowledge of ballet was "hazy in the extreme" (Richardson, "Twenty-One", D.T., October, 1931, pp. 3-4).

The first issues of The Dancing Times were, in fact, devoted primarily to social dancing and society news. Reviews of the then popular fancy dress balls seemed to concentrate more on what was worn and who wore it, than what was danced, although regular lists were published of the country's favorite ballroom dances and the names of new tunes to which they could be danced (Irving Berlin's sensational new ragtime dance "Alexander's Ragtime Band", for example, got the young composer on the magazine's frontispiece in December, 1912). Interspersed among articles on ballroom etiquette and ladies' dance fashions, were advertisements sent in by teachers of both social and "operatic" dance (as ballet was then called). In fact, a substantial portion of the magazine was given over to pages of announcements of student recitals and children's performances, accompanied by pictures of the latest "clever child dancer" sent in by proud parents and teachers. Not much space was devoted to professional ballet. Performances were announced and, occasionally, commented on, but were never the subject of serious or analytical reviews. Dance criticism, as we know it today, was virtually non-existent. The first London performances of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes received only passing references, reported on more as social occasions than as dance performances.

However, it was this invasion of London by Russian dancers in the form of both the Ballets Russes and Anna Pavlova and her small company, that whetted Richardson's appetite for "operatic" dance, and his enthusiasm can be seen growing month by month in successive issues of The Dancing Times. By 1914, he was regularly reviewing performances of this dance form and, as the years went on, ever increasing space was devoted to ballet reviews and feature articles.

Rapidly becoming a full-fledged balletomane, Richardson embarked upon a systematic program of self-education in this "new" (to him) art form. He cultivated the acquaintance of many in the operatic dance community: Pavlova, Karsavina, Nijinsky, Diaghilev, Astafieva, Genée and her protégée Phyllis Bedells, all became his friends. The newly converted editor listened enthusiastically to their stories of great dancers of the past, of ballets they had seen or danced in and admired, and of their own training. He also asked them to comment on the operatic dancing situation in England. From as early as 1913, these stories and comments began appearing regularly in the editor's column of The Dancing Times. A morning spent at Pavlova's studio in Hampstead in the summer of 1913 produced, for example, this note about Russian training that included an implied warning to British operatic dancers who often started training at age seven or eight and were put on stage as "wonder children" after only one or two years of class:

In Russia, children join the Imperial School at about ten years old and that, said Madam (Pavlova) is quite young enough....She says that English girls must not relax their efforts too soon. No matter what magnificent engagements they get, they must still practice, practice, practice. I think I understood her to say that they are kept fifteen years in the Imperial School before they can get a role of importance. (Richardson, "A Morning With Pavlova", D.T., July, 1913, p. 634).

In 1912, Richardson began having long talks with the teacher Edouard Espinosa who, with Richardson's aid, would become one of the most influential pedagogues in British operatic dance training in the teens of this century. Espinosa introduced Richardson to the intricacies of operatic dancing technique and stimulated his interest in the promotion of much needed reforms in British dance training. Not content to stop at theory, the enthusiastic editor persuaded Phyllis Bedells to take him to her daily class with Enrico Cecchetti (Phyllis Bedells, interview, Henley-on-Thames, March 20, 1980). There, Richardson began to gain a practical insight into not only the subtleties of classical dance, but the arduous daily labor required for the maintenance of the dancers' technique.

At the same time that he educated himself, Richardson educated his public. In 1913, The Dancing Times published Espinosa's technical dictionary, one of the first dictionaries in English of its kind to be published in this century. In September of 1916, Richardson and Espinosa launched an official campaign against faulty training by advocating, in The Dancing Times, the formation of an official examining body to certify teachers of dance (Richardson, "The Sitter Out", D.T., September, 1916, pp. 326-328). This was followed three months later by spreads of photographs illustrating common faults in technique and how they could be corrected, using Espinosa students as models for the proper form (Edouard Espinosa, "Some Errors in Tuition", D.T., December, 1916, pp. 79-85). At the head of the demonstration class stood, prophetically, the young Ninette de Valois, whose move from the less rigorous Lila Field Academy--her first professional school--to Espinosa can, perhaps, be attributed to The Dancing Times' campaign. The campaign continued with a stream of articles designed to promote public awareness of good training: Phyllis Bedells was shown at the barre demonstrating her daily "side practice" (D.T., April, 1919, pp. 250-253), Pavlova contributed an article on "bad teaching" (D.T., May, 1920, pp. 643-645), and an anatomist, H.E. Sykes-Brown, accompanied some impressive looking x-rays of dancers' feet with a stern warning about the dangers of putting youngsters on pointe too early, an all too common practice among English dance teachers of the era (D.T., April, 1918, pp. 213-219).

In this way, The Dancing Times became both a forum and rallying point for not only the London dance community, but scattered dance teachers all over the British Isles and Commonwealth, to which The Dancing Times was circulated. In 1916, the "Letters to the Editor" column began receiving communications from previously isolated teachers and concerned parents eager to share their enthusiasm for operatic dancing and anxious for a set of standards to be laid down by which to distinguish professional from amateur teachers. As one irate reader wrote:

I must fully endorse the wish that a tribunal... of experts be formed for the purpose of examining and giving certificates to people who profess honestly to teach the art of dancing. The United Kingdom...is overrun...by impudent and pushing humbugs....Women who have never been through any proper or thorough study of bona fide, high-class dancing are, by reason of their dauntless cheek and unscrupulous 'business talents' able to attract crowds of silly, fool-mothers who bring their clubs, skipping ropes, and children to monster classes where...the pupils are put through a number of useless 'exercises' and dances of weak and abominable style.... (D.T., November, 1916, p. 37).

Richardson kept this storm of protest going by not only publishing letters of this type, but by frequently reiterating

in his column the necessity for the British dance community to organize its efforts, alternately cajoling and scolding them, and holding up always the ultimate goal of a British ballet staffed by well-trained native dancers. It took him four years but, finally, the tangible result of all this brouhaha was the founding, in December, 1920, of the Association of Operatic Dancing of Great Britain. Richardson and Espinosa headed the list of members as co-founders. Adeline Genee was elected the Association's first president, and Richardson became its Secretary-Treasurer. In 1921, this organization (which eventually became the Royal Academy of Dance) initiated an annual certification examination for teachers of operatic dancing. The Dancing Times became the official medium through which the new association broadcast information to the public, regularly publishing the requirements for certification and lists of certified teachers for the hopeful parents of prospective British ballerinas. In April, 1922, the magazine, itself, even became a visual "teaching aid" for examination candidates when it published photographs of Mme. Genée demonstrating correct port de bras as set by the Association's board (D.T., April, 1922, pp. 595-600).

Through The Dancing Times, Richardson was to aid the cause of British ballet in yet another way as, under the nom de plume of "The Sitter Out", he proved to be an unusually perceptive critic. He was, in fact, one of the first British critics in this century to really specialize in dance. (In other journals dance events were usually covered by the music critic or society reporter). The "Sitter Out" writings become all the more impressive when it is realized that Richardson wrote without the support of the body of historical and critical dance literature available to his colleagues of today, and without having seen the wide variety of performances that dance critics in this jet age can easily sample. Despite this, he seemed for the most part to head unerringly for the best of talent, and young British dancers, especially, found in him both a champion and able propagandist. In 1915, at a time when a Russian name seemed to be a prerequisite for a successful career, he wrote:

The final triumph of Phyllis Bedells, or of any other English girl during the next few years, will bring the establishment of an English ballet a quarter of a century nearer, because not only will it give confidence to her fellow workers, but it will disabuse the public of the idea that a great dancer must be a foreigner. (Richardson, "The Sitter Out", D.T., June, 1915, p. 302).

To promote this idea, Richardson singled out for repeated and enthusiastic praise dancers like Phyllis Bedells, Anton Dolin, and Ninette de Valois. He was particularly delighted to note the ever growing contingent of British dancers in the Ballets Russes, and he effectively thwarted Diaghilev's attempt to hide his new dancers' nationalities under Russian names by missing no opportunity to publicize their true origins in

the pages of The Dancing Times. The editor drove the point home further when he published, in 1923, his "divertissement with words", "No English Need Apply" (D.T., December, 1923, pp. 347-349). In this playlet with dances, which was produced by Espinosa, first performed in London and subsequently made available to be performed in schools around the country, Richardson satirized the prevailing prejudice against English dancers by presenting a scenario in which a group of "continental" dancers, including some "direct from the Imperial Theatre in Russia", audition for a producer. Needless to say, they all dance brilliantly, and the producer is astounded and pleased when, at the end of the divertissement, it is revealed that they are all, in fact, British.

One of the British dancers that Richardson particularly admired was Ninette de Valois. She could, in fact, in some senses, be called Richardson's discovery. He attended her first appearances with the Lila Field troupe and singled her out immediately as someone to be closely watched. His first review of her performance was prophetic: "(she) is a fascinating girl of fifteen who gives promise of great things" (Richardson, "Round the Classes", D.T., February, 1913, p. 304). After that, he followed her career with great interest and never missed an opportunity to write about her in "The Sitter Out" column.

In addition to dancers, the "Sitter Out" was also adept at spotting the best of choreographers. "That hitherto mythical personage, a British choreographist of the first rank, is amongst us", he enthused after seeing Pomona (1930), one of the earliest ballets of Frederick Ashton (Richardson, "The Sitter Out", D.T., November, 1930, p. 126). Richardson's first look at the work of George Balanchine also elicited the highest of praise: the young choreographer's Barabau (1925) was described by the critic as containing sections which "rise to the heights of genius" (Richardson, "The Sitter Out", D.T., January, 1926, pp. 438-439). Lest he be thought indiscriminating, it is important to note that Richardson rarely praised so extravagantly. Genius was not a term he used lightly. He did, however, use it to describe the dancing of two young Americans, Fred and Adele Astaire, in whom he recognized "something akin to genius" (Richardson, D.T., October, 1923, p. 6).

As a critic, Richardson was, of course, an ardent champion of the Ballets Russes. He early recognized their importance as a model for the development of a native British ballet company, but also understood instinctively that copying the Diaghilev company would only result in a pale imitation of the original. An article in the December, 1919 Dancing Times, entitled "What Diaghileff Has Taught Us" discussed the company's strengths but, at the same time, admonished the British dance community to learn from the Russians without "making slavish copies of the works of others...when we do produce, let the whole atmosphere of the subject be British".

One of the "Sitter Out" Ballets Russes reviews that proved to be especially prophetic for ballet in Britain, flew in the face of popular opinion. The ambitious production



of the full-length Sleeping Princess that Diaghilev mounted at the Alhambra in 1921 was, with the exception of a group of devoted balletomanes, less than successful with London audiences used to Diaghilev's more "modern" one-act ballets and unfamiliar with both Tchaikovsky and Petipa. The "Sitter Out", having seen almost no Petipa, however, hailed it as "The most important event in the world of dancing...that has ever happened since that day...when the Diaghileff company made its bow to Western Europe". This notice was written nine years before Marie Rambert's championship of Petipa in her public lecture held in April of 1930, which has been seen as the first important recognition of the choreographer by the English dance community. To be fair, Richardson felt that The Sleeping Princess, as a whole, fell short of the "synthesis of the arts" that he found in Fokine's best works, but he, nonetheless, asserted perceptively that "as a series of exhibitions of pure dancing, I very much doubt if London has ever before seen its like, and I urge that it is the duty of every teacher of student of dancing to pay at least one visit to the Alhambra" (Richardson, "The Sitter Out", D. T., December, 1921, p. 178).

As the Sleeping Princess review seems to indicate, Richardson understood that knowledge of past forms of dancing (and dance training) could contribute importantly to its future growth. To this end, he published in installments, beginning in 1922, a bibliography of dance materials in the British Museum compiled by a young historian, Cyril Beaumont, who Richardson provided with an early forum. Throughout the teens and twenties, Richardson also printed translations of Blasis and Noverre, articles on Bournonville and Danish dance, on Marie Taglioni and Romantic ballet. He also continued to take advantage of the unique opportunities offered by the medium of photography. The Dancing Times' photographic essays gave the British dance community valuable visual records of dance material, ranging from Astafieva demonstrating mime (D.T., May, 1917, p. 245), to illustrations of aspects of the Cecchetti method photographed under the supervision of Margaret Craske (D.T., December, 1927, pp. 337-339). This flurry of printed activity served to further arouse audience interest in dance, and helped to create a climate conducive to the ultimate development of that British company of which Richardson dreamed.

It was in 1931, with the twenty-first anniversary of The Dancing Times, that Richardson saw his vision of British ballet truly on the road to fulfillment. Two years before, he and one of his protégés, Arnold Haskell, had met at a restaurant (appropriately called Chez Taglioni) to initiate the formation of the Camargo Society. The history and importance of this organization are now well known. Formed to keep ballet alive after the death of Diaghilev, and to encourage the creation of a national British ballet, the Camargo Society commissioned and produced a number of new ballets by young British choreographers, including Ashton's Facade and Pomona, Ninette de Valois' Job and La Création du Monde, and Anthony Tudor's Adam and Eve. The Society also sponsored presentations of the classics, including the first

British productions of Giselle and Swan Lake (Act II) with Olga Spessivtseva in the principal role. Despite Spessivtseva's presence, the bulk of the personnel of the Camargo Society were British, many of them drawn from the studios of Ninette de Valois and Marie Rambert.

The Camargo Society's performances proved conclusively and in a highly visible way that Britain had enough dancers and choreographers to continue, in a professional way, presentation of both classical and contemporary ballet. When the Society disbanded in 1933, it donated its assets and some productions to a young company just beginning the struggle to establish a permanent home for British ballet at the Old Vic and Sadler's Wells theatres. This company was, of course, headed by Ninette de Valois who was to fulfill the "promise of great things" that Richardson had foreseen in 1913, and make his predictions come true by founding the British ballet company and school that, in 1981, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary as the Royal Ballet.

Another paper could be presented on Richardson's activities from 1931 until his death in 1963 on behalf not only of British ballet, but on behalf of ballroom dancing in Britain. G.B.L. Wilson, one of the only critics to have pointed out in print the magnitude of Richardson's contribution to dance in Britain, writes about his colleague in A Dictionary of Ballet: "His contribution to the organization and development of dance in England is immeasurable" (G.B.L. Wilson, A Dictionary of Ballet, London: A & C Black, 1977, p. 417). It is time, however, for dance historians to take the measure of Richardson's accomplishments and give him due credit for them. It is this that I hope to have begun to accomplish in this paper.

Note: Some of the information contained in this paper has also appeared in my article, "The Dancing Times 70th. Birthday: A Tribute to its Founder-Editor", Dancing Times, October, 1980, pp. 22-23.

April 13, 1982

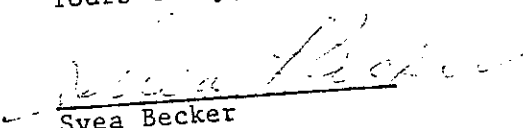
Christena L. Schlundt  
1982 DHS Proceedings  
Program in Dance  
University of California  
Riverside, CA 92521

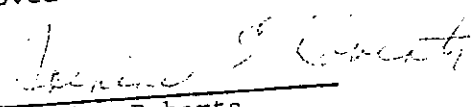
Dear Dr. Schlundt:

Our paper "A Reaffirmation of The Humphrey-Weidman Quality," is being published as a lead article in the first issue of the Dance Notation Journal, November 1982. Therefore, we are unable to include this paper in the proceedings of the Dance History Scholars Fourth Annual Conference.

However, we would like the proceedings to include a listing of our article with the information that a copy maybe obtained by contacting Jill Beck, Editor of Dance Notation Journal, The Dance Notation Bureau, 505- 8th Avenue, New York, NY 10081.

Yours truly,

  
Svea Becker

  
Joenine Roberts

/dmm

cc: Jill Beck, Editor  
Muriel Topaz, Director of the Dance Notation Bureau

## THE STILL POINT OF PERFECTION

Christena L. Schlundt

In the spring of 1978, Selma Jeanne Cohen was invited to Trinity College at Hartford by Connie Kreemer to head a half-day conference on Dance History. That was the first meeting of this group, presently known as Dance History Scholars. In 1979 and 1980, it met in New York City with the aid of Jeannette Roosevelt at Barnard College. Last year, 1981, the group was part of a joint conference with Congress on Research in Dance (CORD) and American Dance Guild (ADG) in Los Angeles under the direction of Emma Lewis Thomas. This fifth meeting in 1982 finds the group in Boston with the push of Ingrid Brainard and the help of Iris Fanger. In sum, this organization is a young one; strictly speaking, it does not exist since there is no formal organization to which its members pay dues.

