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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 1987 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.

DATING AN ANDRÉ LORIN MANUSCRIPT

By DEBORAH LEVINE

André Lorin was one of His Majesty's Academiciens pour la dance at the French Court during the latter part of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. The Academiciens pour la dance was a group of dancing masters which Louis XIV established in 1662 to maintain the quality of dance at the Court. Although Lorin's name does not appear in the original list of members according to the records of Hoop and Pliester, his work contains "Academicien pour la Dance" as part of his signature elements. If Lorin's work can be accurately placed in 1688 as is indicated in his dated manuscript and even earlier in the case of his undated manuscript, his work would not only be a rare example of the work of these academiciens pour la dance, but a unique resource on dance notation, style, and the influence of English Country Dance at the French Court during a period in dance history with little available documentation.

Unfortunately, references to Andre Lorin in journals, diaries, and letters of the seventeenth century or later are meager. Some of the main sources of information on Lorin are legal records listing charges and countercharges involving Lorin and two other dancing masters: Pierre Beauchamps (1636-1705) and Raoul-Auger Feuillet (ca. 1660-1710). Lorin, in 1704, and Feuillet, in 1700, had received the royal 'Privilege" of publishing dances using notation similar to a system Beauchamps claimed was his invention. In the court's judgment, Lorin's work was considered less developed and substantially different from Beauchamps' and Feuillet's system. Feuillet, however, was obliged to give Beauchamps credit publicly for the system although he (Feuillet) retained the 'privilege' to publish. (For a more detailed description of this case, see Guilcher, 1969, pp. 256-264.)

The best source of information on Lorin are probably his own works and even these are quite limited. Although Lorin may have published a number of works, the only items that have been discovered to date are two manuscripts containing English Country dances. These manuscripts are at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris: Ms. fr. 1697 and Ms. fr. 1698.

The title page of Lorin's Manuscript Ms. 1698 bears the date 1688. This manuscript gives a pictorial explanation of one dance: "Les Cloches ou Le Carillon," or "Christ Church Bells." The manuscript presents a series of beautiful,

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carefully executed illustrations featuring couples progressing through the longways set version of this dance. Watercolor shadings are added identifying each couple through the dance sequence. The manuscript also includes musical accompaniment, dance step notation, commentary on style, and an explanation of the manner of progression. The manuscript concludes with fifty-six additional dance titles with poems dedicating each dance to various members of the nobility, princes of the royal blood, and key figures at the Court. To avoid confusion, this work will be referred to here as the pictorial 1688 manuscript.

The other manuscript, MS 1697, contains no date. In the interests of clarity, this second manuscript will be termed the undated collection. An interesting work and the main subject of this paper, the undated collection consists of thirteen dances, apparently misnumbered to suggest sixteen in all. The manuscript bears a distinct resemblance to the book of English Country Dances that Feuillet published in 1706. Both Lorin's and Feuillet's efforts include a dictionary of dance notation, an explanation of the progress of longways sets, a shorthand for designating floor patterns, notated dances with accompanying music, and a table of contents for the dances.

The dances contained in this collection are as follows, according to the order and spelling of Lorin's table of contents:

1. ChristChurch belles; Les cloches de L'Eglise de Jesu Christ

2. Wite-hall; salle blanche, ou Le Louvre

3. Contredance Nouvelle figuree a huit

4. Anglois menuet; Menuet anglois

5. Valentine's Day; feste de Saint valentin

6. Contredance Nouvelle

7. The new Bath; Le bain neuf

8. Winsdort Castle; Chateau de Winsdort ou des plaisirs

9. Cupid Gerden; Jardin de Cupidon

10. Excuse me; excusez moy

11. Irish Tege; double Irlandois

12. Vienna; Vienne

13. Hedgelane; La Ruelle

Dating this collection requires reference to Lorin's pictorial manuscript which shows the date of 1688 on its title page. This date seems to be part of the asymmetry and handwriting design of the page, and appears to represent an authentic date for the production of the manuscript. This 1688 date is corroborated earlier in the manuscript on page 15 where it appears under Lorin's name. The presence of Lorin's name on page 15, and his title as one of His Majesty's Academecien pour la dance indicates that this page was an integral part of the manuscript.

However, there is a second date of 1721 on page thirteen. Although this later date does not appear to be in the same hand or style as the rest of page thirteen, its presence raises the question of whether the 1688 manuscript has been tampered with or amended in a manner that would render invalid any reference to names and dates contained within its text. In fact, there is a second title page clearly of a later date than 1688 regardless of the authenticity of the 1721 date.

This second title page, page twelve, contains references to both the late King and to the death of the present king's mother, "cette grande princess." Lorin also states on this page that he has retrieved the 1688 manuscript from Mme la duchesse du Lude in order to present it to the new king. Mme. la duchesse du Lude had been lady-in-waiting to the mother of Louis XV, Marie-Adelaide, who died in 1712 (Prince Michael, p. 302). The earliest possible date for this second title page is 1715 which marks the death of Louis XIV and the installation of his successor.

Despite the addition of this second title page and the date 1721 on page 13, there appears to be no further changes to the text of the 1688 pictorial manuscript. There are no duplicate or overlapping pages. The handwriting appears to be uniform throughout the work. Although the lists of dances in the back of the manuscript contain some titles published many years after 1688, there is no reason to believe that the dances were not already known in 1688. In addition, the dedications of these dances include individuals who were present at the Court in the 1688 but who died before Louis XV came to the throne, e.g. Louis XIV's cousin, the Grande Mademoiselle,who died in 1693 (Wolf, p. 274) and Louis XIV's brother, Monsieur, who died in 1701 (Wolf, p. 312). Therefore, it is unlikely that the list would have been added at the same time as the second title page, after 1715.

It is important to establish the authenticity of the 1688 date for this pictorial manuscript because Lorin makes reference in this manuscript to a trip made to England three years previously to collect dances for the French Court. Unfortunately, a search of English and French journals, let-

ters and court records produces no mention of Lorin in England during the 1680s or at any other time. Variant spellings of 'Lorin' produce the same result. Therefore, one must rely heavily on Lorin's own account of his trip to England.

Lorin mentions this voyage to England not only in the 1688 pictorial manuscript, but in the undated collection manuscript, where Lorin gives some important additional details of the journey. One of these details is the name of the mareschal d'Humieres. An investigation of the activities of the mareschal d'Humieres shows that the mareschal is the key to dating this collection manuscript.

The mareschal was a much decorated military figure, a man more accustomed to combat than diplomatic missions. On the battlefield, he fought side by side with the future English King, James II. At the time James was still Duke of York, then in exile in France (James II, 1962). In 1685, Louis XIV sent d'Humieres to congratulate the Catholic King James II on the suppression of the Protestant Monmouth Rebellion. D'Humieres' trip was noted in a letter from James II to William of Orange on August 18, 1685 in the Calendar of State Papers, Vol 1. The trip by d'Humieres was also mentioned in the journal of a nobleman at the French Court, the marquis de Dangeau, whose diary of court life is quite detailed, filling nineteen volumes. Dangeau dates d'Humieres' trip from August 15 to September 14, 1685 (Dangeau, vols. 1, 2). There is no other trip to England by d'humieres in Dangeau's records during the three years prior to 1688.

However, if 1685 is the correct date for the trip to England by the mareschal with an entourage which included Lorin, there may have been little dancing to be observed. Mass executions in the wake of the Monmouth Rebellion were occurring throughout England. In addition, August and September fall before the theater season with its accompanying balls and general festivities. Yet, Lorin declares in his 1688 pictorial manuscript that he took the dances for the earlier collection manuscript from balls, masquerades, schools, and musicals, not only at Court but at provincial assemblies. Given the political atmosphere and the limited time of a month long trip, the 1685 date seems an unlikely time for the production of Lorin's collection of English Country dances.

It is highly probable that Lorin did not actually present the collection manuscript to Louis XIV until January of 1687, more than a year after the trip to England with d'Humieres. In the introduction to this undated collection, Lorin states that the presentation of the manuscript is on the occasion of the King's return to good health. According to Lorin, the collection is part of the Court's expression of joy after rendering thanks to God for the King's recovery. Although Louis suffered from ill health many times, his illness of 1686 was dramatic, requiring several risky operations for an ulcerated intestine. Dangeau

describes how Louis' recovery was marked by a religious celebration in December of 1686 followed by festivities and entertainment in January, 1687. These festivities seem to be an appropriate occasion for the presentation of Lorin's work.

Dangeau's chronology of events agrees with Lorin's statements and neither Dangeau nor his contemporaries mention a similar illness and recovery by the King.

The interval between the trip to England and the presentation of the collection in January of 1687 allows Lorin two possibilities for the production of his collection. The first is that he stayed in England allowing d'Humieres to return to France without him, returning himself at a later time not discussed in either manuscript. The other possibility, which does not exclude the first, is that Lorin had access to the publications of John Playford in or before 1686. Any publications in 1687 or later would not be applicable to a 1687 presentation date, especially since England did not convert to the modern calendar until 1751 (Williams, p. 381). Prior to 1751, the official English calendar year began in late March, not January; thus January 1687 in France was still 1686 in England.

The following list gives those Playford dances which appear in Lorin's undated collection and were published in or prior to 1686:

1. ChristChurch Bells, Sixth Ed. (1679, p. 20)
2. White-Hall, Fifth Ed. (1675, p. 160 [rect. 158])
3. Hedgelane, Sixth Ed. (1679, Supplement)
4. Valentine's Day, Sixth Ed. (1679, Supplement, p. 12)
5. The new Bath, Seventh Ed (1686, p. 194)
6. Excuse Me, Seventh Ed (1686, p. 188)
7. Vienna, Seventh Ed. (1686, p. 22)

Seven of the thirteen dances contained in Lorin's undated collection were published by Playford prior to Lorin's presentation of the collection to Louis XIV in 1687. Three of Lorin's dances have no equivalent English title in the table of contents; two contredances nouvelles and the menuet anglois. These three dances could have been composites of dances or choreographed by Lorin in English style without reference to a specific English Country Dance. There are only three remaining dances to be observed in the month's trip to England in 1685; Cupid's Garden, Winsdort Castle and Irish Tege. The publication of the majority of Lorin's dances by Playford seems to point to Lorin's having made a brief trip to England and augmenting his experiences with

dances that appear in works published by Playford.

Given the parallels to Playford's work through 1686, it seems inappropriate to date Lorin's undated collection manuscript according to the 1685 trip to England. It is more likely that the manuscript was completed between the Playford publication of 1686 and the time of Lorin's presentation of the manuscript in 1687. Unfortunately, the exact month of publication does not appear with the 1686 date on the title page of the Playford publication. Although it is impossible to give the specific date during this period, completion would have been after the first day of 1686 in England, March 25. (Academic American Encyclopedia, s.v. "Calendar") Therefore, the logical date for Lorin's undated collection manuscript is between March 25, 1686 and January, 1687 of the French calendar.

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TERPSICHORE REBORN:

THE FRENCH NOBLE STYLE AND DRAMA

Richard Semmens

It is my purpose in this paper to investigate an aspect of the "French noble style" of dancing that is rarely considered: its role as a principal conveyor of drama in the musical theatre of the mature baroque period, drama in which the legendary muse of dance, Terpsichore, plays a pivotal role. Although the depiction of action through pantomime, attitudes, and gestures of both face and arms, all accompanied by music, seems already to have been established tentatively by the second decade of the eighteenth century, it had yet to have substantial impact on the dancing of state-subsidized and controlled theatres, where opera and the noble style dominated. Indeed, some eighteenth century commentators believed the noble style of dancing was entirely anathema to conveying drama. Jean Georges Noverre, for example, writes:

> In the reign of Louis XIV [1643-1715], recitatives, dialogues and monologues equally served as an explanation of the dancing which could not yet speak for itself. Its feeble and inarticulate sounds had need to be supported by music and explained by poetry. (Letters on Dancing and Ballets [1803], trans. by Cyril W. Beaumont, New York: Dance Horizons, 1966, p. 51)

There is evidence by about 1715, however, to suggest that the noble style of court could also be made to project drama in staged works, and that in such circumstances it often was employed along side dramatic pantomime and gesture, each style maintaining its integrity while contributing to a common goal.

For the purposes of the investigation at hand I shall consider the noble style to embrace the following features: the carriage of torso and arms according to the standards prescribed by the Academie Royale de Danse; the employment of the steps and step units that form the vocabulary of notated dance collections (that is, the noble style is notatable in the system of chorégraphie); and the use of standard dance types in the accompanying music, the characteristic rhythms of which were typically emphasized through cadences in the choreography. By convention, the principal venue for the superb dance creations of Louis Pécourt (1653-1729) and those of Raoul Feuillet (c1650-c1709) and Jean Balon (1676-1739), the tantalizing samplings of which are preserved in annual collections, was the divertissement. The dances, as a result of this state of affairs, remained hors d'action and were never intended to forward the dramas of the works they so conspicuously adorned. This noble style, executed in the elaborate costumes, masks and head dresses of the Opéra, was the vehicle for the rise to stardom of the first generation of the Academie's professional dancers. One of the second-generation stars, the renowned Mlle Prévost (1680-1741), plays an interesting part in this investigation.

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Françoise Prévost, at nineteen, made her debut at the Opéra in 1699 in a revival of Lully's Atys. She succeeded Mlle de Subligny (1666-1736) who retired in 1705 as première danseuse, and enjoyed an exceptionally long career as the greatest female dancer of her generation, appearing on stage for the final time in February of 1730. (Emile Dacier, Une danseuse de l'opéra sous Louis XV, Mlle Sallé, d'après des documents inédits, Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, [1909]; reprint ed., Geneva: Minkoff, 1972, pp. 37-51) Of Prévost, Pierre Rameau writes:

> I wish I were able to pay a fitting tribute to such rare talents. All the advice which, after long meditation, we can offer in regard to our art, is contained in a single one of her dances. She puts these rules into practice with such grace, lightness and precision, that she may well be regarded as a prodigy in her own sphere. She certainly merits the appellation of Terpsichore, the muse who presided over the dances of the ancients. She is endowed with the same power as fabled Proteus. She assumes all manner of forms at will, with the difference that, while Proteus generally employed them to frighten curious mortals who came to consult him, she makes use of them to enchant the eager eyes that watch her and to conquer all hearts. Moreover, the deserved applause accorded her aroused a noble rivalry among the other danseuses. (Pierre Rameau, Le Maître à danser, Paris: J. Villette [1725]; trans. by Cyril W. Beaumont, The Dancing Master, London, C. W. Beaumont, 1931, pp. xiv-xv)

When lavish praise such as this resorts to hyperbole it is easy to dismiss as nothing more than overly-lavish praise, and to ignore salient details that may reveal much. Rameau's account of Mlle Prévost is susceptible to such treatment, yet it merits closer inspection.

The statement that Prévost aroused "a noble rivalry" is a veritable premonition. Within two years of the publication of Le Maître à danser, two of Prévost's protégés, Marie-Anne Camargo (1710-1770) and Marie Sallé (1707-1756), scored enormous successes at their debuts at the Opéra, respectively 5 May 1726, and 14 September 1727. The two students were destined to attract even greater public acclaim than their revered teacher, and the career of Sallé in particular is central to the development of dancing as a conveyor of dramatic action.

One of Rameau's remarks, however, demands special attention: "All the advice which, after long meditation, we can offer in regard to our art, is contained in a single one of her dances." This should not only be taken figuratively -- that in any dance Prévost was able to present the essentials of the noble style -- but rather, also should be taken literally: in one of her dances she really did exhibit all the rules of her art. Which dance was it? And how was it so impressive that it was, among all of Prévost's celebrated performances, the only one honoured by special mention in Rameau's description? There can be no doubt that the dance to which Rameau refers is Les caractères de la danse; it was to become the vehicle for the further advancement of Prévost's great fame, as well as for the meteoric rise to stardom of her protégés.

Composed by Jean-Ferry Rebel (1666-1747) in 1715, the score of Les caractères de la danse comprises six folio pages, and presents a suite of fourteen continuous dance movements. (A prelude of 13 measures; courante of 13; menuet of 32; bourrée of 22; chaconne of 36; sarabande of 16;

gigue of 21; rigaudon of 15; gavotte of 22; "sonate" of 29; loure of 7; musette of 61; and another "sonate" of 50 measures.) Emile Dacier has speculated that the composition was planned as the accompanying music to a solo dance creation of Mlle Prévost, and there are, indeed, several accounts of its danced performance in the 1720s and 30s. (Emile Dacier, "Les Caractères de la danse, Histoire d'une divertissement pendant la première moitié du xviiie siècle," [S.I.M] Revue musicale 5 [1905]: 326) Dacier's supposition is probably correct, for there is a documented collaboration of similar nature between the two artists in 1711, Rebel's Caprice, the music for which has been described as "d'une inspiration bien médiocre." (Pierre Aubry, "Jean-Ferry Rebel," [S.I.M.] Revue musicale 5 [1905]: 304)

The music for Les Caractères de la danse, on the other hand, is far from mediocre. The prelude is reminiscent of those of Couperin's Concerts royaux, and the standard dances are beautifully encapsulated character studies in music, although the brief loure is curiously non-typical in its rhythmic design. The musette is a charming and extended binary form, with drone bass, attractively irregular phrases and a recurring motive. The two sonata movements are fiery in nature, the second one being loosely based on the first, and in style much like a polonaise or an English hornpipe. Of Prévost's choreography only accounts remain, but they are illuminating, albeit dimly, of the dancer's creation.

It is not until 1721 that specific reference to Prévost's performance of the work is found. The nature of the reference in the Mercure galante, though, makes it clear that the piece and Prévost's dance for it were already well-known. The Mercure offers a "parody" of the work -- that is, in a wholly unpejorative sense, a contrafacta, or new verses set to Rebel's music, and inspired by Prévost's choreographic interpretation. In a brief introduction to the parody we read:

> The parody given here on Les caractères de la danse is one of those gallant vaudevilles that piques the curiosity of sensitive people. The author, through his verses, has expressed what the inimitable danseuse [Mlle Prévost], who placed this happy musical caprice in vogue, expressed through her attitudes and through her steps, always brilliant, [and] always varied. (Mercure de France, juin et juiliet [1721]: 64-72)

What is interesting about the anonymous parody is that the author deals with one subject, love, from the point of view of various characters in various situations. Twelve verses are provided, each corresponding to a specific section of the fourteen-movement fantasy. The two sections called "Sonate" are provided with no verses, suggesting, perhaps, that Prévost left them unchoreographed. (The suggestion is argued by Dacier, "Les Caractères," 325.)

The prelude verse reads as follows:

> In her Temple, one day, Love came to say to the mortals who were erecting altars to her: "Make a wish; I want to see if your unfaithful soul will be content. Make use, lovers, young beauties, of this gift presented to you."

In the courante, an aged lover, longing for a beautiful young girl who makes fun of him, asks of Love only to be able to believe in loving. In the menuet, a little girl of twelve years, who already feels a thousand confusing emotions pent up in her, begs Love to make her mother fall asleep, for she is awaiting her lover. A love-struck shepherdess in the bourrée asks Love to open the eyes of the shepherd who disdains her. In the chaconne, a boastful and brash young master asks Love to make his attributes evident to others, not so as to receive favours and love, but rather to earn the reputation of being a well respected man. A vanquished lover pities himself and asks advice of Love in the sarabande. In the gigue, a lively young lass, full of energy and vivacity, asks Love for a charming shepherd who is able to dance as long as she can. A foolish man in the rigaudon assures Love that with money he always finds beauties to choose. The passepied presents a deserted lover who asks Love to give her the power to feign coldness in the hope that indifference will allow her to see the true nature of her lover's diminishing ardour, and perhaps rekindle it. In the gavotte, a lover who, through fear of his love, banished her boyfriend, mourns his suffering, and wishes for his speedy return. A lover and disciple of Bacchus in the loure asks of Love that he may always have drink, for very often love comes with drinking. And finally, in the musette, a lover who is so perfectly content that she has no wishes to formulate, offers thanks and praise to Love.

From Les Caractères de la danse this parody virtually creates an entire ballet de cour in miniature. Fleshed out with recits, choruses and instrumental numbers, each section could believably become an entrée of a ballet whose theme and title were Les Dons d'Amour. Even the prelude of the parody behaves very much like a theatrical Prologue, presenting as it does the sudden appearance of the allegorical figure, Love, who speaks for the first and only time in the "action," and sets up the argument for the scenes which follow. The subsequent entrées present a typically varied and imaginative array of situations -- serious, sad, moralistic, comic -- and characters, among whom number the ubiquitous shepherds, shepherdesses and bacchantes. It truly has all the ingredients of a ballet de cour of the grand siècle, worthy perhaps of a Benserade and a Lully, and it is similar to those still in the repertoire of the Academie Royale de Musique in Prévost's time. Yet, it was performed without recits and choruses, without sets and costumes, and with a cast of one who danced for somewhat less than fifteen minutes.

The imposition of such a scenario on the composition of Rebel and Prévost, to be sure, may have been far removed from their original intentions. The fact remains, nevertheless, that at least one person saw the dance as expressing a neatly unified drama, and there is little doubt that, after the appearance of the July 1721 issue of the Mercure, the readers of which were legion, many others saw it that way, too.

It is my belief that Prévost's dance was in the noble style, and I base this judgment on what seems to be compelling evidence. Pierre Rameau on more than one occasion in Le Maître à danser insists that it is not his mission to discuss theatrical dancing, but rather the noble style of the Ballroom. In the concluding remarks to his discussion of the pas de bourrée, for example, he writes: "There is another pas known as the fleuret which can be performed in two ways, but as I have not encountered it in Ballroom Dancing I shall not explain it..." (The Dancing Master,

p. 82) Still, in the same work, he makes oblique reference, as we have seen, to Les Caractères and Prévost. She, along with the other personalities invoked in his Preface, according to Rameau, "are the masters who have furnished me with the rules I have set forth in my book." (The Dancing Master, p. xv) The music for Les Caractères, moreover, consists almost entirely of standard dance varieties, the characteristic rhythms of which lend themselves typically to the cadences of the noble style. In this respect, the fact that the two movements called "Sonate" were left unchoreographed is, indeed, conspicuous. Finally, a performance of Les Caractères for the Princes of Bavaria on 23 September 1725 yielded the following account in the Mercure: "the entire divertissement was concluded by Les caractères de la danse that Dlle Prévost danced with the grace, vivaciousness and the lightness with which everyone is familiar." (Mercure de France octobre [1725]: 2489) Since Rameau saw Prévost as a model for the noble style, and since this account characterizes her performance as one with which everyone was familiar, it seems safe to conclude that it was, in fact, in the noble style. Yet, in light of the 1721 parody, it conveyed drama as well.

If only tentatively at first, the Academie Royale de Musique seems also to have been intrigued by the idea of noble dance as a conveyor of drama. I do not wish to suggest by this, however, that the success of the Prévost dance-parody was wholly responsible for such interest, for there also were other forces at work. Primary among these was the growing popularity of mime and pantomime in musical entertainments on stages other than those of the royal theatres in both London and Paris in the first third of the eighteenth century. In London, John Rich's "after-pieces" at his Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre were becoming enormously popular, as we shall see presently, while in Paris, the théâtres de la foire were serving as an important training ground for the young Marie Sallé. By 1721, Sallé, at fourteen years of age, had already acquired theatrical dancing experience, having appeared with her brother in 1718 and 1719 on the stages of the théâtres de la foire. As well, she had been taking lessons with Prévost, and had made a special appearance at an Academie production of Campra's Fêtes vénitiennes in July of 1721. (Emile Dacier, Mlle Sallé, pp. 1-17. An account of Sallé's special appearance is given in Mercure de France juin et juillet [1721]: 7-8.) Even Prévost had tried her hand at dramatic pantomime in the famous performance of Les Horaces at Sceaux in 1714, under the protection of the Duchesse du Maine. (The production is briefly described in Kirstein, Movement & Metaphor, New York, Praeger, 1970, pp. 90-91.) It was only natural, then, that the Academie Royale de Musique, too, should have become interested in the potential for dramatic dancing. But, in keeping with its mandate for training young singers, actors and dancers, and with the established style of its productions, this dramatic dancing was initially to draw heavily on the noble style.

The first tangible evidence of the Academie's interest appears in 1723 with the production of Les Festes grecques et romaines by Colin de Blamont (1690-1760) and Louis Fuzelier (1672-1752). Among other novelties, this is the first work to be designated ballet héroique. (Paul Marie Masson, "Le ballet héroique," La Revue musicale 9 [1928]: 132-154) In a preface Fuzelier, the librettist, claims the work to be "a completely new type of Ballet." (Recueil général des opéras représentés par l'Academie Royale de Musique depuis son établissement, 3 vols., Geneva:

Slatkine Reprints, 1971, III, p. 204ff) His reasons, alas, do not specify dancing but, rather, the appearance of historical figures from classical antiquity who sing, and the suppression of elaborate machinery. The work's Prologue, however, may also have been in Fuzelier's mind, for it presents a dramatic scene of unprecedented choreographic involvement.

At the beginning of the Prologue we read:

> The theatre represents the Temple of Memory adorned with the statues of great men, and Inscriptions in their praise. It is approached by a great and magnificent Plaza decorated in the same taste. The students of Erato [Muse of epic song] are assembled there by order of Apollo, to assist the Muse of History [Clio]. (Recueil général des opéras, III, p. 206)

In the first scene Clio solicits the aid of Erato to conjure up the great heroes of the past. In the second Apollo appears to witness the great event, and in the middle of his first recit he says:

> You are going to present on the lyric stage the Heroes, the ornament of Rome and Athens. No, your charming concerts are not enough; you still lack a muse. Do you think it possible to re-enact diverse deeds without the aid of Terpsichore? It is in vain these days to call up the graces with melodious tunes; if dance does not delight and charm the eyes, boredom follows the pleasures and flees from their steps.

Erato responds: "Cease advocating Terpsichore and her steps; we are aware of all her attractions." A prelude announces Terpsichore, and Apollo says to Erato, "Make good use, Muse, of her presence." And Erato responds, "I shall fulfill your wish." Terpsichore, at this point, moves to the front of her students, all "characterized" differently. Apollo commands, "Come, Terpsichore, lend them your attractions," and Erato enjoins, "Mark the cadences of my songs." Then all three, Apollo, Erato and Clio sing, "Charming muse of the dance, the games that you adorn triumph evermore," and the libretto reads: "On danse." There follows a general approbation of the bonds between Music, Dance and Love, and even the heroes of antiquity, concluded with a chorus: "To new tasks does Apollo call us; let us enliven our steps and our voices . . ." And the libretto reads:

> Erato and Apollo celebrate the praises of Terpsichore in a cantata, and the muse of dance expresses the symphonies and the songs through the variety of her steps and of her gestures. What a lively and light dance! The actions, the Ris, you follow them all. Brilliant Muse, more lovers follow you than to Cythère.

Erato and Apollo:

> You present to our eyes the transports of lovers, the tender cares, flattering hope, desperate jealousy, cruel vengeance. All your steps are emotions.

After a concluding chorus, in which praise to Terpsichore is repeated, the Prologue ends.

In no way may the dancing in this Prologue be considered merely diverting. It is clearly an essential element in the dramatic mise-en-scène, one to which the characters are forced to respond. It is not to

be wondered, then, that the role of Terpsichore was assigned to none other than Mlle Prévost in 1723; indeed, it was probably her performance in this work that produced Rameau's metaphor, cited earlier. Because the role of Terpsichore was danced by Prévost, and because she was requested to lend "cadences" to the music, I believe the noble style played an important part in the performance. Les festes grecques et romaines was very successful, and remained in the repertoire of the Academie Royale de Musique for some forty-five years. Of particular interest is a revival in 1748 of the Prologue alone in the petits cabinets du roi. Despite Fuzelier's decision not to mention the novelty of this Prologue in his preface, it was certainly appreciated long after its premiere. Noverre, himself, was later to write:

> To say that there are no [true] ballets at the Opera would be a falsehood. The act of "les Fleurs," the act of "Elge" in Les Talents lyriques [1739], the "Prologue" to Les festes grecques et romaines, the "Turkish" act in L'Europe galante [1697], one act among many in Castor et Pollux [1737], and a quantity of others where dancing is, or can be, easily united to action, and without any extraordinary effort on the composer's part, truly offer me agreeable and very interesting ballets. (Letters on Dancing and Ballets, p. 54)

By the Fall of 1725 Marie Sallé and her brother had voyaged to London, where they had been contracted by John Rich (c1691-1761) for performances in his Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre. Rich's productions were especially popular for their elaborately staged musical pantomimes that regularly concluded the works he mounted. He often hired French dancers, and those with experience in the théâtres de la foire in Paris were particularly well suited for his purposes, for the term "dramatic entertainment of dancing" is frequently encountered on his billets. On 27 November 1725, the program at Lincoln's Inn Fields included "a Dance by Mademoiselle Sallé never before performed in England, and titled, Les caractères de la danse, in which are expressed all the movements in dancing." (Cited in Dacier, Mlle Sallé, p. 22) Two important conclusions may be drawn from this interesting turn of events. First, in her lessons with Prévost, Sallé obviously was taught some of the dances in the repertoire of her great teacher. And second, Prévost's composition must have been regarded, to some extent, as consistent with the dramatic pantomimes Rich's audiences came to see.

Sallé was to exhibit her skills on the stages of both London and Paris between 1725 and 1735. In London she scored her greatest success in her benefit concert of 1734, the year in which an extended dramatic dance of her own composition was premiered. This remarkable work aroused such extraordinary interest that even the Parisians were talking about Pigmalion. A "letter from London" was published by the Mercure in April of 1734, giving a vivid account of the creation. A portion of it reads:

> For nearly two months, Pigmalion ran without interruption. Here is the manner in which the subject is developed. Pigmalion enters his atelier with his sculptors who make a "characteristic dance," hammer and chisel in hand. Pigmalion orders them to open up the rear of the atelier, adorned, like the front, with statues. In the middle is one that attracts the eye of everyone more than all the others. He looks at it, he contemplates it and

> sighs. He runs his hands over her feet, over her waist; he examines all the contours, as well as her arms which he adorns with precious bracelets; he ornaments her neck with a rich necklace; he kisses the hand of his dear statue, and becomes impassioned . . . He expresses his unrest, and falls into a reverie, after which he falls to the feet [of the statue] of Venus . . . Three streams of light appear and, to a pleasant symphony, his statue begins to emerge in stages to sensibility, much to the surprise of Pigmalion and his followers. She demonstrates her astonishment at her new existence and at all the objects surrounding her. Pigmalion, astonished, and in rapture, offers his hand to lead her from her position; she sort of taps at the ground, and gradually tries some steps with the most elegant attitudes that the sculptor could have desired. Pigmalion dances before her as if to show her; she imitates, from the simplest things to the complicated and to the most difficult. He tries to inspire her tenderness by which he has been touched, and in the end succeeds.
>
> You can conceive, Monsieur, what can become of all the events of this action, executed and rendered in dance with the fine and delicate graces of Mlle Sallé. She ventured to appear in this entrée without overskirt, without underskirt, without bodice, and disheveled, with no head ornament; she was clothed only in her corset and petticoat, and a simple muslin robe, folded in drapery and adjusted in the manner of a Greek statue. Have no doubt, Monsieur, of the prodigious success of this ingenious ballet, so wonderfully executed. The King, the Queen, and all the Court have demanded it again for the benefit day, for which all the lodges and the seats of the theatre and amphitheatre are sold out. (Mercure de France avril [1734]: 770-772)

There can be little doubt that Pigmalion drew on more than the pure noble style of dancing in the unfolding of its drama; gesture and pantomime figure prominently in the description cited above. But I believe the noble style would have been used as well, especially in the initial danse de caractère by the sculptors, and in the "complicated" and "difficult" steps executed by the statue in imitation of Pigmalion. It should be mentioned, too, that this performance took place, not in the decaying theatre of Lincoln's Inn Fields, but in the recently opened Covent Garden theatre. (Dacier, Mlle Sallé, p. 155)

At the beginning of the next season, in the Fall of 1734, John Rich was sharing space at Covent Garden with George Frederick Handel, who, after his quarrel with Nicola Porpora (1686-1768), had vacated the Haymarket theatre. (Otto Deutsch, Handel: A Documentary Biography, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955, pp. 350-369) Under terms of the agreement, Handel would have the services of Sallé, and he made good use of them in November, in a revival of his Il Pastor fido. The London Daily Post of 9 November 1734 announces:

> At the Theatre-Royal in Covent Garden, this present Saturday will be performed Pastor Fido. An opera; with several additions, intermix'd with Chorus's. Which will be preceded by a new Dramatic Entertainment (in Musick) call'd Terpsichore. (Deutsch, Handel, p. 373)

Terpsichore had now crossed the Channel, and she was appearing not merely as a character, but as the title of a "Dramatic Entertainment." And the muse was not alone in her crossing.

Terpsichore (Il Pastor fido, Friedrich Chrysander, ed., Ridgewood, New Jersey: The Gregg Press, 1965-1966, vol. 51) opens with an overture and chorus celebrating a great gathering, and summoning Apollo, who appears to tell Erato that he has left Parnassus to determine if the new Museum, a reference, of course, to Handel's new theatre at Covent Garden, is worthy of him. And he asks Erato if Terpsichore is not coming. In a recitative, she explains that the muse of dance, who with her "accurate cadences unites steps with wisdom," is not far away, and in an aria sings praises to Terpsichore and the gifts of Parnassus. Then a brief Prelude announces the arrival of Terpsichore, and Apollo says: "Delightful Terpsichore, with noble boldness, style your dance to our harmony." A chaconne of considerable length ensues. Erato and Apollo next sing a duet: "From your steps Love is stirred and the spirit is enchanted and overwhelmed with pleasure." To the same music, a sarabande, Sallé as Terpsichore dances a solo. Apollo asks her to depict the transports of a suitor promised to his beloved, and Terpsichore dances a gigue in the French style. After another duet, she is enjoined to depict the "jealousy and blind rage" of tormented love. A fiery entrée grave, with wide melodic leaps, dotted rhythms and string flourishes accompanies Terpsichore's dance. Apollo and Erato agree that she is capable of presenting all the passions. In a final aria Apollo sings, "Like Zephyr, how swift and light are your steps. Grace watches over your movements, and Love applauds them." An instrumental version of the aria, very much like a passepied, follows and a Ballo, no doubt danced by the cast, concludes the scene.

The indebtedness of this "Dramatic Entertainment in Music" to the Prologue of Les festes grecques et romaines is unmistakable. (The close relation between the works has been pointed out by Dacier, "Les caractères de la danse," 334, note 1.) The characters -- Apollo, Erato and various Muses -- and the notion of having Terpsichore present the passions of love is closely based on Fuzelier's libretto. And, as in the French work, dancing is the featured attraction in the unfolding of the drama. Since Sallé was still in Paris and studying with Prévost when Les festes grecques et romaines premiered in 1723, it is likely she brought some of her former teacher's ideas across the Channel with her for use in the Covent Garden production.

Handel's Terpsichore bears the same relationship to the more daring Pigmalion as the Festes grecques et romaines does to Les caractères de la danse. The shorter of these works seem more experimental; but precisely because they were small pieces, and because they were suited to entr'actes, galas and benefit concerts, they could afford to be more daring. In the larger of these works, on the other hand, dramatic dancing was more cautious; it served the mise-en-scène without being assigned the sole responsibility of unfolding the drama. In all the works, however, a notion consistently has presented itself: that dance is capable of dramatically portraying the passions, and conveying their changes. But two styles of dancing were employed in the endeavour, one based on the gestures and dramatic pantomime indigenous to the théâtres de la foire, and the other based in the French noble style. The two styles clearly existed side by side. In Terpsichore, for example, the

fiery entrée grave certainly seems to demand the use of dramatic gesture and pantomime, while the titled chaconne, sarabande and gigue suggest the classical French style of court and theatre. Sallé and, to a lesser extent, Prévost were apparently comfortable in either.

The directors of the royal theatres of both Paris and London, inspired, no doubt, by the use of dance in the entrepreneurial theatres of the time, recognized that conveying drama was an interesting new use for the noble style, a style that emphatically remained unscathed by such dramatic excursions. It is useful to recall that the dance tutors of Rameau and Essex, (John Essex, The Dancing Master or the art of dancing explained, London: J. Brotherton, 1728, a translation of Rameau) certainly among the most important of our sources for insight into the noble style of dancing, appeared in the chronological centre of the time period considered in this investigation. The splendid performances of Prévost and Sallé initially, at any rate, did not change this noble style; they simply put it to new use, with the aid and approbation of Terpsichore, who once more was presiding.

THE REGULAR AND THE IRREGULAR

Puzzles in the Manuals and Scores in the Early 18th Century

Shirley Wynne

I have been away from research and writing for some years now because I have been engaged in setting 17th and 18th-century dance and dramatic gesture into their original context. This work has been especially rewarding to me, as it has required me to make decisions on questionable issues in the scores. Beyond that essential step in preparing for rehearsals, I have learned how the dances "work" when placed in their larger context: the action of an opera. What is more, I have had the opportunity over the past eight years to direct entire operas in which I could truly -- according to my notions -- integrate the dances into the overall action of the plot and have them carry their weight of the drama.

I have now returned to the scene of research, am writing a book, *The Character of Baroque Dances*, and have been much impressed and moved by the work going on in this country by dance history scholars: Julia Sutton's work on Caroso; Regine Astier's investigations of long-buried details of the life of Beauchamp and his time; Pat Ranum's investigation of the relation between rhetoric and dance and her discovery of a unique 17th-century description of a sarabande -- these and other scholars have advanced the level of dance history writing significantly. We now have models upon which to base further research and writing and a growing body of information on previously obscure periods in history.

I was led to this paper by my experiences with unresolved enigmas in the manuals and scores which always nagged me while I was in the process of setting choreography for an opera. I had become well-accustomed to adapting and composing from material in the sources, but was always frustrated by recurring unconventional dance music which was to accompany a characterization or distinct affect which had no model in the original scores. All the scores in the manuals which could be considered ballets (even those so-named for the opera in the Feuillet system) were of the kind that de Cahusac would have called, "dance in which dance is the principal object," (Louis de Cahusac. *La Danse Ancienne et Moderne*. La Haye: Jean Neaulme, 1754, Bk. III, 46) that is to say, the formal abstract ballet. In order to compose a ballet to unconventional dance music with its specific expressive intent, one had to resort to invention on a base of the formal step sequences and phrases, re-ordering and distorting them in ways to achieve the particular affect required. In the 17th century in Italy there are uncounted numbers of opera scores -- still largely uninvestigated -- which contain such unconventional passages. One of the earliest I know is Monteverdi's *Ballo Delle Ingrate* of 1608, where the "ungrateful" ladies in their agony at being condemned to the inferno, danced, according to the court chronicler Federico Follino (*Compendio*. Mantua: Osanna, 1608, 248-259), with gestures of grief and despair, pity and

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scorn, tenderness, fury, jealousy, humility and anger. In the score the ballo is identified merely by the title, "Entrata." The choreographer should, in my opinion, recreate the passions that the original observer saw and felt. In another example from Italian opera later in the century, *Il Sant' Alessio* by Stefano Landi in 1634, there is a Hell scene with a long ballo for demons, both sung by a chorus and, played without text, danced by dancers. Such "entries" were common to all operas in the 17th and 18th centuries and were intended to interpret "the passions and interior sentiments" of the soul according to Menestrier, writing in 1658. It was this genre of ballet which stirred the greater interest: "the more turbulent the action, the more pleasing." (Claude-Francois Ménéstrier. *Remarques* accompanying the libretto, *L'Autel de Lyon* by Jean Moulin, 1658 quoted in M. F. Christout, *Le Ballet de Cour de Louis XIV, Paris: Picard, 1967, 223)*

I shall confine my discussion to the sources which commence with *Chorégraphie* (R. -A. Feuillet. Paris, 1700). In the relative abundance and variety of scores in this system, there is the merest thread of information on the ballet of the type which I shall call "action" -- the term used by Ménéstrier and later by de Cahusac, though repeatedly credited to Noverre. Some choreographies which do not fall strictly into the category of the formal entry, such as various ballets of national or comic character or those for such figures as Harlequin and Scaramouche, nonetheless cannot be classified as action ballets. The latter had a far broader palette in the context of opera, judging from their music, texts and descriptions by writers who had seen them. The scores in the early 18th cnetury, like those of the 17th century, give us, therefore, only half of the picture of the dance activity of the time. A restorer of dance in opera from these periods has to come to terms with these glaring omissions. But one can only wonder why the early notators chose not to record dance of action when they supplied us with gloriously technical and elegant ballets which challenge the best dancers even today.

In searching for answers, I began questioning again the use of space in those days, which, the more experience I gained, seemed in some ways familiar but in others distinctly unlike our present attitudes. The first consideration of this attitude is the ordering of space into symbolic symmetrical figures (hence the title of this paper) which characterized choreographic design from the 15th century to the late 18th century.

Feuillet described the regular and the irregular figure (R. -A. Feuillet. *Chorégraphie*. 2nd ed. Paris, 1701, 92), yet the latter occurs very infrequently in the scores even though it would appear to have been within the rules of the correct ordering of space in those days. The concepts underlying the principles of order and proportion in space derive from Classical Greek thought and represent the contest between order and chaos, security and destruction. The dance figure was a device which served to demonstrate the dissolution into confusion of a highly complex and organized order through the complex manoeuvres of the dancers. This transition, which was frequently repeated throughout a ballet, reconfirmed by physical action the power to control the destructive forces of the universe. From the Renaissance to the end of the 18th century, dance writers frequently mention the significance of

the ordering of human behavior into geometric patterns in order to keep in harmony with the spheres.

The movement devices used to create the play between two opposing forces were (and continue to be in some areas of western dance) the continual changing of facings of the dancers as they move along a path which follows a symmetrical design, and place-changing -- still so popular in square and contredanse in Europe and the United States -- where figures are dissolved and new ones formed by dancers changing places with others in circles, squares or lines. The constant changes of facings and places within a figure does in fact, create a physical sense of alternations between freedom from boundaries and control and a return to the safety of "home." If specific allegroical meaning has been lost in the course of time, the experience remains the same. In the 18th century superstitions would have still been strong, and figure-making could have been a vestigial and unconscious good-luck manoeuvre related to beliefs in the preservation of a good life through th re-enactment of principles of virtue as opposed to forces of evil and destruction. Dance, then, in those later days, still served as re-creation on profound levels.

Just as moderation and control were signs of virtue played out in modest performance of the ordered figures of the dance, so were violence and abandon signs of uncivilized passion and evil. Here again concepts derived from Classical thought. Plato stated that violent and contorted movements in the dance were wicked and lacking in breeding. (Lillian Lawler. *The Dance of the Ancient Greek Theatre.* Iowa City, Iowa: Univ. of Iowa Press, 19) Nearly all the dance manuals from the 15th century treated of the courtesies and were careful to define the range of proper usage in movement, thereby linking moral standards with esthetic values. Violence and excessive displays of emotion, along with certain postures, height and width of gestures, immoderate ornamentation, types of dances and steps were unsuited to the civilized person. Ménéstrier (op. cit., 223) said referring to action in a ballet, that "we take a natural liking to persons who fight. We stop to see . . . artisans in hard labor; because these effort are of violence which one makes naturally. They seem extraordinary and inspire admiration which is the mother of pleasure." The term "natural" refers to those feelings which are, in proper society, civilized, hidden, kept under strict control. In 1754 de Cahusac advised that furies would express the rage which excited them by rapid steps, precipitous leaps, and violent whirling, but even more would be expected from them in an action ballet where they would have to reveal in a successive action the intention of "these barbarous divinities." (op. cit., Bk. III, 49-50) Finally, Noverre, writing well after regular figure making had lost its symbolic significance, said that in a scene of action the dance should "speak with fire and energy" and should have a "ravishing disorder" while symmetrical figures "conveyed nothing" and "chilled the interest." (Jean Georges Noverre. *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, 1760, trans. by C. W. Beaumont. London: C. W. Beaumont, 1930, 12-13).

Clearly, space and movement in scenes of action prior to Noverre were free of the obligatory proprieties of ballroom dance and the noble entry. We must assume that this kind of movement was thought improper and irrelevant to record, (and not take it for granted that it was

merely too difficult to record.) Dancers of such entries were surely paid professionals, such as Pierre Beauchamp, who were allowed liberties forbidden to persons of social rank in practice but enjoyed by them as spectators. This brings us to the conclusion that the notated scores were intended for the amateur dancer who was bound by the rules of virtuous social conduct.

The second consideration in the search for answers as to attitudes toward space prior to the end of the 18th century is the nature of the space in which the dancers performed the dances notated in the scores. The choreographies are written within a rectangle roughly one-third deeper than it is wider. Weaver, in his translation of Feuillet, said that this rectangle was to represent a "stage," "dancing room," or "school" (*Orchesography*. London, 1706, 51-52); whereas Feuillet referred only to the "salle" or hall in which the choreographies were to be performed. Dance in a hall, like that in the orchestra of the most ancient Greek theatres, was seen from all side, where the principle of body contrast or "contrapposto" gave the body visual interst from all points of view, and from above which enhanced the play of the symmetrical figures.

I have found that the choreographies are unsuited to the stage because of their long forward and backward moving paths -- greater by one-third or more than the side-to-side directions. I have always had to convert these paths into diagonals or abandon them altogether to make a dance fill the space from a frontal point of view, or have the tension that foreshortened movements lack. The forward and backward paths do not "read" from the front -- even with the older raked stage -- because of the process of foreshortening, and their effect in creating a proportioned and balanced symmetrical figure is destroyed. Even allowing for the differences of opinion as to length steps in the dances of the period, and the fact that many steps written along the track of the score actually were executed in one place, the backward moving paths would nonetheless have the effect of plunging the dancer deeply into the perspective scene, thereby shattering the illusion of distance.

The elevated stage was fully in use by the middle of the 17th century. Though the parterre was still the space used for general ballroom dancing following a spectacle, it was used less and less frequently for the grand ballets which concluded a performance. In the 18th century, the absolute symmetry of the single-eye-point perspective stage set was giving way to the Bibiena's angled perspective designs, and in 1760 Noverre spoke disparagingly about symmetrical dance figures, referring only to "symmetrical figures from right to left" (op. cit. 12) -- those which we see in ballet today. We must conclude that the choreographies were not meant to be seen on a stage.

In addition to the use of space other factors must be considered in determining the reasons for the absence of action dance in the scores. The nature of opera had changed since Lully's death when Beauchamp left the Opera. Spectacle and entertainment governed opera productions; viruosity without the "soul of dancing" inspired the ballets, and efforts to integrate dance and song into dramatic action ceased to be a prevailing motive in the opera. We know little about the interpretation of Lully and Quinault scores through this period, but

they were probably changed to suit the fashion of the time (a common practice with revivals) with choreography or under the influence of Louis Pecour.

De Cahusac wrote of the misfortune never to see "modern" dancers do that which had been practiced by dancers before them in the days of Lully and Quinault, and he pleaded for reforms which would restore respect for the art and bring credit to the nation. He said that theatrical action was antipathetic to modern dancers and that they refused to dance anything but noble entries. The authors of opera texts, he wrote, seemed not to remember the lyric theatre of Lully and Quinault and its dance of action, and only Fuzelier attempted to introduce it into his ballets. (op. cit. Bk IV, 123-5)

Interest in action ballet rerturned with the operas of Jean-Philippe Rameau, whose librettist was often de Cahusac, but for the years just preceding Feuillet's publication and up to 1725 when scores appeared in the most abundance, there was apparently little recollection of the action ballet, and minor interest in creating or viewing it. There is surely sufficient cause here for not publishing scores which would have neither interest nor commercial value for the consumer, the amateur wishing to learn the intricacies and fashions of French dancing. The scores were popular, judging from the fascinating study by Regine Astier ("Michel Gaudrau" un danseur presque ordinaire," *Les Gouts Réunis*. Revue publiée par l'Institut de Musique et de Danse Anciennes d'Ile-de-France, Besançon, France, 1982, 59-60), and Gaudrau made his fortune on sale of his collection of Pecour ballets.

Furthermore, scores of the noble entry were easy to extract from the context of an opera, and best served the purposes of the manuals; whereas, action ballets were integrated into the overall action of the drama, and did not easily stand alone in performance either musically or dramatically. A ballet or suite of dances from an opera was commonly performed in other contexts, such as banquets, garden parties, or entr'actes in spoken plays, and would be adapted both to the circumstances of the performance and the abilities of the dancer. Several versions of dances were choreographed to the same tune, as, for example, the sarabande which has four versions to the tune of the Spanish entry in the concluding ballet of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* by Lully and Molière. (Wendy Hilton, "Dances to Music by Jean-Baptiste Lully," *Early Music*, vol. 14, No. 1 Feb., 1986. 58) None of these could be said to be original version of the dance, but the tune had remained popular for dancing. However, there still remains a problem with other scores. For example, in Feuillet's collection of ballets (*Recueil de Dances*. Paris; Feuillet, 1704, 36) there is an "Entrée Espagnolle" for a woman (in 6/4 meter with two steps to the bar). On the score is the statement, "danced by Mlle Subligny in the Ballet de L'Europe Galante." (music by Campra, text by La Motte, premiered, Paris, 1697) More than a hundred pages later (164), the same tune appears again, with the same title, but here for two men (Pissetau and Cherrier), who are said also to have dance this piece in *L'Europe Galante*. (It is still notated in 6/4 meter, with two steps to the bar, but is here marked "gravement"). A look into Campra's original score reveals that the piece is for "Les Espagnols,: and is not repeated as a divertissement at the conclusion of the ballet. How could two choreographies to this piece have appeared in

the same performance? Moreover, how do we account for a solo when the score calls for "Les Espagnols?" The entry for Subligny is more grounded, "terre à terre," and less fully ornamented than the duet. It is easier technically and appears early in the volume, thereby conforming to Feuillet's intentions for the collection. We have, then, two different choreographies said to be danced in the same opera-ballet, but neither of which conforms to the requirements of the original score -- which calls for a group dance. The fact that this was not explained by Feuillet suggests that it presented no puzzles to the consumers of the scores. Reasons which could account for what seems to us baffling coincidence could be that 1) the two entries were danced in different performances of the opera-ballet; 2) the solo and duet versions were adapted from a larger group dance, and 3) they were composed especially for these dancers to this piece, taken out of the context of the larger score. We cannot know if these pieces were danced in the ballet on a stage, but we can be sure that there was a range of flexibility in performing to well-known ballet music, and choreographies to the same piece could change to suit the abilities, sex and temperament of the dancer as well as the different circumstances of performance.

To conclude, I would say that some questions cannot be answered with any absolute assurance, but that it is reasonable to assume that the 1700 scores were not meant for the paid professional, nor were they meant for the stage, but rather for the ballroom or hall; that they were adaptable to the occasion and the performer; and that action ballets were not included 1) because of the impropriety of dancing such ballets in a non-theatrical or social occasion, 2) because they could not be extracted easily from a larger score and dramatic context and 3) because they were not in demand by the consumer public of the scores.

These assumptions, rather than frustrating the choreographer, can in fact make it easier both to work with the scores and the lack of scores in reviving opera today. We are forced to be flexible in their fashion, and must trust our imagination and judgement to invent ballets which are in accord with not only the techniques, but the spirit of the times.

THE LOT OF THE DANCER: LONDON, 1800-1831

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The impetus for this study came from a desire to put concrete figures to vague notions about the wages and working conditions of performers, particularly dancers, in London during the early part of the nineteenth century. Generally, the period was one of hard times for a large percentage of the British population. It was a time when employment was not a guarantee of subsistence level living. It was an era when unemployment was a guarantee of body and soul crushing poverty. Within the context of misery and hardship which was the lot of so many, what were dancers' lives like?

This study is based upon analysis of materials such as playbills, theatre accounts and contracts held by the Theatre Museum in London, upon newspaper accounts and information contained in theatrical biographies and memoires. For the purposes of the study, dancers are defined as those billed as performing a dance, whether it be a hornpipe in fetters between the acts of a farce at a minor theatre such as Astley's Olympic Pavilion, or the principal role in a ballet at Covent Garden. Many of the performers included offered dance as only a part of their varied skills.

In the theatre world, it is easier to put figures to the incomes of those at the upper end of the scale than to the wages of the more numerous, but more anonymous supporting players. Not surprisingly, the great performers were far beyond the problems of purchasing adequate food and shelter. Indeed, among foreign dancers especially, the English theatre-goer was characterized as an enthusiast who devoted far more gold to the art than aesthetic judgement. According to a contract in the Theatre Museum, the outstanding demi-caractère dancer, Frenchman Auguste Vestris,

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was paid 1,260 pounds to perform one season at the King's Theatre in 1796. According to the Morning Post (5 January) the same theatre paid Monsieur and Madame Deshayes 2,400 pounds, Monsieur Moreau 400 pounds, and Madame Presle 650 pounds during the 1808 season. In 1809 Fortunata-Conti Angiolini was paid 1,000 pounds, the ballet master Signor G. Morelli 500 pounds and Armande Vestris 1,200 pounds (pay receipts, Theatre Museum). In 1828 Monsieur Albert received 50 pounds a performance. Such salaries and fees are substantiated by one time King's Theatre manager, John Ebers, in Seven Years of the King's Theatre (1828). By the standards of the times, such salaries, though they represent only a part of a year's earnings, were substantial. An English factory worker might toil for a year or more to earn the fifty pounds that Albert collected for one performance.

English performers at the King's Theatre were not so well off as their foreign counterparts. In 1808 the best-loved native ballet dancers, Miss Cranfield and Miss Gayton, earned 150 pounds, or a little over five pounds per week at the King's (Morning Post, 5 January)--much less than the French (who were better dancers anyway), but still good salaries for seven months work. Both worked at major theatres during the off-season, supplementing their incomes.

The King's Theatre was the aristocrat of London's theatres, and patronized as it was by the nobility, it could afford the very best artists. Nevertheless, lesser theatres could also pay well. At such venues, the normal salary for a principal was eight or nine pounds a week. Madame Celeste, a principal dancer and choreographer, earned eight pounds per week at the Queen's in 1831 (accounts, Theatre Museum); only two other performers at this house earned as much.

Those principals who achieved star status at theatres other than the King's earned in the neighbourhood of twenty pounds per week, 860 pounds for a ten month season. According to the Morning Post (15 June) Robert William Elliston, Drury Lane Manager, broke the twenty pound ceiling in 1826 when he paid the brilliant comedian, John Liston, forty pounds. It was not possible to discover what non-King's star dancers such as Oscar Byrne and his wife, the former Miss Smith, or Mr. Noble and his wife the former Miss Lupino, were paid. They would have earned more than the less well-known Madame Celeste, probably the standard upper rate of twenty pounds. That is 1,040 pounds a year, a great deal of money.

The relatively high wages of the accomplished artists could be supplemented from several sources. The benefit performance, often agreed to contractually, might yield several hundred extra pounds. Guest appearances in the provinces could also be lucrative. But, if you were female, and if you possessed a little feminine charm, the sky was the limit. Mademoiselle Legros during the 1824 and 1825 seasons at the King's amassed 8,000 pounds worth of jewels, "a property", the Times remarked, "of course not wholly acquired by the agility of her light fantastic toe..." (14 September) Regardless of how such activity is viewed from the moral standpoint of the twentieth century, a liaison between a beautiful woman and wealthy man opened doors to the former into a world of elegance and luxury.

Some female dancers made more permanent gains. The young danseuse Mlle Mercandotti, we are told by the Morning Chronicle gossip columninst, rejected the lucrative advances of the very wealthy Mr. Ball-Hughes and remained virtuous on her 800 pounds salary from the King's in 1823

(24 March). Ball-Hughes, determined to win the charming dancer, proposed marriage; Mercandotti accepted and retired from the theatre. A decade earlier, Miss Gayton, the popular King's Theatre dancer, married the Reverend Mr. Murray whose estate equalled the handsome sum of 2,000 pounds a year (Morning Herald, 13 March 1809). It was a very advantageous match for a daughter of an Islington hairdresser.

While his more fortunate colleagues enjoyed the benefits of wages equal to middle-class or even upper-class incomes, the average performer struggled to earn much humbler sums. This is evident from a list of wages paid to performers at the Queen's Theatre for the week ending Saturday, April 31, 1831 (Theatre Museum). At the top of the list are male singers and actors, followed by female singers and actresses--then comes the band members and finally, among the box-keeper, wardrobe mistress and carpenter, the dancers. The top salary was the standard principal rate, eight pounds a week. The average male salary for singers and actors was two pounds seventeen shillings; the average female salary was two pounds thirteen shillings. Twenty-four of the thirty-six names, or two thirds of the total, fall within the fifteen shilling to two pounds range. The four who received fifteen shillings, one male, three females, appear to have been young performers. The band, in the days before musicians' unions, was not so well off, averaging one pound, fifteen shillings for its twenty members. As for the dancers, the already mentioned Madame Celeste is at the top of the list receiving eight pounds. Her colleagues are lumped together as "Dancers", followed by the figure of five pounds ten shillings. Checking the playbills for this year, there appear to have been nine dancers, all women. One of

them was, for some breach of the rules, deducted an unspecified sum. Dividing the total sum by nine gives an average of twelve shillings a week. The maximum possible deduction was fourteen shillings, so it is possible that the full sum might have been six pounds, two shillings had there been no fine levied. This gives an average of fourteen shillings per week.

Further documents support the figure of a pound a week or under for chorus dancers. On November 20, 1809, a contract was drawn up between R. W. Elliston, at the time manager of the Royal Circus, and Mr. and Mrs. May of "no. 18 Baron's Building, St. George's Fields, Dancers." Their total salary for a six night performing week was one pound, fifteen shillings, or seventeen shillings and sixpence each. Another contract, this one drawn up between Elliston (now at Drury Lane) and the dancer Caroline Cooper in 1822, records a salary of a pound (Theatre Museum).

Fourteen shillings to a pound a week--such a range seems low by modern standards. How does it compare with the wages of the working class?

A Derbyshire family of seven in 1804 earned about forty-eight shillings a week, all members working in a mill. The head of the family brought home fifteen shillings, his wife nine shillings three pence (the inequality in wage levels between male and female was almost universal in industry); the five children made from five to eight shillings. Elsewhere, the average wage of women in eleven industries was a meagre seven shillings five pence (Hutchins 279). It would take such a woman three months to earn Madame Celeste's eight pounds weekly wage. Agricultural workers averaged nine shillings a week in 1795, nine shillings six pence in 1824 and ten shillings three pence in

1832 (Bowley, Appendix).

What would these wages buy back in the early nineteenth century? Relevant here is the weekly budget of a Manchester working class family of two adults and five children in 1833.

Food	12s 1d
Rent	3s 6d
Coals	1s 6d
Soap and Candles	1s
Total	18s 1d

The husband brought home twenty-five shillings a week, leaving six shillings eleven pence for clothing, sickness, schooling, and miscellaneous items.