With this brief history in mind, this paper addresses that something which brings the members of this group together: the process of being a dance historian. Suzanne Shelton in her paper "Constructing Dance History: Research Methodology used in Divine Dancer" gave a very cool analysis of that process; this paper presents some warm examples of the kind of decision making that is necessary to the process. It is presented in the form of a dialogue between two dance historians--this author, the academic one, and Jane Sherman Lebac, the participating recorder.

Shelton in her biography of Ruth St Denis records that that artist spent much time pondering "the still-point of perfection and its implications for the artist," a philosophical question which had grown out of her reading of Ouspensky's Tertium Organum. What this "still-point"--when everything in an artistic construct is perfectly expressed--for an artist can be can only be answered by that artist. This "still-point of perfection" for me as an historian is "What is the truth--the multi-faceted whatness--about the person or event in history which I am trying to bring back to life?"

This is the question I asked when I reviewed two books by Jane Sherman: Soaring and The Drama of Denishawn Dance. On this basis, I ventured the idea that the first book was an excellent example of the truth of the Denishawn period recorded; it revealed as never before the truth of the Denishawn Experience. By means of this excellent book, readers in the 1970's had found the "still-point of perfection," the truth, about Denishawn. All of St Denis' dreams about what Denishawn should be for its dancers were made manifest in this seventeen-year-old's reaction to her life as a Denishawn Dancer. On the other hand, I stated that Sherman's second book, although truly a rare resource for dance historians, was less than perfect--it did not reach that

"still-point"--because it opened with a citation of attacks other writers had made on Denishawn Dance, a posture of apology I insisted was irrelevant to the record, and because it presented Denishawn dance without taking into consideration the bias of the writer of the 1970's writing about dances she had known fifty years before in the 1920's.

The following questions and dialogue have grown out of discussions Jane Sherman and I have had over these points. First, should history be written overtly from the point of view of setting the record straight? What happens to that record when such a determining cast is put on the material? Specifically, should Jane Sherman's book The Drama of Denishawn Dance have opened with a listing of some of the inaccuracies about Denishawn that she had discovered in the writings of the young dance critics who could not possibly have seen that they were writing about? In my review, I took the position that the very fact that she had quoted some of these secondary sources gave to the views they expressed an authenticity, a value, that they would never have had had she not mentioned them. The book itself, I claimed, revealed in no uncertain terms who the authority was: Jane Sherman. Her exact descriptions cast no doubt. Immediately, all other writings on Denishawn had a standard of excellence never before available. So why had she bothered to quote the misconceptions of other writers? Jane Sherman writes,

This whole matter of whether or not I should have referred in my book to younger dance writers confuses me because you are the only one who has brought it up in a derogatory way. This is not to say that you are wrong and everyone else is right. But it may explain my puzzlement when it was the very attacks on those young critics that was heartily approved to me in writing by Doris Humphrey's son, Charles Woodford, and by fellow survivors Denishawn teacher Gertrude Shurr and Denishawn Dancers Geordie Graham, Anne Douglas and Barton Mumaw. . . . And when even one of those reviewers whom I criticized by name in The Drama of Denishawn Dance. . . . now writes me, "I don't find your approach to Denishawn defensive or apologetic, but straightforward. You are setting the record straight in general terms, as you have set us straight through letters." Can you not see from this why your opinion has confused me?

We live in two very different worlds, you and I, and I feel that contributes to our misunderstanding and/or rejection of each other's viewpoints. For do not one's experiences and milieu affect her/his reactions to identical material? You live in an academic environment. You also live in California, where St Denis and Shawn are probably still remembered

and revered, even unto today's generation. I, on the other hand, have for a long time lived in small towns on the East coast, fairly remote from the dance world. And I have been appalled, in my admittedly restricted ambience by the ignorance of cultured people about the works and even the existence of St Denis and Shawn. And I have been infuriated as well as appalled by the arrogance of many current dance writers who presume to judge Denishawn without ever having seen a Denishawn class or concert.

This is not to claim that I am always right in my reactions. But it is to explain why I thought I should attempt publicly to correct the damage these young dance writers had done with their widely-published misconceptions about Denishawn, whenever I felt secure in doing so. You, in your world, may not realize the extent of that damage. I, in mine, may have exaggerated it.

Thus here we two stand. I feel that The Drama, when its opening four or five paragraphs are read in the future, will bring up, unnecessarily, opinions of authorities, major in their fields but minor in relation to Denishawn, with whom the future reader need not have been bothered. But, I argue, since Jane Sherman mentioned them in the context of her definitive book, the future reader will feel compelled to deal with them, especially since the corrections in The Drama are made so definitely. Ignored, those uninformed authorities' opinions would have lain dormant for the future reader. The revised Denishawn record would not have been sullied by them.

The historial revisionism of artists' reputations is a phenomenon of historical writing. With the publication of Soaring and The Drama and the Shelton biography of Miss Ruth, I as an historian see the beginning of the revisionism of Denishawn, a reconstruction as inevitable as the recent revival of interest in and criticism of the poet William Carlos Williams who for so long was found wanting in comparison with the poetry of T. S. Eliot and other ex-patriots. (This comparison of Williams with Denishawn could be extended at length, if my cursory reading of a review of the new Williams biography is at all correct. For example, William's attempt to find a truly original voice in the conglomerate American experience, as opposed to the extension of the European one of T. S. Eliot, might be compared to Denishawn's trying to find a truly original kind of dance in the conglomerate American experience, as opposed to the extension of the European one of ballet.) Sherman and Shelton, I predict, mark the beginning of the revisionism of Denishawn in historical writing. They pin-point, they seek and very often find, for me, the "still-point" of what was true then, and by so doing, they have revised the Denishawn record.

The second question Jane Sherman and I have explored is the question of bias. I stated in my review that I thought it was impossible for her critical appraisals of Denishawn dances, written in 1970, to remain unaffected by the events which have happened to her since she was the Denishawn dancer of the 1920's. On the contrary, and with great dignity, she carries her argument in a fashion I much respect. She is determined that what she thinks of those dances now is what she thought about those dances then, and that since she sees them with a clear eye as both the performer and the recorder, what she writes in 1970 was true in 1920. Would it not be clearer to say the "hindsight" which she has applied to her opinions of some of the dances she describes is [she claims] not hindsight but rather the truth. That is the truth, the "still-point of perfection" of that particular entity. That was the truth for her. At the same time she takes the position that the truth she records lay only in her eye, her one beholder's eye. She reminds me not to discount the fact that other beholders (other members of the Denishawn Company, for example, or reviewers of those performers) might have a different insight into or memory of or critical appraisal of the dances recorded. And each would be valid for that person, she insists.

This whole matter has to do with the validity of the record of the participant. For me in this particular case there is no doubt that no one else alive can so well record what was true then. I do not question the validity of Sherman's record of the dances described. I feel in them that we have come as close as possible (they are that good) to the "still-point of perfection" of reconstructing those dances as we ever can. I do, however, question the opinions of those dances Sherman expressed; I believe the valid record is compromised by them. Sherman argues that if her opinions are not valid, neither is her record. I argue that her opinions have been formed by the experiences she has had in the ensuing years, whereas her descriptions (so alive they are) are as accurate as anyone's ever could be. They, for me, come to the still-point of reconstruction on the printed page as we can ever find.

The two of us have chewed over the effectiveness of Shawn's dance for Charles Weidman entitled Pierrot Forlorn, one of the 56 dances she describes. Sherman in her book says the music was banal, the choreography bland. She maintains that she always found them so, even when she was in the company when it was a highly successful part of the Denishawn Company offerings. She claims now and insists that she thought then that the dance's effectiveness came through in performance despite these limitations. I claim that in the world "which was true then," the music was not banal and the choreography bland--that both must have been more effective than she remembered because it was a popular dance at that time. It must have been a workable piece made for the audience and milieu "which was true then." Time, I claim, and its accompanying influences have clouded Sherman's eye when she gives an opinion about that dance in the 1970's. If she were going to include opinions she should have named her book Impressions of Denishawn rather than The Drama of Denishawn Dance. She counters:

You say the title The Drama would indicate that "what was true then" would be presented as straightforwardly as possible. I do not see that such

a title indicates anything except the most accurate descriptions of Denishawn dances that the author was capable of making--I see no hint therein of "what was true then." What was true, period. Nor does it really rule out the personal opinions of the author about those dances, whether opinions of the time she was dancing or of the time she was writing.

...perhaps I should have omitted all personal assessments and stuck to plain description. But... once having included my personal opinions, they truly were my opinions of "what was true then" and not my hindsight judgments. You do not accept this: it is your perfect right not to accept it. And I, alas, cannot prove by documents that I had those opinions long before I wrote the book.

Nor does Soaring really disprove what you consider my hindsight opinions, because of course the diary was edited and so were the letters, while many other of the letters (they had been lost) were missing. And in any case... in both books... I was highly motivated NOT to criticize or "judge" Denishawn works. I really wanted to establish valid credit for the accomplishments of Miss Ruth and Papa Shawn that I felt had long been overlooked, dismissed or distorted. Given that strong motivation, when I pointed out the shortcomings of certain dances, surely that must indicate my own on-the-spot-at-the-time reactions to those dances....otherwise, would I not, in hindsight, have tended to praise rather than belittle? And in both books I wrote as a performer in the pages rather than as a historian reading research.

That is why I still object to what you think I did with poor Pierrot. I was not downgrading or omitting Shawn's contributions. I was describing the performance as I had seen it so many times, and as I described all the other dances in the book. I thought then, as I wrote later, that the choreography of Pierrot was bland and the music banal. (Incidentally, a lot of early Denishawn music was pretty awful, even to my 17-year-old ears. On the other hand, when they used compositions of Debussy, Satie, Scriabin and other "modern" composers, this was very advanced choreography for those days.)

With such an argument, coming from a person of such a dimension both in experience and understanding, must I not admit that she has found the exactness of the whatness of the dance--the "still-point of perfection" in making that dance come to life again--that aim which I as historian strive for? Must I not accept even her opinions as part of what was true then? Can one isolate description from opinion?



A third subject about which Jane Sherman and I have exchanged points of view is the whole matter of the use of data, specifically the power of a fact used as a symbol. This gets back to the Tertium Organum again:

Doris Humphrey wrote:

They [St Denis and Shawn] would like us to gather in their rooms twice a week for talks and readings from the literature of the East. The book they chose turned out not to be Oriental after all, but a mystic and esoteric volume by the Russian Ouspensky, Tertium Organum. For most of us this was hard going indeed, but only I dared make any comment. At the end of one of these sessions. . . .

And Pauline Lawrence adds:

We sat through those readings from the Tertium Organum while cans of tomato soup were heating. It was rough.

New Dance, Dance Perspectives 25 (Spring 1966), p. 58.7

And Barton Mumaw has recorded that on the daily schedule of activities of Shawn's Men Dancers, while they were in residence at Jacob's Pillow, was the following:

10-noon and noon-2pm. Gathering on platform outside studio (if the sun shone). Lunch in the nude, followed by Shawn's reading aloud to us (Some of this was heavy going--Gilbert Murray and Greek poetry, Ouspensky's Tertium Organum. . . .)

"Ted Shawn. . . ." Dance Chronicle IV/2, p. 97.7

Thus the written record speaks. Those of us collecting Denishawniana have in our experience from these accounts the indelible picture of Miss Ruth and Papa Shawn reading difficult material to reluctant students. This data has become in time the symbol of two generations at loggerheads. Never mind that there might have been some company members who, carried on the same spiritual wave length as St Denis and Shawn, sat and listened rapidly. This picture, for us, was perfect because it exemplified the Freudian concept then popular that a new generation could rise only by putting down the former. Here we had a telling metaphor--a clear-eyed rejection of the young Humphrey against the filmy-eyed emanation of St Denis. It is an image so entrenched in modern dance folklore in the United States that it is likely never to be uprooted.

But what happens to this symbol when Jane Sherman comes along in the Seventies and claims that, in her experience, these readings seldom occurred. And not only did they occur seldom for her but they did not occur for others in the company as well:

The Denishawn company existed, in one form or another, from 1915 to 1931. During that period, is it not conceivable that different dancers had different experiences with their leaders? The Humphrey and Lawrence references may well have been to occasions before I joined the company. I certainly do not remember any cans of tomato soup heating while a meeting was taking place, and I would have recalled that even if I forgot the

important words of Ouspensky! As for my denying frequent Tertium Organum sessions in my two books, I was referring only to Denishawn, and to Denishawn only during my days. [The Mumaw reference is thus irrelevant here, although the picture of one of the "leaders" reading to his "followers" is confirmed. CLS]

May I offer another reason and/or proof why my experience of very few Tertium Organum sessions is valid? When I was with the Denishawn Dancers (1925-1928), St Denis was a very tired, very preoccupied, very busy, and often very unhappy woman, while Shawn was a very busy man burdened with many responsibilities beyond those of teacher, choreographer and performer. Especially on the long, tiring tour of the Orient and the horrible tour of the Ziegfeld Follies, I doubt in my heart and soul that Miss Ruth had the energy to pursue what she may, in her heart and soul, have devoutly wanted to do: i.e., to meet, read, and discuss with us matters metaphysical. I know we, who were much younger, had neither the time nor the strength to wish to engage in such activities. Life was just plain too hard, and there was too much else we had to do.

It seems to me that, taking the evidence that Sherman has accumulated--and I have given you only a touch of her marshalling of facts and remembrances, the following questions about the truth of what happened in this aspect of the relationship between these two generations have to be asked. Has this confrontation of two generations been over-emphasized? Has this single image of confrontation, viable when Freudian thought determined analysis, destroyed the richness that was Denishawn? Has it muted the wealth of inter-generational exchange, not rejection, that occurred between these two generations? Is Sherman not enriching the record when she says that different members of the company (or students) had quite different relationships with their mentors? Is the Humphrey-Lawrence remembrance an historical over-statement not in keeping with the complexity of "what was true then"? How many members of Dance History Scholars come to this point in time with the understanding that only by rejecting Denishawn could Humphrey have become what she became? What do you members think of this evidence that such misunderstanding was only a part, a small part, of the two generation relationship? Again Sherman puts it succinctly:

I believe that I am correct that different Denishawn Dancers and/or students had different relationships with Ruth St Denis and Ted Shawn. Would this not be normal for any company or class? Do you not have different relationships with your students and fellow-teachers, and they with you? What strikes you so odd that this might be true of Denishawn? . . . I MUST repeat: The Doris Humphrey-Pauline Lawrence experiences could have been accurate for THEM but not for ME. . . .

Perhaps a further point could be made: May not the emphasis on this conflict between generations--the moderns versus Denishawn, symbolized by the single metaphor of leader/teacher St Denis espousing Ouspensky to bored followers Humphrey and Lawrence, be responsible for the denigration of Denishawn only now being lifted by these revisionist writers?

The purpose of this paper has been to ask the warmly contested questions which a dance historian faces in the on-going process of writing history. By using familiar Denishawn examples, Jane Sherman and I had hoped that this presentation would trigger discussion of matters relevant to members of the Dance History Scholars. We still hope so.

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL OF DANCE CRITICISM  
CIRCA 1930-1950

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It is intended that this paper will be of interest for its method of defining a school of dance criticism as well as for the information it contains about the English school of dance critics who wrote in the nineteen-thirties and forties. Little, if anything, has been done in the area of defining schools of dance criticism; therefore, a method for doing so had to be devised in order to examine the work of the English critics. The method I have used is experimental and is intended to provoke thought about the various ways one might approach the problem of defining a "school" of criticism.

The question may be asked, why bother to determine common characteristics among a group of critics in order to designate them a school? It is suggested that through studying prevailing attitudes and approaches to the criticism of dance, methods will be clarified and a fresh perspective provided on the character and aesthetics of dance in a given time and place.

The initial problem undertaken towards understanding the English critics as a group was that of defining the concept of a "school" of criticism. The defining elements of a school can be understood as: first, a group of people whose work reflects a common influence; second, a group of people who subscribe to common opinions, attitudes and beliefs; and third, a group of people who follow a certain system or method.

Applying this to the notion of a school of dance criticism gives rise to the following definition:

- 1) The common influence behind the work of a group of critics would be the theatrical substance to which they are consistently exposed and about which they are writing.

- 2) Their common opinions, attitudes and beliefs would be represented by their conception of the art and the artistic criteria they accept as its standards.
- 3) The system or method they follow would be indicated in their practice of criticism.

It is possible, therefore, to define a cohesive school or tradition of English dance criticism in the period that falls roughly between the years 1930-1950 according to the dance its critics were viewing, the attitudes and opinions shared by these critics about the art of dance, and their practice of criticism. The purpose of this paper is to outline the general concepts, aesthetic principles and approaches to criticism that were common to most, if not all, British writers on dance at this time.