A pound or less for the head of the household, maybe a pound in total for the rest of the family. It was not much. Of course, as the above budget suggests, the bare necessities were not expensive. At nine pence for twenty pounds of potatoes, even a child's five shillings wages could go a long way. A four pound loaf of bread was about a shilling, a pound of beef eight pence, a pound of butter one shilling one pence, cheese around eight pence a pound, sugar ten pence, candles eleven pence, and soap ten pence. Theatre tickets, incidently, were relatively expensive. The King's Theatre prices ranged from five shillings to ten shillings six pence; a season's subscription cost from 180 to 320 pounds. Covent Garden and Drury Lane tickets ranged from one to six shillings.

The practice of relying upon the wages of children to supplement those of adults was as common in the theatre as it was in the factories.

Indeed, some couples seemed devoted to the production of endless numbers of infant prodigies. Between 1802 and 1820, for example, no less than five Miss Goodwin's, C, E, J, P, and A, as well as at least one Master Goodwin appeared at various theatres, Covent Garden, the Haymarket and Drury Lane among them. The proliferation of theatrical infants was also common in Paris where, in 1815, La Quotidienne commented that Madame Hullin was an important supplier of little amours; when one grew up there was always one ready in the wings to take over. The Hullin clan, daughters, sons, the Mrs. and papa the ballet master were a major feature of London theatres throughout the 1820s.

Though the lower theatre salaries of below a pound were not much better than factory rates of pay for men, women seem to have been better off treading the boards than minding the machines. Women in industry were paid at a much lower rate than men, often because men were given the higher paying jobs. Take for example the situation of employees in the Manchester cotton trade. The maximum wage for men was thirty-two shillings; the female maximum was a pound. And the lowest salary of nine shillings was alloted to a job performed by women. In the theatre on the other hand, an Angiolini could earn more than most men. By 1830 women such as Marie Taglioni and Fanny Elssler made considerably more than their male counterparts.

Wages are the most important aspect of dancers' employment. However, factors such as unemployment, security against sickness, injury and old age, working conditions, and sources of extra income are

significant to well-being.

London theatres generally employed a company of performers for a full season. The King's season ran for seven or eight months, from January to August, that of Covent Garden, Drury Lane and several minor theatres nine or ten months, from late September or October to July. The Haymarket Theatre and several other minor theatres opened during the summer break. Hence during the off-season, London performers could work at a summer theatre or they could leave the capital and try their luck in the provinces. Thus, though opportunities were available, a contract promised less than a full year's work.

What about long-term job security? Was it the general practice to hire the same performers year after year, giving regular employment to a group of dancers throughout their working lives, or was there a rapid turnover in personnel? In order to answer this, I have recorded dancers' names which appeared between 1800 and 1831 on London playbills. The bills frequently list not only the top-rate performers but those of lesser fame who danced little specialty numbers or who appeared as guards, soldiers, sailors, villagers, dancers and so on. This information has been supplemented with material found in newspaper notices and reviews. In all, 751 names, covering A to M have been traced thus far.

For each name, the number of years during which it appeared has been assessed as well as the span of years between the first year of its appearance and the last. For example, Miss Goodwin first appeared on a Covent Garden bill April 5, 1802; the next appearance is 1807, then 1808. There is a gap and then further mentions of her in 1814 and

in 1815. She appears from 1817 to 1820, with a final mention in 1822. Her name is then on the bills of ten individual years spanning twenty-one years, from 1802 to 1822. Though it is impossible to say what she did during the eleven years when her name does not appear--it may well be that though she, a second level performer, was not billed, she still performed--it is safe to say that she was employed in the theatre for a span of twenty-one years, quite possibly working on a regular yearly basis for most of that time.

The results of this analysis indicate a state of insecurity for the dancer. The average number of years spanned by dancer/performers' careers in London is a mere 5.6--5.5 for men and 5.8 for women. It is a very short career. Of the 751 names recorded, only thirty men, or 8%, and eighteen women or 5%, appeared in London during a twenty year span or longer. A very high percentage appeared for a single year--35% of the men (136) and 42% of the women (154). Even if these one-timers are thrown out of the reckoning (perhaps these performers did not have fully professional skills) the average years spanned rise only to eight for men and 9.3 for women. (These figures may be a little on the low side because a few of the longer careers will have extended through the 1831 cutoff. I have compensated for this by only counting names after 1826 if they also appear before this date. This eliminates many lower appearance figures which would have brought the general averages down.)

Two things are apparent from these figures, the approximate equality between men and women, and the short periods spent performing in London by the majority of the dancer/performers. In a society

where there was virtually no assistance given to the unemployed, whether young or old, the question of what these performers did with the rest of their working lives, almost thirty years on average, is crucial. Did they perform in the provinces? Did they change professions? What, for example, happened to Mr. Crossman? He appeared in 1806 as a principal dancer at Astley's Olympic Pavilion in the Scotch Lovers. Until 1811 he appeared in a number of top roles including Harlequin and a clown on horseback. His final London appearance in 1811 took place at Covent Garden where he was billed as a principal dancer in Blue Beard. And what was the fate of Mr. Grave who appeared once on a Haymarket bill as a robber in Rob Roy and never appeared again?

A lucky few could escape the fears engendered by an insecure future. Benefit societies at Covent Garden and Drury Lane made provision for illness and retirement. The Drury Lane Benefit Society, also called the Theatrical Fund or Garrick's Fund, was initiated by the great actor/manager David Garrick in 1766 to provide for the needs of old and distressed performers. Ten years later the Covent Garden Fund was set up. By 1815 the Covent Garden Society was producing 400 pounds for distribution (Morning Post, 13 March); by 1818 the Drury Lane Fund was producing 320 pounds (Theatrical Inquisitor, March). During this time, the second decade of the century, both theatres began to hold annual theatre fund dinners. The attendance of noted actors and wealthy nobility such as the Duke of York, Earl of Essex, Lord Holland and Lord Yarmouth brought in around 1,000 pounds a year. The accumulated capital grew rapidly from this time

and by 1830 the Covent Garden Fund was realizing almost 1,200 pounds a year (Morning Post, March 13).

A small and tattered book in the Theatre Museum collection, entitled "The Fund for the Relief of Indigent Persons, Belonging to His Majesty's Company of Comedians of the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, London, 1814", explains the workings of the fund. To join, the performer had to have worked at the theatre for three successive seasons and had to be making twenty shillings per week. To draw on the fund, contributions had to have been made for a minimum of five years. This meant that the artist must have been employed at the theatre for a minimum of eight years to qualify for assistance. Checking the length of employment figures discussed above, the careers of 26% of men and 29% of women, spanned eight years in London. If Drury Lane and Covent Garden followed this pattern, then between one in three or four performers appearing there might have qualified to collect annuities.

Contributions into the fund were very reasonable. Those making one pound a week paid ten shillings a year and were eligible for an annuity of thirty pounds a year. The highest yearly contribution of five pounds and ten shillings, paid by those earning nine pounds per week yielded a seventy pound annuity. This was 1814; by 1830, the maximum annuity had gone up to 100 pounds. Thirty pounds a year was fairly good at a time when a factory worker labouring twelve hours a day might make twenty-five pounds a year. The advantages gained by joining the fund went beyond offering security against permanent

retirement. Article 12 promised any member earning less than three pounds a week monies for medicines. Article 13 allocated a sum not exceeding ten pounds for a member's funeral. Article 14 promised a member's widow 100 pounds gross or an annuity of forty pounds, "determined by the situation and subscription of the deceased."

The Drury Lane and Covent Garden Benefit Funds gave the lives of a few theatrical people some security. What were the actual numbers helped? According to the Morning Post of 1821, among the beneficiaries of the Drury Lane Fund were two who had been receiving money for forty years; three new claimants were accepted for that year (31 March). In 1823 the Times reported that the Drury Lane Fund was sufficient to enable "the directors to secure the necessaries of life for ten helpless brethren and left a surplus of two hundred pounds a year, which could be applied to their comforts." (19 May) The 1,000 pounds distributed by the Covent Garden Fund in 1830 may have supported around twenty people. It seems likely that the two funds together aided in the neighbourhood of between thirty and forty people in any given year, not a large number relative to the total employed in the theatrical profession.

The conditions of the contracts which bound performers to a theatre for a season did little to add to their sense of security, even for a short period. Non-performance, due to sickness or any other reason, meant non-payment of wages. One month of non-performance, whatever the cause, released the theatre from its contractual obligations. Closure of a theatre for any reason--fire, rebellion, death in the royal family, or stoppage of performances by legal authority--

also brought an end to wages.

A wide range of fines could lessen performers' salaries. They might be fined two shillings for forgetting to carry a prop onto the stage, ten shillings for appearing in a dirty costume, a night's wages for being imperfect in a part, a week's earnings or the end of a contract for missing a performance, and, for the all too common sin of appearing drunk (in one instance an actor stumbled onto the stage, staggered about, fell at the leading lady's feet and proceeded to vomit) one pound one shilling. Such fines were stiff for the lesser paid artists.

One apparently positive aspect of the contractual agreement was the offer of a whole or part benefit. The benefit system had been an integral part of the English theatre world since the early eighteenth century. The benefit at its best offered a performer the full receipts of the theatre for one night's performance by the regular company. However, most performers, and especially the lower ranks, had to pay the expenses of the theatre for the benefit night; there was no guarantee that receipts would cover expenses. The Mays' contract offered a part benefit (the night's profits would be shared with another performer) at an expense of eighty-four pounds. Caroline Cooper was offered a full benefit at 200 pounds. The Mays on their one pound fifteen shillings a week and Caroline Cooper on her one pound could hardly afford the risk. Few, if any, chorus performers could. In 1821 there were sixteen benefits taken at Drury Lane, one by an unidentified person, one by the stage manager and the rest by high ranking performers. At Covent Garden in 1812,

twenty-four benefits were taken, one by the box-keeper, one by the prompter, one by the band leader, and the rest by senior artists. The benefit was of little value to the poorer performers.

Overall, the economic picture for the mass of theatrical performers was bleak. Pay was low, though in London it was better than that of the working classes. Job security was a year to year proposition. Infirmity and old age must have been anticipated with special fear. The situation is eloquently described by the Times in a comment on the financial situation of the King's Theatre (4 February). "A correspondent informs us, that the funds of the theatre are not at present sufficient to all the payment of the numerous class of inferior dancers. This is the more to be lamented as these unfortunate persons have most of them no other means of subsistence; and the female part must, if not paid, be driven to starvation or prostitution." One wonders to what the male parts were driven?

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SALVATORE VIGANÒ:

HIS BALLETS AT THE TEATRO LA SCALA (1811-1821)

THE ATTITUDES OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

by

Elizabeth Terzian

In spite of his contemporary fame and influence, Salvatore Viganò (1769-1821) has not yet received in either Europe or America the scholarly attention he deserves. This paper is part of a much larger study on Viganò to clarify his role as a unique and historically important ballet composer during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

My study focuses on the richest years of Viganò's career -- at the Teatro La Scala in Milan -- between the years 1811 and 1821. During those years, Vigano had ample opportunity to work with many major artists, including the composer Gioacchino Rossini and the scene designer Alessandro Sanquirico. Since these interrelationships enriched all involved, the study charts information about the different arts which contributed to Viganò's ballets. The study includes the contradictory and inaccurate current references, the structure of Viganò's ballets, the characteristics of his choreography, and a dramatic and musical analysis of two major ballets. In this paper, I present the cultural context of Viganò's work and discuss the attitudes of his contemporaries.

1811-1821 was a decade of political upheaval and governmental instability. During this period, two major European powers, France and Austria ruled Lombardy, with its capital Milan, in succession. It is ironic that culturally there was a renewal involving unity and continuity, characteristics lacking politically. The poet Vincenzo Monti, the sculptor Antonio Canova, the composer Gioacchino Rossini and the choreographer Salvatore Viganò were the outstanding artists who gave to Italy, at a time of wars and political turbulence a cultural glamour and an artistic sovereignty which incited the French author Stendhal to write: "Canova, Rossini and Viganò, here is the glory of Italy in this age."

Since political situation and artistic creativity went hand in hand, Politics had serious repercussions not only on the arts but also on their philosophy and aesthetics. Both the audience and the critics dealt with the stories of Viganò's ballets. A result of this close relationship between politics and the arts was that these critics attributed motives to Viganò's stories beyond the framework of art. It was not unusual for questions about political systems and religious institutions to be involved in these ballets. The English traveller Lady Morgan's account of the ballet La vestale is a good example of how such questions arose in the discussions of Viganò's art:

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> A great part of the interest it excited, arose from the reference which the audience made of the circumstances of the piece to certain institutions, placed throughout Europe under the protection of the Holy Alliance. The fate of the unfortunate priestess of Vesta (the nun of those days) was the result of a horrible bigotry by which the priesthood of antiquity endeavoured to support their system. The same bigotry was introduced by the same rites into the Christian church.... The terrific vade in pace, which pronounced living death to the victim of the church's wrath in the Middle Ages, had subsisted to a very recent period in Spain, Portugal and Italy; and was occasionally put in force against the Christian virgin, who in the recesses of her monastery, had permitted her vestal lamp to expire.

These moral problems determined the philosophical interpretations of many works of art. A tight liaison between aesthetics and ethics is found in the writings of authors and critics in the early nineteenth century. The public was very concerned with dignity and respectability. For example, the Lettere critiche intorno al Prometeo, discuss the morality, the philosophy, the religions and systems of Prometeo's subject. The subject of Mirra was considered immoral. But it is not, explains the author of Lettera sopra Mirra, Dedalo e Otello. The main purpose of tragedies, he writes, is to show faults and crimes as repellent and to present virtue as agreeable. The beautiful and virtuous Mirra has a moment of vanity and pride which offends the Gods. She becomes an unfortunate woman, thus offering viewers a reason for feelings of compassion.

A major issue of criticism during Viganò's time concerned the differences between the French and Italian ballets. Although a pupil of the French choreographer Dauberval, a pupil himself of Jean-Georges Noverre, Viganò made ballets which differed considerably from those of the French choreographers at the Paris Opera. A comparison in the genre and composition of both schools reveals major aesthetic divergencies. In addition, the difference in the technique and style of the performers at the Paris Opera and those at Milan's La Scala separates the audience and the critics into two opposed schools of thought.

In the serious genre, the French persisted in creating mythological ballets than the Italians; soon the public became bored with them. For example, Pierre Gardel's ballet-pantomime Proserpine, presented at the Paris Opera on February 18, 1818, had a relatively minor success, because the public was tired of mythological subjects. The Italians cultivated tragic-historical subjects. Among Viganò's twenty-two serious ballets staged at La Scala, twelve arehistorical, and only five are mythological, whereas not one historical ballet was created at the Paris Opera between 1812 and 1820.

The approach to composition varies from one school to the other. "Gardel's ballets d'action had absolutely nothing in common with Viganò's coreodrammas," wrote Stendhal. The French neglected the dramatic aspect of ballet; their subjects were often boring and superficial. Stendhal

compares a ballet by the French Louis Duport with Vigano's Samandria liberata:

> Always garlands, flowers, scarfs, with which the beautiful women decorate their warriors, or which the shepherdesses exchange with their lovers, and they dance in rejoicing for the scarf; such a scene is so disparate from the depicting the young spouse of Samandria liberata, returning to his palace, consumed by jealousy, and yet letting himself go to dance the beautiful terzetto....

Thus, did Stendhal recognize Viganò's careful selection of subjects, a characteristic often praised by the many admirers of his ballets.

In addition to comparing the dramatic caliber of French and Italian ballets, the critics expressed their opinions about the techniques of composition of the two schools. The French rendered their ill-selected stories poorly, in colorless tableaux, and without any nuances or contrasts, whereas Viganò treated his beautiful and yet simple subjects lavishly, in well-designed tableaux, and with picturesque and varied movements. His orderly groups and crowds are arranged in opposition or in succession in a variety of expressive movements and postures. Viganò's biographer Carlo Ritorni describes a tableau in La vestale confirming the choreographer's creative use of the groups and crowds: "The crowds are squeezed, regrouped, divided." Thus it is noted that in Viganò's ballets the crowds acted as protagonists rather than serving merely as a decorative background. The Italian ballet, as defined by the English poet Shelley, after a performance of Viganò's Otello, is a "kind of pantomimic dance illustrative of some story ... being a combination of a great number of figures grouped with the most picturesque and even poetical effect and perpetually changing with motions the most harmoniously interwoven and contrasted with great effect."

The weakness in the drama and the composition of French ballet was compensated for by a refined technique in the dancers of the Paris Opera. Both opponents and admirers of Viganò admitted this highly developed skill: "The French had a refined and elegant technique ... They had daily regular exercises," writes Ritorni. The quality of their performance and the perfect execution of the steps were always sought after in Italy. France had the older tradition of emphasis on formal dance training. The Académie de Danse was founded in Paris by Louis XIV as early as 1661, whereas the Accademia di Ballo della Scala was established in 1813, a century and a half later. The Milanese ballet school was still in its early years when this rhetorical battle among the pro-French and the pro-Italian factions arose. But some felt the technique of the French became an end in itself and no longer served the purpose of developing the ballet d'action. Noverre especially railed against this "decadence" of the ballet.

Especially the virtuosity of French technique overlooked expression, an important element in Viganò's ballets. Noverre said that ballet at the Paris Opera was deprived of passions. On the other hand, Viganò's

ballets did not include in Rossini's opinion enough dances. Viganò himself tried to justify his emphasis of pantomimic movements. He knew the taste of his public. He believed that he fulfilled their expectations by cutting the dances that bore no relationship to the action. Viganò said that there is dancing in all his ballets, but not according to the French dancing. He insisted that a ballet could not be conceived without dialogue, without which the spectator would be bored.

Most of the criticism concerning Viganò's ballets are either newspaper reviews, such as those in Il Corriere Milanese and L'Ape Italiana, or in epistolary form such as Lettera sopra Mirra, Dedalo e Otello, Lettera sulla vestale, and Lettere critiche intorno al Prometeo. Other personal accounts of the ballets are found in the writings of Stendhal, Ritorni, Lady Morgan and others. The criticism of these ballets is both descriptive and evaluative.

A description of the plot is usually followed by a general statement of opinion. For example, Stendhal describes Le tre melarance, and then gives his impressions of the ballet: "The beginning of this ballet is sublime, the middle still good, the end flat. This is a third-rate quality of Viganò." The reviewers found the ballet La spada di Kenneth simply quite nice, whereas they considered Otello very strong, with excessive action, and very sombre.

Both the audience and the critics were concerned with the dramatic invention and the articulation of the plot. In a letter about Otello, the scholar Giulio Ferrario states that the action in acts four and five is not sufficiently prepared. Ferrario would have preferred to see Desdemona and Otello together in their room, accompanied by "Rossini's divine music," instead of seeing Desdemona alone, waiting for her fatal death. In the Gazetta di Milano a critic attacked the structure of the acts in La vestale, finding the second act useless. Ferrario answers back: "The noeud of the action starts in this act." In fact, act two is a preparatory act telling the audience why, how and when Decio was going to direct himself toward the Temple of Vesta to meet the vestale Emilia, he argues.

The title of a ballet was also subject to criticism. During Vigano's time ballets had two titles. In L'Ape Italiana a critic remarked that the title Bianca ossia Il perdono per sorpresa was ill-selected; the name of Bianca did not mean anything. The word ossia meaning or, was the wrong way to announce the title of a composition. Il perdono per sorpresa, the second title of the ballet, was a vague sentence, indicating the action inadequately.

The critics praised Viganò's art of composition. The architectural combinations, the variety of the grouping, of the attitudes, and the picturesque tableaux proved worthy of high praise in most ballets. The arrangement of the groups in Prometeo, writes Ferrario, is done with infinite art. In La vestale, the group scenes are depicted in an organized disorder. Some dancers are grouped, some dispersed.

The critics commented upon Viganò's neglect of the dance. They said that, like an opera without singing, so was Viganò's ballet, a ballet without dancing. They thought that, in his ballets, the legs, instruments of dance, are at rest. Therefore his dances cannot be called dances, but pantomimic representations.

In answer to these critics, Viganò cited the furlana in Otello, the Egyptian ballabile in Psammi re d'Egitto, the Sicilian dance in Bianca, the ritual dance of the vestals in the first act of La vestale, and the first act of I Titani. Viganò insisted that his pantomime was all in dancing. He was against pas de deux, pas de trois, pas de quatre, as was common practice at the Paris Opera. he believed these pas had a cooling effect on the action and neutralized its effect. He looked for a perfect fusion of form and content.

The critics dealt with Viganò's ballet music. Almost every review mentions an important characteristic of the choreographer's music, as well as its reflecting the ideal ballet music. For example, critics emphasized the appropriateness of the music to the action in Mirra, resulting in the unity of the created effect. They stressed the narrative quality of the music in Gli Ussiti sotto au Naumburgo.

Since most of Viganò's ballet music is drawn from operatic compositions, it is relevant to consider the attitudes of his critics toward opera. The local reviews were unanimous on the superiority of Viganò's ballets. The Gazetta di Milano wrote that "Viganò has selected the best melodies from Rossini's operas for his ballets Mirra, Otello, La vestale; after seeing these magnificent ballets in Milan, one listens to a Rossini opera with indifference."

The evaluative aspects of the criticism of Viganò's ballets deal largely with his emphasis on authenticity and on passion. Viganò created scenes based on history. For example, in La vestale, he recreated scenes of Roman life, such as the chariot races, the celebrations for the feast of Ceres, the sacrifices to the Gods. The accuracy of detail was such that the audience felt transported to that ancient world between the walls of ancient Rome. In Psammi, Viganò maintained the Egyptian style of the immoderately varied movements and of the beautiful tableaux. In Mirra, everything reflected nature. In Dedalo, the action was deeply true.

Viganò's critics and countercritics emphasized the authenticity of his ballets. Ferrario demonstrates that in La vestale, Viganò has followed Nadal's dissertation, as the authors of the Encyclopedia did, who in turn followed Giustio Lipsio (a sixteenth century author). The costumes of the vestals clearly illustrate this influence. The only difference with Nadal concerns a small detail; Nadal's vestals had one shoulder covered, whereas Viganò's vestals had both covered. This was done in order to elicit a reaction from the critics, writes Ferrario. Viganò was criticized for using simple mantles instead of long ones, of using purple color instead of white. Lipsio writes that according to San Ambrosio (340-397 A.D.), the vestals wore white. There is no

evidence, writes Ferrario, that San Ambrosio made such a statement. He adds that Lipsio's interpretations of San Ambrosio needed to be verified. Since San Ambrosio lived during the abolition of the vestals, he is more credible than Giustio Lipsio.

In the libretto of the same ballet, the word Arciflamine for high priest was found unsuitable by certain critics. Viganò substituted the word Arciflamine for Pontif Maximus. Ferrario's erudition, once again, proves that Vigano's use of the word was legitimate. He cites sources who had used the term Arciflamine: the Greek author and moralist Plutarch (46?-120? A.D.), and a letter attributed to San Clemente (Pope from 88-97 A.D.) by Graziano.

The critics opposed the participation of Decio, the son of a consul, in the games. But, writes Ferrario, this fact brought an important action into being -- the meeting with Emilia. Ferrario supports that it was common for noblemen to participate in games during sacred occasions. He refers to Svetonio, who wrote about the life of Julius Ceasar, that the emperor allowed the participation of noblemen in the games that took place in Circus Massimus.

Viganò's accuracy in historical matters is also valid in his portrayal of passions. The reviews show not only the variety of the passions expressed in Viganò's ballets, but also the manner in which he represented them. The progression with which he depicted passions in Mirra was often praised. Love for the family and the homeland are expressed in Gli Ussiti. In Otello, "the Moor appears literally dancing mad with jealousy," writes Lady Morgan.

Viganò's critics often mentioned the impression of his ballets upon the audience. The audience shed tears of compassion during the performances of his ballets. The effect on the spectators' emotions was even encouraged by the critics. For example, in the ballet Bianca, "Bianca is seen entering the cloister without our hearts throbing for her," writes L'Ape Italiana. On the other hand, in Prometeo, Viganò revived "our first inclinations, developping our most ardent passions," writes Ferrario. Writing about Otello, Shelley is impressed by the drama more than he could have conceived: "The story is so well told in action as to leave upon the mind an impression as of real tragedy."

At each performance audiences could discover new beauties in Vigano's ballets. The audience often expressed its enthusiasm, as at the first performance of Prometeo. Three thousand people attended that night. They all paid tribute to the choreographer by their applause, waving handkerchieves as a sign of their ardent fervor. Two eulogistic odes were written, one for Otello as an epilogue to Lettera sopra Mirra, Dedalo e Otello, and the other for La vestale, published in L'Ape Italiana.

This paper presents the detailed record of Viganò's work in the criticism of the time found mainly in one of the largest collections of Vigano materials in this country -- The Cia Fornaroli and Walter Toscanini collections at the Dance Collection of The New York Public Library.

It is a beginning in the use of the materials. The result of these examinations contributed in drawing valuable connections between Viganò's ballets and the cultural environment of his time, necessary for a full understanding of his place in history.

"A FEMME FATALE COMMUNICATES THROUGH DANCE"

by

Svea Becker

"Rita Hayworth is GILDA" proclaims the half-page advertisement in a recent issue of TV Guide. "...her torrid rendition of 'Put the Blame on Mame' made this classic the steamiest picture of 1946." (Television Guide. June 22, 1985, p. A-32.) An accompanying photograph displays the star wearing a strapless, black satin evening gown inspired by John Singer Sargent's portrait of Mrs. X. (Kobal, 1977, p. 157.) Gilda's long, thick hair hangs unpinned.

Gilda is supposed to be a Femme Fatale, a Spider Woman, a Deadly Temptress, a Dark Lady. As old as Eve, this archetype seduces men and destroys them. (Kaplan, 1980, p. 35.) Feminists are interested in the Femme Fatale because she was independent of men in an era when women were defined by their relationships to men. Gilda is studied by feminist film critics because the film deals with the classical struggle between male and female viewpoints, or between the characters Johnny and Gilda.

"Put the Blame on Mame" presents Gilda's view of herself and of her relationship with men. The dance frees Gilda from the Spider Woman convention by allowing her to express feelings of physical passion for her lover while verbally acknowledging that he and other men use her and treat her as an object. Truly, movement has meaning because "Mame" tells us more about a modern heroine than a commercial film could tell us at that time.

Gilda is a drama filmed in black and white and directed in the American film noir style by Charles Vidor. This style is characterized by certain conventions. "Men are the ostensible heroes of most films noir." (Butler, Fall 1985, p. 129.) However, they are not heroic in the traditional sense; they are either flawed in character, or they have committed a fatal error on the job. These vulnerable men seek redemption in the love of a good woman and in self-sacrifice.

The film noir usually categorizes women as: (1) Femme Fatales who are promiscuous, independent, powerful, and treacherous or as (2) Potential helpmates who are understanding, self-effacing, chaste and powerless. Films such as Gilda, Laura, High Sierra, or On Dangerous Ground, where the women do not belong in either category, are the most relevant to contemporary audiences.

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The noir protagonist must function in an ambiguous environment where nothing is as it seems. There is potential betrayal everywhere, including treachery by women.

Noir heroes experience a certain anxiety over the existence and definition of masculinity and of normality. (Kaplan, p. 91. Some auteur critics think that the men have a gay relationship. This interpretation further complicates the noir theme.) Johnny, the protagonist of the film, played by Glenn Ford, is no exception. He is obsessively influenced by his employer, Ballen (George Macready), owner of a luxurious gambling casino in Buenos Aires. Ballen lives by a credo that "gambling and women don't mix." Therefore, Johnny is surprised when Gilda enters the scene as Ballen's wife. There is an instant love-hate emotional relationship between Gilda and Johnny. They were once lovers and still feel an attraction to each other.

The film noir usually begins with the hero giving his version of events in a voice-over. This narrative device means that the male version of the drama is what the audience is going to hear and believe. After listening to Johnny's comments in the voice-over, the viewer is ready to agree that Gilda is indeed a Spider Woman. (RCA/Columbia Pictures Home Video, 1983.) However, after Gilda sings "Put the Blame on Mame" to her own guitar accompaniment and later reprises the song with a dance, the audience knows that Gilda is not a heartless Femme Fatale.

Femme Fatales in traditional film noir did not dance. (Kaplan, p. 96.) They were usually motionless because stillness signals a lack of emotional feeling and humanity. In Dead Reckoning, Lizabeth Scott portrayed a nightclub singer. This deadly female rarely moved during her musical number and interestingly, Rita Hayworth rejected this role. Gilda probably is the only Femme Fatale in noir who dances. By performing the two pieces "Amado Mio" and "Mame", Gilda (and Rita Hayworth) escapes the confines of the noir formula which is defined by masculine rules, including physical mastery of the environment. Dancing is as much an act of freedom for Gilda as it was for Isadora Duncan or any other woman who escaped from the limited feminine role prescribed by society to a dance career. By dancing, Gilda physically asserts herself, overcoming the passive feminine stereotype. She dominates the stage, much as Humphrey Bogart or Robert Mitchum dominated tough-guy scenes in other noir films. The difference is that Rita Hayworth uses her womanly body, long hair, and expressive movement qualities to command our attention. We've said that men are the heroes of most films noir; in Gilda there is a heroine of noir.