### The Dance Background

In the period under discussion, London witnessed performances of all styles of dance--ballet, Central European, musical comedy and various ethnic forms. However, ballet predominated and preoccupied the attention of its audiences and dance critics. Hence, in this paper dance background refers to the period's many examples of ballet that were an outgrowth of the Diaghilev era.

From 1910 until Diaghilev's death in 1929, English audiences had loved Ballets Russes productions, and the people who succeeded the Diaghilev era attempted to carry on his concept of total theatre in which choreography, design and music formed a cohesive work of art. During the nineteen-twenties and thirties London became a veritable hotbed of balletic activity, the key centres of which were Ballet Rambert and Ninette de Valois' Vic-Wells company. It was a time A.V. Coton referred to as "the marvellous adventure of the thirties". (Writings On Dance, 1975, p. 44)

Most ballets during this period were based on dramatic or psychological themes thus ballet d'action prevailed. However, every type of ballet was produced from pure dance pieces to serious dramatic works that provided either emotional, intellectual or purely aesthetic satisfaction. British ballet of this period was noted for its innovative choreography, its

adaptation of difficult literary themes to the medium of ballet, its penchant for characterization, and its abundant supply of composers and designers who, respectively, provided highly danceable music and, in many cases, stunning sets and costumes. Most important, these works were based on the concept of ballet as a synthesis of three arts-movement, music and design. Except for revivals of three and four act works, they were usually one-act in length and the result of collaboration between choreographer, composer and designer in the true Diaghilev tradition.

The critical eye, therefore, was trained to look for unified productions based on a synthesis of movement, music and design to convey some kind of theme, idea or action. English dance criticism thrived on the vital ballet scene of the thirties. By the early forties there were well over a dozen competent dance writers active in London. Some of the more productive writers were Cyril Beaumont, Arnold Haskell, Joan Lawson, Fernau Hall, Caryl Brahms, A.V. Coton, Adrian Stokes, P.W. Manchester, A.H. Franks, and Richard Buckle, a list that is far from complete.

Cyril Beaumont merits special attention as a founding member of this community of dance writers. He was one of its earliest writers; starting about 1920 he devoted himself to recording and perpetuating the Diaghilev legacy and to laying the foundations of English studies in dance history. Many of his younger colleagues have voiced their indebtedness to him for their initiation into the field of dance criticism. Viewed as a kind of mentor, he has been nominated variously as the "doyen and peer of all English critics", "the architect of ballet history in Britain", and "the grand old man of English ballet". The work of Beaumont and his contemporaries established the critical focus of the English school and paralleled the rapid and varied development of twentieth century English ballet.

#### Attitudes, Opinions and Beliefs Shared by English Critics- Their Concept of Ballet

In accordance with the productions they were viewing, British critics envisioned ballet as a composite art in which movement played a first-among-equals role with its sister arts, design and music. These critics did not care to see ballet divest itself of these visual and aural accoutrements; they preferred dance to be performed to music, in costume and amidst well designed sets. Beaumont,

remarking on the American custom of dispensing with elaborate staging, wrote "the use of practice costume and bare stage . . . always conveys an impression of something unfinished which awaits setting and costumes for its complete realization" (Ballet, Aug., 1952, p. 12), a sentiment undoubtedly held by his colleagues.

Arnold Haskell's words, in his book The National Ballet, provide a clear statement of the English viewpoint:

It is often said by those who do not understand ballet in the Fokine sense of the word that the test of good choreography is its equal brilliance in practice costume. This is not at all the case. It may and should have a meaning in practice costume but in good modern ballet I cannot admit that the three elements can be separated. . . . Imagine Scheherazade, which forms a magnificent choreographic pattern without the vital part played by Bakst. . . . This austerity ballet notion, whether it seeks to dispense with decors or orchestra, is plain rubbish. Ballet is not a synonym for dancing. (p. 54)

Richard Buckle, reflecting a similar view, described the creation of a ballet as follows:

How much more is needed to woo and weedle breath into the lungs of ballet--that reluctant Lazarus. The composing, rehearsing, playing of the music, and its bending to the use of dancers; the conception, painting and lighting of the scenery; the invention and creation of the costumes; the shaping of choreography to expound and embellish the theme of the ballet; the training of the dancers over a period of years, their proper casting and rehearsal; . . . all of these factors must be considered if the spark is to be struck and ballet is to exist as an art. (Ballet, Feb., 1948, p. 4)

Beyond this primary conception of ballet, British critics believed it should appeal to the emotions. Many statements to this effect exist in English criticism. A.H. Frank's belief that the most powerful appeal of art is to the emotions was echoed in Beaumont's pronouncement, "Whether for good or ill, I share Lord Dunsany's credo: 'No work of art is a thing so much to be understood as to be felt.'" (Dancers and Critics, p. 19)

For most members of the English school expressiveness was a key word in their appreciation of dance.

Finally, they believed ballet to be a suggestive or illusionistic medium of expression and recognized that it should avoid treating obscure ideas and complex narratives in favour of simple, direct subject matter. This was not considered a weakness. Frank's attitude that he attended the ballet "to be moved by qualities which he could find in no other branch of the theatre" was shared by other critics and indicative of their understanding of both the strengths and limitations of the art.

They defined the special qualities of ballet in a variety of ways, usually emphasizing its communicative directness. Fernau Hall noted a distinctive ballet time, observing that a "dancer moves in a different sort of time from the actor--a time which may bear little relation to the time of everyday life. The dancer portrays not so much events as the emotions generated by events". (Modern English Ballet, 1950, p. 61). Caryl Brahms mentioned the brevity of its language; "ballet is an art which says what it has to say swiftly and has no time for inversion or repetition". (Seat at the Ballet, 1952, p. 65)

#### Their Mutual Criteria for the Art of Ballet

English critics had many criteria for the creators and performers of ballet based on individual taste, but they all appeared to have concurred on two basic issues:

- 1) the need for the harmonious interaction of the component arts in a ballet;
- 2) the dancer as first and foremost an interpretive artist.

Following the passage quoted above, Haskell went on to state emphatically, "In ballet the whole matters". He accompanied this statement with a circular diagram that had four links; decor-dancing-choreography-music, a diagram which signified the complete interdependence of the arts in a dance production. This was viewed as necessary and desirable by all English critics who looked for harmony among these elements and for their effective parallel development of the ballet's theme and action. The cohesive mix of three arts into one unified work of art was the ideal established by Diaghilev and one which British critics wished to preserve.



Expressiveness in dancers was valued over technical virtuosity. Caryl Brahms wrote in her book, Seat at the Ballet, "The technique of the ballerina should be so assured that it can be taken for granted and, save in certain of its more breathtaking aspects . . . technique can be ignored, and interpretation becomes all important". (p. 33) In other words, Brahms and her colleagues expected the kind of technical facility that allowed the dancer to transcend technique and submerge herself in the role she was portraying.

As the communicator of the choreographer's ideas, the dancer was considered to be primarily an interpretive artist. In many cases critics would overlook technical deficiencies if a dancer was unusually expressive or enacted a vivid characterization. Excessive virtuosic display or personal projection was disapproved; dancers were expected to remain within the emotional framework and progression of the ballet. Beaumont's words reflect the English viewpoint succinctly:

Virtuosity is a wonderful possession for a dancer but I, personally, find greater interest in a dancer's expressiveness and ability to invest her choreographic vocabulary with meaning . . . I can appreciate virtuosity, but I am not moved by it. (Dancers and Critics, 1950, p. 19)

And, on the whole, if their emotions remained unmoved, British critics were unsympathetic to the ballet and artists being examined.

### Practice of Criticism

#### Critical Function as Understood by English Critics

P.W. Manchester wrote in an essay on criticism, "Above all a critic must remember his first duty is towards readers, the members of the audience, and not to those involved in the performance he is dissecting." (Dancers and Critics, p. 57) This is a principle with which most of her colleagues would have agreed. A.E. Franks described the ideal critic as the intermediary "between artist and audiences" who develops "understanding and discrimination". "All our knowledge in any particular field of art", he declared, "should through constant observation, followed by analysis and criticism be collated, developed and coordinated to one end: the better percep-

tion, understanding and appreciation of the created product". (Twentieth Century Ballet, 1971, p. XII)

Lofty goals these were, but in practice, English critics not infrequently directed their commentary to the professional sector. They dropped hints to artistic directors and performers as to how they might improve faulty productions or performances. At times they fulfilled Coton's professed aim of "assessing and fostering other men's work" and coincided with Haskell's belief that criticism should serve both professionals and audiences.

They believed the function of criticism was also to emphasize the whole ballet over the individual performer. English critics opposed any tendency towards a star system, believing that the acceptance of ballet as a high art depended on the recording and critical appraisal of choreography and the ballet as a whole. Again, there is a discrepancy between professed intentions and the actuality of their work. While they did stress the composite nature of ballets and examine them accordingly, they also wrote voluminously about individual dancers. Joan Lawson's statement, "the ballet as a whole is more important than the dancer individually", expressed a fundamental principle of the British approach to dance criticism during this period, but this did not preclude a healthy interest in and attention to the dancer.

### Critical Method

Within this framework lies the basis of their various methods of criticism as well. Cyril Beaumont once declared "The function of the ballet critic, as I see it, is first to describe a particular ballet and then to discuss its merits and defects as a complete work of art, this to be followed by a consideration of any individual contributions of importance". (Dancers and Critics, p. 13) This statement suggests the method underlying most examples of English dance criticism from the nineteen-thirties and forties--all critics, in one way or another, dealt with a ballet as a complete work of art, examining each of the key issues of movement, music and design in order to determine their cohesion into an artistic and expressive whole.

Beyond this basic approach, their methods of critically examining dance varied widely. Beaumont followed a methodical step-by-step plan, first providing a comprehensive description of the ballet's action and appearance, then evaluating the success of its various elements in

developing the theme. Haskell did much less description of action and the appearance of things and concentrated on how the key elements interacted to convey a certain impression, meaning or idea. Coton assessed a work first on its choreography and then on its degree of success as regards music, decor, idea and dancing, believing that through analysis of the choreography one could see all the accessory elements "in correct perspective".

### Conclusion

A cohesive school of English dance criticism can be discerned on the basis of its critics':

- 1) experience of the art, in other words, what they were viewing.
- 2) concept of the art of ballet and their mutual criteria for it.
- 3) practice of criticism--their notion of critical function and their basic method of examining dance productions.

This manner of characterizing a school of dance criticism is based on the three-point definition of "school" discussed at the beginning of this paper. In conclusion, it is suggested that this method could serve as a model to examine the critical outlook and approaches of other groups of critics.

Author's Note: This study of the English school evolved out of my M.A. thesis work on the critical writing of Cyril Beaumont.

## THE DANCE CRITICISM OF H.T.PARKER

by

Olive Holmes

Writing about the dance is an art almost as old as the dance itself. The job description of dance critic, however, is a recent invention.

When John Martin, who is generally considered the first official dance critic in the United States, was hired by the NEW YORK TIMES in 1927, Henry Taylor Parker had been writing his perceptive reviews for twenty-two years. Mr. Parker (more familiarly known as H.T.P.) was the music, drama, and self-appointed dance critic of the BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT. Writing for an audience traditionally steeped in music and suspicious of "dancing" he gave stature to the dance, dignity to the dancer, an education to the audience, and in his reviews thirty years of dance history come alive for all of us. (MOTION ARRESTED: DANCE REVIEWS OF H.T.PARKER. Wesleyan University Press, 1982.)

Mr. Parker began to write for the BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT in 1905. The essence of New England, the TRANSCRIPT was noted for its high-mindedness, dignity, integrity, and devotion to culture, education, and investment. At one point the NEW YORK SUN called it "the little old lady in a black bombazine dress." The TRANSCRIPT's last issue, on April 30, 1941, carried this announcement: "Died, this day in Milk Street, Boston's Little Old Lady in Black Bombazine."

The little old lady in black bombazine provided the perfect forum for H.T.P. Not because there was anything stuffy about his reviews. There was not. He clung to his longhand and his ancient dusty office but his writing was always fresh and forward looking. He welcomed change, the stimulating uprush of new ideas and new forms, and the succession of styles and individual approaches all the way from Isadora to Martha Graham.

As early as 1911 his theater page was often headlined DRAMA AND THE DANCE. He filled a page or two daily with his reviews of music, drama, and dance. His illustrated columns expanded, along with the paper as a whole, on Saturdays. Into these pages he poured a great deal of information about, as well as evaluation of, dance. His instructive advance notices were helpful to dancer and audience alike. Angna Enters dedicated her autobiography, FIRST PERSON PLURAL "to the memory of H.T.Parker," an indication of how deeply she

felt his influence on her career. (Angna Enters, *FIRST PERSON PLURAL*. New York: Stackpole Sons, 1937.) In her book, *AN ARTIST'S LIFE*, she said: "I know that if it had not been for the interest which led H.T.Parker to reprint in Boston the New York reviews of my new compositions, I could not have persevered or survived economically." (Angna Enters, *AN ARTIST'S LIFE*. London: W.H.Allen, 1959, pp.50-51.)

Parker was engaged in building an audience for the dance, an even bigger job then than it is now. He published interviews, photographs, news items, programs, and of course, the centerpiece of this collage--the reviews themselves, which were much longer than any newspaper has space for now. There was space and there was time to read in those days.

His style also reflected the times. His prose contains nineteenth-century overtones; it is dusted with archaic words and filled with strangely inverted sentences and omissions. He takes his time getting around to the dancer. The audience, the music, the scenery, and even the costumes lead the way. He said himself: "I like the slow building up of the argument, bringing the thing into focus."

When he brought the thing into focus, he made clear what was actually going on on the stage. He did not theorize so much as he described, which is of course of much more value to us today.

He reviewed the audience, too, which I think also has some value for us today. He was well aware of the audience-performer symbiosis, and his careful eye observed those gathered in front of the curtain as well as those behind. He deplored benefit performances because he felt that the audience at these events was not composed of the people who truly loved the dance, but he knew that without such charity events many dancers would not be able to come to Boston.

He also had an eye for costume. Part of his delight in Angna Enters and La Argentina was their beautifully coordinated costumes and he understood even in his review of Martha Graham, early in her career, the significance of the way in which she used costume as an integral part of her dance.

Probably the trait most characteristic of H.T.P. was his insistence on a high standard of performance. He pounced upon carelessness, shoddiness, venality, or dishonesty and for these sins he admonished not only the dancers and choreographers but the musicians, stagehands, set designers, costumers, managers--and anyone else connected with a performance. In so doing he helped to raise the standards of the dance.

So much for his place in time and some characteristics of his criticism. What were some of his judgments?

Of Isadora Duncan he said: "She has widened the expressive scope and vividness of the dance, mated it to new rhythms and new music, subdued its virtuosity and increased its humanity." "Innocence" is a word he used often in connection

with Isadora. His first review of her was on November 28, 1908, and his opening sentence read: "The charm of Miss Isadora's dancing . . . is its exquisite innocence, its exquisite lightness and its exquisite plasticity." He also went into some detail. Rather than make pronouncements about the future of this dance, he chose to describe how she moved. Here is a description: "She moves often in long and lovely sinuous lines across the whole breadth, or down the whole depth of the stage. Or she circles it in curves of no less jointless beauty. As she moves, her body is steadily and delicately undulating. One motion flows, or ripples, or sweeps, into another, and the two are edgeless. No deliberate crescendo and climax ordered her movements, rather they come and go in endless flow as though each were creating the next. And those movements have no less plastic beauty. They change, they fall together, so to say, like the colored glasses in the kaleidoscope."

In writing of Isadora, whom the world views as a romantic revolutionary, he stressed her "disembodied motion," her "abstract and remote beauty," her "virginal innocence." H.T.P. never confused performance and personal life. Paradoxically, he spoke often of Pavlova's "passion," not of her classical technique.

H.T.P. wrote twenty-six reviews of Pavlova. The number of his reviews reflects accurately the proportion of her appearances to those of other dancers of her time. His most "exuberant" reviews (and he loved to write "exuberant" reviews, as he himself called them) were written in 1913, which must have been her peak year. He likened her to a "bright, white, light flame."

But even Pavlova--who was, perhaps, his greatest favorite--received some bad reviews, and since she was such a favorite, they must have been extraordinarily bad performances. He did not spare her. In 1921 the standards of her company and even her own performances had dropped embarrassingly low. H.T.P. catalogued the inadequacies and these are his words: "late curtain and overlong intermissions," (he was very impatient with both) "tawdry setting, cramped stage, hard lights, cheap costumes, clumsy orchestra, chopped-up music, threadbare 'divertissements,' and sloppy principals." (Hilda Butsova excepted). He took Pavlova herself to task for not appearing often enough and then only as "mechanical technician; second as a swan frayed into dull routine; third as mere observer in the peasant dance. In all three she neither illuded nor allured." This was in October 1921. He was not only disappointed but angry, blaming it all on her manager's (and her own) pursuit of the American dollar. His opinion was that if she wanted to keep her Boston audience, she would have to come back the next time with better ballets, company, and orchestra--in fact with improvements all around.

The following spring, in April 1922--she did.

In 1924 H.T.P. reported happily that she was dancing "as though she were at radiant noon, untarnished, undiminished, inexhaustible . . . not in years has she shone as she did last evening."

H.T.P. reviewed Ruth St. Denis for the first time in December 1910. She had been in Boston earlier in the year. On January 12, 1910, H.T.P. wrote in his "Notes of the Day": "Miss St. Denis, it is good to know, will continue her matinees of Indian dances and pantomime at the Hollis Street through next week. . . Little by little Miss St. Denis has found her true public here, sensitive to the exotic atmosphere that clothes her miming and to the sense of rhythm and the sense of flowing line that equally animate it."

The following December she came to Boston again on a double bill with the Balalaika Orchestra, and gave a program of Egyptian dances--"a highly exotic evening" as H.T.P. characterized it. What seemed to strike him were both her line and the pictorial quality of her dance.

Years later, when the Denishawn company came in the course of their 1922-23 tour he again stressed the "visual pleasure" of the Denishawn dances. "She is mistress still as she was many years ago," he said "of those wave-like motions of hand and arm and body that accord with her Hindu, her Buddhistic personages. She still works illusion of their glittering presence, tranquil posturings, rustlings and rufflings of the spirit within and the flesh without." He was not enthused about the music visualizations. The movement seemed to him like "arbitrary embroidery."

H.T.P. reviewed St. Denis and Shawn again on their final tour together in 1930, without their company. In the course of this review, he said "whether we like it or not, a change has come to pass in the fashion of the dance . . . the ballet that was stage spectacle has virtually vanished . . . Nowa-days dancers in America go about singly or in pairs; a piano, not an orchestra accompanies them; behind them are only 'drapes.' Some nationalize their dances . . . (like La Argentina) others would have their dances abstract designs, symbolic patterns, subjective meditations. Cerebration directs them; at its bidding they put aside fantasy, exoticism, decoration, rhythmized motion for its own swiftness and energy, finesse and grace . . . To many the elder dance of visual and illusory fascinations is as faded and withered as a Christmas wreath in February. That dance Miss St. Denis and Mr. Shawn perpetuate; for it . . . there is still a following. By long precedent and in the workings of human nature, both [i.e. the elder and the newer dance] are as permanent as the stars."

H.T.P. saw Nijinsky in Boston in the fall of 1916 and wrote of his "magic telepathy of personation." He described the famous leap through the window in LE SPECTRE DE LA ROSE as "one swift, light bound, like soft gust of the night wind." He called his pirouettes "less feats of agility and exactitude

than the eddies of an inner elation." His entrechats: "cleave the air for the flash of an instant as foot meets and parts from foot in gossamer contact" and the movement of his whole body, he described as "the lovely and adroit play of arm and hand, head and body in flawless and flowing harmony and rhythm."

His first review of Mary Wigman on January 23, 1931, is headlined "The Dancer in This Day without Peer." "It is new dominion of the dance," he said "and she has conquered it."

The opening paragraph of his review gives us a glimpse of Wigman as the curtain rose on her first performance in Boston: "Mary Wigman has clear, keen sense of the theater. When the dull red curtains parted last evening at Symphony Hall--she was disclosed in bright silver, far back on the stage, outstanding against neutral drapery. The quick visual sense of a spare figure and a plain face, both tense and alert. A moment of taut suspense, felt from stage to auditorium and back again; the slightest signal to the waiting musicians--and Miss Wigman sprang into the Invocation . . . Then impression piled upon impression--of a body stripped to muscle and sinew, plastic and controlled, instantly responsive to the will within, capable of endless sculpturesque shadings; of a personal and spiritual force, concentrated, emanated, outflung; of extraordinary intensity in designing imagination and projective power; of subtle play of hands, heroic gesture, sweeps of dynamic movement; of advance and recession boldly rhythmed, crescendos in long, unbroken, march and curve, diminuendos finely adept; of an end from the beginning foreseen, measured, fulfilled, as a musical form progresses and is rounded . . . Of such was a grander style of the dance than our time has known."

His one review of Martha Graham in concert (April 9, 1932) is a tribute to both dancer and critic. He says himself that since it is his first experience that it is possible to set down only casual and insecure impressions. But his casual and insecure impressions were sound. How is this for a portrait of Martha Graham, the person, in 1932?

"Her face is that of a woman who visions, reflects, then wills and accomplishes. Living and working are written upon it; above all, the self-critical and striving instinct that must revise every accomplishment; proceed from it to the next above." He goes on: "Technically Miss Graham uses an idiom that she has fashioned and ripened for herself. Casually observed--as it essentially was on one short 'session'--it seemed both modernist and primitive. It is modernist in the use of short, sharp, bare and direct movement; in the breaking of a curve so that for the instant it seems an angular motion; in the energizing of every stroke, in the preference for impinging over modulated line; for significance over beauty in the discarding of every superfluity; in a sense of the body as an instrument of percussion and repercussion . . . in its avoidance of virtuosity and



graces for their own sake; in its reliance upon design and abstraction; in its search for symbol and suggestion . . . The modernist technique and . . . primitive suggestion are curiously and meaningfully blended as though she were thinking and groping toward the evolution of a dance that should have its roots in a primitive America, yet in ultimate development be expressive of her modernist mind and time . . . she designed dance-patterns that curiously and significantly threaded her modern technique with primitive suggestion. . . They are the promise of an American dance. For the while they are also its fulfillment."

For him they were its fulfillment. H.T.P. did not live to see the flowering of the American dance in the late thirties and forties for he died in 1934. He did see enough to know that an exciting period was coming. He would have delighted in the growing audiences, the proliferation of dance groups and ballet companies, the outreach of television, the number and excellence of our dance critics and of our dance departments in the universities.

His own contribution to all of this was a large one. At a time when the dance was considered a trivial pursuit, he insisted that "the universal art" as he called it should take its place beside music and drama--and he gave it a fond, firm, and fatherly push in that direction.

# THE CASE AGAINST CHEIRONOMIA IN THE FIFTH-CENTURY B.C. GREEK THEATRE

Libby Smigel

Today "cheironomia" is perhaps the most familiar term applied to the performance of the fifth-century B.C. Greek chorus. Actual choreography danced by the chorus in the Greek theatre has not survived, nor has the musical accompaniment. So the term cheironomia is used by classicists, as well as theatre and dance historians, to describe a technique used by the chorus during the choral interludes.

Cheironomia is a compound of the two Greek words for "hand" and "name." In its current application to the ancient Greek theatre, the chorus supposedly commented on the action of the drama and enacted the words with some sort of pantomimic gesture. Classicist and dance historian Lillian Lawler has characterized cheironomia as "highly conventionalized gestures" and said that "lengthy stories could be 'told' in dance by means of gestures" (The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre, Iowa City, 1964, p. 13). In his recent book Greek Theatre Practice, J. Michael Walton, a theatre historian at Hull University, visualized cheironomia as a repertoire of elaborate and detailed gestures similar to the forms used in Indian dance or Japanese theatre (Westport, Conn., 1980, p. 56).

Upon what are these modern interpretations based? Investigation of ancient Greek literature shows that the term appeared in writings of philosophers, antiquarians, and satirists over the course of sixteen centuries. Because all these commentaries were written in Greek, there is a tendency among classicists to treat them as primary sources. Yet modern dance historians have difficulty reconstructing dance in Shakespeare's plays, less than four centuries later. Should it be assumed that this term cheironomia meant the same thing throughout sixteen centuries, in cultures which supported radically different dance and theatre genres?

I am going to suggest that the term cheironomia meant something quite different from pantomimic theatrical gestures. In my case against cheironomia in the fifth-century B.C. theatre, I wish to suggest that cheironomia developed its theatrical association much later--in the period of the Roman pantomime--and that writers in the first through third centuries A.D. were influenced by their contemporary dance and theatrical forms. As a result, whether justifying or satirizing the contemporary practice, they applied the techniques and aesthetics of their own time to the fifth-century B.C. Athenian drama.

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This Roman interpretation of the Greek chorus has colored the modern understanding of the term cheironomia.

Therefore, the word as Lawler, or Walton, or most dance historians have used it did not apply to fifth-century B.C. choral dance. To substantiate this theory, I would like to analyze the term cheironomia within its literary contexts from the fifth century onward. Then I shall present pertinent documentation from the areas of fifth-century archaeology and literature which suggest that cheironomia is incompatible with the fifth-century theatre. Through the study of this term, I have concluded that cheironomia was not an element of the fifth-century choral performance and--perhaps more importantly--that conceptions of the fifth-century Greek chorus should be based primarily upon fifth-century evidence, rather than statements of philosophers, antiquarians, or satirists centuries thereafter.

To find out the various usages of cheironomia in Greek literature, I consulted the Liddell and Scott lexicon. This lexicon documents the occurrence of the concept of cheironomia in three fields and characterizes the term's use in each field by a distinct definition. Two editions of the lexicon were used: the 1905 edition which will be referenced as LS and the 1940 revised edition referenced LSJ. (A more detailed account of the following analysis may be found in my M.F.A. thesis "Redefinitions of the Fifth-Century Greek Chorus Using a Methodology Applied to Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae," York University, 1982, which includes additional examples and the ancient Greek texts upon which my translations are based.)

According to the first definition, the medical profession of the fifth century B.C. used cheironomia to refer to "measured motion of the arms" in the sense of an exercise (LS s.v.). The writings of the physician Hippocrates (374.3) includes one reference to cheironomia, and it appears again in the second-century A.D. writings of the Roman court physician Galen.

Secondly, cheironomia was associated with training at the gymnasium. The exercises and drills which ancient Greeks practiced in the gymnasium were executed to music. Hence, the exercises acquired a dance-like association though the activity remained distinct from the formal dance-drama forms. In this gymnastic context, the idea of practicing cheironomia developed as "to spar" (LS s.v.) or "to practice shadow-boxing" (LSJ s.v.). Plato's Laws 830C provides the clearest and earliest example of this use of the term. Plato equated the preparation of a citizen for his role in life to the preparation of a boxer makes for a fight. A boxer would use a dummy to practice before going into a real competition. Without

a dummy, he (like anyone else practicing for a certain role) would have to resort to a kind of shadow-boxing, Plato concludes:

And then in solitude having lacked all exercising partners, both alive and lifeless, would we not always undertake to fight with a shadow actually against ourselves? For what else would anyone say the practice of sparring to have been?

In the succeeding centuries up to the third or fourth centuries A.D., the term continued to be associated with shadow-fighting. For example, Plutarch, a moral philosopher of the second century A.D., describes a dinner scenario where dancing boys entertained the guests and competed for prizes. Plutarch states that his brother was chosen to judge the performance because he was a good pyrrhic dancer and also excelled in "shadow-boxing" over other boys in the wrestling schools (Quaest. conv. 9.15.747B): "For he danced persuasively the pyrrhic dance and he appeared to excell over the boys shadow-boxing in the wrestling school."

The Roman antiquarian Athenaeus links the practice of cheironomia directly with a combat situation in his tale of the pentathlon contestant Timocreon (416A). Timocreon shadow-boxed on the day following the contest where he had vanquished many competitors. But when someone asked his reason, Timocreon replied that he had some punches left over, if anyone wanted to take him on.

These three examples demonstrate the association of this term with wrestling schools, with athletic competitions, and with military or gymnastic training. This observation implies that cheironomia was associated from the time of Plato with an athletic tradition of movement which was perpetuated in practice and in literature for many centuries. The medical field's definition of cheironomia as an exercise for the arms can be viewed as closely related, or perhaps even identical, to the second meaning, its use in gymnastics for sparring or shadow-boxing.

How then did cheironomia come to be applied to the fifth-century B.C. tradition of theatrical or choral dance? The answer lies in the third definition provided by the Liddell and Scott lexicon: "to pantomime." However, apparently there are only two citations extant from the fifth century which might be interpreted with this pantomimic connotation: one from Xenophon's Symposium, the other from Herodotus. Do these examples substantiate the existence of pantomimic gestures in the Greek theatre, or have the later commentators colored the interpretation of cheironomia with their experience of contemporary pantomimic theatre? Scrutiny of the two fifth-century examples,

with particular attention to the purpose of the writers, reveals that the term's use in these contexts referred to gymnastic shadow-boxing rather than to dramatic pantomime in the theatre.

Herodotus (6.126-130) relates the anecdote of Hippokleides' ill-fated attempt to win the daughter of the Greek tyrant Kleisthenes as his bride. According to the tale, Hippokleides outshone his competitors in every manner of skill and athletic feat, and Kleisthenes favored him over all others. But just before Kleisthenes favored announce his choice for son-in-law, he provided a sumptuous feast for the suitors. Hippokleides indulged in a great deal of wine, so much so that he quite forgot to conduct himself decorously. He called for music and for a table as well, and set to dancing wildly upon the tabletop. Finally, he stood on his head and kicked his legs vigorously in the air ("doing cheironomia with his legs"). This particular improvised figure lost Hippokleides the respect of Kleisthenes and with it his bride, for the enraged Kleisthenes bellowed, "Hippokleides, you have just danced away your wedding."

Herodotus uses the phrase "practicing cheironomia with his legs." One can see that a person standing on his head might wave his legs mimicking the way the arms might move. Yet, it is a great assumption to suppose that this evidence substantiates the existence of a fifth-century system of pantomimic hand gestures. Instead, it seems more likely that Herodotus had in mind the sparring gestures of the gymnasium, and chose the term cheironomia intuitively as a literary device. Not only did Hippokleides have a military position in this story, but he had just competed before Kleisthenes in a number of events which must have been reminiscent of the tradition of gymnastic training which included shadow-boxing. Athenian readers would have immediately perceived the humor of using a gymnastic term to describe Hippokleides' drunken clowning.

Herodotus' amusing story of Hippokleides' fate as a suitor was popularized by a number of the Roman period writers (e.g., Plutarch 867B; Pollux 2.153). By this time, however, the theatre of the Roman pantomime was in its hey-day, and the writers could easily assume that Herodotus intended to indicate pantomimic gesticulation, the meaning of the word after an evolution over six centuries. The occurrence of the concept of cheironomia in Herodotus' anecdote provided the Roman commentators with the opportunity of perceiving the fifth-century dance as the historical precedent to their own cheironomia of the pantomime. Kleisthenes' censure of Hippokleides' behavior probably appealed to the Roman writers who tended to place moral values on the dance.

The other fifth-century example often cited to support the idea of cheironomia for the Greek chorus appears in Xenophon's Symposium (2.17). He relates Socrates' enthusiasm for dancing, despite his advanced age. In an exchange between Socrates and his friend Charmides, the latter indicated that he could not dance, but that he knew the art of shadow-boxing:

Said Socrates, "Don't you know that lately at day-break Charmides here discovered me dancing?"

"Yes indeed, by God," said Charmides. "And at first I was astounded and feared lest you were crazy. But when I heard from you the sort of things that you are now saying, I myself having gone home didn't dance, for I have not yet learned how, but I practiced cheironomia. For I was versed in that."

The context of the words indicates that there was a difference between dancing and practicing the so-called hand gestures, or shadow-boxing as I believe it really should be translated. Charmides did not characterize his activity as dancing; in fact, he maintained he had not learned how to dance. His practice of cheironomia must have been something else, something familiar to the average Greek citizen. And indeed, he would have been familiar with the training and exercises in the gymnasium which were a part of every citizen's education.

This analysis of the fifth-century uses of the term suggests that the fifth-century connotation of practicing cheironomia is quite different from that which impregnates the Roman literature on dance. In fact, these two examples cited by the Liddell and Scott lexicon easily fall within the gymnastic practice of cheironomia rather than the theatrical dance practice. No other fifth-century examples of cheironomia have been uncovered which could support the existence of a system of pantomimic hand gestures used by the chorus.