"Mame" is an expressive dance relying on feelings and emotions. The choreography by Jack Cole is based upon movement qualities rather than recognizable dance steps. In this sense "Put the Blame on Mame" is a modern dance as much as a dance created by Isadora Duncan, Doris Humphrey, or Martha Graham. The movement themes consist of variations

on gathering and scattering movement, travelling in different kinds of walks, sequential movement of the body (with Gilda's long hair used as an extension of the torso), and the manipulation of props.

Jack Cole, who had performed with the Dennishawn and Humphrey-Weidman Modern Dance Companies, had a special empathy for working with women stars. He has commented that if Rita Hayworth was not comfortable doing a particular movement, he would say: "There are a thousand other things you can do. I don't want you to do something you are going to be sad about." (Kobal, 1985, p. 596.) He lent support by dancing off-camera within three feet of the star. Mr. Cole commented: "Of course, I must say, of all the things I've done with Rita, 'Mame' is the one that pleases me most, that I can really look at on the screen. If you really want to see a beautiful erotic woman, that still remains absolutely first-rate, it could be done right this minute [1973] and still be fantastic." (Ibid, p. 600.)

"The lyrics of the song "Put the Blame on Mame" are more to the point than any of the dialogue in the film as Gilda sings about a woman who knows exactly what a threat she is to men and how unfair that image is." (Silver and Ward, 1979, p. 114.) Mame is Eve, the original temptress. She is also the formula Femme Fatale of noir. Mame is all the women in the world who have been blamed by men for natural disasters and violence. Her ironic words are first heard when Gilda strums the guitar, singing, to herself: "One night she started to shim and shake, that brought on the Frisco quake."

"Mame" is performed both as a sexual come-on and sexual put-down (Kobal, 1977, p. 157.) of Johnny after he has gone to perverse extremes in rejecting Gilda. The audience has seen Ballen's private plane crash, leaving Gilda free to marry Johnny. Gilda's joy is dispelled when the marriage turns out to be another kink in the already sadomasochistic relationship. Johnny will still have nothing to do with Gilda except to keep her from any other relationship. Feminist critic Marjorie Rosen has commented that: "What Gilda explores so exactly is not just the blinding fires of passion, but the need for humiliation and subjugation that has been so much a part of our sexual mythology on-screen and off." (Rosen, 1973, p. 211.) The audience can be moved to pity for Gilda as she literally crawls to Johnny prior to the "Mame" dance and as she faces public humiliation after her performance.

Gilda has tried to divorce Johnny by establishing residence in another country where she enjoys success with her nightclub act. A performance of "Amado Mio" ("Amado Mio" is a rhumba number. Latin American and Spanish dance was Rita Hayworth's specialty. She began her performing career as Rita Cansino in her father's dance company.) sets the scene for a ruse by Johnny which returns Gilda to Argentina where she cannot legally divorce him. "You wouldn't think a woman

could marry two insane men in one lifetime, would you?" Pushed to her limits, Gilda does the only thing that will provoke a reaction from Johnny: She flaunts her sexuality by performing a strip tease dance. (Rosen, p. 210.)

The music begins as Johnny opens the shutter doors overlooking the nightclub stage. A close-up of the shutters opening and the gaze of the camera travelling through the doors to show Gilda's entrance invites the viewer to become a voyeur. Her walk to center stage ends with a scattering motion which occurs in all but two or three of the dance phrases. Scattering is a three dimensional opening movement that "...sweeps the body on a curved arc [and] which may end diagonally backward." (Guest, 1983, p. 176.) The very repetition of the scattering and the dynamic emphasis on it, rather than on gathering, signals that this is an important action. "In principle, a symbol does not mean anything definite, but it can call up a variety of images in the spectator." (Laban, 1980, p. 85.) The scattering theme communicates Gilda's, or the female, viewpoint to the audience. Attracted by the energy radiating outward from her center, we retain images of Gilda as an open, warm, generous, loving person desperate to communicate.

Gilda usually accents the scattering motion with an attitude of forceful urgency. However, during the reprise of this theme, she chooses to play with the movement by prolonging the length of time it takes to open and close her arm on a curve. Then boom! She closes her arm suddenly. Gilda is teasing her male audience in a game of peek-a-boo. Am I a treacherous Spider Woman? Maybe, yes; maybe not. The opening and closing movement could be an invitation to a fatal sexual encounter, or to a flirtation. The fluctuation between controlled and uncontrolled flow of energy is part of this cat-and-mouse game. A reprise of this theme looks as if Gilda is miming playing a violin. Is this a metaphor for 'playing the audience along' to gain their pity? (Spider Women do this when the hero gets on to their duplicative game).

The way in which Gilda performs the dance is as much of an embarrassment to Johnny as the fact that the dance takes the form of a strip tease. Abandonment is displayed in the unrestrained carelessness that dominates Gilda's performance. Her use of qualities where she is unaware of the space effort makes Gilda appear to be extremely out of control. Because of her over-involvement with the dynamic qualities of time, force, and flow, Gilda is out of space during most of the dance. In Laban Movement Analysis, the Passion Drive is a technical term for a combination of these three effort qualities. Passionate is an extremely appropriate description for Gilda's lack of control; this word calls forth an image of Isadora Duncan.

Combinations of two effort elements: i.e., weight and flow, weight and time, or time and flow begin the movement phrases which end

in the Passion Drive. (In Laban Movement Analysis, The technical terms are: Mobile, Rhythm, and Dream States. See Motif Writing in Appendix.) Gilda either rushes or prolongs time. Often she uses the full force of her body weight to make an impactive statement; less frequently she softly withholds the force of her body. She usually dances with abandoned effort flow, but sometimes careful movement confuses the viewer.

Gilda's approach to the movement of the dance is not that of a Spider Woman. Dark Ladies should be in control of the sexual situation. (All the better to betray the hero.) Attention to space effort and frequent careful flow effort would better convey the image of a noir temptress.

Gilda's gestures occur consistently as far as she can reach in the space around her, and this factor re-emphasizes her need for communication. Conversely, in close shots, the large reach space can also give Gilda the powerful image appropriate to Femme Fatales. The aura with which Rita Hayworth fills the screen is overwhelming; however Gilda's power lasts only for the duration of the dance.

Large, curving figure-eights are drawn with one elegant gloved arm and with Gilda's pelvis. These hip movements reaffirm that Gilda has a sexual past and has access to physical desire. Circumscribing a variety of spatial directions in the figure-eight pattern is another way of gathering and scattering. (Preston-Dunlop, 1980, p. 52.)

The many repetitions and variations of sequential movement (The term "Sequential movement" is used to describe motion passing consecutively from one adjacent body part to another. This movement idea is not to be confused with the flow effort.) in "Mame" could be symbolic of the spiritual regeneration usual in noir. The waves of motion created by movement travelling outward from the center of Gilda's body and through her long hair evoke images of sexual passion and the life cycle. This movement theme is introduced as Gilda enters the stage and she disposes of her stole in a continuous path of twisting torso, reaching arm, fabric, turning head, and wavy tresses.

Rita Hayworth is remembered for the most charming variation of the sequential movement theme. During an innocently child-like pause in the lyrics, "One night she started to shim and shake," Gilda turns her upper body away from the camera, hiding her face and gathering her hair in her arms, then untwisting to address the camera with the hair strewing in the air. The audience is delighted to recognize the hair motif from earlier in the film when Ballen introduced Johnny to Gilda "...shaking back her hair and looking over her half-draped shoulder, a reprise of the famous Life photograph." (Kobal, 1977, p. 155.)

In keeping with noir ambiguity, Gilda's hair is also used to create audience speculation about her sex life. As she continues her

travelling among the male patrons, Gilda tips her torso a little forward to teasingly accommodate a bump backward with the hips. This action causes the hair to go into motion. It is supposed to be a cue that Gilda can really 'let her hair down'.

The removal of one long glove in eight downward presses while looking directly into the camera is a sexual invitation. The female audience knows it is only to Johnny, but every man in the nightclub scene imagines that the invitation is to him. So Gilda is at once promiscuous and faithful. Accompanied by pulsing in the up-down dimension, the removal of the glove symbolizes the removal of all Gilda's clothing. When Gilda triumphantly holds the glove aloft, she is exposing her chest with arms reaching toward diagonally opposite corners of the stage; the high-right-backward corner versus the deep-left-forward corner. It is as if she were standing there nude. (Lenine, 1978, p. 159.)

"So put the blame on Mame, boys. Put the blame on Mame." That's the story of women's lives since Adam and Eve. Gilda marches forward swinging her arms as if to say that life goes on. Her steps are strong and ongoing as they have been throughout the film when Gilda has usually been seen going somewhere with a male escort other than her husband. The dynamic movement qualities of her walk give an impression of independence.

When the dance ends, we become more cognizant of Gilda's tipsy condition. Bouncers hustle her off the stage. Johnny slaps her. Out of the dance situation, Gilda is not free to defend her point of view. The audience sees her as Johnny dictates.

Audiences of 1946 were not ready to see a strong woman assume the center of a traditionally masculine style of film. Nor were they prepared for a good woman to be sexually aggressive. As punishment for not obeying socially approved codes of behavior, Spider Women characters usually had to die. This film noir, however, ends happily with Gilda and Johnny apologizing to each other. To meet the Film Production Code, the writers announce that the debonair male escorts were not in fact lovers. (Kobal, 1977, p. 156.) Gilda was only teasing Johnny. Today the film would be able to have a credible ending. Perhaps Gilda would be able to separate and live apart from Johnny without divorce. She might even take a live-in lover.

Even if the made-up ending of this film is less than memorable, Rita Hayworth's Gilda is unforgettable in "Put the Blame on Mame". As this Femme Fatale speaks to us through the dance, we realize that Gilda is not a sexual object, but a real person. "Mame" is not so much a strip tease as revealment of inner emotion.

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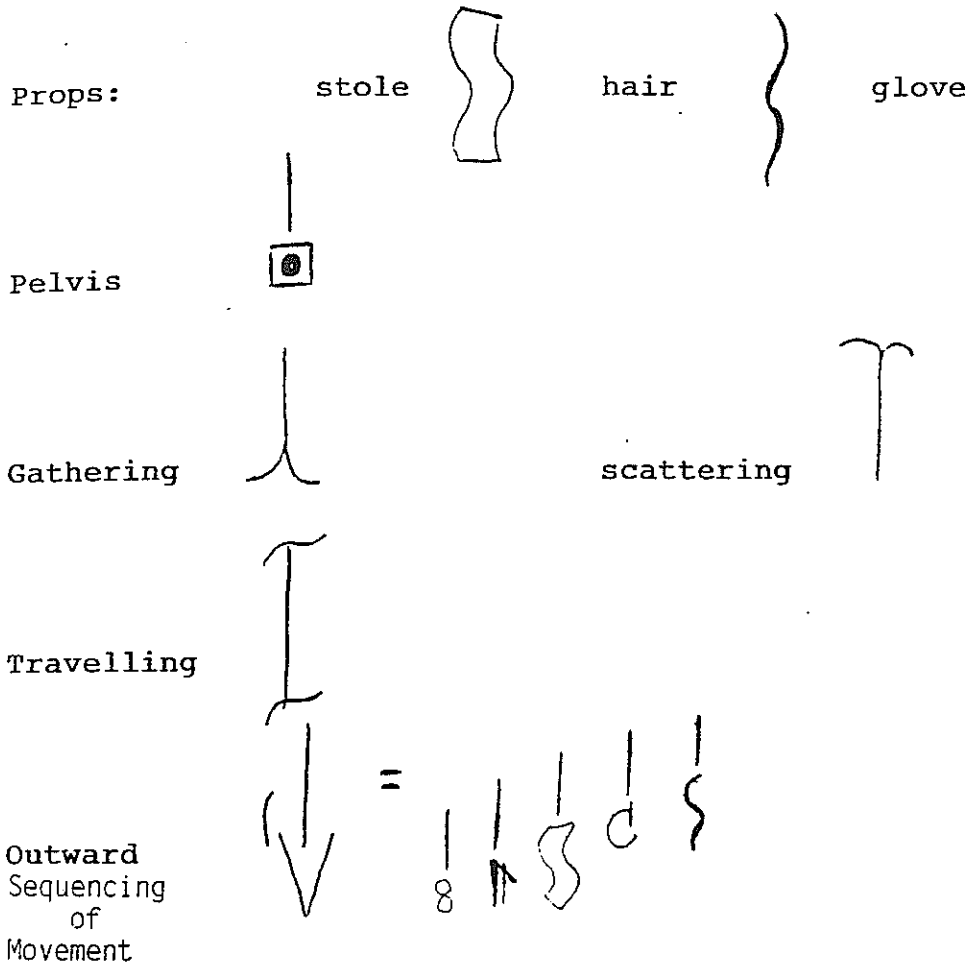

MOVEMENT THEMES

APPENDIX

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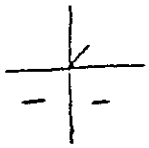
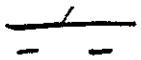
Action Drive (Press)

Spaceless Flow Drive
(Passion)



Rhythm State

Mobile State (Flow/Time)



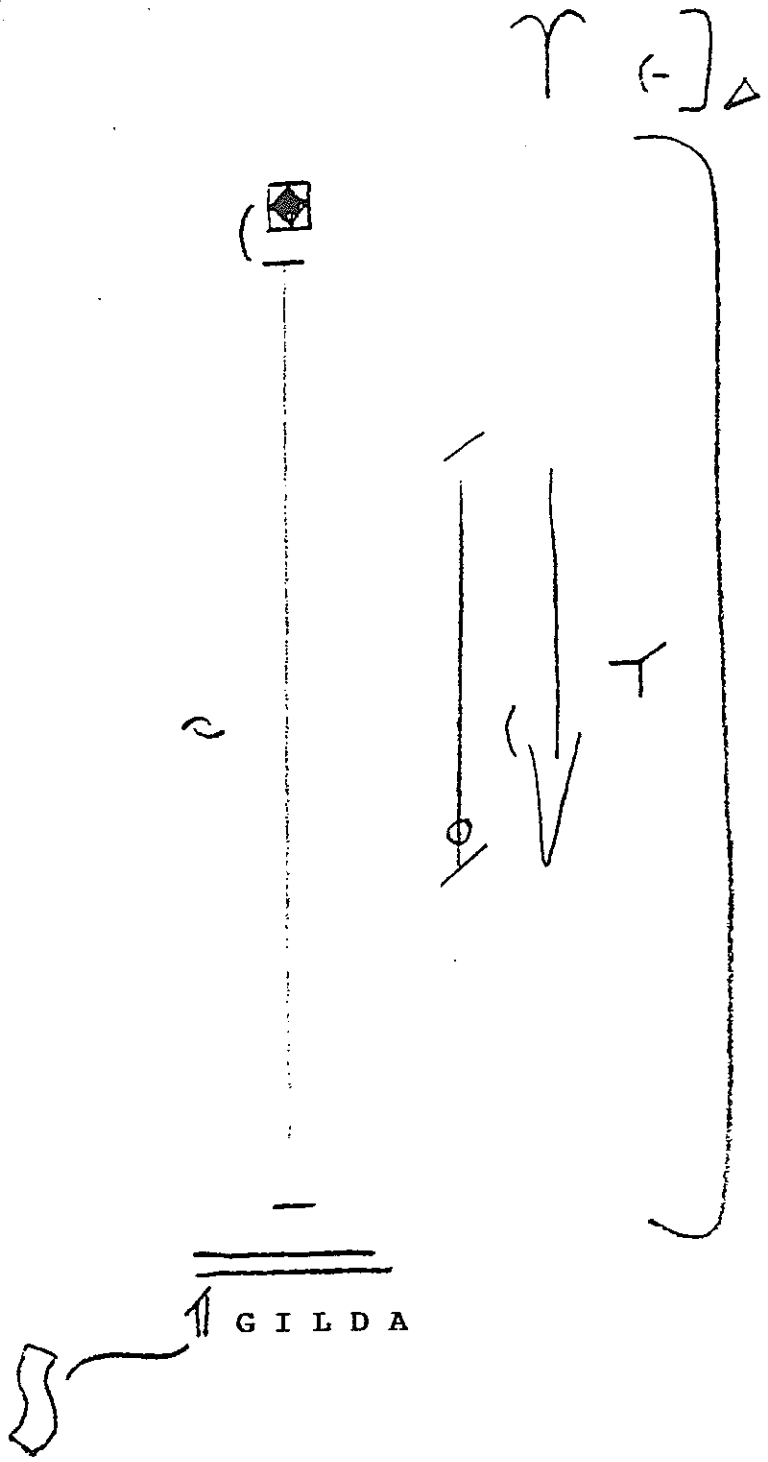
Sudden/Strong (Rhythm State)

Accented

Free/Strong (Dream State)

EFFORT THEMES

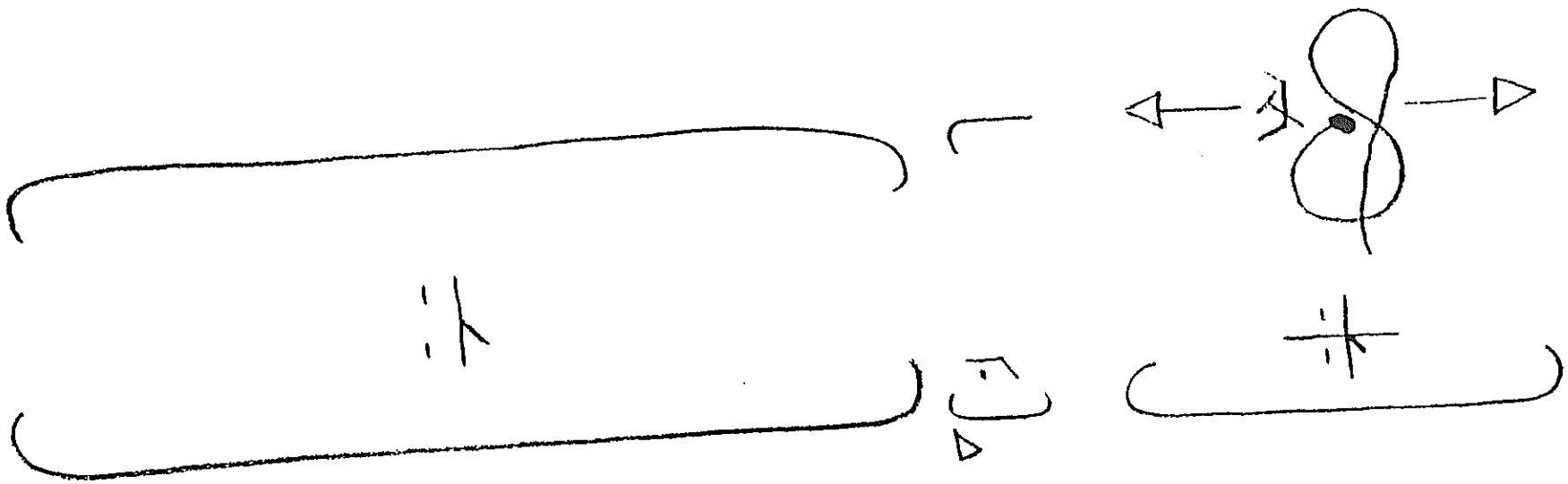
APPENDIX



p. 4, par. 2

p. 5, par. 5

When they had the earthquake in San Francisco, Back in ninety - six



p. 5, par. 4

p. 4, par. 3

ACTING AND DANCING: A COMPARATIVE SEMIOTICS

Michael Quinn

The semiotics of theatrical acting has developed a number of theoretical concepts that can be usefully transferred to the analysis of theatrical dance without distorting the unique structure of the dance form. I use the qualifying term "theatrical" in both cases to emphasize that the concepts presented herein are drawn from theatrical esthetics, and are not meant to be universally applicable; dance anthropologists will find this esthetic semiotics useful only to a limited extent--the extent to which they view their research objects esthetically. My material is drawn primarily from the Prague School semiotics of acting, though I refer occasionally to remarks by other scholars and to historical cliché. The Prague School focuses on the development of a functionalist structuralism; i.e. the dance sign will be analyzed teleologically, with a view to the communicative functions of its various components. Particular attention focuses on the idea of the stage figure, for dance offers the potential to both exploit and expand this critical principle of performance semiotics.

The functional approach to the stage sign derives from the linguistic theory of Karl Bühler, a philosopher in Vienna between the wars who identified three principal functions in language communication: expressive, referential, and conative. (See Robert E. Innis, Karl Bühler: Semiotic Foundations of Language Theory, New York: Plenum Press, 1982, for an introduction to Bühler's work and a translation of his essay "The Axiomatization of the Language Sciences.") Roman Jakobson has expanded these functions into six, based on his model of the fundamental elements of communication:

Context
Message
Addresser Addressee
Contact
Code

Jakobson assigns the functions this way:

Referential
Poetic
Emotive Conative
Phatic
Metalingual

(Jakobson's essay, widely quoted and reprinted, originally appeared as "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics" in Style in Language, ed. Thomas E. Sebeok [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960], 350-77.) All six of these functions exist in any communicative act, but in the semiotics of dance the most important remain those first identified by Bühler and, in this case, the poetic or esthetic function.

The addresser, message and addressee can be analogized with the three principal components of the acting sign: actor, stage figure and dramatic character. (These categories were introduced in Otakar Zich's Esthetics of Dramatic Art [Estetika Dramatického Umění, Prague: Melantrich, 1931], though their synthesis with the emerging discourse of structural semiotics took a number of years.) By actor I mean not only the physical body, but all the personal traits and habits of the performer. These traits are often subsumed by the importance

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of role-playing in theater, but in the case of star performances personal traits can become the dominant aspect of the acting sign. These personal features can be especially important in modern dance, where a work very often has no "roles" per se, but only movement "parts." However, even in the extreme case, when a dancer or actor is supposedly performing their "self," the personal component does not exsist without the other two. The self danced by the performer still functions technically as a stage figure, an objectification of the self made especially for perception. The audience's appreciation of the dancer's selfhood, no matter how deeply enriched by background information or sympathy with the dance, will still contain certain audience projections. And if the dance is to function aesthetically, any considerations about selfhood must finally subordinate themselves to the work itself, to the quality of the dance; otherwise a dance about the dancer's experience can communicate aesthetically only on a secondary level.

The concept of the stage figure is a little more complicated to explain. Otakar Zich developed this concept by analogizing the actor with a sculpture, a parallel that applies equally well to dance, since it postpones considerations of motion in both cases. (Zich, 54.) Zich asks that we see the costumed performer as a kind of object to be dressed, made up and assigned movement on a purely objective basis. Sometimes this is hard to do because the stage figure is so highly conditioned, especially in dance, by the body of the actor. However, Zich suggests that we consider the distinction in terms of perspective. The stage figure is what one sees from the wings, or when a collaborating artist views the performer technically, with an eye toward making changes or artistic evaluations. In other words, the stage figure is what the actor or dancer makes, rather than what the audience imagines; this is a crucial distinction, for example, when an actor imitates death, coition, etc. Also, if a dancer or actor does two distinct parts, there will be two stage figures, but only one performer. Once the idea of the performer as a constructed--or at least "selected"--object has been grasped, time can easily be reintroduced into the theory. Even normal sculpture exists in time, in the movements of the spectator around the object. In dance this temporal dynamic is reversed, and made a key component of the artistic structure.

Dramatic character is a more familiar concept, but even here there are crucial confusions to avoid. For example, dramatic characters do not in fact exist on the stage; they are a mental construct. (This seeming dislocation is explained in Jan Mukařovský, "Art as Semiotic Fact," in Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions, ed. L. Matejka and I. R. Titunik [Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976], 3-9. A useful overview covering this revision of theatrical terms is František Deák, "Structuralism in Theater: The Prague School Contribution," The Drama Review 20:4 [T72, Winter 1976], 83-94.) If the stage figure is what the actor does, the dramatic character is what the audience--from the esthetic vantage point of the auditorium--sees, hears, and constructs as part of an esthetic experience. Dramatic characters do not exist on stage any more than does "suspense" in a thriller; they are psychological phenomena, no less real for being immaterial. In traditional ballets the concept of dramatic character translates easily into dance; however, dramatic character

(or some analogous component) also exists in dances where the dancers do not necessarily imitate another person. Many of the more abstract ballets are structured allegorically, ritualistically, or just "conceptually," and in these cases the dramatic character exists as a thing or an idea in a work that is not strictly mimetic. Of course in some cases, as with some abstract paintings, there is an attempt to completely negate any conceptual object in the minds of the perceivers. With no object for the audience to infer, the dance depends upon a direct psychological effect for its esthetic impact.

To complete the analogy of function with acting sign, Jiří Veltruský equates the actor's personal component with the expressive function, the technical, stage figure component with the referential function, and the dramatic. audience component with the conative function. (Jiří Veltruský, "Contribution to the Semiotics of Acting," in Sound, Sign and Meaning: Quinquagenary of the Prague Linguistic Circle, ed. L. Matejka, Michigan Slavic Contributions No. 6 [Ann Arbor MI: Univ. of Michigan Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 1976], 553-606. This essay is the most complete statement of Prague School acting theory.) These will all be discussed in more detail when we consider some general problems of analysis in the comparison between acting and dancing. In the meantime, the actual technical materials that make up the stage figure need to be enumerated, since these exist at what might be considered the most artistic level, where the technical decisions involved in producing art-works are made. Once again I begin with acting, and will qualify the extant models to help show their relevance to dance.

Any attempt to break the meanings of theatrical dancing down into a grammar will eventually fail; non-verbal semiotics is so closely tied to fashion, so sensitive to historical change, that it will never have mathematic accuracy in the esthetics of performing arts. Most of the vigor in any artistic avant-garde comes from the power of norm-breaking, from the violation of cultural codes. (See the theory of the avant-garde described in Jan Mukařovský, Aesthetic Function, Norm and Value As Social Facts, trans. Mark Suino, Michigan Slavic Contributions No. 3 [Ann Arbor MI: Univ. of Michigan Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, 1970].) Technological developments have a similarly disruptive influence on aesthetic codification, with each major innovative device causing a kind of re-shuffling in the technical boundaries of the art involved. Nevertheless, there are certain components that exist as more or less stable subsystems within dance, because they are bound either to the dnacer's body or to the rudiments of stage presentation. I will for the time being ignore those components (lighting, setting, etc.) that are not strictly part of the performer's repertoire of signs.

Veltruský breaks down the actor's signs into the following two categories, either constant or variable: (Veltruský, 560.)

Constant	Variable
Voice	Delivery
Eyes	Eye-movements
Face and make-up or mask	Play of facial muscles
Head	Head movements
Body (physical constitution and characteristics)	Gestures
	Postures
Costume	Bodily positions

Positions in space
Movements in space
Extra-linguistic sounds

These are the subsystems that apply strictly to acting, and I think they match up with those in dance performance also. These make up Jakobson's "code," and any of these elements can be manipulated by the performer to produce certain signs--certain meanings once perceived by the audience. The signs cannot be completely simplified into these analytical categories, for actors and dancers are whole people, not parts. Consequently, an important principle of simultaneity applies. The acting or dancing sign is not a singular object, like a road sign or word, but a sign-complex, a blending of several different meaning-producing elements into a structure that is characterized by a certain tension between its elements. These categories merely make it possible to describe the various components of the sign complex more thoroughly, so that the contribution of each element and its semantic value can be discussed. The structure of any performance's sign-complex both locates it within a particular form and creates for the work a performance style or idiom. The relative difference between acting and dancing in performance lies in the different relative weight we normally attach to the various elements, and the different expectations that the audience brings to what is shown. Movement in space is probably the dominant component in most dance performances, while vocal delivery tends to dominate traditional plays --especially when written in verse. One might argue that in terms of communication the same amount of information is transmitted in the two performances, but it is distributed differently.

These two structures, with their different dominant components, explain how acting and dancing can begin at the same point--the communicative potential of the human body--and arrive at two completely different art forms. Operatic performance has much the same relation to acting. And though these arts are based on the potential of the body, they also have different referential fields. Dancing tends to refer to human movement, to both the quotidien aspects of motion and to the whole potential for bodily movement. Acting, on the other hand, refers more broadly to human behavior, and ground its technique in making this behavior esthetically perceivable. The two sign-complexes described above are orienting norms of expectation which not only define the arts involved, but point toward these different referential fields.

This background in code brings us to the trickiest part of semiotic analysis, the classification of signs according to function. However, the question here is not one of essences, but one of dominance. When we perceive performances we generally enter with the assumption that everything that appears on stage is an intentional sign--something from the technical level, and therefore referential, intended to be decoded and understood. I may notice how a dancer throws her hip out in arabesque, and assume that this is part of the choreography. However, if I have seen the dance before, or if I have seen the dancer in other dances where she behaves similarly, I begin to see where the dance leaves off and the dancer begins. This situation can be complicated by the highly coded norms of dance technique, but my point here is that dancer habits, be they good or bad according to

the standards of some technique, are an inescapable component of every performance, and these are "expressive." On the other hand, audiences have similar habits, described sometimes as competencies, which they bring to performances. The difference between what a New York audience sees and what is seen by inmates at an asylum in Topeka enter semiotics at the conative level, regardless of whether or not they saw technically equivalent performances. The referential element exists somewhere in between, harder to get at than in language, where the standard meanings of words can merely be looked up in a dictionary. That's where the coded sub-systems listed above can help describe and distiguish what takes place on stage, no matter what the audience thinks it sees.