From the synopsis of the concept of cheironomia in fifth-century literature, certain observations can be offered. The idea of practicing the hand movements seems to indicate an exercise, one which approximated shadow-fighting in gymnastic circles in the fifth century B.C. Perhaps this shadow-fighting resembled the sort of organized rhythmic exercises patterned on defense maneuvers which some of the Asian self-defense schools practise. At any rate, there is no indication that fifth-century writers associated cheironomia with the chorus performing in theatre festivals. Furthermore, the idea of cheironomia as pantomimic performance, the communication of story by means of hand gestures, is unpersuasive when

considered in conjunction with two pieces of theatrical documentation from the fifth century B.C. First, cheironomia as pantomimic communication seems irreconcilable with a large group of performers, that is, one such as the fifth-century theatrical chorus. The tragic chorus had fifteen members, the comic chorus twenty-four. These dancers performed in the orchestra, the circular space at the foot of the stage. A seat toward the back of the theatre would have shrunk the individuals to a height of approximately three-fourths of an inch. If the traditional theory that the chorus usually performed in a rectangular grouping is accepted, the cluster of chorus members in the orchestra space would simply not have been conducive to transmitting subtle hand gestures to the distant theatre-goers. The group of dancers would not have permitted the necessary contrast of the arm positions against background enabling the gestures to be "read" from such a distance.

On the other hand, pantomimic-type gestures of the kind the Roman writers documented would have been particularly attractive in a solo setting. Solo performances (or the performance of a small group where each individual acted as individual) using hand gestures would have allowed the artist to set off his movement through use of contrasting costume and background, a manipulation of properties which was apparently not a technique used in fifth-century choral performances.

It should be remembered that the literary excerpts from the fifth century imply that this shadow-boxing or cheironomia was a solitary practice. Hippokleides performed a solo. Charmides executed his movements alone. Plato's dialogue in the Laws suggested that one shadow-boxed for lack of a proper sparring partner.

A second observation on fifth-century dramatic evidence closes the case against cheironomia. An oft-used ploy in the comic drama was the parodying of tragic dramatic conventions. Aristophanes' exaggeration of certain elements, or parodies of the use of stage techniques, commonly employed in tragedies documented a convention's use in the contemporary theatre. For example, we know Euripides experimented with new musical forms (Arist. Frogs, l. 1314) and used the crane machinery for airborne exits or entrances (Arist. Thesm., l. 1098) through the burlesque of these practices in comedy. If indeed this communication with the hands was standard movement for the chorus, why was there no mention of its existence by Aristophanes? In all the extant comedies and fragments attributed to him, there is no exploitation of the concept of cheironomia for laughs. Not by the chorus, nor by the actors. Rarely did Aristophanes pass up the opportunity to parody his tragedian contemporaries. He might have

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slipped in a line about "hand-waving" or some other quip, in reference to unsuccessful uses of cheironomia. But he did not, probably because there was no such joke. For, I believe, there was no such use of cheironomia by the fifth-century Greek chorus.



DANCING IN THE DARK: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF MARGOT WEBB  
IN AFRAMERICAN VAUDEVILLE OF THE SWING ERA

by Brenda Dixon-Stowell

Margot Webb and Harold Norton were one of the few Aframerican ballroom teams in history. Known professionally as "Norton and Margo," their career was emblematic of the paradoxes and double standards which existed for Aframerican artists in white America.

Had they been tap dancers, lindyhoppers or an exotic act, they might have gained a reputation in the mainstream entertainment industry. As a ballroom team, they faced the same dilemma as a Dean Dixon or a Marian Anderson: they were embarked on a white road posted, in effect, with "No Trespassing" signs.

Their ballroom style did not differ from the white stereotype upon which they were modeled -- just as the styles of Grace Bumbry's singing or of Andre Watts' pianism are by no means ethnic, except in the ear of the listener or in the eye of the observer.

Paradoxically, because of the rarity of ballroom dancing by an Aframerican team, Norton and Webb could be booked regularly on Aframerican entertainment outlets which flourished as discrete entities in the pre-civil rights era of this century. Due to discrimination, the Aframerican world was more close-knit and independent than now, and word-of-mouth -- augmented by coverage in what was a thriving Aframerican press -- were significant influences on the team's popularity. At the same time, Norton and Webb were invisible -- unnoticed and mainly undocumented -- to white audiences. Like many Aframerican performers, they were "dancing in the dark" as far as the white world at large was concerned.

After their 1933 debut the team performed with major Aframerican bands of their era, including the bands of Roy Eldridge; Chick Webb (no relation to Margot Webb); Earl Hines; Teddy Hill; Noble Sissle; and Louis Armstrong. They toured extensively on the Aframerican vaudeville circuit in the East and in the mid-West. In 1937 they toured Europe -- first, as part of the Cotton Club Revue and, later, as an independent act on Continental variety shows. They were well known on the Aframerican East Coast nightclub and vaudeville circuits for fifteen years, filling a position in Aframerican entertainment that faded into oblivion by the time of their retirement from the stage in 1947.

Over the course of their career Norton and Webb's repertory did not undergo major changes and consisted, at any time, of approximately 3 to 5 "working" dances from a

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total repertory of 8 or 9 numbers. The ballroom dance technique remained constant and consisted of lifts and spins linked together by steps: Waltz steps if it were a Waltz, Rumba steps for a Rumba, and so on.

Like other dance genres, ballroom dancing is built on a particular alphabet of steps, phrases, and routines. Alterations in sequence, directional patterns, rhythm, timing, and in the music, were areas for change and variety, but the same types of lifts, extensions, dips and spins would be used for either a Rumba, a novelty number or a Waltz. Each team had its particular variations on the basic vocabulary.

There was almost nothing acrobatic about the Norton-Webb style of dancing. They were an adagio ballroom team whose aim was smoothness and visual beauty, a flowing totality rather than spectacular moments. Each ballroom team had its specialties. Theirs were Waltz interpretations and "Sophisticated Jazz." The Waltz repertory represented their particular calling as ballet-trained adagio dancers; the "Sophisticated Jazz" routines were their "hi-falutin'" concession to what was expected of Aframerican performers -- namely, that you had to have "rhythm". Typical of ballroom style and of nineteenth century ballet partnering, the focus of their presentation was the female, with Norton "leading" and exhibiting Webb in the lifts and spins which punctuate, highlight and climax each ballroom number.

As Webb explains, the difficult part of ballroom dancing is achieving smoothness and ease of execution. The lifts are more a matter of synchronized timing than muscular effort. In the rehearsal process the full-length studio mirrors were substituted for the eye of the audience so that, ideally, angles of stress -- pushing up to a lift, for example -- would be positioned away from the spectators. In her words, "What we were aiming for was to make a picture for the audience to see."

In ballroom dancing, improvisation is generally the result of years of partnering, with two people organically developing their unique body language together. Since the male role is to "lead" the female, he can initiate certain movements which it will be natural for her to follow. In the standard ballroom position the male can apply a gentle pressure in the small of his partner's back and, combined with the pattern of his steps and the movements of his body, she will be led by him. Unless she resists his lead and breaks the flow and smoothness of his movement, she has no choice but to follow him. Using this communication which is natural to the partnering relationship, the man can lead his partner into improvised turns or dips.

What follows is Webb's reconstruction from memory of a Norton and Margot Waltz. During the course of one

dance, no movement phrases or lifts were repeated, as for example, in the way that a song like "Smoke Gets In Your Eyes" has an A-A-B-A form.

Facing each other in standard position, they covered the performance area in Waltz turns, sweeping and circling the stage and adding one or two variations. (Plate 1 -- Here they are moving in standard position.) All variations were done in motion. The team did not stay in one spot or position themselves centerstage. This is an area where improvisation could occur, in the floor steps and arm and body positions of the opening:

(1) Retaining right (female) and left (male) hands of the standard position but releasing the waist-shoulder hold, the male leads the female away from his body, pivoting her right hand in the hollow of his left as she turns under their held palms. He guides her into the back-to-back position, with both their arms outstretched and hands clasped. In this position they may Waltz-turn in either direction and he may lead her, turning and stepping, either to the right or to the left. They may vary the position further by intertwining arms rather than holding hands and by tilting bodies.

(2) From the back-to-back position they release hands. The female Waltz-turns to the male's left side. He catches her by the waist with his left hand as she comes around from his back. Now they are side by side, both facing out, the male's left arm encircling his partner's waist, with her right arm extended in front of his right arm as she leans in towards him and follows him, waltzing side by side around the floor.

(3) Or, from the back-to-back position, she steps, moving to his left, and again circles under his pivoting left palm until they are face to face in standard position.

(4) From standard position the male turns the female to her right. They switch hands, he takes her right hand in his right hand, pivoting it in his palm as she passes from in front of him to behind him. As she passes his back from right to left, he takes her left hand in his left. Her right arm encircles his shoulders from behind. She is now on his left side, and their left hands are held low in front. (Plate 2.) They release hands, she turns in front of him to resume the standard position.

Webb recalls that the back-to-back variations were also used in the "B" section of "Smoke Gets In Your Eyes".

(All photographs were taken from the audience during performance.)

(5) Another variation in the opening: As they cover the floor in standard position, Margot pivots in front of Norton to open position. Still turning, she sweeps either leg into a low front extension and allows

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him to lead her by her extended hand, which he holds with his leading hand. In this position, they can continue to waltz in open position, stepping and turning either to the right or the left. It is the pressure of the male's leading hand which determines the direction of the movement. (Plate 3.) To resume the standard position, he simply pivots her under his palm, turning her to face him. They reduce the sweep of the circular patterns and the scope of their steps in preparation for the next variation, which would be either a low lift or a sequence of tour-jetes around the stage. They could choose to do one or both of these variations at this point. For the tour-jete variation, the pattern would be, "Waltz, Tour-Jete, Waltz, Tour-Jete. . . .", with Norton simultaneously holding Margot by the waist and leading hand while also throwing (or lifting) her. At the height of this low lift, she completes the tour-jete definitive movement of lifting the second leg an instant after the first in scissors fashion.

Depending upon the music and the number of variations used in the routine, they would have completed one-third to half a dance with the preceding steps and combinations. The final half builds to a climax with lifts and spins.

After the tour-jetes, they waltz to center stage for a backbend variation (1) or a backward lift (2):

(1) In standard position Norton places himself upstage, with Webb downstage. He lunges forward, dipping her and guiding her upper torso in a circular pattern three to four times with his leading left hand. With each circling, he dips her deeper and deeper until, by the final sweep, they release the leading hand, and she is almost in a full backbend, with him bending forward over her and bracing her at the waist. (In Plate 4, the chorus is seen onstage in the background. The lifted leg and this angle facing the audiences gives the movement a particularly sensuous, graceful look. Some teams may have gone for a deeper, more sensational backbend, but this team, not acrobatic, aimed for the flowing, romantic whole.)

(2) Again, they circle the stage, with Norton the axis, and Webb the wheel: using a series of small turns she completes revolutions around him as he guides her first with his left hand and then with his right. As she turns and passes him, he catches her at the waist, lifts her by balancing her hip just above his, with her legs in a low scissors position. As she steps out of the lift, she continues circling him behind, steps around to face him, and they return to the standard position:

(1) Webb secures herself in the standard position, wrapping her left arm firmly around Norton's shoulders and bracing her right hand in his left hand as he lifts her. She scissors her legs, one leg in front, the other

leg behind, and leans her upper body on his. A pressure-lift, it would be sustained for only one or, possibly, two full revolutions on his part, since the leverage and support are limited by the nearly upright position of the female's body. It is similar to tour-jete lifts, except the legs lift vertically rather than kicking out.

(2) Basically a variation of the above lift, Webb turns slightly to her left in standard position, braces her right thigh and knee on Norton's right side about waist level with her right leg bent and the left leg extended to the back. This lift allows more support than the previous one, and Norton could spin Webb in this position, by retaining his plie and remaining in one spot.

(3) The finale of a Waltz interpretation would be, invariably, a horizontal lift which was held while Norton spun Webb in place, turning many times in small, quick steps. From a walking pattern in standard position which followed the previous lift, he secures her at the waist and lifts her. Her left arm still encircling his shoulder, she arches backwards and lies across his supporting arm. This lift began low, was raised to medium or shoulder height, and then was lowered for a smooth recovery by the female. (Plate 5. In the photograph, notice the plie position of Norton and the close placement of his feet which created a solid base for the spinning.) This horizontal spin, sustained and picture-pretty, was the final grand movement of the dance. Norton gently lowered Webb to place her feet on the ground and to step out of the lift, holding his hand, to be circled in his arms. Here he added the final touches before their bows: he would kiss her shoulder, embrace her, kiss her hand as she faced him or the audience. (Plate 6.) She might turn in front of him and move to his other side. They would stand side by side, still holding hands, while Webb did a deep curtsy and Norton bowed. They might run to the wings (in a theatre) or to the side (of the nightclub floor) and, as the audience applauded, return to center stage and add a finishing flourish or two, Webb pivoting under his palm to be locked in his arms for another hand or shoulder kiss and a bow before Norton led Webb offstage.

## BALLET COMIQUE DE LA REINE: A PRIMER ON SUBTEXT AND SYMBOL

Camille Hardy

Unraveling the complex historical, political, and aesthetic layers of Ballet Comique de la Reine has intrigued dance scholars for four centuries. Primarily because the published account has made it elusively tangible, the ballet has provoked imaginations since its single performance on October 15, 1581. The recent quatro-centenary seemed an appropriate occasion to reassess some of the facts of the production and to pose some new questions: What visual messages were to be calculated from this last Valois spectacle? Who was there? What did those images mean to 16th century spectators for whom visual symbols were a powerful means of communication? With the exception of Frances Yates' scholarship, the answers commonly offered to these questions seldom reflect the complex subtlety of Catherine de Medici's mind. Although she was not publicly involved in producing the event, Ballet Comique represents the apogée of festival art which the Queen Mother engendered in France. Rooted in politics, her festivals were powerful symbolic events. Ballet Comique can be considered as the most audacious and complex metaphor of power produced during the Valois era. By re-examining some of the attendant political and visual aspects, it may be possible to reveal yet another dimension of the ballet's significance.

Humanism is the point of departure for any Renaissance inquiry. In a perceptive article Nicolo Abbagnano writes:

The discovery of historical perspective was, with respect to time, what the discovery of optic perspective in Renaissance painting was with respect to space: the capacity to realize the distance of objects from each other and from the viewer and therefore the capacity to understand them in their actual place and time and in their distinction from each other--in their individuality. (Nicolo Abbagnano, "Humanism," Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. IV, Paul Edwards, Editor-in-Chief. New York: The Macmillian Co. and The Free Press, 1967, p.71.)

In looking at Ballet Comique this observation becomes a crucial directive because the ballet was not an isolated example, but the cumulation of practices that had evolved through four previous series of entertainments.

The Valois fêtes took place when rare intervals of peace interrupted the eight Wars of Religion that riddled France with civil strife for three decades. Out of the Festival of Fontainebleau in 1564, the Festival of Bayonne in 1565, the Paradis d'Amour in 1572, and the Fête du Polonais in 1573 a distinctive iconography and set of conventions had accrued. Mascaraded combats in allegorical settings, mythological vignettes with music, cleverly designed entrance vehicles, gentle deities of the sea, and intricate dances were woven together to conciliate through the medium of art. Like a Roman emperor,

the Queen Mother used festivals as propaganda for her ameliorative point of view: a united France where Catholicism and Protestantism could both be tolerated. Catholic, but also pragmatist, Catherine pursued an undeviating politique strategy from the death of her husband Henry II in 1559 through the reigns of three of their sons. This was remarkable during the savagely irrational religious turmoil when political positioning under the cloak of theological orthodoxy vasculated from month to month.

Five collaborators contributed to Ballet Comique: the dancer/violinist Balthasar Beaujoyeulx; the poet, La Chesnaye; composers Lambert de Boillieu and Jaques Salmon; along with the painter, Jaques Patin. To consider these men is to analyze an entire century of the intermingling of Italian influences with French tastes that began when Charles VIII invaded Italy in 1494. Techniques of scene painting, theatrical machines and architecture, poetic unity, virtuosity in music and dancing were not specifically borrowed for the festivals. These Italian concepts had ripened under the governance of French taste for nearly half a century. The conscious collection of gifted Italians began when Francis I chose to model himself on princely humanists such as the de Medici, Urbino, d'Este, and Sforza. It was Francis who convinced Leonardo da Vinci to relocate in Amboise in 1516. The First School of Fontainebleau was that monarch's particular enterprise. Even the fourteen-year-old Catherine was a part of his impulse when Francis brought her to Marseille as a bride for his son in 1533. As Queen Mother, Catherine had led her transplanted countrymen--the gifted exiles--in efforts to glorify France by incorporating choicest elements of Italian imagination and methodology. Considering Ballet Comique is like watching a frame come into focus, a frame which captures nearly a century of French development in the arts and coalesces those accomplishments into a single production.