To apply Jakobson's model exhaustively, the phatic, metalinguistic and "poetic" (esthetic) functions also need to be accounted for. Phatic functions relate to the contact, to the part of the performance that wonders, "Is anyone really watching?" This element is particularly important in comedy, in which case it can actually dominate the event when the audience rejects intended humor. Metalinguistic functions are elements in the sign that refer to the code itself, the expressive devices and fund of history that allow dance to be understood. The Ballet Trocadero dancers, for example, point self-consciously toward the gender of the conventional ballerina figure. The other remaining function is perhaps the most important, the esthetic. Esthetic function exists in the Prague School model when signs are perceived not for any practical or theoretical insight, but more or less autonomously. The result is not quite art for art's sake, because once again the relation is one of dominance, not essence. A dance about Mormon women will probably tell us something about Mormons and something about women, but it will mostly be either beautiful or ugly, funny or moving or something else that is based on a judgement of esthetic quality. From the standpoint of a Prague School philosopher like Jan Mukařovský, a political dance remains a dance until something so politically immediate occurs that the attention of the viewer shifts from the dance to the extent that the event becomes mostly about politics. (For a schematic explanation of this "polyfunctional" approach, see Peter Steiner's introduction, "Jan Mukařovský's Structural Aesthetics," in Structure, Sign and Function: Selected Essays by Jan Mukarovský, trans. and ed. John Burbank and Peter Steiner [New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1978], ix-xxxix.) Riots rarely happen in dance performances, perhaps because dance is ideologically more vague than language-dominated arts, but if they did it would be safe to assume that the experience was no longer mostly esthetic. The same tension exists in the decorative arts; e.g. sometimes a pot is "just too prtty to cook in." The esthetic function exists outside art, too, but in art itself esthetics dominates.

The specific forms in question here, acting and dancing, are examples not of single codes, but of components in what Prague School scholars call a structure of relations. (Czech structuralism has some differences with its French descendant which can be observed in Mukařovský, "On Structuralism," Structure, Sign and Function, 3-16.) Each particular dance, each play production, each musical performance, will have a different structure of related sub-systems, component systems like lighting, architecture, movement, language, etc. Some dances have a pronounced scenic element, while some have no setting,

only theatrical trappings that try hard to mean nothing at all. The fact that both theater and dance, both acting and dancing, exist in this sort of relational flux accounts for a certain amount of overlap between the two that is entirely healthy. When the relations exist in a conventional grouping, as in the case of standard dance idioms or acting styles, the points of interchange are relatively easy to isolate and analyze. For example, in a classical ballet that depends upon character to a high degree, things like eye-movements and gesture that help with characterization will resemble the gestures of pantomimic stage acting. In a children's dance, where clear signs are needed to make up for the cognitive habits and limited competence of children, the resemblance will be even more pronounced. In abstract, "minimalist" dance the points of interchange will be different, for the facial movements that stage actors typically employ are suppressed in the dancing, even where they would have a mostly expressive function. Yet because minimalist dances often seek to return to the rudiments of quotidien movement, the movements through space will resemble the kinds of movements that an actor uses in the typical realistic play. Resemblance between the two forms depends in all cases on the particular work being examined.

The structure of the sign-complex created by the performer also has a tendency, in both dance and acting, to solidify into various kinds of conventional stage figures. In the theater these conventional figures are usually associated with the commedia dell'arte, though they also exist in the modern theater and cinema. Dance has created similar figures, like the ballerina from Swan Lake, mocked by the Trockaderos, or the top hat and tails figure of Fred Astaire. These stable figures become touchstones in the semiotics of performance, allowing for the direct reference to a kind of style and attitude that can be used for any artistic purpose. These conventional figures can also dominate other elements that would ordinarily direct the shape of a work, such as the dramatic plot or the musical form. Also, these conventional figures cross over into other forms with fantastic ease, for their semantic clarity allows them to be translated confidently into the media of the other art form.

The most frequent point of conjunction where dancing and acting get blurred is during formal experiments in either art. Efforts to expand or free the media of one art form usually proceed by borrowing communicative tools from another. In these cases it is really impossible to say whether the performance is dancing or acting; chances are it is both, and that the point is at the same time possibly irrelevant. An exception might be the performance of dancers like Lucinda Childs in Robert Wilson's "Einstein on the Beach." Wilson, like Jakobson, is a genuine formalist; i.e. his stated intention is to increase the duration and disrupt the process of perception in order to break cognitive habits and create esthetic pleasure. (My reference is to Wilson's remarks about children and cognitive disability in their relation to works like Deafman Glance, remarks made in his interview for the PBS television segment on Einstein on the Beach. Compare these remarks to Victor Shklovsky, "Art as Technique [Device]," in Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays, trans. and ed. L.T. Lemon and M.J. Reis [Lincoln NE: Nebraska UP, 1965], 3-24.) The performers in Wilson's work can attempt to increase awareness of the tension between acting and dancing, so that the relation between both arts, as

well as the relation between art and reality, gets re-examined.

Historically the blending of acting and dancing has occurred for other reasons: to increase the visual richness and energy of a dramatic performance, or because one art is viewed as somehow prior, more elemental, and of greater value than the other. The occasions when dance and acting are intentionally mixed are generally part of an attempt to disrupt, or at least to interact with, ruling norms that govern the art. It is a commonplace, for example, to say that on a technical level Martha Graham had good reasons for flexing her ankle. However, a theory of the avant-garde must also deal with subtler issues, and the relation of acting to dance has been a constant source of disruption and renewal for both arts. Once any system of relations becomes so stable that new works are predictable, the system is hidebound and will be violated. For Gordon Craig, rhythm and movement were ways to change acting; for Isadora Duncan, vivid impersonation could revolutionize dance.

The case of musical comedy offers a form where acting and dancing are not blurred, but altered. Here a certain separation of forms is taken for granted so that each can be exploited in turn. Once again opera enters the structure as a kind of third term. Certain conventions, such as musical comedy lead-ins, exist specifically to underline the change in performance mode that will take place in the course of the musical play. Also, the musical stage has not traditionally been a place where experiment or excellence in any one component of the involved arts takes place. Instead the arts are presented in a conventional form so that normal expectations are fulfilled, and popular responses guaranteed. I don't mean to denigrate musical comedy; as a form it has an extremely sophisticated semiotic structure that has already been the subject of an outstanding analysis. (Ivo Osolsobě, The Theater that Speaks, Sings and Dances [Divadlo které mluví, zpívá a tančí] [Prague: Suprafon, 1974], in Czech with English summary.) In fact, watching a musical comedy, with its many conventional transitions and traditionally structured signs, probably constitutes a better lesson in comparative semiotics than any lecture like this could hope to provide.

I have not tried to offer an exhaustive survey of the history of dance/acting relations, nor even have I systematically enumerated the semiotic properties of either art. I do hope, however, that the basic framework I have employed will allow questions about the structure, meanings and affects of performance signs to be answered more clearly. My polemic is merely to suggest--not to advocate a closed approach but to open discussion. The shared properties of acting and dancing are too abundant for their study to continue to take place in isolation. Both disciplines need the stimulation that the other can provide.

SHARING THE DANCES OF MANY PEOPLE: THE TEACHING WORK OF MARY WOOD HINMAN

Selma Landen Odom

Mary Wood Hinman, born less than a year after Isadora Duncan, was one of an impressive number of people who forged new identities in dance around the turn of the century. Unlike the innovative performers such as Fuller, Duncan, and St. Denis, these others--mostly women teachers and writers--have faded into shadowy figures in dance history, even though in their time they were often quite prominent and influential. Why have they been forgotten? Their images hardly come to mind at all, perhaps because they did not concern themselves with creating personae of themselves as dancers. Instead their work involved the less glamorous efforts of social reform, study, research, and especially of teaching. One tall, energetic figure among these self-made dance experts was Mary Wood Hinman (1878-1952), who grew up in a musical family in Chicago, began teaching as a teen-ager, studied gymnastics and folk dance in Europe, and returned to become an outstanding leader in education and recreation.[1] Guided throughout her career by a keen interest in dance, festivals, and pageantry, Hinman was a humanitarian who believed that the experience of dancing and traditional culture could enrich the lives of people of all ages. She promoted both the physical and the social values of folk dancing, confident that happier, healthier citizens could be formed through participation in vigorous, wholesome dance activity. Her work became part of the "social engineering" of the early twentieth century in America, in which she and other leaders in recreation and education, according to one historian, "searched for activities capable of forging unity out of diversity" in order "to build simultaneously muscles and civics."[2] Through her own example and by inspiring others, Mary Wood Hinman also helped in a modest way to change dance into a modern, expanded discipline, in which one might pursue new kinds of study, creative work, and communication.

A fond recollection of Hinman was written by Doris Humphrey, who was her student through childhood at the progressive Francis W. Parker School in Chicago and a graduate in 1914 from the normal or teaching course of the Hinman School of Gymnastic and Folk Dancing: "I had a wonderful teacher, and a wonderful teacher is something that you should cherish when you find one. This teacher not only had vision, but was interested in the whole field of dance. She used to go abroad and bring back whatever seemed to be of value as she was going on from year to year with her classes. She also had an individual interest in her students, and I was one she advised and encouraged...."[3] It was Hinman who suggested in 1917 that Humphrey leave the teaching she had undertaken

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(also as a teen-ager) to go study at the recently-opened Denishawn School in California. Later I'll come back to the long-lasting association of Hinman and Humphrey.

Hinman is said to have begun teaching dance to neighbor children around 1894 in her family's commodious home in the fashionable North Shore Chicago suburb of Kenilworth. At that time she would have been sixteen years old, and apparently teaching was her way of helping out at a time the family experienced some financial troubles. She may have studied with the famous Eugene Bournique, who taught all over the Chicago area in those years, and also with a Mr. Low, who called dances in Kenilworth during her childhood. But, by her own admission, she had little actual training for what was to become her life's work. She simply began teaching, and then made it her business to go out and find dances by taking part in real life situations. Joseph Marks, in America Learns to Dance, states that she studied with Melvin Ballou Gilbert, the master of "aesthetic calisthenics" who taught hundreds of young women at the Sargent School, the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, and in summer courses at Harvard.[4] While it would be interesting to establish such a connection, I have found no evidence to support his claim. A more likely possibility is that at some point she came in contact with one of Gilbert's students who taught in Chicago. The young Elizabeth Burchenal, for example, just after being graduated from the Sargent School and training with Gilbert, had as one of her first jobs a position at the Chicago Women's Athletic Club.[5] This would have been between 1898 and 1902, by which time Mary Wood Hinman was already well launched as a teacher, even though she like Burchenal was still only in her early twenties. Gilbert, however, had not emphasized folk dancing nearly as much as Hinman, Burchenal, and others soon came to do, and for the most part it seems that these early teachers found and began collecting dances directly from human sources, drawing on the multicultural populations of cities such as New York and Chicago.

What began as neighborhood classes grew rapidly for Hinman into a successful business of dance instruction for Chicago-area society. She taught in the halls of schools, clubs, and hotels. In 1898 she coached the first Blackfriars Show at the University of Chicago, where she was already known for her successful classes for coeds; this was probably one of her first chances to try her hand at choreography. Around 1897 or 1898 she began a twelve-year teaching affiliation with Hull House, the transformed mansion at the corner of Polk and Halstead Streets, where Jane Addams led in new approaches to the settlement and social integration of recent immigrants. Founded in 1889, Hull House in the 1890s ran a day nursery, gymnasium, playground, and dispensary, and was the center for many kinds of classes and club meetings. Even though settlement work represented an outlet for the relatively privileged (such as Addams and Hinman) to help others, the prevailing attitude was "that one gets as much as she gives."[6] Addams later wrote, "In time we came to define

a settlement as an institution attempting to learn from life itself."[7] It was this new perspective which became central in the formation of Mary Wood Hinman, whose formal education ended after high school. She both taught and learned at Hull House, and her credo became "let us not teach as much as share."[8]

Hull House at that time was an extraordinary environment for learning. According to historian Anne Scott, "Like Ruskin and William Morris, Jane Addams saw an intimate relationship between art and social justice, and Hull House also became a center for artistic expression. The first addition was the Butler Art Gallery; the Hull House players pioneered in little theatre, with a repertoire ranging from Galsworthy to Greek tragedy with an all-Greek cast; and the Music School under Eleanor Smith gave popular concerts and offered young immigrants an opportunity to develop musical talent."[9] On introducing dance activity there, Hinman wrote in a 1909 letter to the physical education leader Luther Halsey Gulick, "the two most striking results were: first, the men gained the American attitude of respect for women, which they knew nothing of in their life in the other country; and second, they learned the value of self-respect."[10] We can gain an impression of her work there as she continued:

> By letting the young people come for one evening a week in a clean, well-aired hall, with good music, good floor, and rules of politeness and formality maintained, they lose their desire to go elsewhere for this necessary social intercourse. They here gain healthy exercise, social intercourse in a pleasant setting and enough social technique to make them self-respecting. There seems to be no better, quicker, or surer way of obtaining our first hold on the young people we want most to bring off the street. These young men and women who crave social life seem to have no proper way open to them.[11]

She commented that it was "astonishing to find how many young men and women were given better positions by their employers after attending class for a month or two," and that the children's classes "show immediate results in the new interest felt in the home life of their parents." Sympathy and respect were inculcated, and "the entire attitude of the young set changed toward their elders. Something their parents knew was of value after all."[12] These views show how fully Hinman had absorbed the ethos of Hull House. And certainly in Jane Addams and her colleagues, Hinman discovered a significant new model for what a woman and a teacher could be.

Hinman's other key "teacher" was John Dewey, from whom she also learned by doing. She may have met Dewey through her work at Hull House, where both Dewey and his wife, the educator Harriet Chipman Dewey, supported and contributed to

the work of Jane Addams. Or she may have met him at the University of Chicago, where Dewey from 1894 had taught philosophy and education. In any case, about a year after she introduced dance at Hull House, and while she continued to teach and supervise teaching in a vast network of classes all over Chicago, Hinman also became part of the educational experiments of Dewey. She wrote, "I began this work in Professor Dewey's small school, called the 'Dewey School,' nine years ago [ca. 1900], and went with him into the University, now called the University of Chicago Elementary School."[13] Working in the context of Dewey's new ideas about direct experience, problem solving as a method, and the value of play and joy in learning, Hinman developed a graded program of gymnastic, folk, and social dancing for kindergarten through high school, which took into account age, sex, motor and social skills, time available, and various types of indoor and outdoor spaces. After the merging of the University Elementary School with the Francis W. Parker School, Hinman taught at Parker from 1906 to 1919, where, as I said, she met the gifted young Doris Humphrey.[14] Dr. Gulick's The Healthful Art of Dancing (1910), which includes Hinman's 21-page letter reporting on the work in Chicago, contains many delightful photographs of dancing school children from the early years of Hinman's teaching.

As early as 1904, when she was in her mid-twenties, she established the Hinman School of Gymnastic and Folk Dancing in Hyde Park, where she intended to prepare young women for an important new vocation, teaching dance in the public schools. She wrote in 1909, "Our well-educated young women, who come from cultured homes, are not satisfied to ornament the fireside, but long to be in touch with the life of to-day. We select girls who have a mental grasp of educational problems and are alive to the world as it is." She described their two-year program: "They do actual assisting every day at all the big classes, read books and write papers on how this work applies to the education of the child, also learning where each dance comes from, its history, what influences the different countries in their social life, etc., and each carries a class of her own in some settlement. They are trained to be good teachers, good organizers, an addition to any faculty, but they are not trained to be solo dancers and fancy dancers." She continued proudly, "They can execute their work well, they know their technique, but first and foremost, they can teach simply and clearly, and keep uppermost in their minds the education of the child. It is the only school in the world of its kind. We cannot take all who apply...."[15]

By 1917 the school's brochure outlined a remarkably visionary curriculum of practical and theoretical study, including folk, English country, ballroom, and interpretative dancing; pantomime, ballet, and clogging; pedagogy (with practice teaching); pageantry, or practical stage production; and "Books," a course on dance history, folk customs, the "new art," civic responsibility, and women's position in modern

life.[16] These courses reflected not only the ideals of Hull House and the Dewey School, but also the fact that from 1906 Hinman had traveled and learned from the world. At a time when few American women studied abroad, Hinman believed in the necessity of experiencing dances in their original settings. From her teaching she earned enough to make a number of extended study trips to Europe. She first concentrated on Scandinavian dances, studying at the Royal College at Nääs, Sweden, from which she was graduated in 1907, and by doing four months of field work in the far north of that country. By 1912 she had spent several summers in Ireland and England, where she worked closely with William Kimber, the Oxfordshire bricklayer and Morris dancer, and with Cecil Sharp, then actively reviving the traditional dances and ceremonies of England. Over the years, she continued her practice of travel and study in Russia, France, Sicily, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, the Middle and Far East, and Central and South America. Her grand-niece, whom she took to see the Hopi Indian dances of the American West, remembers subsisting for a week on boiled eggs and canned pineapple: "Nothing daunted her. She would find a way to do it."[17]

Although she was not a systematic scholar, Hinman used the approach of learning a dance thoroughly herself, taking detailed notes, and obtaining written music. She also collected costumes, photographs, and, when they became available, recordings. She used what she learned not only in her own teaching, but also in her work with the National Committee on Folk Dancing of the Playground Association of America, which was founded by Dr. Gulick and other leaders in 1906. In the Playground Association's first congress, "The Festival of Play and Sport," held in Chicago in June 1907, the Chicago branch of the PAA sponsored exhibitions which prominently featured folk dancing along with games and gymnastics, to international acclaim in the press. Hinman also showed her work on a large scale through the staging of many festivals and pageants, as in her settings of traditional dances for the Shakespeare Pageant given in April 1912 at Lincoln Park by the Drama League of Chicago. Hinman was active in establishing the United States branch of the English Folk-Dance Society and was responsible for bringing Cecil Sharp to Chicago to teach several times between 1915 and 1917.

Hinman produced hundreds of sheets of dance directions and music, which could be bought for $.15 or 10 for $1.00. Despite some errors and imprecisions, many of the dances she described to assist her and her students in teaching stand as a valuable record of the early collecting of traditional dances. These materials led eventually to her five-volume series Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, published by A. S. Barnes in several editions beginning in 1914. In these books over 250 dances were presented through verbal description, music, diagrams, stick figures, and photographs. Dances were grouped as Solo Dances, Couple Dances, Ring Dances and

Singing Games, Group Dances (including pageant dances), and Clogs, Jigs, Tap and Sword Dances. Ever practical, Hinman suggested which dances were suitable for different ages and situations. Often she also gave source and background information, and she peppered the pages of these books with inspiring quotations, fragments of poetry, and her own pithy thoughts on teaching, such as "Don't talk! Do!"[16] Hinman's books lacked the copious photographs and orderly presentation of Elizabeth Burchenal's Folk-Dances and Singing Games (1909), but on the whole her step descriptions though terse are no less clear. A sense of Hinman's lively personality appears in the following advice:

> Every folk dance should have its history given as it is taught, or in a few words before the dance is started. If the class is learning the "Weaving Dance (Vol. 4)" tell the story of each step; the herding of the sheep, the sheering of the sheep, the washing of the wool, the weaving, the testing of the cloth, etc. . . . . If it is an aesthetic dance, relate the dance to some statue or to a poem. Draw their attention to statues having the same lines as used in many dances. Point out a certain statue, one they all know, and have them find the line in the figure of the statue which portrays grief or bravery or attention, etc. If the dance is gymnastic in value, speak of the control gained, etc. Connect every dance learned with one of the sister arts, if possible. Give it a literary, historical or geographical background and above all, enjoy and impart your joy in all that connects itself with the dance. Talk only one or one and a half minutes, and be quite sure what you say, in the mind of the students, is related to the dance they are learning. Suggest and stimulate, rather than teach.[17]

Hinman valued creativity in what she called "dance building," which consisted of helping a group make an arrangement of variations on a given traditional dance or dance style. Other dances were built by individuals for pageants or special purposes. Hinman published four original pageant dances by Humphrey, for example, including the "Greek Sacrificial Dance" set to music of Saint-Saëns, a gentle walking and running dance for three central girls and a chorus in tunics. Thus she enabled Humphrey to see herself not only as a dancer and teacher but also as a fledgling choreographer. By choosing these dances for her books, Hinman was responsible for our knowing something about Humphrey's earliest efforts.[20]

By 1917 a total of 122 women had completed their studies at Hinman's unique teacher-training school. Hinman employed or found work for many of them. She encouraged Lucy Duncan Hall, a 1911 graduate of her school, to study with Emile Jaques-Dalcroze at Hellerau, Germany, and, after becoming the

first American certified to teach his method, Hall introduced eurhythmics at the Hinman school and at Francis W. Parker. The Hinman school brochure for 1913 announced this addition to the curriculum as "an educational feature which will be gladly welcomed by all thinking people in America as it has been in England and the other European countries."[21] Hinman met Jaques-Dalcroze once when she went to Geneva with Hall in 1914, just days before the outbreak of World War I, to attend the Fête de Juin, an immense lakeside pageant celebrating the entry of Geneva in to the Swiss Confederation. Hinman wrote a detailed, enthusiastic account of this event, which combined traditional groups in processions and dances with music composed by Jaques-Dalcroze and choreography based on eurhythmics performed by advanced students from Hellerau and many children of Geneva.[22] Inspired by what they saw in Europe, both Hinman and Hall went on to stage a number of pageants in the Chicago area, and they were associated with experimental productions and the training program of the Chicago Little Theatre, directed by Maurice Browne from 1912 to 1917.

During World War I, Hinman offered her services as a recreation leader for soldiers, both at home and abroad, through the Council of National Defense. After the war she worked for the government in Germany for a time, and, at some point, after the sudden death of her brother and the closing of her school, she had a severe nervous breakdown. This period of her life, when she was in her forties, is cloaked in mystery, but she gradually recovered and during the 1920s resumed teaching in the summers, offering a popular course at the Utah Agricultural College in Logan. By 1930 she was living in New York, where her career took an important new turn when she helped to establish the Folk Festival Council of New York. This private service organization sponsored dances, festivals, and performances involving some forty ethnic organizations, and under its auspices Hinman created a popular course called "Dances of Many Peoples," which was given by the New School for Social Research for many years beginning in 1932. Each session of learning dances was led by people in traditional costume from different groups and was usually accompanied by live music. This experience was enhanced by information on folk-lore, maps, and reading lists prepared by Hinman. During the 1930s, Hinman also helped the then-emerging field of modern dance by serving on the board of the New School Young Dancers Series, and she continued to encourage Doris Humphrey, praising her dances and urging her to film them.[23]

Humphrey's letters of 1929 and 1930 to her parents detail the renewal of their friendship and the standing weekly lunch dates she enjoyed with Hinman. One of these is particularly revealing of Humphrey's awareness of the fundamental difference between their respective aims in dance:

> I spent the day with Mary Wood yesterday. She has stirred us all up again about moving pictures of

> dancing--so we took several of the dances up on her roof yesterday. She lives in the really magnificent American Women's Association, which operates a twenty-six story hotel in the middle of town. Afterwards we had dinner and I always am stimulated by talking to her, although her point of view is as strange to me as the man next door-- Her continual interest lies in people, and whatever concerns giving them more of everything they want-- My interest lies in making something as beautifully--therefore truly as I can-- You can see where those two opinions would clash-- She "Why don't you make moving pictures--they-ll reach millions of people?" Me "If I did, I would have to make them promise not to cut or change the dances." She "The great thing is to get in touch with people, then you can improve the picture gradually as you go along." Me "The great thing is to do each piece of work well, with no apologies to anybody" and there we are-- Two perfectly good points of view with value on both sides--but of course I prefer mine. It's the difference between the humanist and the artist.[24]

After a career devoted to helping others through the uniquely human activity of dancing, Mary Wood Hinman retired in 1938 to Los Angeles, where she died in 1952. Her collection of folk costumes and other materials was given to the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology of UCLA.

Notes

[1] Hinman was born in Ohio (14 February 1878) and died in Los Angeles (4 July 1952). Virginia C. Anderson wrote the obituary for Viltis (July 1953), which editor Vyts Beliajus kindly searched out for me. Another tribute, "Mary Wood Hinman," was written soon after Hinman's retirement by Mary Jane Hungerford in Educational Dance, 1, No. 10 (April 1939), 4-5. For the most part, however, her biography has been pieced together from her published and unpublished writings, many details of which have been corroborated by her two grand-nieces in letters and interviews (see note 16). Patricia Parmelee, Hinman's colleague in the 1930s, has also supplied valuable assistance through correspondence. The majority of written sources are gathered in the so-called "Swedish Book, Materials relating to the career of Mary Wood Hinman (ca. 1911-1917)," of The Doris Humphrey Collection, Dance Collection, The New York Public Library. I have also received information from the Kenilworth Historical Society and from Colleen Browne Kilner's Joseph Sears and his Kenilworth (Kenilworth, Illinois: Kenilworth Historical Society, 1969), which establishes the context of Hinman's childhood.

[2] Patricia Mooney Melvin, "Building Muscles and Civics: Folk Dancing, Ethnic Diversity and the Playground Association of America," American Studies, 24 (Spring 1983), 89.

[3] Doris Humphrey, New Dance, An Unfinished Autobiography, Dance Perspectives, 25 (Spring 1966), 18. This statement was not included in Doris Humphrey: An Artist First, her autobiography edited and completed by Selma Jeanne Cohen (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1972).

[4] Joseph E. Marks III, America Learns to Dance. A Historical Study of Dance Education in America before 1900, (New York: Exposition Press, 1957), p. 104.

[5] The parallels and divergences of Burchenal's and Hinman's subsequent careers in folk dance would make an interesting study; it appears that the two became rivals. See Marilyn B. Weissman's "Elizabeth Burchenal" in Notable American Women: The Modern Period. A Biographical Dictionary, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980), 121-122. Also useful is Lucile Czarnowski's "Elizabeth Burchenal, 1877-1959, Destined from the Start for her Lifework," AAHPER Encores for Dance. Selected Articles on Dance III, 1968-77, ed. Dennis J. Fallon (1978), pp. 60-61.

[6] From a letter by Ellen Starr (Addams' colleague), as quoted by Anne Firor Scott in "Jane Addams," Notable American Women 1607-1950. A Biographical Dictionary, Vol. I (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), 18.

[7] Quoted from Addams' Second Twenty Years at Hull House

by Anne Scott (see note 6), 18. The background is further studied in John C. Farrell, Beloved Lady: A History of Jane Addams' Ideas on Reform and Peace (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967).

[8] Mary Wood Hinman, "Educational Possibilities of the Dance," Journal of Health and Physical Education, April 1934, p. 15.

[9] Anne Scott, "Jane Addams," (see note 6), 18.

[10] Mary Wood Hinman's letter, dated 18 February 1909, was published in a chapter called "The Results of Experience" in Luther H. Gulick's The Healthful Art of Dancing (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1910), p. 75.

[11] Hinman in Gulick (see note 10), pp. 75-76.

[12] Hinman in Gulick, pp. 76-77.

[13] Hinman in Gulick, p. 79. See the programs for demonstrations of the work in physical education of the School of Education given to the Parents' Association, 22 April 1910 and 17 May 1912, in the "Swedish Book" of The Doris Humphrey Collection (see note 1). "The Course of Study of the University Elementary School," The Elementary School Teacher, VIII, No. 9 (May 1908), 544-549, discusses how dance teaching was integrated with hygiene and physical education. The educational context is further detailed in Katherine Camp Mayhew and Ann Camp Edwards' The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896-1903 (New York: Atherton Press, 1965; originally published 1936).

[14] I have consulted materials in the Archives of the Francis W. Parker School and at the Chicago Historical Society. A very useful collection of information and memoirs has been edited by Marie Kirchner Stone, Between Home and Community: Chronicle of the Francis W. Parker School, 1901-1976 (Chicago: Francis W. Parker School, 1976).

[15] Hinman in Gulick, pp. 94-95.

[16] "Outline of Class Work in the Normal Class," Hinman School of Gymnastic and Folk Dancing (Chicago, 1917), unpaginated school brochure in the "Swedish Book" of The Doris Humphrey Collection (see note 1). Other brochures in the collection date from 1912 and 1913; these sources give key information on Hinman's travel and study as well as on the school itself.

[17] Personal interview with Sarah Root Chapin, 29 May 1983. I was also able to interview her sister, K. Elizabeth Morse, 30 October 1984. Both of these grand-nieces were themselves involved in folk dancing and shared vivid memories of studying and traveling with Hinman. I am grateful to Vyts Beliajus and Patricia Parmelee for making it possible for me

to contact these family members. Miss Parmelee has also made me aware of the importance of Christian Science in Hinman's life and work.

[18] Mary Wood Hinman, "To Teachers in Grade Schools," in Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Vol. III Ring Dances and Singing Games (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1915 and 1930), 5.

[19] Mary Wood Hinman, "The Necessity of Joy in the Teaching of Dancing," in Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Vol. III (see note 18), 105.

[20] The Humphrey Dances published by Hinman were "Will o' The Wisp" and "Daffodils" in Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Vol. III (see note 18), 65-66 and 72-73; and "Greek Sacrificial Dance" and "Moment Musical" in Vol. IV Group Dances (1914 and 1929-32), 11-13 and 20-22. Hinman recommended the two latter dances in "Suggestions for Special Dances for High School Girls and Boys" in The Shakespeare Tercentenary: Suggestions for School and College Celebrations of the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's Death in 1916, written by Hinman in collaboration with Mary Porter Beegle and W. E. Bohn for the Drama League of America (Washington, D.C.: National Capital Press, Inc., 1916), p. 15.

[21] Hinman School of Gymnastic and Folk Dancing (Chicago, 1913), unpaginated school brochure in the "Swedish Book" of The Doris Humphrey Collection (see note 1).