A clear-cut example of this process is found in the sets and machines for the ballet. If their intricacy and grandeur is surprising as the work of a painter whose major distinction was this production, one has only to look at his training at Fontainebleau for an answer to the puzzle. The theorist and artist who was the primary influence on 16th century theatrical design and painting was Sebastiano Serlio. Francis I brought him to Fontainebleau in 1540. His conclusive book, Architectura, was published in 1545 and appeared simultaneously in Italian and in a French translation by Jehan Martin. More significant is the fact that Serlio established the cult of Bramante and Peruzzi--Italian founders of Renaissance theatrical architecture--at Fontainebleau where, by 1581, it had matured for forty years. Fruits of this cultural graft were apparent as early as 1548 when Catherine and her husband, guests of Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este at Lyon, viewed the first known perspective setting in France at a production of the tragedy, La Calandra. (George Kernodle, From Art to Theatre. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, p.202.) While Patin's ballet designs were uniquely French, they were exe-



cuted by a man long accustomed to Italian techniques.

The plot of Ballet Comique presents another mild conundrum. The Huguenot Agrippa d'Aubigné claims to have written the story while under palace surveillance (1572-1576) with his patron, Henry of Navarre. This testimony is probably self-venerating hindsight. D'Aubigné's work from the early 1570's would hardly have fit the drastically altered political exegecies of 1581. The more likely textual source is G.B. Gelli's Circe (1549). A translation of that philosophical dialogue was dedicated to Catherine by Du Parc in 1572. Its argument--the conquest of passion by reason--is the cornerstone of much of the Neo-Platonic thought in the production. Gelli's mythic context provides many of the characters in the ballet. But the Ballet Comique's particular narrative devolved through a series of entertainments given by Catherine. (Frances Yates, The Valois Tapestries. London: The Warburg Institute, 1959, p.86.) The spine of the action is from Homer, though it was filtered through the contemporary mythology manuals of Natale Conti. The cohesiveness of the ballet's dramatic events should not surprise us. La Chesnaye, poet for the event, was thoroughly familiar with Aristotle's dictum--"a poetic imitation, then, ought to be unified in the same way as a single imitation in any other mimetic field, by having a single object." (Aristotle, Poetics, trans. by Gerald F. Else. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970, p. 32.)

Aristotelian influence in France was manifested as early as 1548 in Thomas Sebillet's Art Poétique. In the following year Joachim Du Bellay's Defense et illustration de la langue Francaise foreshadowed many of the reforms proposed by the Pléiade, the group of young men who attached themselves to the sage Jean Dorat at the Collège de Coqueret. Although this number later expanded, the original Pléiade included Dorat, Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baïf, Belleau, Tyard, and Jodelle. Their views on aesthetic unity are documented in Art Poétique (1555) by Jacques Peletier du Mans; in Abrégé de l'Art poétique française (1565) by Ronsard; as well as in Ronsard's prefaces to the Franciade in 1572 and 1587. By 1572 the notorious three unities were formulated in France by Jean de la Taille in "Art de la Tragédie," prefixed to his play, Saül le furieux. The widely distributed Poetics Libri Septum by Julius Caesar Scaliger was also first published in France, in 1561 in Lyon, where Scaliger had resided for many years. The aesthetic concept of unity was well-established by 1581. It was particularly suited to the single propagandistic aim of Ballet Comique: to unite all disparate political and religious factions under the French king.

This purpose was considerably reinforced by the alliance of music and poetry that grew out of the philosophy of the Pléiade as transferred to the Academy of Poetry and Music (founded in 1570 by Antoine de Baïf and Thibault de Courville) and its adjunct, the Palace Academy. Developed under austere circumstances, musique mesurée was a humanist attempt to emulate the Greeks by bonding verse and melody to produce desired effects on an audience. D.P. Walker pinpoints that purpose when he states, "Their aims, then, were revolutionary. They did not wish to improve or modify ordinary verse and music, but to substitute for them a new art, new both in its style and



in its effect on the listener. (D.P. Walker, "The Aims of Baïf's Académie de Poésie et de Musique," Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music I, June 1946: 93.) Developed during the reigns of both Charles IX and Henry III, musique mesurée was long kept as close as a state secret. Its successful effects were referred to by Pierre L'Etoile in his description of Le Jeune's composition for the king's tournament for Joyeuse. L'Etoile called the performance "the most harmonious music of voices and instruments that released men and assisted the hooded sense of hearing to understand." (Pierre L'Etoile, "Registre-Journal de Henri III," Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires Pour Servir A L'Histoire de France, par M.M. Michaud et Poujoulat. Paris: Chez L'Éditeur du Commentaire Analytique du Code Civil, 1837, p. 140.) Lambert de Boillieu, a composer of the Ballet Comique, was a protégé of de Courville and a colleague of Le Jeune at the Academy. Jaques Salmon, the other collaborator, was also strongly influenced by these ideas in his capacity as musician both to the king and to the Duc de Anjou.

Although the vocal solos in Ballet Comique were monodic, the choral songs were not. These passages were scored for four voices, but were meticulously "measured" so that each voice sang the same syllable at the same time. The startling "effect" was not only a moving homophonic rhythm ensemble, but also the first opportunity for the audience to understand the words of choral music. With the inexorable need for French concordance, it is not surprising that Henry III placed great faith in the power of this new musical weaponry to evoke a sympathetic response among his courtiers.

Although related iconographically to other Valois fêtes, Ballet Comique was produced under very different circumstances from its predecessors. Henry III became king when his brother Charles died in 1574. Domestic disputes, heightened religious intrigue, and Henry's own antithetical personality lent an aspect of the bizarre to his monarchy. His reputation for luxury is demonstrated in Guillaume de la Taix's description of a cloak, "neither little nor big," made of four thousand yards of cloth of gold, lined with silver, trimmed with pure gold bullion, and worn with lustrous diamond earrings. (Guillaume de la Taix is quoted by Margaret Walker Freer in Henry III King of France and Poland, His Court and Times, Vol. II. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1858, p. 127.) Dressed in this manner he received addresses from impoverished representatives to the States-General. On other days the king could be seen wearing sack-cloth at the head of a procession of penitents. Henry's lecherous sycophants and his devotion to two thousand lap dogs contrasted with his genuine administrative ability and his mysticism. One by one the great feudal houses detached their allegiance. Catholic extremists formed a forerunner of the deadly League. Henry de Guise was actually in the pay of Philip II of Spain by 1580. Bitter disputes over doctrine and the dangerous question of succession contributed to a frenetic atmosphere in which Henry alternated between dissipation and self-flagellation. Despite an increasing tension between the crown and the Queen Mother, Henry adopted her politique tactic and engineered the occasion for its most brilliant manifestation.

Anne de Joyeuse, the royal favorite, was enriched, elevated and betrothed to Marguerite de Vaudemont, Henry's sister-in-law, by the king's specific arrangement. Even Marguerite's dowery was imperially decreed to equal the marriage portions assigned to princesses of France. (Freer, p. 285.) The wedding took place on September 24, 1581, and was celebrated by fifteen days of festival entertainment. Queen Louise and her sister were lesser scions of the powerful house of Lorraine, where politics were Catholic, but not fiercely extremist. In allying Joyeuse with the Lorraines, Henry was linking his controversial personal circle with traditional French leadership, while trying to repair fissures between the throne and Charles de Lorraine, the king's influential though disenchanting brother-in-law.

Although most of the major artists of France were already at work on festival preparations when Queen Louise decided to honor her sister with a ballet, the aesthetic standards and personnel set in place by Catherine were placed at her disposal. Widely respected for her piety, Louise's sponsorship of the ballet would seem to assure its unequivocal reception. The Queen Mother's connections to the production are more oblique, for both political and economical reasons. Her ability to influence the nobility was ambivalent at the time. She was deeply engaged in two other projects: betrothing her son, the Duc de Anjou, to Elizabeth of England, and to pursuing her own claim to the throne of Portugal. In October of 1581 she raised sufficient funds from her private purse to pay half the wages of 10,000 French and 4,000 German soldiers who embarked to Portugal under the command of Meréchal de Brissac and Philippo Strozzi. (Jean Héritier, Catherine de Medici, trans. by Charlotte Haldane. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963, p. 389.) Expenses for a sumptuous ballet were out of the question. She held a banquet for the couple, instead, at Chenonceaux on October 22. Catherine's sub rosa involvement with Ballet Comique is implied in her letter to A. M. du Ferrier on September 19, 1581. She wrote of "the triumphs and magnificances that will mark the nuptials of the Duc de Joyeuse and Mlle. de Vaudemont, on which occasion it will be known that France is not so sunk in poverty as foreigners would think." (Catherine de Médici, Letters de Catherine de Médici, Vol. III. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899, p. 404.)

Balthasar Beaujoyeulx, a Gallicized Savoyard, was summoned to mastermind Louise's ballet. A veteran maker of court dances, Beaujoyeulx also wrote the account of Ballet Comique which gave an incalculable sphere of influence to the production. But we must give little credence to his ingenuous "so it would not be forgotten" excuse for publication. Ballet Comique de la Reine was printed by Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, powerful not only by royal monopolies under both Charles IX and Henry III, but also by respect gained for their dominant role in molding musical taste in 16th century France. By publishing the ballet with Le Roy and Ballard, the Valois intended Ballet Comique to become a graceful talisman for what was, in fact, a desperate attempt to realign a rapidly splintering kingdom.

The plot of Ballet Comique deals with Circe's capture of Ulysses and her victory over intermediaries in his behalf--Tritons, Naiads, Sirens, Mercury--until she is finally vanquished by Jupiter, Minerva, Pan, the Dryads, the Satyrs, and the four Virtues who release the prisoners and deliver Circe and her staff of power to the king. Among the explanations of the allegory in text, the most convincing aligns Circe with civil discord and Henry with universal harmony. In the most recent major article on the ballet, Yates suggests that the production was conceived as an act of pure astrological determinism. (Frances Yates, "Poésie et Musique dans les 'Magnificences' Au Mariage du Duc de Joyeuse, Paris, 1581," Musique et Poésie au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1973, p. 250.) She affirms that the Fincian-Platonism espoused by the Queen Mother was not merely speculative. Its initiates were instructed to act as well as to contemplate. Powerful incantations to the stars are described in Marcilio Ficino's De Vita coelitus compranda, known to Catherine, the king, and the Palace Academy. Yates suggests that astrology played a significant role in court mysticism and that the ballet can be viewed "as a talisman to bring about the great destiny written in the stars for the royal house of France." (*Ibid.*, p. 252.) This theory meshes with what we know of Catherine's character. It was astrology, she believed, that had transformed her from a barren conubial partner to a prolific breeder of princes: After a decade of infertility, she gave birth to nine Valois heirs. By applying Yates' theory to specific visual information in Ballet Comique, it is possible to investigate an arrogantly intriguing aspect of the production.

Even a casual look at 16th century artifacts reminds us that this was a visualist society. In an article on Renaissance perception, Walter Ong attests, "In the typical allegorical tableau, the governing principles may be considered to be more or less naturalistic pictorial representation on one hand, and on the other some kind of organization in space which is not naturalistic but artificial, schematic, or diagrammatic." (Walter J. Ong, "From Allegory to Diagram in the Renaissance Mind: A Study in the Significance of the Allegorical Tableau," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism XVII, June 1959: 425.) An analysis of Ballet Comique's visual allegory reveals some interesting connectives to this idea. To examine this application of Ong's theory, it is necessary to use both visual and written sources, since the illustrations were made after the fact and do not constitute an exact replica of the set.

The drawing of the mise en scene in the Salle de Bourbon at the Louvre does not show, for example, the model of heaven and the cloud machine that delivered Mercury and Jupiter from the ceiling. (The apparatus was based on Leonardo da Vinci's design for the ducal wedding in Milan in 1489.) The picture's most imposing feature is the triple-arched trellis which frames the set for Circe's palace and synchronizes the entries in terms of time and place. Using the common practice of transferring conventions from the graphic arts to the stage, Patin

has designated the scene as out-of-doors and has organized it according to the popular arcade method. Unfortunately, the drawing does not allow us to see the major novelties: the curtains used to reveal Pan's grotto and Circe's palace, and the detailed painting behind the arches. This is the first Valois ballet to make use of perspective scenery.

Executed so that the royal entourage had a perfect view of the vanishing point, the set included a raked stage. This escalated to the base of two crenellated towers which flanked an opening in the wall that revealed fields and a distant city. Near the castle gate, Circe's conch-shaped vault was notable for its stained glass mullions and hidden lamps that created kaleidoscopic lighting effects. On the forestage a flower garden was divided into four quarters by borders of aspic, lavender, rosemary, and sage. These pathways represent a cross outlined by herbs. This was no accident. Louise's work with orphans in the "Jardin des Simples" of the Maison de Charité Chértienne was well known. She taught the children to collect herbs. At the time, aspic and lavender were used as cleansing agents. According to legend, rosemary--the metamorphosis of Leucothoë after her affair with the Sun--was considered a sacred placator of the gods. (Mirella Levi D'Ancona, The Garden of the Renaissance. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1977, p. 356.) Sage was a healing property, symbolic of salvation. (Ibid., p. 360.) Heralds of her destruction, these herbs are appropriately found in the garden of Circe, daughter of the Sun. In the textual notes we are told that Circe personifies (1) the revolving of the seasons or (2) desire, motivated either to lust or virtue. If we comprehend her as an embodiment of Catholic extremism, the ballet's mystical imagery--a mixture of Christian with pagan--begins to make sense. As Henry's most dangerous enemy in 1581, her palace is placed opposite his throne.

Theatrical staging is caught at that transient moment when multiple settings are being transformed into the perspective scene. (The first French ballet to organize all the scenery at one end of the performance space as a single unit was Alcine in 1610.) In the middle of the hall, on the left, we see the cloud covered "Golden Vault," which housed numerous twinkling lights along with forty singers and instrumentalists. This was the source of the magical musique mesurée, "the harmony of heaven." Directly opposite is the "Grotto of Pan," master of the natural world, whose forest is hung with ships symbolizing the state of France. This emblem, with Castor and Pollux at the wheel, was often used to portray the brothers Charles and Henry Valois. Pan's grotto also camouflaged the pipe organ. Diagrammatically, we have another cross: heaven and earth to the west and east, respectively, cosmic and temporal power to the north and south. The tensions of these opposites charged the performance space, which became a polemical arena. Caught on this dynamic field Ulysses, the production's only human, represents the men of France.

There is another possible tie between Ulysses and French noblemen. In 16th century mythography, Ulysses stood for Time,

whose life/year ended when he returned to Ithaca to be killed by a fishbone in the hands of his son. On December 31, 1578, Henry III founded the Knights of St. Esprit, a new military order for defending the faith. Most of these chevaliers attended the Ballet Comique and would have made the connection between Ulysses, the last day of the year, and the men of St. Esprit.

The imagery of the entries is not opaque. The Naids' fountain, decorated with children and dolphins, denotes the eternal royal hope for an heir. Sirens, Satyrs, and Tritons had long been identified in the festivals as deities who benevolently extended their forces to the Valois. The triton itself was an archaic sign of the cross. The Dryads' leafy bower relates them to Pan, while their oak and hawthorne garlands blend devoted allegiance with patience. Green leaves in general signify hope, grace, and pleasures of the soul. The color green was associated with Queen Louise, and the Dryads' bows correspond to Catherine's heraldic insignia. The four virtues--Fortitude, Justice, Temperance, Prudence--bear easily recognizable symbols of their roles. Minerva, too, carries her familiar Gorgon's head. But her chariot is decorated with arms and devices of the arts--weaponry of the king in his mystical battle for tolerant ascendancy. Minerva represents the royal position of Catholic rationalism. Finally Jupiter, monarch of heaven, descends with his eagle, token of faith and omnipotent power.

Since his contribution of Moly failed to sustain the Naids' disenchantment, Mercury is a somewhat enigmatic character. Yates suggests that he be assigned his cameleonic planetary characteristic which allows him to influence other heavenly bodies by taking on their properties. Within the specific hierarchy of the Valois fêtes, there is a better solution. After Mercury's appearance in Paradis d'Amour, the Huguenot knights were set free. Because of the visual continuity of the festivals and the fact that the audience core was relatively consistent, spectators could easily mark Mercury as the benefactor of the Protestants. This also works within the ballet's dramatic development. Circe (Catholic extremism) is eventually subjugated. Jupiter then presents his children, Minerva (Catholic rationalism) and Mercury (Protestantism) to the king. This fraternal pair are joined both in the family of Olympus and within the politique ethos.