[22] Mary Wood Hinman's 4-page typed description is located in the "Swedish Book" of The Doris Humphrey Collection (see note 1). Long excerpts from it were quoted by Marjorie Felgar in her interview-article "Now It's the Eurythmic Dance," Chicago Sunday Herald, 8 November 1914, Sec. 5, p. 1. For more information on the work of Hinman and Hall, see Selma Landen Odom, "Chicago, 1913: Eurhythmics Entering American Dance," American Dalcroze Journal, 11, No. 1 (Fall 1983), 1-6.

[23] This material is drawn from the annual Catalogs of the New School for Social Research, available in their Archives.

24 Doris Humphrey, Letter to Horace and Julia Humphrey, 24 November 1930, The Doris Humphrey Collection, Dance Collection, The New York Public Library. Quoted with permission.

MAGGIE GRIPENBERG (1881-1976): A FINNISH PIONNEER IN MODERN DANCE. THE EARLY YEARS, AND AN OVERVIEW

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The object of this paper is to introduce a new dancer to you, a dancer whose name has almost disappeared into the darkness of history, that history being further isolated by the often impenetrable barriers of language and culture. She is Maggie Gripenberg, a dancer, choreographer, and teacher, who planted a new style of movement in Finland beginning as an amateur at the turn of the century, and continuing as a professional dancer from 1911 until the mid-1950's.

Why was she important? My Thesis (University of California, 1985), which explores and catalogues her artistic life and work more fully, attempts to present a more complete picture. Perhaps this short overview will at least suggest to you why she must be counted and listed among the other innovators in dance.

Gripenberg was a pioneer in modern dance. My research has convinced me that her works are of comparable quality to those of Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, Doris Humphrey, and Kurt Jooss, among others. She was to Finland what Martha Graham was to the United States and Mary Wigman to Germany.

Gripenberg brought rhythm to Finland. It has been written that "Maggie Gripenberg has been the first in Finland to prepare solely rhythm - based movement compositions which the dancers themselves partly accompany on rhythm in-

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struments. Her students have spread this practice into all the movement circles throughout the land" (Ambegaokar, 1985, Appendix A, No. 42).

"Rhythm dancing" is an approximate translation of the Finnish "rytmiikka", dancing in which the movement is divided into time components just like rhythm in music. Gripenberg went on to develop this particular form and to use it, as will be seen, in her teaching and work. It became an integral part of all dance and gymnastic training in Finland.

Dance as an indigenous art form did not exist in Finland until the turn of the century. Dance as a foreign import was seen often enough because Helsinki, the capital, was conveniently located between two important nineteenth century cultural centers: Stockholm in Sweden and St. Petersburg in Russia. Professional dancers active at the time Maggie Gripenberg began to emerge were still mostly doing salon dancing, ethnic type character dances based on ballet conventions and folk dancing, and some ballet. Social dance and some gymnastics and ballet were taught during the 18th and 19th centuries. Dance as art, that is, as a profession or an avocation, as opposed to dance as a social grace, was not generally taught. (Hirn, 1982, 75; von Frenckell, 1976, 298-302).

In 1981 I walked into the University of Helsinki Library, looked under Gripenberg, and started down a long road that has given me an understanding of my roots and early education as a dancer, and also of the heritage that we are all in the business of trying to share, list, and comprehend.

There was just one entry in the library under Maggie Gripenberg and that was her autobiography Rytmin Lumoissa (Spellbound by Rhythm) written in 1950. Reading it certainly cast a spell on me, a spell that was enhanced and made stronger by the atmosphere in the silent and beautiful 1810 general reading room. Without knowing it yet, I was embarking on a mission. I have since become determined to make all aspects of Maggie Gripenberg's long life as a dancer, choreographer, and teacher be known in the West.

Margarita Maria Gripenberg was born on June 11, 1881, in Helsinki, Finland, to an aristocratic, rich family. She grew up to be multi-lingual. The family, her well-born mother who had spoken French as a child, and her architect father, a Baron, who was also a Senator, spoke Swedish at home. Aune Bergholm, Gripenberg's niece stated in an interview: "Maggie grew up in a liberal and humane family that was happy and harmonious. They believed in ideas often not found in the upper classes. Although she did not know it, Maggie grew up in a family that was unusually tolerant. Without that background she could not have become a dancer - although that was a scandal in any case" (Bergholm, Helsinki, 1978).

After general schooling in Finnish-language schools, Gripenberg entered the Ateneum in Helsinki (the Art Academy) to pursue painting. But, Maggie also

danced! She danced at society balls (social dancing), and she performed at family gatherings, school functions, society fundraising events, etc. Mostly these events were collaborative efforts, but Gripenberg also performed solos which she had choreographed. The earliest of these that survived through her professional performing years was Valse Triste, to music of the same name by Sibelius. I make the first mention of it to be 1902. Her musical education included the study of piano, and she became excellent in improvization on the key board. This talent was extremely useful to her later on in dance, and may have ultimately dictated her creative directions.

Studying dance seems to have been out of the question, and anyway there was no-one around to teach Gripenberg anything she already did not know. She worked alone developing her ideas from "what was in the air".

In 1904 Gripenberg was sent to Dresden, Germany, to continue painting. And while there, in January 1905, the following momentous event took place. She writes in her autobiography:

> But one day something happened that seriously rocked my good and even work rhythm. The newspapers announced that the famous Isadora Duncan would come to Dresden. Isadora Duncan, who had always been the target of my curiosity, and of whom I had always heard opinions expressed that were totally opposed. Now I walked as though in fever, and thought only of the night when I would see her. We had bought tickets to a performance where she performed only Chopin. That night proved fateful to me. It awakened in me my whole subconscious wish to dance, a wish that the might of my parents had forced under, but which all along had quietly seethed, and now erupted to the surface with new force. Holding my breath, I followed the dancer's every move, even the smallest nuances. She was like an apparition, like a dream! I saw in front of me, alive, everything that I had thought of and dreamt about in dance. I was spellbound.

She continues:

> When the performance ended, a storm broke out in the audience the likes of which I had never seen before. The audience was divided into two camps, those who were in ecstasy, and those who were enraged. Applause and shouts of "Brava" were mixed with whistles and yelling. A battle almost broke out in the lobby!

The effect on Gripenberg was electric. Here, finally, was much that she had suspected possible:

> When I got home, I tore my clothes off hurriedly and put on my night gown. And I danced and improvised far into the night! I didn't dare

> admit in my letters home how overpowering an effect that night actually had on me. I didn't dare admit it even to myself. - The storm within me quieted down eventually, and the work at the studio continued in its usual manner (Gripenberg, 1950, 28-29).

Although it still did not happen immediately, Gripenberg became a dancer. Until 1909, she kept on painting, and suffering, and dancing, hoping for a solution.

In February, 1908, Duncan gave some performances at the Finnish National Theatre in Helsinki.

In the fall of 1909 Gripenberg was asked by the Director of the National Theatre - Kansallisteatteri - to become the "plastique" teacher for the actors. To her protestations that she was not the right one, the Director said: "But you <u>are</u> a professional dancer - everyone knows that!" (Gripenberg, 1950, 48). Gripenberg accepted the position.

To prepare, however briefly, Gripenberg went to Sweden to work with Anna Behle. The two seem to have become friends. They improvised together on the piano, as well as danced. After that three week preparation Gripenberg returned to take up her duties at the National Theatre. Her first student recital was given at the end of the term.

But, Gripenberg felt the need to study. She and her Swedish friend Anna Behle decided to go to Emile Jaques-Dalcroze to study further. (Behle had studied with him before.) They arrived in Geneva, Switzerland, on May 1, 1910 (Gripenberg, 1950, 52).

The summer course was still too short for what they had in mind, and the two dancers decided to return in the fall. But in order to do that they needed money. Gripenberg's parents were rich, but she felt that now that she was pursuing dance, a field her parents did not approve of, she had to be independent. The two hit upon an outrageous idea. Let's do a tour to raise funds! They did that, and toured southern Sweden and Norway presenting works choreographed by the two of them for 2 or 3 dancers. (That tour in more detail, and others like it, and the Anna Behle - Maggie Gripenberg relationship in general are another subject, and a work-in-progress.)

After a successful tour where they performed in front of thousands, Gripenberg and Behle again went to Dalcroze, this time in Dresden. They arrived late in the semester, but in spite of that were advanced to the second year level after Christmas. The Dalcroze system of teaching has been presented to this society before and there are experts present here. Suffice it to say only that the subjects taught were rhythmic gymnastics, solfège (ear-training), improvisation, and body-training. (Gripenberg, 1950, 53-72).

At the end of the school year, June 1911, the two dancers returned to their respective countries "with the diplomas at the bottom of our suitcases". But not before they had done another tour of the summer beach places in Sweden. (Gripenberg, 1950, 74-76).

The next several years in Gripenberg's life were to be spent in performance and choreography. Since she also taught, her work began to make a difference that would affect the dance scene in Finland, and indirectly also the physical education of Finnish women.

Gripenberg's first professional performance was at the National Theatre, November 13, 1911, at 8:00 pm. (Gripenberg, 1950, 79). (I am using the term "first professional performance" because that is how Miss Gripenberg herself thought of the event.)

The performance was a landmark. Tickets had been sold out days before. It was a gala event. Gripenberg danced barefoot in gossamer thin costumes. The reviewers were unanimous in calling her dance "art". Raoul af Hällström, a critic and a historian in Helsinki, wrote later that "her performance has raised enormously the nature of dance as art in the eyes of the general public. It was noticed that dance is serious art, which can accommodate deep feelings, even tragedy." (Hällström, 1945, 174).

Professor Sven Hirn brings the event into perspective very nicely in his Våra danspedagoger och dansnöjen:

Maggie Gripenberg's performance of plastique dance in Helsinki ··· was the pioneering [dance] event prior to the outbreak of the great war. It was not actually a debut in front of the Helsinki audiences, because the dancer had made such appearances before. She had studied abroad in the interim and had matured seriously. For those who understood it, it was very clear that a new era was dawning. The meaning of this important event was impossible to misunderstand from the review that appeared the next day in the Hufvudstadsbladet:

> After the evening's obvious success, the small Baroness who danced yesterday ··· must henceforth be taken into account. She was known before but her dancing becomes public knowledge now, ··· and her dance, as she presented it yesterday, is art (Hirn, 1982, 101-2).

Gripenberg had truly began her career. She was to dance in Finland several times a year. She toured Scandinavia several times, the Baltic countries on several occasions, England in 1913 (at Her Majesty's Theatre and in the provinces where they hailed her as "the new Maud Allan") and in the United States from 1919 - 1921. A tour of Russia and Asia was planned for her but the first world war broke

out. The details of those journeys are a subject for another occasion (Ambegaokar, 1985, 26-56).

How did she dance? Gripenberg describes in her book her thoughts at the time when she was considering the change from painting to dancing:

> ... if I ever had the courage to change my present life, and seriously consider dance - art as the alternative, I would not want to imitate Isadora Duncan but, instead, would wish to be my own self, compose my own dances, and develop my own special qualities. But, I had to confess that the mere seeing of Isadora Duncan had been able to feed my imagination endlessly (Gripenberg, 1950, 32-33).

Gripenberg's early work was of course influenced by Duncan. But in a sense she was also a contemporary of Duncan's because she had worked making her own dances long before seeing Duncan.

Let us look at what people say about her style. Anna Behle, the Swedish "free dancer", and Gripenberg's erstwhile classmate and early touring partner, in an article written in 1912 that included in its discussion Maud Allan, Ruth St. Denis, Isadora Duncan, and the Wiesenthal sisters, said about Gripenberg "hon dansar huvudsakligen modern musik ..." (Behle, 1912, 183). She dances primarily [to] modern music. Here the word "modern" is less important than the observation, which comes out most clearly in the Swedish, that Gripenberg's movements followed music so closely that they were music visualized. Feet were beating out one line, arms weaving the other.

What music did she use? Kari Bergholm, Gripenberg's grand-nephew, stated that Gripenberg "did not like classical baroque music nor modern music. The only kind she approved of and loved was music from Schubert to Sibelius" (Bergholm, K., 1978).

The Dalcroze Institute provided Gripenberg, an accomplished pianist, with exactly the right training. In addition to being fashionable and new, it helped the maturing of her particular form of art. The times were such that upon returning to Finland, she had a skill that no one else had. Furthermore, she could teach this skill to others. There was a definite need in the society for the kind of impetus she had received from Dalcroze. As a result Gripenberg was soon, 1914, hired by the Helsinki Music Academy (a name later changed to the Sibelius Academy), and she taught there until the mid 1950's. Her own studio merged with the Sibelius Academy in 1931. She also continued teaching for a while at the National Theatre (Ambegaokar, 1985, 112).

In the early part of the 20th century general public opinion about dance was low. But Gripenberg was able to draw students from Helsinki Society; hers was an "elite school' (Hemming, 1985). Gripenberg was possibly the very first person to

teach "only free-dance and the Dalcroze method" (Rauhamaa, 1983, 105). A great many Finnish dancers, perhaps the majority, started their training with Maggie Gripenberg. "Everyone took dance from Maggie", claims Hällström (Hällström, 1945, 174).

The gymnasts of the era used the same Dalcroze - based rhythmic gymnastics and body training in the physical preparation of the participants as did Gripenberg. (That again is another subject and a work - in - progress. I have a chapter on it in my Thesis.) But, it is important that, by the time I was in school in the 40's all children - though mostly the females - received a physical education that was heavily influenced by the teachings and the pioneering of Maggie Gripenberg, her students and students' students, - although I did not know it then. Gripenberg changed the dance movement training of the country.

Free dance was born as an alternative to the superficial technical virtuosity of the ballet of the day. In Finland free-dance was the first professional dance form presented regularly to the public. (Rauhamaa, 1983, 120). And Maggie Gripenberg established that. Both the new German-inspired gymnasts, and the different Gripenberg way of movement helped make the body acceptable in that northern Lutheran country. That would seem to be just as important as was her development of rhythm as an educational and artistic medium.

Gripenberg's personal artistic development at once set her apart, and also placed her among those who have specific places in Western theatrical dance. Springing from the idea of "the natural" in movement that spurred Isadora Duncan, as well as some gymnasts, at the turn of the century, Gripenberg went on a personal discovery of choreographic possibilities. She first performed solos, and solo parts within an ensemble. But between 1915 and 1921 she had a partner, Onni Gabriel Snell, a handsome and talented man, a former student of hers. The five years were choreographically fertile years, and the partnership in performance was magnetic and memorable. The two toured in Scandinavia, the Baltic countries and on the east-coast of the USA. (Material on the U.S. tour was discovered by me in the Finnish and Swedish language New York press, and is contained in my thesis. That material is also another paper and a work-in-progress.)

After Gripenberg stopped performing in the late 1920's, she concentrated on making dances for large groups, and for dramas, operas, and dance-plays that had a clear message or a story line. She eventually ended up doing smaller dances with only a few well-trained people executing clearly defined, simple, clean and rhythmically precise modern dance movement. (Examples of the latter are Orjuus, Lyömäsoitin Etyydi, and Juoru in the later 1930's. These pieces for five dancers won the Ist Prize in Brussels at Le Concours International de Danse in 1939.) Finally, the movement had become the main thing, and it conveyed the message, - or better said, it was the message. This final phase in movement places her somewhere between Kurt Jooss and Doris Humphrey. (Gripenberg admired Joos.

She and two students took the summer course in Dartington Hall, England, in 1937 where Jooss and Company were in residence.)

Gripenberg, and the Group – Gripenberg, her performing group, received many honors and awards at home, and internationally: an award in 1939 in Brussels (already mentioned), one in 1945 in Stockholm, and another in 1947 in Copenhagen. But that again, like so much of the detail of her artistic life, is yet another story.

Maggie Gripenberg died in Maarianhamina, Ahvenanmaa, in 1976 at the age of 95.

Gripenberg was important as a charismatic performer, as a continuously developing choreographer, and all along, I suspect, as a teacher. She provided a model that others could follow. Her art, her chronological place in history, and her influence on her fellow human beings are different from those of any other dancer that I know. That difference, that quality, and that originality must be recognized and recorded in written dance history.

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STUDIES IN 15TH-CENTURY ITALIAN DANCE:
BELRIGUARDO IN DUE; A CRITICAL DISCUSSION

--A. William Smith

Research in 15th-century dance is becoming more and more sophisticated. Questions are now being raised regarding the relationship of a choreographic description of a single ballo or bassadanza (of a repertory of about ninety--see W. Marrocco's Inventory of 15th-Century Bassedanze, Balli, and Balletti (New York: CORD, 1981)), to its counterpart, often variant if existing, with the same name or one closely related, found within the same, another, or others of the twelve relevant extant 15th-century Italian sources. (See F.A. Gallo's "Il Ballare Lombardo; Circa 1435-75" in Studi Musicali, VIII (1979), 61-83, for a survey of eleven sources. The text of the recently discovered Venice source is expected to be published as part of the proceedings of Guglielmo Ebreo e la danza nelle corti italiane del xv secolo.) Can we use a single source as "the most reliable", as the "best", or as the most "self-contained" for reconstructing a dance without consulting other sources which may contain slightly different written versions of movement events, and which are determined by analysis to be closely related? (See I. Brainard's The Art of Courtly Dancing in the Early Renaissance (West Newton, MA: Brainard, 1981), pg.66, for such an approach--or one similar.) Or must we simultaneously consider some or all of the appropriate sources by using a method of comparative analysis of the choreographic descriptions and of the notated music? (See E. Thomas's "Music and Dance in Boccaccio's Time; Part II" in Dance Research Journal, X/2 (1978), 23-39, for a reconstruction considering some of the relevant sources; and A. Francalanci's "La ricostruzione delle danze del '400 italiano attraverso un metodo di studio comparato delle fonti" in La Danza Italiana, III (1985), 55-76, considering all relevant sources but without a reconstruction attempt.) Each of the two primary approaches may be appropriate at times, but in either case, the dance historian is obliged to document the reasoning behind his or her reconstruction. This documentation must be made available for examination by students and other scholars. If there are assumptions and decisions made by specialists in the field, we want to know what they are.

The purpose of this paper is to critically examine, as a pilot study, a part of the notated music and the choreographic descriptions of a single ballo--Belriguardo in due--in order to determine the sequential arrangement of the step-units or step-actions and their relationship to the notated music. Such a study is necessary to illustrate some of the problems encountered in the area of 15th-century dance reconstruction, and furthermore, to initiate a dialogue among students and scholars since apparently no detailed published paper exists. The author intends to demonstrate that the use of a single source (in a puristic manner as a self-contained unit) cannot be defended as the basis for a reconstruction of the ballo Belriguardo in due. Rather, relevant information must be ferreted out in all of the sources, and in the end, we must content ourselves with reconstruction hypotheses which at best align with the spirit of the period,

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established through use of a methodology of comparison and conflation of various versions of the notated music and the written choreographic descriptions. These hypotheses depend very much upon the critical decisions of the individual researcher. To claim that one's reconstruction hypothesis is "authentic" for a specific time and place in the history of dance in the 15th century is problematic; whose conception of "authenticity" do we use? Rather, we should direct our discussion to assertions that can be defended, and we must assure ourselves of logical bases. This is not to suggest that we cannot formulate viable reconstruction hypotheses. On the contrary, the groundwork laid by earlier research has opened the doors for more discriminating approaches, especially that regarding documentation of decisions. (For background and bibliographic information about 15th-century dance the reader is directed to the works cited above, as well as to the recent article by B. Sparti, "The 15th-century *balli* tunes: a new look" in *Early Music*, XIV/3, 346-57.)

Due to space and documentation format limitations, critical considerations regarding the conclusions derived for the total reconstruction of *Belriguardo in due* will not be given. Neither will the the nature of each step-action or step-unit be considered, although the author's latest hypotheses of these in Labanotation will be included as Appendix VII. Unfortunately, the reconstruction method can only be demonstrated for the initial phases of the process. This method will be to 1) critically examine the four versions of the notated music on a note-by-note (or mark-by-mark) basis, and then after a word-by-word comparison of the ten choreographic descriptions (identified at the top of Appendix I) found in nine different sources, to 2) critically assign the name of a step-unit or step-action with the corresponding unit of the notated music. (The use of the terminology "choreographic description" rather than "choreography", and "notated music" rather than "music" indicates that which is symbolized--and consequently reduced to the inevitable state appearing incomplete to us--as opposed to that which existed in a state of wholeness as intangible sense-data because of its time and space dependence. Metaphorically, this differentiates the fossil from the dinosaur, not presuming that the reconstruction of the creature (for instance, its type of flesh or behaviour patterns) based upon the existing fragments is exactly the same as that real, once living, reptile although a precise correspondence is undeniably the end that we seek.)

Knowing the nature of the *ballo* assists initially in understanding the notated music found for *Belriguardo*. Whereas the overall rhythmic structure of the *bassadanza* is predominantly homogeneous, that of the *ballo* is predominantly heterogeneous. (It is believed that *bassadanze* often include rhythmic sections of *saltarello* rhythm, presumably based upon the written requirements of *saltarello* to be performed, occurring within certain choreographic descriptions, but caution must be employed. Perhaps a key word (to us), for instance, that of *largo*, was not written out. For a verifiable example of this (albeit in a *bassadanza* section within a *ballo*) see the misleading character of the descriptions of MOD, SIENA, and other sources (whose

acronyms are given at the top) in row 13 of Appendix I. Here, without recourse to the notated music, or the information in DOM, the reconstructor could not refrain from arriving at an erroneous conception.) The term ballo is applied in this specific repertory to dances that have distinct parts--those parts often requiring different rhythms. These rhythms, termed misure (sing. misura), are selected from a group of four listed here in the apparent order of increasing speed regarding the dance movements (or music, or both): bassadanza, quadernaria (or quaternaria), saltarello, and piva. The 15th-century term equivalent to our modern musical bar is tempo (pl. tempi), and it generally was accompanied by a numerical adjective such as one (un), two (dui), three (tri), words representing quantities, or numerical symbols--either Roman or Arabic.

Referring to the comparative chart of the ten choreographic descriptions of Belriguardo in due (see Appendix I) we see the following rows with certain misure, tempi, or both, identified from specific sources:

row 5) saltarello with tempi 11-DOM; 12-SIENA; 15-GUG, AMB, FIR, MED, NY1, NY2, VEN; 16-Mod
row 7) bassadanza DOM and NY1
row 13) saltarello with tempi 2-largo-DOM; 2-MOD,SIENA,GUG,AMB,FIR,MED,NY1,NY2; 3-boti-VEN
row 16) saltarello with tempi 2-largo-DOM; 2-MOD,SIENA,GUG,AMB,FIR,MED,NY1,NY2; 3-boti-VEN
row 18) bassadanza with tempi 5-DOM

Because two major differing versions exist of the choreographic descriptions of the ballo Belriguardo--in due (for two [dancers]), sometimes modified by the adjective vecchio (old); and in tre (for three), sometimes modified by nuovo (new)--an assumption that the examination of the choreographic descriptions of nuovo version should likewise identify major sections of rhythms is one that is not unreasonable as a result of the observation that the same notated music apparently served both major versions. An analysis documented elsewhere of the four choreographic descriptions of this other version of Belriguardo requiring three dancers (DOM, CORN (= Rome: VAT, Cap. 203, and is by Cornazano), MOD, and SIENA) yields the results seen in the following table (using the same row numbers as derived above for easy comparison):

[row 5] saltarello with tempi 11-DOM; 16-MOD,SIENA; unspecified number-CORN
[row 7] [no misura identified here]
[row 13] saltarello with tempi 2-largi-DOM; 2-MOD,SIENA; unspecified number-CORN
[row 16] saltarello with tempi 1-CORN; 2-largi-DOM, saltarello (2nd tempo) 1-CORN
[row 18] bassadanza with tempi 6-DOM

Clearly from both analyses, two misure are identified--saltarello and bassadanza--and there are minor discrepancies regarding the number of tempi specified within a single row, corresponding to variant choreographic descriptions of Belriguardo. We can now turn to the notated music for our ballo, and others given in four of the twelve sources: DOM, CORN, GUG,

and AMB (see Appendix II).

The notated music for Belriguardo is not the best representative of that for the balli repertory found in the 15th-century Italian dance manuscripts from the viewpoint of the types of rhythmic sections utilized. Here, there is only saltarello and bassadanza, whereas sections of quadernaria and piva are found in almost all of the other twenty-odd examples.

From a further analysis of this repertory of notated music, the number of strains, 5, is somewhat typical; however, the most frequently found number of strains is 6. (The terminology "strains" indicates musical sections denoted by a bar at the beginning and at the end.) These strains often parallel choreographic figuration denoting parts, especially when there are contrasting rhythms, contrasting melodic contours, and so on. As determined earlier, each of these five strains is specified to be either in the rhythm of saltarello or of bassadanza.

Superimposing each respective strain upon the corresponding one of the other versions, we can determine similarities and contrasts among the symbols (see Appendix III). Variants in this comparative chart of superimposed strains will be indicated by numbers in brackets at the bottom and will be discussed under the corresponding headings below:

Variant [1]: DOM and GUG each have an empty longa (which can be darkened or empty) before the clef sign. This is commonly used before an F-clef (or bass clef), but such an interpretation here would make little musical sense. If an F-clef were hypothetically designated, DOM would require a C-flat (because of the placement of the flat symbol at the beginning of the line), and GUG would have an E-flat, which is not typical of the notated music of the period nor would this make sense regarding the leading-tone cadence. Statistically, the following represents the number of notated tunes that do not have a longa in comparison to the total number of notated tunes found within each of the sources with musical notation: DOM 12/15, CORN 6/7, GUG 12/13, and AMB 17/17.

Examples of notated music from some contemporary 15th-century sources that do not have these symbols before the clef sign are Oxford Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213 (c.1450) and Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Mss. Trient 87-92 (c.1475). Furthermore, usually a C-clef was indicated by either a single white or blackened symbol. This is also indicated by Tinctoris in his Expositio Manus; De clavibus (after 1477).

Considering all of these factors, it can consequently be assumed that what is intended here in all four versions is a C-clef. This is no insignificant assumption.

Variant [2]: AMB's clef sign is followed by an extra symbol. In Tinctoris's Expositio Manus; De clavibus (pg. 40 of Seay's edition, and in the later Petrucci publications, etc.) such a sign occurs together with either a darkened or empty longa on the second line from the top of the staff to symbolize an F-clef, but here it makes no sense appearing on the third line below which occurs a flat symbol. Of the total of 52 notated balli tunes found in DOM CORN GUG and AMB, this notated music of Belriguardo in AMB contains the only occurrence of such a symbol. It might be shown in the future to be musically significant, but for now it can be assumed that its presence is like the empty longa before

the clef sign in GUG and DOM shown above not to be of typical usage, and not altering the interpretation of a C-clef.

Variant [3]: DOM's music (notated as two lines in the original) has a flat sign on the g in the first line (assuming a C-clef), which is very unusual, and no flat sign at the beginning of the second line. That no flat is found at the beginning of one line of several is considered by musicologists today to be a detail commonly omitted by copyists. CORN's version lacks flats on the b at the beginning of each of the five lines of notated music, but GUG and AMB have flat signs on the b at the beginning of each of the five lines and six lines respectively. Assuming that the clef sign always symbolizes C, from a statistical analysis the following results are seen when comparing the number of notated tunes with B-flat to the total of notated tunes in each manuscript: DOM 8/15, CORN 1/7, GUG 9/13, and AMB 12/17. In part, because much of the music of this period has a notated B-flat, and much of the music found with other balli has notated B-flats, this music was probably performed with the B-flat, but somehow in the transmission of tune as it is found in DOM and CORN, the B-flat was confused. Consequently, it can be assumed that the intent in all four versions was for a sounded B-flat.

The implications derived from these early observations are that one cannot follow in a puristic manner the directions of the notated music (nor, as seen later, of the written dance action) within any single treatise. A claimant to the contrary would have to defend positions in problematic areas such as we have just seen regarding the meanings of the clef symbols and use of flats. If a single problematic area is explained away as a scribal error, then there is no justification to exclude the possibility of other scribal errors, for instance, such as an omission of material. To claim that Domenico's version is accurate apparently requires one to use an F-clef, a C-flat, and so forth, and relatedly, the same is true regarding other variant details of other versions. Furthermore, to claim that a certain variant choreographic description is complete in itself (as one might do for NY2) and then use the notated music that is found in another source seems incongruent. If the choreographic events are to be different, why would not the sounded music be similarly different?

Our music is one of thirteen (of a total of twenty-three notated balli tunes) without a rhythm sign in the first strain in any one of the four possible sources. Because of the placement of the puntus divisionis (dot of division) and a comparison of other strains identified to be of saltarello rhythm, one can assume that the implied rhythmic mode of the notation is tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta (6/8 meter, or equivalent.)

Variants [4,5,and 6]: AMB has semiminimae (sing. semiminima, henceforth Sm, or perhaps these should be thought of as darkened minimae?) at the corresponding location where the other versions have minimae (henceforth M), and this is unintelligible according to the current interpretations of 15th-century notation. In other notated tunes of AMB that have strains identifiable as saltarello, we see the use of M . One therefore could reasonably assume, based on the use of the puntus divisionis with the

implied rhythmic mode of tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta, that a M was intended here and not a Sm.

An alternate interpretation can be proposed regarding the significance of the Sm used in AMB--that this might indicate the third unit of a triplet occurring on the second beat of a three-beat pattern (9/8) (this hypothesis will be elaborated below). That there is ambiguity in the notational practices of the period is undeniable.

We notice that the second strain of notated music is similar to the first in melodic contour and notation. This observation, together with the absence of any symbol designating a change of rhythmic mode, leads one to assume that we still have the rhythm of saltarello--an assumption that is credible based on the analysis of the other notated tunes. A similar "poetic" use of an opening statement repeated three times and a closing statement that is similar--forming a section of four phrases--is seen at the beginning of Anello, Gelosia, and in others. (See I. Brainard's doctoral dissertation of 1956, page 316, for an alternate hypothesis of this second strain and its relationship to the step-units specified in DOM's choreographic description.)

Variants [7,8,and 10]: Similar to the use of Sm in AMB's first strain, the same interpretation applies: they 1) are obscure according to the commonly-held modern interpretation of 15th-century notation, or 2) possibly indicate the third unit of a triplet occurring on the second beat of three-beat pattern.

Variant [9]: The numeral 1 under CORN in this second strain is redundant, meaning that the strain was to be played once--the same as if there were no number or other indication.

The rhythm symbol in the third strain together with the different melodic contour and patterns, most likely indicates the beginning of a section with a rhythm differing from that of the preceding. Thus, before considering this third strain which is probably (predicted from the above analyses of misure and tempi for Belriguardo) of bassadanza rhythm, we can direct our attention to the number of tempi found in the first two notated strains determined by the author to be of saltarello rhythm.

Assuming the rhythmic mode of tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta and using the modern interpretation of the notation, for DOM CORN and GUG (and probably AMB), there appear to be three patterns or groups consisting of a semibrevis (henceforth S), M M, and another S; and a fourth group consisting of S S. The number three occurring at the end of Domenico's line and under the others is a standard way of indicating the number of times the strain was to be played. Thus, from this train of reasoning, there would be twelve groups--tempi--or "modern bars" in the first strain, and by a similar process, four more in the second, totaling sixteen.

Based upon the explanation of the rhythmical system by early theorists, this notated pattern of S M M S would be transcribed today in a compound duple meter, for instance, in 6/8: ♩ ♪♪♪ , (or similarly, such as 6/4). But there is also reason to believe that this notated pattern could be transcribed in two other manners, based upon the apparent intentions of the 15th-century dance theory and practice, for instance, in 3/4: ♩ ♫ ♩ ; and

in 9/8: ♩. ♩ ♪ ♩. , (or correspondingly similar meters). Such a hypothesis is different from some of the views held in the past (see Appendix IV), and the author feels compelled to critically justify this interpretation.

Using these last two manners (in triple meter) for interpreting the notation, hemiola would be demonstrated in the final tempo (of S S) in each of the two strains, functioning as a rhythmical cadence. Thus, in each of the first two strains within the author's hypothesis, there would be three tempi, each with three beats, and one tempo with two beats. Hemiola making good musical sense here, and consistent with other musical examples of the period, would not be apparent if the music were interpreted as duple and hypothetically transcribed as 6/8, 6/4, 6/2, 2/4, or other meters similar in nature. In the strains of the transcriptions of those hypotheses of duple meter, there would be four tempi each with two beats, not apparently as artistically sophisticated as tempi forming a phrase demonstrating hemiola.

Justification for the interpretation of the rhythmical nature of the saltarello to be predominantly in three is given by Cornazano (line 1131) in reference to a tenor line that he claims is to be given tre botte per nota (three beats or accents for a note) for saltarello. There are several ways to interpret this passage: 1) maybe Cornazano did not know what he was writing about--which is the ultimate manner of sidestepping the issue, and will not be seriously considered, 2) that there are three notes sounded by an instrument, for example, possibly those notes falling on the rhythmical stress equivalent to first, third, and fourth eight-notes of the six contained within a bar of 6/8, or realized in a related hypothetical manner, or 3) that there are three primary beats, such as quarter notes in a 3/4 meter, or dotted quarter notes in a 9/8 meter.

The second interpretation of three sounded-notes is weak if we look for justification in practice--because the predominate pattern is of four notes, of S M M S . (It can be reasonably assumed that the musical practice of saltarello in the strains of the notated music for balli would be similar to that of entire dances (apparently referred to by Cornazano) consisting only of the saltarello rhythm.)

The third interpretation is credible based on several observations: 1) DOM (line 422 of the original) mentions a third beat of the second tempo de saltarello, possibly implying the meter of 3/4 or 9/8, 2) CORN (line 422) writes saltarello perfetto magiore, implying a meter of 9/8, 3) DOM (line 141) writes saltarello de mazore perfetto, implying a meter of 9/8, 4) VEN (line 55) mentions 3 boti de satarelo, and 5) the misura of saltarello identified in rows of similar comparative charts of other balli--Mercantia, Sobria, and Verceppe--and corresponding to notated music with similar rhythmic patterns is clearly to be interpreted as tripartite (see Appendix V). This tripartite interpretation of the notated music is derived in part from the rhythmic sign of tempus perfectum cum prolatione imperfecta (implying a meter of 3/4, however, it may have been a convention of notation that was actually realized by the 15th-century musicians as 9/8).

That there may have been conventions for notating certain rhythms, conventions that were perfectly intelligible to dance masters and musicians five hundred years ago, but which are confusing to us today, is a plausible explanation for the reason why the notation symbol of tempus perfectum cum prolatione perfecta (9/8), or that of tempus perfectum cum prolatione imperfecta (3/4) was not standardly used.

The hypothesis could exist, asserting that the rhythm of the saltarello music was variable--that a saltarello could be of duple or triple meter, either simple or compound--but this is a position that can only weakly be defended. (This statement, however, does not propound that the characteristic movements associated with the saltarello rhythm could not be modified to be performed in other rhythms, and vice versa--this is a different matter entirely.) As we see historically for a short period of twenty-five years within the longer lifespan of use for almost any rhythm, be it a minuet or waltz, major differences of meter rarely exist.

It is furthermore unreasonable to think that Domenico himself would not use the term saltarello with a consistency of meaning (even though the notational practices vary within his treatise, as do those of his music within other treatises). If one claims that he did not maintain a constant conception of the rhythm and action associated with the word saltarello, how can one determine what other rhythms, step-units, technical terminology, and so forth, were not also varied in conception? This author currently maintains that it was the manner of symbolizing the intangible--the audible sounds that existed in measured time--that varied for the notation of the same music from source to source. The same hypothesis applies to the notation of the same rhythm (for instance, that of saltarello) from piece to piece within a treatise. Neither did the conceptions of the intangible movements or related concepts associated and symbolized with words, such as saltarello, or doppio, change as building blocks under Domenico, Cornazano, and, probably, Guglielmo, even though new blocks were added, and were organized with the former ones in new manners.

The hypothesis that the rhythm of saltarello was tripartite can reasonably explain the disparity of facts in the form of musical notation or written words, creating a synthesis of these facts into a coherent picture of the reconstructed musical and dance practice. That of duple remains to be convincingly demonstrated to explain the disparity. Thus, the hypothesis of a triple meter assigned to the rhythm--or quality--of saltarello, appearing to be the most defensible of the alternatives, is critically assumed. We can now address the relationship of the quantity of units determined from the analysis of the notated music to the number needed according to the choreographic descriptions.

How might the varying quantities of tempi identified previously for the first rhythm--that of saltarello (seen in row 5 in the chart of Appendix I)--be reconciled with the interpretation of the music of 16 tempi? The author proposes the following hypothesis:

The designation of 16 (in MOD) refers to the total tempi of the saltarello rhythm that the dancers and musicians have for the first rhythmic section (consisting of two strains). There is a specification however that at the end, a ripresa is performed (see row 6). Thus we can surmise that before this ripresa probably requiring one tempo, there were fifteen saltarello steps (confirmed in other sources in the following discussion).

That of 15 refers only to the number of saltarello step-units performed, utilizing 15 tempi of the rhythm. These 15 units, together with a ripresa requiring one tempo, add up to 16, and it appears that the writers were viewing the same subject matter, but describing it from a different perspective. The ripresa is specified in two of the choreographic descriptions (in NY1 and NY2), specifying the quantity 15 tempi or pasi, but is omitted in five (in GUG AMB FIR MED and VEN). Perhaps the writers took this step-unit for granted; otherwise, were the dancers merely to shuffle around during the 16th tempo? To claim that the music was similarly altered (to 15) is unjustifiable because GUG and AMB (without the ripresa) transmit notated music for 16 tempi as has been shown earlier.

The designation of 12 (in SIENA) may be explained by one proposition as a copy error with a change of the "v" in xvi to "i" in xii, and such a charge of inattentiveness can be justified on the basis of an apparent mixup by some copyist seen in choreographic description of Gioioso (SIENA line 2806). In another proposition, the number 12 having religious significance and found in many guises, even in the number of alloted step-units in dance theory according to DOM and CORN, could hypothetically have been the total number of tempi di saltarello. Perhaps at an early performance of the dance, Domenico originally wanted the first strain to be played only twice; the resulting eight tempi with the four of the second strain would total 12. Or possibly there was only the first strain played through three times without the existence of the current second strain which poetically completes the musical thought; there are many strains designated to be played three times in other notated balli tunes. But how can we justify this speculation on the basis of the existing notated music for Belriguardo? The designation 11 (in DOM) adds some credibility to this former explanation of 12--that perhaps at one point in time, fewer saltarello units were required--but DOM's notated music clearly calls for 16 tempi, and this contradiction discredits the proposition. Furthermore, from an analysis of the repertory, there exists no notated music similar to that speculated upon above to give any credence to the proposition. This same argument applies to the following related number.

The number 11 (in DOM) implies that there would be one missing tempo (since at the very least, there are twelve tempi in the first strain); would this be used for a ripresa? If so, why wasn't the ripresa written down? How did the ripresa come into being within the four choreographic descriptions in which it is specified to occur as part of the movement events if it was not an invention of Domenico? Since reference to the ripresa is missing in Domenico's choreographic description, does this mean

that he or a copyist overlooked it? Was it assumed? If the reconstructor claims that there is to be no ripresa, how does he or she justify the assignment of the step-units to the tempi?

On the basis of the above reasoning, the reconstruction hypothesis for Belriguardo in due that assigns 15 saltarello step-units to the first 15 tempi of the notated music, and a ripresa to the 16th tempo is the most reasonable.

The next major section of the Belriguardo is that of bassadanza rhythm; but the allowed space for discussion of the reconstruction is nearly exhausted. However, a similar process with reasoning that can be publically examined was used by the author to determine the rest of the transcribed music and its relationship to the step-units and step-actions to be performed (see Appendix VI for transcription and step assignment).

Of two available methods for the reconstruction processes of Belriguardo in due--the use of only one source, or use of some or all pertinent sources--one can conclude that the latter method requiring the examination of all of the relevant sources and then forming a picture of the events of the music and of the dance is the one most defensible. Thus, if a reconstructor literally accepts at face value the physical evidence of one extant notated example of music or one extant written choreographic description, he or she is likely to come to conclusions seen in the living reconstruction that may be further from the original intention to a greater degree than a completely collated version.

We have seen above that the amount of saltarello specified at the beginning of the choreographic descriptions cannot be understood without an analysis of the others and one of the notated music. But the notated music exists only in three (DOM, GUG, and AMB) of the nine sources (recall that CORN has notated music to accompany the version for three dancers, but does not contain the version for two dancers) that also contain choreographic descriptions of Belriguardo in due, thus a purist could only justifiably consider three for reconstruction purposes. Of those three, if, for instance, we literally accept the information from the choreographic descriptions of GUG and AMB, then the dancers must perform saltarello, a faster step-unit associated with a faster rhythm (see rows 13 and 16 in Appendix I), instead of the step-unit slowed down to fit with the rhythm of bassadanza as we see in DOM--saltarello largo--required also by implication as a result of the interpretation of the notated music. If we accept DOM literally, his music will have a strange scale underlying it and will create more tempi than the choreographic description requires (even if we literally accept his 3 doppi as 3 doppi requiring 3 tempi and not as 3 contrapassi in 2 tempi as is warranted by results of a complete analysis and reconstruction of all balli). For Belriguardo in due, we can only claim that the reconstruction hypothesis aligns with the spirit of the period at best through the use of information derived from all relevant sources. We must accept uncertainty and the possibility that there are alternate readings that may be viable.

The modern student and scholar demands documentation regarding the decision-making process of reconstruction. We need to critically examine our hypotheses.

APPENDIX I:

COMPARATIVE CHART OF THE CHOREOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTIONS OF THE

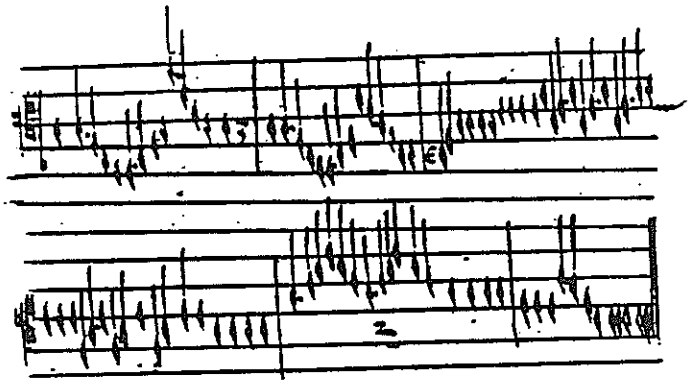
chant non no.	Turin, XIIc fonds It. 972 (Bonanius) [=XIII]	Modena: S Bonaventura, s.l.94 [=XIII]	Siena: S Commodo, L.V.29 [=XIIIA]	Paris: BN, fonds It. 973 (Guglielmo) [=XIV]	Paris: BN, fonds It. 476 (Antonio) [=XVI]
1.	Balangamento in Balle	Ballo chiamato balangamento	Ballo chiamato rigonda	BALLO CHIAMATO BALLIGRANO	BALLO CHIAMATO BALLIGRANO
2.	cioè con basse e una dama.	dal ballano	dan ballano	IN DOE	IN DOE
3.				DE MENDE DOBLANO	
4.					
5.	Ll.Ripiglia fano tempi XI de saltarello ex adunati en	Ripiglia et fa xvi tempi di saltarello	Inprima et fa xii tempi di saltarello	Inprima quindici tempi di saltarello et fanno ed.	Inprima quindici tempi di saltarello & fanno
6.		et fanno po sul fianc una riprenza in sul pie dritto	et fanno poi sul fianc una riprenza in sul pie dritto		
7.	Tornano dopoi quatro de bassadanza fanno ammanato al pede sinistro e fanno fianc al dritto	poy si partino con quatro doppii	poi si partino con quatro doppii	et poi fanno quatro doppii cominciando dal pie sinistro.	& poi fanno quatro doppii cominciando Dal pie sinistro
8.	e poi fano doppii tri sono al pede sinistro finendo sono diano pede	et tre contrapassi sul pie sinistro	et tre contrapassi sul pie sinistro	Apresso fanno tre doppii sul sinistro	Appresso fanno Tri doppii sul sinistro
9.	e più tempii dal saltarello con lo pede dritto e fanno fianc dal sinistro	Poi si fa dui tempii cominciando sul dritto	poi si fa tempii cominciando sul dritto	& dui tempi dal dritto.	& dui tempii dal Dritto
10.	e fano doppii tri sono al pe dritto fanno fianc dal sinistro pede				& poi tri passi doppii cominciando Dal dritto
11.	poi fano due reprenze una sono al pe sinistro e laltra sono al dritto	e fanno due riprenze. La prima in sul sinistro	et fanno due riprenze. La prima in sul sinistro	et poi dui riprenze luna sul sinistro et laltra sul dritto.	& poi dui Riprenze luna sul Sinistro & laltra sul dritto
12.	[illegible]				
13.	e tempi dui de saltarello largo cominciando con lo pe sinistro e fanno fianc dal dritto	e poi fa dui tempi di saltarello	et poi fa dun tempi di saltarello	Apresso fanno dui tempi di saltarello cominciando dal sinistro	Appresso Fanno dui tempi di saltarello cominciando Dal sinistro
14.	con due reprenze una sono al pe sinistro e laltra sono al dritto	con do riprenze	con dun riprenze	con due altre riprenze luna sul sinistro e llaltra sul dritto.	con dun altre Riprenze luna sul sinistro & laltra sul dritto
15.	e fano una movimento				
16.	con tempi dui de saltarello largo cominciando dal pe sinistro e fanno fianc dal dritto	et con dui altri tempi di saltarello	et con dun altri tempi di saltarello	et anchora fanno dui tempi di saltarello	& Ancora fanno dui tempi di saltarello
17.	con due reprenze cominciando sul pe sinistro	con dun altra riprenze	con dun altra riprenze	con dun riprenze luna sul sinistro e llaltra sul dritto.	Con dun Riprenze luna sul sinistro & laltra sul dritto
18.	e poi fano tempi cinque de bassadanza cioè				
19.	passi dui sempii cominciando dal pe sinistro	poi si partono con dui sempii	poi si partono con dun sempii	et poi fanno dui passi sempii	& poi fanno dui Passi sempii
20.	et uno doppio sono dicto pe	et uno doppio	et uno doppio	et un doppio cominciando dal sinistro	& un doppio cominciando Dal sinistro
21.	con uno passo di reverentia				
22.	et una reprenza sono al pe dritto	et una riprenza in sul pie dritto	et una riprenza in sul pie dritto	et una riprenza sul dritto.	& una Riprenza sul dritto
23.	e sustinentia dun cominciando y dal pe sinistro	con quatro sustinentia.	con quatro sustinentia.	Et poi quatro sustinenza.	E poi quatro sustinentia
24.	et una reverentia sono dicto pe dove comincia con tempo de Bassadanza				
25.	fine				FINE

BALLO BELRIGUARDO IN DUE

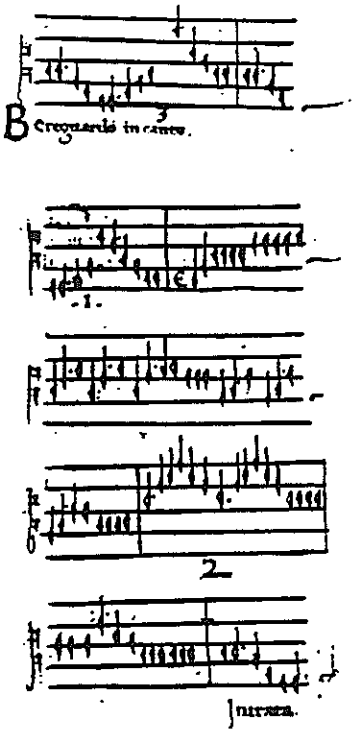
Firenze: BNC, mgl. XIX 68 [#918]	Firenze: B Nazionale Laurenziana, Ashburnham 13 [#909]	New York: NYPL, MGZB-Res. 72-254 [#917]	New York: NYPL MGZB-Res. 72-254 [#917]	Venice: B Marc., It.XI.34. (=6906) [#911]
BALLO CHIAMATO BELRIGUARDO	ball'e chiamato berlignardo	balo chiamato berlignardo	balete chiamato berlignardo nuovo	Roroquado
IN DUA	in dua	in dua	in duo	
CHIPOSTO PER MADONA LOVISA	chiposto pe madona donnalisa	chiposto per madar lovisa	chiposto per madar lovisa	
		e vuoglio ve balline		
Inprim quindici tempi di saltarello et fiamme	Inprim chinndici tempi di saltarello e fiamme	Inprim quindici tempi di saltarelo chominando chol pie manchu	Inprim vano insieme quindici tempi di saltarelo	si va 15 passi da saltarelo
		poi facimo una riprese in sul pie ritto	poi facimo una riprese in sul pie ritto	
et poi facimo quattro passi doppi cominciando chol pie manchu et finendo dal pie ritto	e poi facimo quatro passi doppi chominando chol pie manchu finendo dal pie ritto	poi vadano quatro doppi in bandonna chominando chol pie manchu	poi hanno vadi solo dua passi dopi innanzi chominando chol pie manchu e fanni si poi la donna lo vadi a trovare con dua passi doppi chominando chol pie manchu	e poi 4 dopi
et poi facimo quattro contrapassi cominciando col pie manchu	e poi facimo quattro chontrapassi chominando chol pie manchu	poi facimo quatro chontrapassi chominando chol pie manchu	poi hanno vadi pure solo quatro chontrapassi chominando chol pie manchu e voltisi inverso la donna	et poi 3 contrapassi su pa canon
et poi facimo dua passi sciampi cominciando col pie ritto	e poi facimo dua passi sciampi chominando chol pie ritto	poi dua passi sciampi chominando chol pie ritto	e facimo tutti e dua insieme dua chontrapassie	e poi 2 passi sempi
et poi facimo quattro contrapassi cominciando col pie ritto	facimo quattro chontrapassi chominando chominando chol pie ritto	poi quatro chontrapassi chominando chol pie ritto	poi la donna va a trovare homo chon quatro chontrapassi chominando chol pie ritto e piglianni per mano	e 3 contrapassi si ta pa drace e 3 ou canon
et poi facimo dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu et laltra in sul pie ritto	e pi facimo dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu e laltra in sul pie ritto	poi facimo dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu laltra in sul pie ritto	e facimo dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu laltra in sul pie ritto	e la represe
et poi facimo dua tempi di saltarello cominciando col pie manchu	e poi facimo dua tempi di saltarello chominando chol pie manchu	poi facimo dua tempi di saltarelo	poi si piglino per la mano ritta e vadino tondi chon dua tempi di saltarelo chominando chol pie manchu tanto che cachamo tornai al suo luogho	e poi e 3 boti de saterelo
et poi facimo dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu et laltra in sul pie ritto	e poi facimo dua riprese hana in su pe manchu e laltra in sul pie ritto	e dua riprese chominando chol pie manchu	e facimo dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu laltra in sul pie ritto	con la represe
et poi facimo dua altri tempi di saltarello	e poi facimo dua altri tempi di saltarello	poi facimo pure dua tempi di saltarelo	poi si piglino per la mano manchu e vadino tondi chon dua tempi di saltarelo chominando chol pie manchu tanto che cachamo tornai al suo luogho	e poi 3 boti de saterelo
et dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu e llaltra in sul pie ritto	e dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu e laltra in sul pie ritto	e dua riprese chominando chol pie manchu	e facimo pure dua riprese hana in sul pie manchu laltra in sul pie ritto	con la represe
et poi facimo dua passi sciampi	poi facimo dua passi sciampi	poi facimo dua passi sciampi	poi vadano diritto insieme chon dua passi sciampi	e poi 2 passi sempi
et uno doppio cominciando col pie manchu	e uno doppio chominando chol pie manchu	e uno doppio chominando chol pie manchu	e uno dopio chominando chol pie manchu	e doi dopi
	e poi una riverenza in su pie ritto		poi facimo una voltatonda chon dua passi sciampi chominando chol pie ritto	
et poi una riprese in sul pie ritto		poi facimo una riprese in sul pie ritto	e una riprese in sul pie ritto	co una represe
et poi dua contrapassi	e poi dua chontrapassi	poi facimo dua chontrapassie	poi facimo dua chontrapassie	e doi contrapassi
		poi facimo una riverenzia in sul pie manchu		
Finita et poi la rifacimo e lla donna vadia innanzi	finitta e poi la rifacimo e la donna vadia innanzi	e e finita e rifacilla un altra volta da chapo e la donna vadia innanzi	e e finita e rifacilla un altra volta da chapo e la donna vadia innanzi	