This symbolic framework allows us to discern a complex mythic-dramatic-political organization of time. Ballet Comique is divided into three intermedi which present the efforts of three types of intermediaries: from the sea, the earth, the air. We can read the intermedi as past, present, and future. The First Intermede, the past, enacts the defeat of rational forces--Niads, sea creatures, Mercury--by the irrational Circe. This refers to the disastrous civil wars that had plagued France. As the present, the Second Intermede simply demonstrates the status quo. Pan is Henry in a temporal guise. His constituents include the Satyrs, who correspond to the Knights of St. Esprit, along with the Dryads, who refer to Louise, Catherine, and the female courtiers. This sequence

does not further the dramatic action, but simply demonstrates the readiness of this group to rescue the victims. The Third Intermede shows spectators the potentially bloodless battle of the future. Cosmic and temporal forces unite to conquer. Armed with staffs of pine, a traditional weapon of immortality, Satyrs form their rank behind Pan. Next comes Minerva, flanked by the four Virtues: Jupiter follows and is succeeded by the Dryads. Surely this sight is familiar to the audience. They have seen it throughout the streets of Paris. It is a theatricalized version of Henry's Penitential Processions. The order is nearly identical. The king, surrounded by his knights, is followed by the queen with her ladies-in-waiting. Spiritual forces represented by the clergy are attended by other members of the court. This royal practice has been transferred from reality to the magically invested performance arena. On stage, victory is swift and complete, for it is really an intellectual combat. The image of the Valois tournament has become completely abstract.

Within this context, the two ballets take on paramount significance. They ordain the most potent magic--the Pythagorean nexus of the production. Abbagnano confirms:

From Platonism and Pythagoreanism revived by the humanists the thesis maintained by Leonardo, Copernicus and Gallileo was derived: that nature is written in mathematical characters and that to understand it, one must know the language of mathematics. (Abbagnano, p. 72.)

For this reason, and possibly the Palace practice of astrology, Beaujoyeulx reveals that in titling his work he gave "first place and honor to the dance."

In their first ballet, the Naids' opening figure is described as a line of six dancers ornamented by a triangle at top and bottom. Queen Louise was at the apex nearest to the royal dais. The women formed twelve geometrical patterns--the last was a crescent--before Circe's interruption. This occurred just prior to Mercury's entrance. The two specific descriptions are provocative. The crescent is associated with Mercury. The triangle is loaded with many meanings such as (1) a link between sea, earth, and heaven; (2) a token of the three estates; (3) an image of the trinity of Catholicism, Protestantism, and politique mysticism. All of these implications are invoked by the dance.

For the second ballet, the Niads appear magically (probably assisted by traps in the raked stage) in Circe's garden. This sequence finalized the dramatic action and is a powerful reinforcement of the whole. Forty geometric figures were danced. If we accept the theory of astrological determinism, the possibilities are intriguing. Each of the Ballet Comique characters has a corresponding geometric sign. Mercury, for example, is represented by a vertical stack of cross (on the bottom), circle, and crescent. Using these symbols, it would have been possible to confirm the production's message in what was thought to be the language of heaven.

There are other convincing factors. The Niads were costumed in flowing gowns, trimmed with tufts of gold and flesh-colored silk. They wore triangles in their hair and a great deal of jewelry. Beaujoyeux tells us that "all their clothing is covered and studded with stones, which glitter and sparkle just as one observes at night the stars appear on the azure mantle of the firmament." The costumes were appropriately weighty for these twelve women who impersonated the heavenly bodies. The Dryads were dressed in simpler apparel that linked them to the present, to earth. Each passage was traced by the Niads, then interrupted and redirected by the Dryads. What spectators watched was a demonstration of humans reshaping the paths of the stars. The intricate chain that was the virtuosic center of the dance showed the reweaving of destiny as the spirits of the earth co-mingled with the galaxy. The dance, then, is revealed as a highly sophisticated instance of sympathetic magic. It can be viewed as a profane chorea, a visualization of Palace Academy debates. In the age of virtu when man defined the center of the universe, it should not astonish us that the House of Valois imperiously attempted to control its own fate.

The allegory is not complete. It was still necessary to plunge the metaphor into the circle of reality. In the devices presented to selected guests, there is another layer of meaning. Politically, the fête was intended also to honor Charles of Lorraine, a powerful Catholic, but not yet an extremist. He received Neptune, king of the sea and maker of opinion. Many other oceanic emblems intended to bind court factions to Lorraine and to the Valois politique. A triton to herald Neptune was for M. d'Aumalle. Mercure, brother of the bride, received a siren; the fanatic de Guise, a sea horse; de Pont, the young son of Lorraine, a sea monster; Genevois, Arion, poet of the sea; and de Chasson, the brawny but dull-witted whale. The Protestant Nevers was given a swordfish, symbol of beginning. The noble Luxembourg, who would become Marguerite de Vaudemont's second husband, happily acquired the shellfish of longevity. To Henry's stalwart Knights of St. Esprit the fleet roebuck, the harmony-loving stag, and the fierce-in-combat boar went to Saulx, Maulevrier, and Bouchage, respectively. The bridegroom accepted the branch of coral which implies, "Your heart is your choicest jewel." Henry's other favorite, Espernon, got an oyster--prophet of easy living--for the king had just arranged his betrothal to Louise's other sister. The owl has no pedigree; it was presented to Charles de Valois, the natural son of Charles IX. Circe surrendered her book of magic to the Church in the person of Cardinal de Bourbon. Apollo, "Leader of the Muses," went to Catherine. To the king, Queen Louise awarded a dolphin, "that he might give her a dauphin."

The cast for Ballet Comique represented the most influential cabals at the French court, mixed with a sprinkling of professionals. Dancers included Madame de Retz, so respected for her intellect that she was a member of the Palace Academy, and Hélène de Surgeres to whom Ronsard dedicated his Sonnets pour



Hélène. The professional roster featured the composer de Boillieu, who sang Glaucus with his wife as Tethys, and Estienne Le Roy, the famous castrato who was a veteran of Valois Festivals.

The audacity of this attempt to use art to coerce reality is breathtaking. But the magic of Ballet Comique was not potent enough. The bloodiest siege was yet to come. Most of the leading players in this curious political tapestry were dead by 1589, and the line of Valois ended. This five-and-a-half hour ballet de cour lets us glimpse a microcosm where visual symbols recycled the past and signaled their will to the future. There are two ironic parallels. In an effort to summon ancient forms in a metaphoric incantation, Catherine de Medici invoked a new art. Much the same thing had occurred when the Dionysian dithyramb was transformed into tragic drama. If this assessment of the dances is correct, Beaujoyeulx is the first ballet master we know to express concepts with dance while eliminating character. He anticipates Fokine in his development of "the ideal of the sign." As historians we document this ballet because it was the first unification of music, poetry, the visual arts and dance in a theatrical statement of a single thought. Could it have been otherwise? Unity was the ideal of politique and is implicit in Catherine de Medici's motto: "It brings peace and serenity."

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LA STÉNOCHORÉGRAPHIE BY SAINT-LÉON:  
A LINK IN BALLET'S TECHNICAL HISTORY

Sandra Noll Hammond

One of the doctrines of ballet is the continuity of a technical tradition in the classroom, a belief in a system of training passed down from teacher to student, from older generation to younger. The purpose of this essay is to document some of those classroom traditions, using as a focal point a book published mid-nineteenth century by a leading ballet figure of that time.

Charles Victor Arthur Michel, who added the stage name Saint-Léon, probably is best known today as the choreographer of the witty ballet, Coppélia (1870), and as the brilliant dancer-partner of his wife, the celebrated ballerina Fanny Cerrito. (Much Saint-Léon biographical material is provided by Ivor Guest. See, for example, The Ballet of the Second Empire, London: Pittman Publishing, and Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1974.) But, in addition to his international choreographic and performing career during the years 1835-1870 (including work in Brussels, London, Paris, Milan, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Rome) and his acknowledged skill as a violinist, Saint-Léon found time to publish a system of dance notation, even while attending to his triple duties at the Paris Opéra as performer, professor of the class of perfection, and first ballet master. It is this notation, published in 1852, that offers an intriguing glimpse into ballet's technical history.

Possibly Saint-Léon based his notation method on an earlier effort by his own ballet teacher, François Decombe Albert. (Guest mentions that Giovanni Leopold Adice, dancer and ballet instructor at the Paris Opéra during much of Saint-Léon's tenure there, accuses Saint-Léon of claiming authorship for a notation system devised, then later discarded, by Albert. Ibid., pp. 65-66.) However, although Saint-Léon extols Albert as a "complete and conscientious artist...a grand master from whom I learned what little I know..." (translated from his Preface), he does not attribute any indebtedness of learning notation from him. In any event, Saint-Léon was thwarted in his fond hope that his notation would be adopted and that dancers, thus literate in their art as musicians are in theirs, would "combine in their classes both theory and practice." (Ibid.) Alas, sténochorégraphie, as he called it, did not become a universal system. Even Saint-Léon himself never pursued his goal of notating all his ballets, his sole effort, as far

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as is known, being the pas de six from his ballet La Vivandière, premiered in 1843. (The excerpt recently was reconstructed by Ann Hutchinson Guest, and it is currently in the repertory of The Joffrey Ballet.)

Nevertheless, today La Sténochorégraphie ou Art d'écrire promptement la Danse, (Paris, 1852) is a valuable historical document because, in addition to the ballet excerpt, it provides some twenty notated examples of classroom exercises. Each example is preceded by Saint-Léon's own written description of the exercise, thus further facilitating the recreation of the movements. (The author points out that his notation improves upon earlier methods by routinely showing arm and head positions as well as leg and foot movements, and by closely correlating the notation symbols visually with the musical score. He mentions earlier notation attempts, including those of Arbeau in Orchesography, 1588, and the development of chorégraphie at the turn of the eighteenth century, which he credits to Beauchamps, Favier, Desais, and Feuillet.)

The significance of these notated exercises is the insight they give into the ballet technique of the first half of the nineteenth century. Alone they might seem to represent only one teacher's viewpoint, but, when compared with both earlier and later descriptions of similar combinations by other dance masters, they do indeed seem to represent a popular technical tradition in the ballet lesson that even continues to the present day.

In this brief discussion, a comparison will be made with Saint-Léon's exercises and ones of similar name mentioned, but not explained, by Carlo Blasis in Elementary Treatise upon the Theory and Practice of the Art of Dancing (Milan, 1820. Translation by Mary Stewart Evans, Dover republication, 1968. In subsequent references: Blasis I.) and Code of Terpsichore (London, 1828. Dance Horizons republication, n.d. In subsequent references: Blasis II.). Comparisons also will be made with seemingly related exercises mentioned and/or notated in yet another system by E.A. Théleur in Letters on Dancing (London, 1831. Subsequent references are to the second edition, 1832.). In addition, use will be made of the description of Blasis' lesson as recalled by Giovanni Leopold Adice in Théorie de la Gymnastique de la danse théâtrale (Paris, 1859). Finally, the survival of some of these exercises in today's ballet classrooms will be documented.

#### Example I

Mentioned but not explained by both Blasis (I: p. 62; II: p. 102) and Théleur (p. 91) are the coupés, occurring early in the center floor work of the lesson. Even though Théleur notates a coupé step any ballet dancer today would recognize, both he and Blasis seem to refer to an exercise called coupé, rather than a step, as they relate the contents of the daily

class. Indeed, Saint-Léon's notation of a sequence that he says is commonly called Coupe en avant et en arriere (Example 9) closely resembles the written account of an exercise recalled by Adice (p. 77), thus lending further evidence of the universality of the coupe sequence as a center floor exercise. The opening movements from the Saint-Léon version are:

From pointe tendue, right foot à la seconde, bras bas: close the right foot to first position in demi-plié; immediately extend the right leg forward to 45 degrees while remaining in fondue on the left; step forward onto the right demi-pointe, bringing the left foot sur le cou-de-pied derrière; lower the right heel and raise the left leg to attitude à la seconde at 45 degrees, bras arrondis (en avant); slowly continue to develop the leg to 90 degrees à la seconde, bras à la seconde, rising to demi-pointe on the right foot. (Reconstruction by S.N. Hammond in Ballet: Beyond the Basics, Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1982. Subsequently, Hammond, 1982.)

For a later and possibly related sequence, there is in the teachings of Enrico Cecchetti (1850-1928) an adagio entitled Coupe et Fouetté en Avant et en Arrière (Cyril Beaumont and Stanislas Idzikowski, A Manual of the Theory and Practice of Classical Theatrical Dancing (Methode Cecchetti), London: Beaumont, 1922, Dover reprint, 1975, pp. 80-83.). It begins with a plié and relevé in fifth position, then a développé en avant as the supporting leg bends in fondue. The Cecchetti manual then reads, "Execute a Coupe en avant," explaining that the coupe consists of a step forward, then a lift of the back leg. This is followed immediately by a développé of that leg to the second position.

The Cecchetti adagio continues with a double rond de jambe en l'air en dedans and a petit fouetté à terre en dedans, whereas the earlier Saint-Léon and Adice coupe exercises continue with a promenade en dehors, the raised leg remaining à la seconde and the supporting foot on demi-pointe. It would seem that the link among the exercises, therefore, is in the constancy of the name and basic function of the coupe movement. Can it be, perhaps, the old concept of the Baroque coupe: a bend of the supporting leg and a step forward (a movement called demi-coupe in eighteenth century technique) followed by a step or gesture with the other leg? Indeed, the term demi-coupe is even used in the Adice version of the exercise. It seems possible the old concept of this coupe movement lingered, its essential nature practiced within a venerable exercise sequence, even while a new concept of a coupe step entered the ballet vocabulary. (In all examples cited here, the entire sequence first is executed forward, en avant, to both sides, then reversed and executed backward, en arriere.)

Example II

Another Saint-Léon combination, one with clearer connections to both earlier and later exercises bearing the same name, is the Grand Fouetté. In Blasis' accounts, the grands fouettés are done "facing and while turning [or revolving]" (I: p. 62; II: p. 102), and Saint-Léon also gives versions both en face and en tournant. Théleur simply mentions fouettés as one of the center exercises (p. 91), but helpfully notates a brief example of what he calls a fouetté finishing in an attitude (p. 70), thus suggesting a kinship with the Saint-Léon exercise whose full title is Grand Fouetté lent, Pose Attitude (Example 13). The Théleur example gives no arm gestures, but the leg movements contain the "germ" of the later combinations. The Théleur version is:

With the right foot front, rise to demi-pointes in fifth position, then lower the left heel and arch the right foot sur le cou-de-pied devant; extend the right leg forward to 90 degrees while bending the supporting leg in fondue; execute a grand rond de jambe en dehors, rising to demi-pointe as the leg reaches second position, then lowering in fondue as the leg arrives en arrière, still at 90 degrees; rise again to demi-pointe as the right leg passes forward to 90 degrees in front; fondue on the supporting leg, then rise to demi-pointe while closing the right foot to fifth position front; raise the left leg backward at hip level (presumably in attitude derrière) while remaining on the right demi-pointe. (Reconstruction by S.N. Hammond for Dance History Scholars Conference, Barnard College, 1980)

Adice discusses but does not describe the movements of the grands fouettés (p. 78), so one must turn to Saint-Léon's serviceable notation and description of the exercise:

From fifth position, right foot front, corps gauche, bras bas: retiré devant with the right leg, rising to demi-pointe on the left foot, as the body turns right toward the downstage right corner; fondue on the left leg as the right leg opens to attitude devant, left arm arrondi and right arm à la seconde; straighten the left knee and carry the right leg à la seconde, rising to demi-pointe as the body inclines slightly away from the raised leg, right arm en haut, left arm à la seconde; without pause continue to rotate the body left to face downstage left, carrying the right leg to attitude effacée derrière as the left leg lowers in fondue, right arm remaining in attitude; retiré with the right leg as the body turns right again toward the downstage right corner, bras bas; fondue on the left leg as the right leg opens to attitude devant, bras arrondis; remain in fondue as the right leg straightens, bras à la seconde; posé forward onto the right demi-pointe, raising the left leg to attitude effacée derrière, left arm en haut; fondue on

the right leg; relevé in the same position. (Reconstruction by S.N. Hammond, 1982)

The Saint-Léon exercise, resembling its simpler Théléur predecessor, is strikingly like the initial phrases of the Cecchetti adagio bearing the name, Grand Fouetté (Beaumont and Idzikowski, pp. 71-72). And it is clearly related to the two versions of Grand Fouetté described by Agrippina Vaganova (Basic Principles of Classical Ballet, Leningrad, 1934. Translation by Anatole Chujoy. Dover republication, 1969, pp. 132-2). Indeed, she observes that the version of Grand Fouetté performed in her school contains "certain elements of both the French and the Italian schools."

The unifying element in all these examples, spanning a one hundred year period and virtually the entire ballet globe, is the strong circling movement (grand rond de jambe) by the gesture leg, accompanied by a bend and rise (fondue and relevé) on the supporting leg, and usually by a turn of the body from one effacé corner to the other. In three versions, the Théléur (1832), the Saint-Léon (1852), and the Cecchetti (1922), this movement is followed by an extension forward and a change of weight onto that foot so that the back leg can be raised.

### Example III

The temps de pirouette, a term listed by Théléur (p. 91) in his account of classroom exercises, is used by Saint-Léon in his descriptions of pirouette sequences. Judging by three examples notated in sténochorégraphie (Examples 15, 16, 17), the temps de pirouette refers to the preparation for turns, an element of the class used by both Blasis (I: p. 62; II: p. 102) and Adice (p. 79). For Théléur and Saint-Léon, the preparation consists of a low lift (battement) of the leg à la seconde, accompanied by a relevé on the supporting leg, and terminating in a plié in an open position. Saint-Léon also shows the arms in a preparatory position for a turn.

In the first pirouette exercise in sténochorégraphie, this preparatory sequence is followed by a simple relevé à la seconde, the initial gesture leg raised to 90 degrees. In the other two instances, two turns follow -- either double pirouettes à la seconde, or pirouettes with petits battements doublés, or with two ronds de jambe en dehors, all variations mentioned by Blasis (I: p. 53; II: p. 87). (Similar turns are to be found in chorégraphie of eighteenth century theatrical dances.)

Théléur's four notated examples of pirouettes (p. 70) begin with a rise to demi-pointes and then a battement to the side, then the finish in plié is in what he calls the third ground station, used "in taking pirouettes where the second might probably be inconvenient" (p. 12). It is rather like a second position where one foot is advanced slightly forward

"for the convenience of the dancer." The same position is illustrated by Blasis for "Position of the dancer while taking pirouettes en dehors" (I: p. 49, fig. 49; II: plate VII, fig. 3). Although Saint-Léon gives no hint of such convenience, nevertheless his temps de pirouette show a slight épaulement in the plié in second position.

The Grand Preparation pour pirouette en dehors of the Cecchetti method is obviously a direct descendant of these earlier versions. (Beaumont and Idzikowski, p. 104; Margaret Craske and Derra de Moroda, The Theory and Practice of Advanced Allegro in Classical Ballet (Cecchetti Method), London: C.W. Beaumont, 1956, p. 82). Here, after the rise to demi-pointes and the battement to the side, the heels are lowered in second position demi-plié directly en face.

#### Example IV

Another sequence by Saint-Léon involving pirouettes is a combination virtually identical with one from the Cecchetti teachings. The movements notated and described by Saint-Léon are Trois Changements de pieds, Échappé, Pirouette sur le cou-de-pied (Example 18). The Cecchetti exercise, grouped under the heading, Steps for Men, has the intriguing title, "Men's Temps de Courante" (Craske and de Moroda, p. 126). Here, as in the Saint-Léon version, the three changements are followed by an échappé sauté to second position and then pirouettes en dehors turning left. However, the Cecchetti exercise asks for only three tours, whereas Saint-Léon specifies four.

It should be pointed out that the Cecchetti combination is done en face throughout, while the earlier Saint-Léon version changes from one downstage corner to the other during the échappé. In both versions, of course, the entire combination is to be repeated immediately to the other side.

#### Example V

The final example in this brief comparative study is the Brisés Télémaque, notated by Saint-Léon in three versions of increasing difficulty (Examples 22, 23, 24). This combination is not mentioned in earlier sources cited here, but as a ballet student I learned several versions of Brisés Télémaque from two teachers of quite different ballet backgrounds. They were Thalia Mara -- who cited Olga Preobrajenskaya, the Maryinsky ballerina and later noted teacher in Paris for so many decades -- and Dolores Mitrovich -- who first learned versions of the combination from Stefano Mascagno, an Italian-trained dancer teaching in New York City early in this century. One of his versions of the combination is almost identical with one by Saint-Léon. (Possibly the name Télémaque comes from the 1790 ballet of that name, choreographed for the Paris Opéra by Pierre Gardel, perhaps, therefore, the creator of the enchaînement Télémaque.)

The combination features petite batterie -- brisé dessus, entrechat quatre, entrechat cinq, assemblée battu dessus traveling slightly backward, entrechat quatre, entrechat cinq -- performed in a six-count phrase that begins to one side but finishes to the other, where it is then repeated.

Again, it should be noted that the third variation by Saint-Léon is much more difficult than any of the later ones cited here. It contains, besides brisés and assemblés battus, entrechats six and sept.

### Conclusion

This study has provided evidence of ballet's technical heritage through classroom exercises, but in addition it suggests three particularly important aspects of ballet's history frequently overlooked or generally unrecognized:

(1) Ballet, as we understand it today, has a much older technical history than is usually acknowledged, a closer relationship with its eighteenth century "Baroque" ancestry. Blasis, often cited as the "creator" of the ballet lesson, makes no such claim, merely stating that he is setting down in print what others have taught. "...I shall...have the satisfaction of being the first to document the dancer's art ...the following instructions emanating as they do from the schools of leading masters who have contributed immensely to the progress and beauty of modern dancing..." (I: Preface, pp. 4, 5).

(2) A much greater unanimity in ballet technique and style existed in the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth, than is usually recognized. The so-called Italian or French or English or Russian (or Danish, although this study has not dealt with its tradition) schools of ballet shared many essential technical characteristics as well as many ballet masters and dancers.

(3) The technical level of previous ballet generations was far higher than is commonly acknowledged. The notated examples of both eighteenth and nineteenth century work challenge fine dancers today, but, most probably, only the simpler combinations were set down on the pages of the all-too-rare technical manuals. The more intricate work was also more intricate to notate and describe, and therefore has probably not survived.

How much more of ballet's technical history might be learned had Saint-Léon's dream been realized and sténochorégraphie been adopted, at least for a few years. Historians can be only too grateful for those masters who did see the need for dance notation and descriptions, and who therefore tried to "document the dancer's art" for future generations.

DANCE  
HISTORY  
SCHOLARS

Fifth Annual Conference  
Harvard University

February 13-15, 1982

Program

Ingrid Brainard, Chair  
Patri Jones Pugliese

Harvard Arrangements

Iris Fanger, Chair  
Jeanne Newlin, Harvard Theatre Collection  
Myra Mayman, Office for the Arts  
Martha Mahard, Harvard Theatre Collection  
Claire Mallardi, Radcliffe Dance Instructor  
Arthur Loeb, Dept. of Visual and Environmental Studies

Dance History Scholars  
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Communications

Linda J. Tomko

Program Design: Bonnie Meier



## FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1982

5 - 7	Reception Hosted by Jeanne Newlin, Curator, Harvard Theatre Collection	Pusey Library
5 - 7 PM	Registration	Pusey Library

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## SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1982

8:15 AM - 5:15 PM	Registration	Gutman Conference Center
8:30 - 5:15 PM	Book Exhibit	Area 4
8:30 - 9:30 AM	First Plenary Address <i>The Girdle of Venus</i> Selma Jeanne Cohen	Gutman Center
9:45 AM - 11:15 AM	Session 1: Aesthetics and Philosophy Presiding: George Dorris, York College, CUNY <i>Aesthetic Theory and Performance</i> Curtis Carter, Marquette University <i>Chorus and Corona: The Etymological Definition of the Dance in Isidore of Seville</i> James Miller, Harvard University <i>Constructing Dance History: Research Methodology used in 'Divine Dancer'</i> Suzanne Shelton, Univ. of Texas at Austin	Area 3
	Session 2: Dance in the 18th Century I Presiding: Regine Astier, Santa Barbara, Calif. <i>Three Faces of Psyche</i> Judith Chazin-Bennahum, Univ. of New Mexico <i>Sarabande pour une femme (1704), An Analysis</i> Susan Bindig, Mount Holyoke College <i>The Tempo of French Baroque Dances: Evidence from 18th-Century Metronome Devices</i> Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Ithaca, NY	Area 1

11:30 AM - 1 PM

Session 3: Computers and Copyright in  
Dance

Area 1

Presiding: Elsie Dunin, UC Los Angeles

*The Computer as an Ally for the Novice*  
Christena Schlundt, UC Riverside*Playford, Feuillet and 'The Apple': New*  
*Techniques of Indexing Music*

Kate Van Winkle Keller, National Tune Index

*The Choreographer in the Courtroom*

Heather Doughty, Carlisle, Pennsylvania

*Is There a Way to Protect Reconstructions*  
*of Historical Dances?*Ingrid Brainard, The Cambridge Court Dancers,  
BostonSession 4: The Dance in Boston and  
New York

Area 3

Presiding: Iris Fanger, Harvard University

*Melvin Ballou Gilbert: A Brief Outline*

Eugenia Everett, York University, Toronto

*Lydia Thompson on The Charge of the Leg Brigade*

Barbara Barker, University of Texas at Austin

*The Years 1875 - 1929: Dance Arrives in New York*

Karen Nelson, Smith College

1 PM - 2 PM

Lunch

2:15 PM - 3:30 PM

## Session 5: Costume and Photography

Area 1

Presiding: Patri J. Pugliese, Boston University

*The Problem with Historical Stage Costume*  
Johannes A. Gaertner, Lafayette College*Jean Bérain and Costume Design in 'Le Triomphe*  
*de l'Amour'*

Debra H. Sowell, Brigham Young University

*Arnold Genthe: Pioneer in Dance Photography*

Carol Halsted, Oakland University

Session 6: Folk and Social Dance Area 3

Presiding: Sandra Noll Hammond, Santa Barbara,  
California

*An Overview of European Jewish Wedding Dances  
in the Renaissance and Baroque Periods*

Judith Brin Ingber, St. Louis Park, Minnesota

*19th-Century Sources for the Study of Yugoslav  
Dance*

Nancy Lee Ruyter, California State University,  
Northridge, and Hans C. Ruyter

*Dance Change in Context of the Gypsy St. George's  
Day Celebration in Skopje, Yugoslavia, 1967-1977*

Elsie Ivancich Dunin, UC Los Angeles

3:45 PM - 5:15 PM

Session 7: The Performance Space Area 1

Presiding: Jeanne T. Newlin, Harvard Theatre  
Collection

*La Danse Aux Jardins*

Diane McGuire, University of Arkansas

*Performing Spaces for Dance: A Preliminary Study  
of the King's Theatre 1790-1850*

Diane L. Woodruff, York University, Toronto

*Norma Gould - Forgotten Pioneer*

Naima Prevots, American University, Washington

Session 8: Dance in the Early 20th Area 3  
Century

Presiding: Marilyn Hunt, Brooklyn, New York

*P.J.S. Richardson and the Birth of British Ballet*  
Beth Genné, School of the Art Institute of Chicago

*The Career of Lydia Lopokova*

David Vaughan, Cunningham Dance Foundation,  
New York

*A Reaffirmation of the Humphrey - Weidman Quality*  
Svea Becker and Joenine Roberts,

William Paterson College, New Jersey

8:15 PM

Dudley House Dining Room

De La Arte Saltandi et Choreas Ducendi  
Court Dances of the 15th Century - Shakespeare and the Dance

*presented by*

The Cambridge Court Dancers

*and*

The Court Musicians

Admission included with conference membership  
Additional tickets available at \$5.00

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14

9 AM - 5 PM	Registration	Gutman Conference Center
	Book Exhibit	Area 4
8:30 AM - 9:30 AM	Second Plenary Address	Gutman Center
	<i>The Still Point of Perfection</i>	
	Christena Schlundt	
9:45 AM - 11:15 AM	Session 9: Aesthetics and Criticism	Area 3
	Presiding: Curtis Carter, Marquette University	
	<i>The Ballet Heritage of Early Modern Dance Training</i>	
	Gloria B. Strauss, Dance Research Journal	
	<i>The English School of Dance Criticism, c.1930-1950</i>	
	Katie M. Adelman, York University, Toronto	
	<i>H.T. Parker as a Dance Critic</i>	
	Olive Holmes, Harvard University	
	Session 10: Dance in the 18th Century II	Area 1
	Presiding: Margaret Daniels, Les Fêtes Galantes, Boston	
	<i>Michel Gaudrau: The French Years</i>	
	Regine Astier, Santa Barbara, California	
	<i>A Perspective of the Baroque Male Dancer</i>	
	Carol Téten, Dominican College, San Rafael, California	
	<i>A Theatrical Interpretation of 'Folie d'Espagne pour femme'</i>	
	Catherine Turocy, The New York Baroque Dance Company	

11:30 AM - 1 PM

Session 11: Music and the Dance

Area 1

Presiding: Marcia Aron, UC Los Angeles

*How do You Set the Dance Steps to the Music?*  
*On Reconstructing a 'balletto' from Caroso's*  
*'Nobilta di Dame' (1600)*

Marian Walker, St. Olaf's College

*Bassedanse - Improvisation c. 1500*

Timothy C. Aarset, Massachusetts Institute  
of Technology

*Marin Mersenne and his Descriptions of 17th*  
*Century Dances*

Frances Conover Fitch, Concerto Castello, Boston

Session 12: Dance and Movement: The  
Early History

Area 3

Presiding: Bhala Jones, Ananda Dancers, New York

*The Case Against Cheironomia in the 5th Century*  
*BC Greek Theatre*

Libby Smigel, York University, Toronto

*'Tripudium': Its History from 200 BC to 1500 AD*  
Donna LaRue, Leslie College, Cambridge, Mass.

*Five Duets by Domenico da Piacenza*  
Emma Lewis Thomas UC Los Angeles

1 PM - 2:30 PM

Dance History Scholars General Meeting  
at Lunch

Area 1

All interested persons are cordially invited  
to attend

2:45 PM - 4:15 PM

Session 13: The Dance in the New World

Area 3

Presiding: Camille Hardy, University of Illinois

*The Dance in Mexico*

Alberto Dallal, University of Mexico

*Anna Sokolow's Contribution to the Development of*  
*Modern Dance in Mexico*

Larry Warren, University of Maryland

*Dancing in the Dark: The Life and Times of Margot*  
*Webb in Aframerican Vaudeville of the Swing Era*  
Brenda Dixon-Stowell, College of New Rochelle

## Session 14: Country Dance and Contredanse Area 1

Presiding: Ellen Shifrin, York University,  
Toronto

*Contras: The Past and Present of a Traditional  
Dance Form of New England, and A Comparison with  
English and Scottish Country Dances of Today*  
Harry Brauser, University of Arizona

*Three Dances from the Restoration Stage*  
Carol Marsh, University of North Carolina

*Baroque Style in English Country Dance*  
Christine Helwig, English Country Dance Society  
Margaret Daniels, The Cambridge Court Dancers

4:15 PM - 5:30 PM

## Session 15: Dance in the 16th Century Area 1

Presiding: Julia Sutton, New England  
Conservatory

*Ballet and Beaujoyeux: A Quatro-Centennial*  
Camille Hardy, University of Illinois

*The Changing Shape of the Dance, 1550-1600, as  
seen through the works of Marco Fabritio Caroso*  
Angene Feves, Pleasant Hill, California

*The Ungaresca and Heyduck Music and Dance in  
Renaissance Europe*  
Laszlo Kurti, New York University

## Session 16: Ballet in the 19th Century Area 3

Presiding: David Vaughan, New York City

*'La Sténochoregraphie' by Saint-Leon: A Link  
in Ballet's Technical History*  
Sandra Noll Hammond, Santa Barbara, California

*The Sincerest Flattery: Theatrical Adaptations of  
the Ballets of Jules Perrot*  
Susan Au, New York City

*Two Newly Discovered Bournonville Pieces: 'Pas de  
Trois & Galopade' and 'La Cracovienne'*  
Knud A. Jürgensen, The Royal Library, Copenhagen

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7 PM - 9 PM	Buffet Banquet Attendance by reservation only	Cronkite Graduate Center
8:30 - c. 11 PM	Ball Music: Earl Gaddis, fiddle; Jackie Schwab, keyboard; John Tyson, pipe and tabor, recorder Admission to Ball included with conference membership Additional admission cards available at \$5.00	

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MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1982

## WORKSHOPS

Radcliffe Gymnasium

Tickets to individual workshops available to conference  
members at the reduced rate of \$3.00 each.  
Tickets available to all others at \$5.00

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9 AM - 10:30 AM	<i>Court Dancing in the Early Renaissance</i> Ingrid Brainard	
10:45 AM - 12:15 PM	<i>The Art of Dancing in the late 16th Century</i> Angene Feves	

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12:15 PM - 1:15 PM	Lunch	
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1:15 PM - 2:45 PM	<i>A Ballet Class of the 1820's</i> Sandra Noll Hammond	
3 PM - 4:30 PM	<i>'La Barriera' from Fabritio Caroso's 'Della Nobiltà di Dame' (1600)</i> Julia Sutton	

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