APPENDIX II:
ORIGINAL NOTATION (REDUCED IN SIZE) OF THE NOTATED MUSIC FOR <u>BELRIGUARDO</u> (SMITH

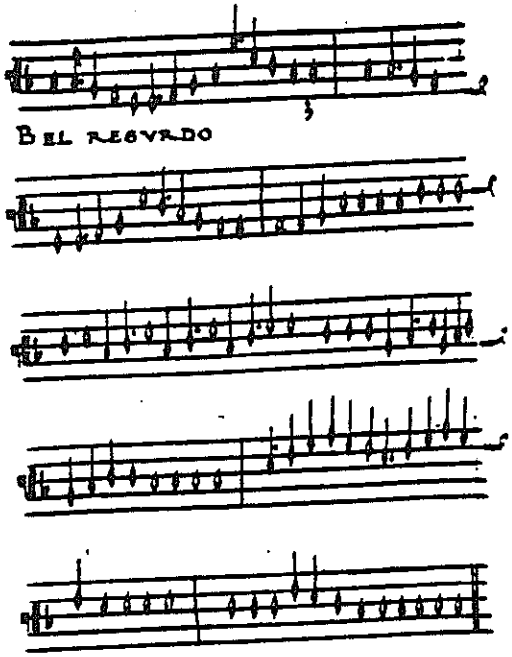
DOM



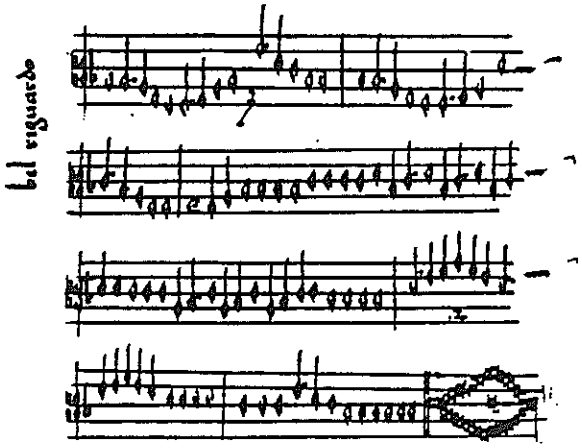
CORN



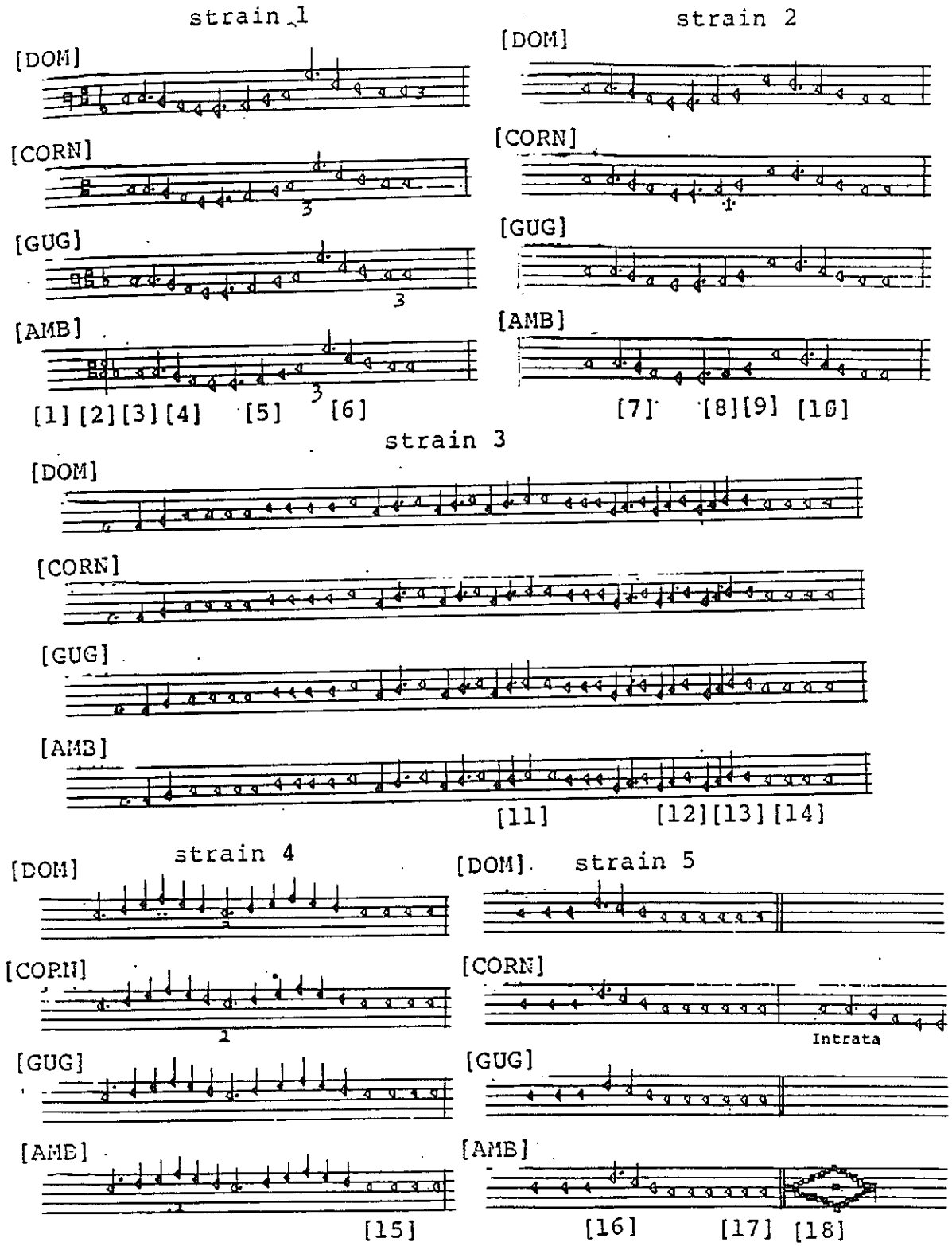
GUG



AMB

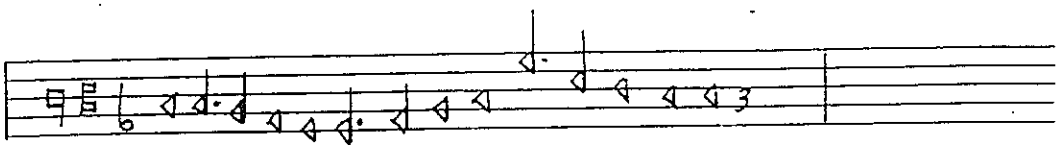


APPENDIX III:
SUPERIMPOSED STRAINS OF THE NOTATED MUSIC FOR BELRIGUARDO

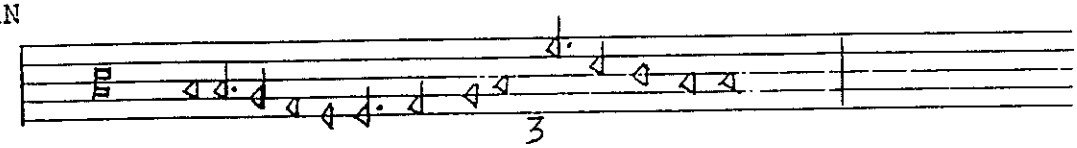


APPENDIX IV:
COMPARISON OF THE MUSICAL NOTATION OF THE 1ST STRAIN OF DOM CORN GUG AMB TO MODERN TRANSCRIPTIONS

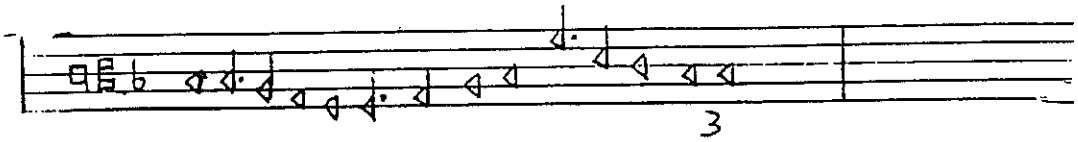
DOM



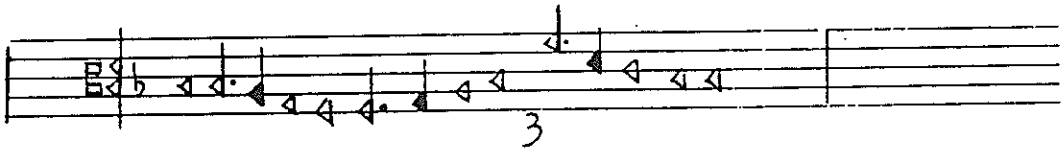
CORN



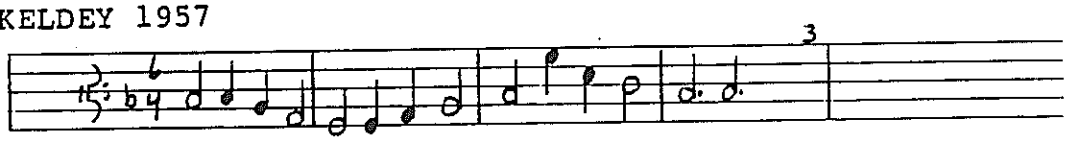
GUG



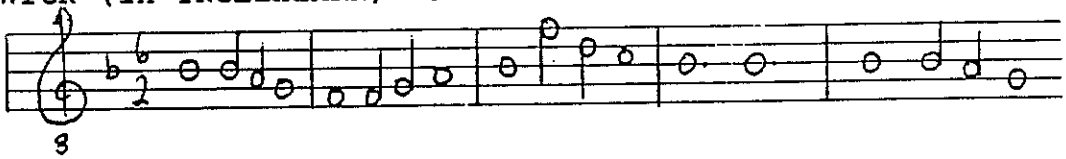
AMB



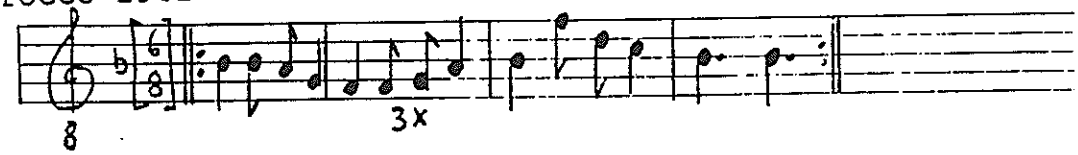
KINKELDEY 1957



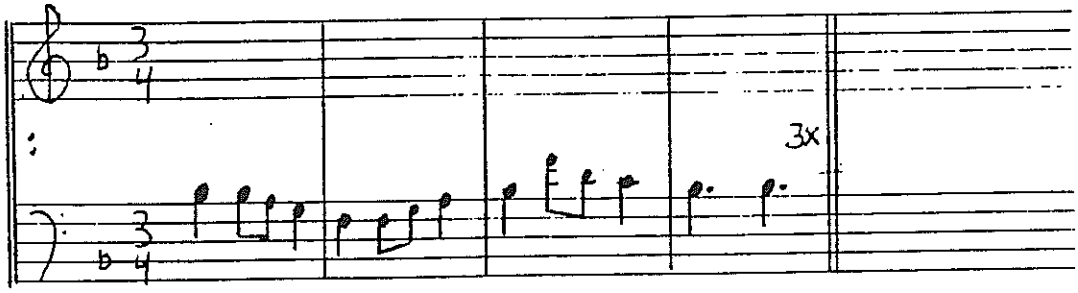
CRISWICK (in INGLEHEARN) 1981



Marrocco 1981



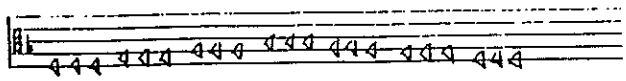
SMITH 1987



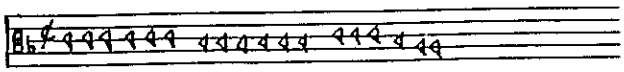
APPENDIX V:

IDENTIFICATION OF NOTATED STRAINS OF SALTARELLO

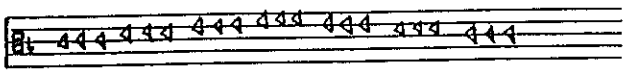
Colonnese (strain 1), GUG's version



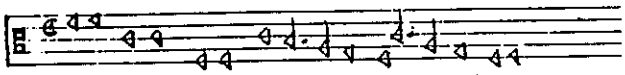
Gioioso (strain 3), AMB's version



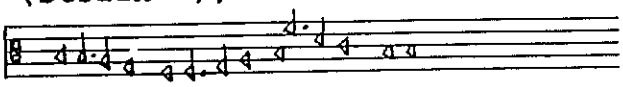
Ligiadra (strain 1), AMB's version



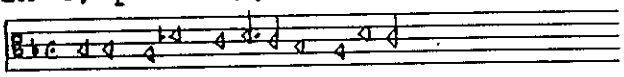
Spero (strain 4), GUG's version



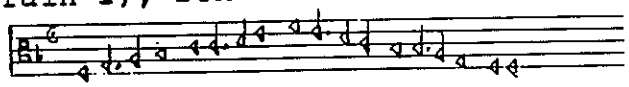
Belriguardo (strain 1), CORN's version



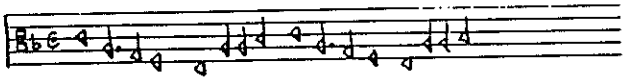
Giove (strain 4, part i), DOM's version



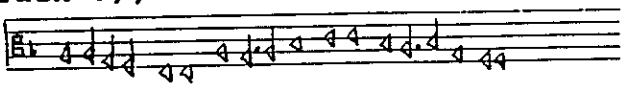
Ingrata (strain 1), DOM's version



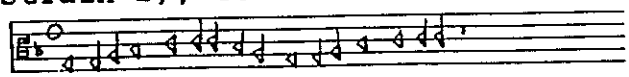
Ingrata (strain 3, part ii), GUG's version



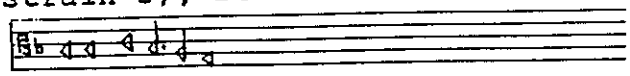
Ingrata (strain 6), AMB's version



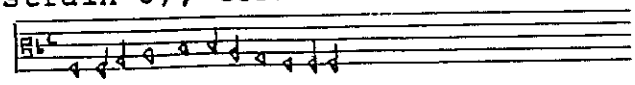
Mercantia (strain 1), CORN's version



Mercantia (strain 5), DOM's version



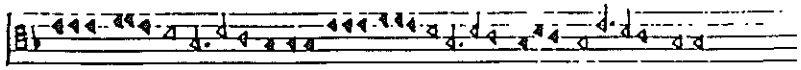
Mercantia (strain 6), CORN's version



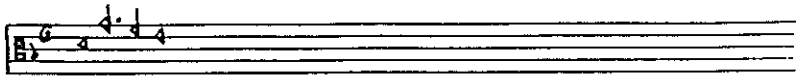
APPENDIX V: (continued)

IDENTIFICATION OF NOTATED STRAINS OF SALTARELLO

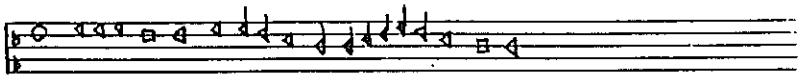
Pizzochara (strain 6), GUG's version



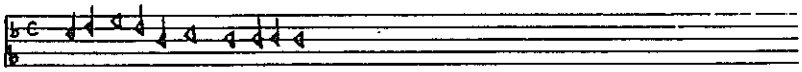
Presonera (strain 8), DOM's version



Sobria (strain 1), DOM's version



Sobria (strain 6, part ii), DOM's version



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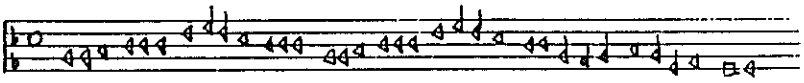

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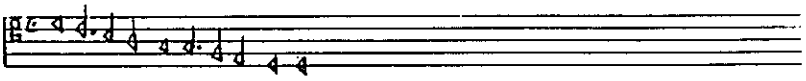
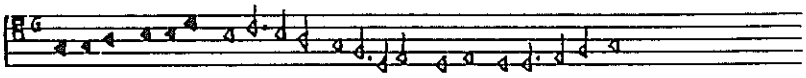
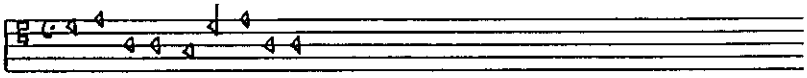


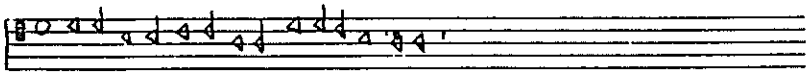
Tesara (strain 7), DOM's version



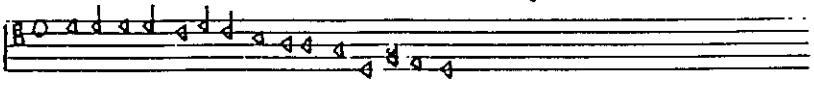
Tesara (strain 9, part ii, and 10), DOM's version



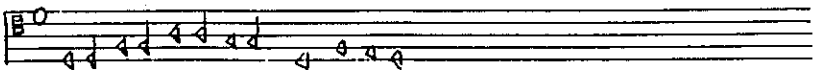
Verzeppe (strain 1), DOM's version



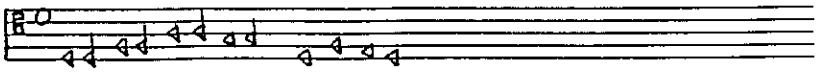
Verzeppe (strain 4), DOM's version



Verzeppe (strain 6), DOM's version



Verzeppe (strain 8), DOM's version



APPENDIX VI:
TRANSCRIPTION OF MUSICAL NOTATION FOR BELRIGUARDO AND ASSIGNMENT OF STEP-UNITS OR STEP-ACTIONS TO TEMPI

Saltarello
♩ = mm 116

12 step-units of saltarello beg. L

3x:

3 more step-units of saltarello

ripresa R

Bassadanza
♩ = mm 92

4 doppi beg. L

3 contrapassi beg. L

2 sempi beg. R

3 contrapassi beg. R

2 riprese beg. L

movimento

(2) step-units of saltarello performed more slowly in bassadanza beg. L

movimento (1st time through)

2 riprese beg. L

2x

da capo

2 sempi beg. L

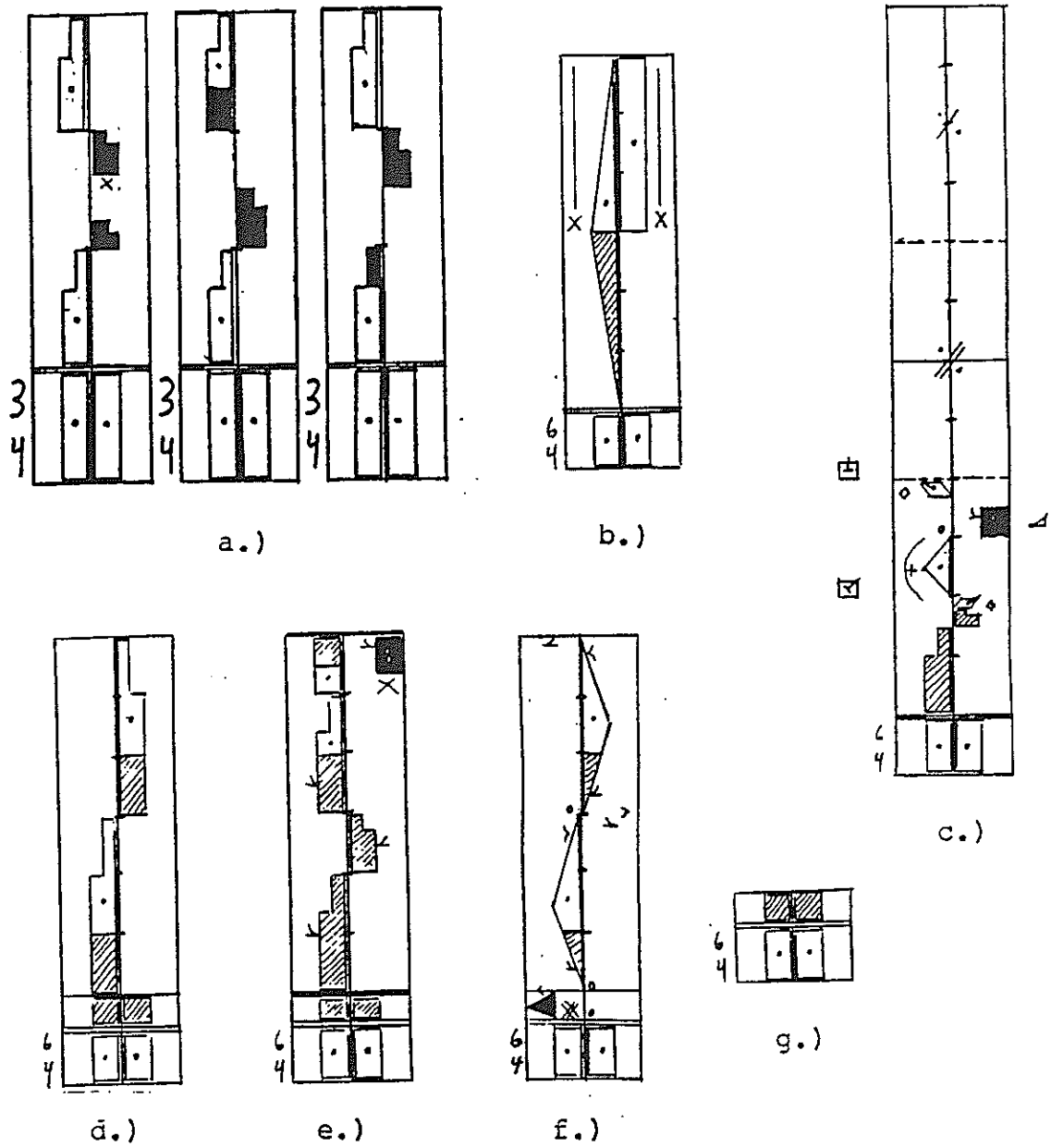
doppio beg. L

ripresa beg. R

2 continentie beg. L

riverentia beg. L

APPENDIX VII:
STEP RECONSTRUCTION IN LABANOTATION



a.) three proposals for the saltarello step-unit of one tempo beginning L, b.) ripresa of one tempo in bassadanza (henceforth "bd.") beg. L, c.) 3 contrapassi of two tempi in bd. beg. L, d.) 2 sempi of one tempo in bd., beg. L, e.) doppio of one tempo in bd. beg. L, f.) 2 continentie of one tempo in bd., beg. L, g.) movimento of "no" tempo in bd.

APPENDIX VI: (continued)

NOTES REGARDING THE TRANSCRIPTION OF MUSICAL NOTATION FOR BELRIGUARDO AND THE ASSIGNMENT OF STEP-UNITS OR STEP-ACTIONS TO TEMPI

It has not been adequately demonstrated that the relationship 6:5:4:3 for the misure should be interpreted rigorously regarding speed (see O. Kinkeldey's conception in "Dance Tunes of the Fifteenth Century" in Instrumental Music: A Conference at Isham Memorial Library May 4, 1957, ed. D. Hughes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), page 15). It is quite possible that these numbers represented sixths in Domenico's chart, and thus, were schematic rather than prescriptive. That saltarello was faster, but not to the degree that two tempi were equivalent to one of bassadanza, is a justifiable conclusion. Hence, the metronomic markings suggested for saltarello and bassadanza can be altered appropriately.

There is no definitive hypothesis regarding the performance of the balli tunes. The author's notation is intended to suggest the possibility that there were at least two musicians, that the one improvised according to the conventions of the day to the structure formed by the latter--here playing the notated melody transcribed as a tenor.

At the beginning of the dance, the man probably holds the woman's left hand in his right. There is no definitive thesis how this was done. He is probably responsible, at least, for the path the dancers take during the opening saltarello section, leading the woman probably in a counterclockwise manner around the hall.

A summary of the steps in the reconstruction hypothesis for nine sources (with the exception of NY2) is as follows:

15 step-units of saltarello L R L R (and so on)
1 ripresa R (still in saltarello rhythm)
4 doppi L R L R (these and the following in bassadanza rhythm)
3 contrapassi L R L
2 sempi R L
3 contrapassi R L R
2 riprese L R, with a movimento occurring at the end (of R's)
2 step-units of saltarello largo L R
2 riprese L R, with a movimento occurring at the end (of R's)
2 step-units of saltarello largo L R
2 riprese L R
2 sempi L R
1 doppio L, acknowledging partner with respect
1 ripresa R
2 continentie L R
1 riverentia L

The man and woman exchange places and repeat the entire sequence from the beginning with the woman leading.

THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE

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Artistic expression is the result of a dialectical mutuality of person and period. Isadora Duncan is at one and the same time Isadora Duncan and the product of an epoch, to whose cultural development she belongs.

The person Isadora Duncan and her time, the beginning of the 20th century, have been the subject of many studies, as has been her theoretical work, and which, unlike her dance, is documented in writing and always recallable. This work annotates problems, as well as answers relevant to her life and art.

Individual treatises have been less often examined as isolated entities. In dealing specifically with Isadora's first treatise THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE, published in 1903 and in a second edition in 1929[1], I proceed from the assumption that this lecture is a fraction of the whole corpus of her work, as well as being the theoretical translation of a particular stage in the development of her artistic practise at the beginning of this century.

Some historians have been engaged with the specific American 'succession' of THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE. I mention as representative of these, Nancy Lee Ruyter[2], who has examined singular aspects, such as the Delsarte-reception

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1) Isadora Duncan: Der Tanz der Zukunft. Eine Vorlesung übersetzt und eingeleitet von Karl Federn. Leipzig 1903 Jena ²1929

2) Nancy Lee Ruyter: Reformers and Visionaries. The Americanisation of Dance. New York 1979

in the USA, and the influence of Walt Whitman on Isadora. It is not my intention to pursue these very salient points; I ask you however to bear them in mind, while, after a summary of the contents, I attempt to identify the peculiar European and German elements of the 'Zeitgeist', the spirit of the epoch.

According to Isadora, THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE is at the same time the dance of the past, the dance that was, and will be the same throughout eternity. It is the archetypal rhythm, the archetypal movement of Nature, of the Cosmos. When the movement of the universe is concentrated in an individual being, it manifests itself in him a Will. Since the cosmic archetypal rhythm projects itself in Nature, the new dance must have its orientation here. The art of (ancient) Greece functions as prototype, since for Isadora it is expression and veneration of nature, the totality of body, spirit, soul, a paradigm of individual harmonious movement, corresponding to natural development.
The aspect of the natural, equated with the concepts of the individual, evolutionary and the beautiful, produce, according to Isadora, the (female) dancer of the future, in whom she wishes to see Nature, Women and their original strength realised. In the liberation of woman from the bonds of civilisation - through dance movements as the expression of the individual Will - she in turn achieves the archetypal rhythm of Nature as a metaphysical conception. Through movement, the unity of body, nature and cosmos is achieved: it transforms nudity, the feminine, the body, Nature, the earth, from the material into the spiritual realm.

THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE, which was first published in 1903 as response to a controversial discussion in the Berlin press, is prefaced, in both editions, by Karl Federn. While Federn's 1903 introduction is written like a objective, his essay for the second edition hymn though 1928/29 is an hommage to Isadora, in which he does not deter from the very personal. Thus he describes the course of his acquaintance with Isadora, whom he accompanies as 'amateur impresario' on her tour to Paris in 1904. Their subsequent meetings are less often , they maintain contact however. Federn says about the initial years of their friendship:

> "During 1903 and 1904, I was almost daily in her company and that of her siblings, who were all singularly individual and very gifted. I have had such brilliant conversations with very few people. This characteristic mixture of an extreme enthusiasm for the culture of classical Greece and German philosophy on the one hand and a free, secure, youthful American spirit was exiting and fertile; this total devotion to her idea demanded friendship and support." (²1929)

The influence of the journalist, literary man, novellist, romancier and translator Karl Federn on Isadora (and hers on him) is nowhere documented in detail and remains speculative. Given the symbiotic intensity of their encounter however, there must have been intellectual exchange, particularly since Federn deals in his numerous publications explicitly with the problem era of art theory and aesthetics, and refers, in the 1928/9 preface of THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE, to the fact that he translated the Dance Hymn from Nietzsche's Zarathustra for Isadora, "... the result was that we read the Zarathustra together" (²1929).

According to Schopenhauer, a precondition for the artistic-creative power is contemplative immersion, which excludes both, causal/rational thinking, as well as sensory perception. Although this aspect is not present in Isadora's work (she proceeds from a visual model and her thought process is entirely causal), Federn incorporates it in his book DAS ÄSTHETISCHE PROBLEM / THE AESTHETIC PROBLEM 1928: he alludes to a mythical plane between reality and phantasy without which artistic creation is impossible.

In the preface to THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE 1928 [19] too, Federn relates that Isadora did not have the habit of systematically documenting her thoughts; rather she noted or dictated them hurriedly, leaving the detailed formulation to be done by someone else. Is this statement to be understood as an indirect indication of Federn's tangible literary assistance?

It is secondary whether Federn's influence on text or technique is rated as being of greater or lesser significance. In any case, in form, as well as in content, THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE fits well into the pattern of literary production of its era. Philosophically formulated testimonies are to be found increasingly in German literature from 1890 onwards - they concern themselves with types of ideal lifeforms, stylistic correlations, or cultural phenomena which re-occur regularly.

Together they are expressions of a yearning for a holistic life-experience, which was believed to have been lost in the course of industrialisation, urbanisation and technicalisation during the 19th century.

Some theories have been postulated as a response to the question as to how much Nietzsche's ideas influenced Isadora. I am unable to discuss these theories here fully. I must however underline, that Nietzsche orders the conglomeration of the primal source of all existence in a particular sequence: the natural, Dionysian as proceeding the classical period. The art of classical Greece, for Isadora the expression of a cosmical unity which correlates to the Dionysian, is in Nietzsches's system already an aesthetical category, which is fully developped in its form. He characterises this category as Apollonian.

Federn identifies in 1903, in Isadora's dance, the fulfillment of Nietzsche's challenge for the explosion of form through those life-parameters which result from this conglomeration of the primal sources.

> "Isadora put into practice that which Nietzsche imagined and perceived in artistic-poetic knowledge; especially where Nietzsche says: 'only dance is the allegory of supreme things.' - Her dances attempt to be this allegory."(1903)

Schopenhauer was very likely, in addition to Nietzsche, to whom Federn refers in both prefaces, a theme of their conversations. Isadora cites him as reference for her definition of Will. She refers to the second book of the WELT ALS WILLE UND VORSTELLUNG / WORLD AS WILL AND REPRESENTATION written in 1819, in which Schopenhauer perceives (in the forces of Nature) the expression of the Will as a metaphysical principle. While Isadora interprets Will explicitly within the phenomenological and philosophical context of nature, Schopenhauer postulates in Book 3 a second aspect: the effect on the artist

The precondition for effecting this holistic life-experience is a redefinition of the Man/Nature matrix. One theory, which regarded itself as an orientation of man and nature within new parameters is the Darwinian theory of evolution[1] Darwin challenges the bases of the story of creation, in particular the idea of a prescient god, and postulates instead, the observations of natural selection and evolution.
The often as materialistic (mis)understood 'survival of the fittest' is to be understood in its "widest implications". Darwin develops, thus, a philosophical as well as a (natural)-scientific theory. It is this aspect which Isadora adapts. Where she refers to the "primary movements" of the Greeks, she utilises an evolutionist-theoretical vocabulary and its causal argumentative structure for her aesthetical/philosophical/religious ends, ignoring at the same time the theory of evolution as a whole.

Darwin's formulation, as well as the reception-methods of his theory elucidate the inclination to metaphysics, typical of the epoch: at the turn of the century there is a concentration on timelessness, on the 'primal phenomena of existence'. These aspects function as norms; the cultural-historical and sociological elements of human development are completely disregarded. A new bond with the Absolute is proclaimed, the Religious reactivated.

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1) Charles Robert Darwin: On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection. 1859

Monism, which inclines towards a pantheistic belief in Nature, belongs to the initial stages of this new direction. It is based (partially) on Ernst Haeckel's WELTRÄTSEL, 1899, a treatise which is generally considered as the definitive negation of all dualistic transcendental worldviews. Because Haeckel ascribes spirit and energy to material substances, it is now possible to solve "riddles of the world", such as questions regarding the nature of matter, of energy, of movement, of consciousness, which until then the Metaphysics thought unanswerable.
Haeckels treatise can be considered as a documentation of Darwin's monism, an adaption of Darwin's theories, which had been very popular in Germany at the turn of the century. Isadora as well mentions Darwin and Haeckel together in the same breath (² 1929, p.11).

Whether or not, Isadora's concept of Nature was in fact influenced by materialist Monism, is at all questionable. Quite possibly, it is merely that idea of the sequentially (correct) development of Nature which follows according to the laws of selection and evolution, and which Isadora applies, in a specific sense, to movement. Isadora's belief in the universal soul resembles also the mystical Puritanism of Ralph Waldo Emerson, where he emphasises "the central metaphysical importance of the soul as archetypal source of values and truths"[1].

1) Werner Jakob Stüber: Geschichte des Modern Dance. Zur Selbsterfahrung und Körperaneignung im modernen Tanztheater. Wilhelmshaven 1984. S.83

Whether it is the influence of puritan or monistic thought which dominates Isadora's concept of Nature, is indefinite. Important is to my mind, the tightly woven ideational structure and the religious reworking of (natural) scientific and philosophical thought - a process typical of the era: both aspects are to be found in THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE.

Isadora's charge, that dance must maintain constant contact with nature and her postulation that the movement of the Waves, Wind, and that of the Earth, is the expression of an eternal Harmony, is a part of this thought-complex. It is consistent with the idea of the cosmos as a unity, mirrored in the human being through the totality of Body, Spirit and Soul, as well as the idea of a mythical source of Dance, which is understood in the notion of one's (Isadora's as well as the universal) divine mission. "Continue your way and rely upon the eternal justice of the immortal Gods ..." ([2] 1929, p.21)

As opposed to other directions which regarded the activation of religious desire rather as a neo-romantic tittilation of the senses, Isadora apparently understood this concept of nature (of religious belief as the 'religio' of a higher order) as a cultic bond.

The perception of the human being as a integral phenomenon of nature is of paramount significance not only in Darwin's and Haeckel's theories. It is evident in other important, more concrete, partially more pragmatic variations; for example in the new physical consciousness.

The body is rated as the material manifestation of human existence, and as a decisive cultural factor. Within this system of body-liberation, active sports are regarded highly, as are lifestyles conforming to nature, and a reform of clothing habits. In this renewal movement too, dance and gymnastics play a central role. Following the example of the ancient Greeks, the belief was, that especially by means of physical movement one could attain a totality of perception, in order to experience a oneness with the primal laws of nature. Technical knowledge or preformulated movement forms, such as classical dance, were shunned; the cultic originality of the dance would be revived.

Isadora's perspective in THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE reflects the Zeitgeist. This is evident in her critical attitude towards ballet, and in the conception of a natural movement emanating from a totality of emotional experience, through which the body is transformed onto a spiritual plane, "it is a soul we see moving ..." (²1929, p.15)

The physical liberation is expressed inter alia in the veneration of nudity. As opposed to the peculiar tendency towards the religious and eugenic (the idea of racial purity) in Germany, Isadora's concept of nudity is mainly an aesthetic one, characterised by religious influences. She states in her writings, that beauty and the function of the naked body are exceptionally visually exemplified in the art of ancient Greece, because there is a combination of the highest perfection of form with a simultaneous rooting in the earth and the laws of nature.

Naturalness, nudity, spirituality and beauty of the body in movement, is the expression of a world motivated by humanistic principles. Only at one point of her lectures does Isadora incline to opinions of a different hue, when she formulates the somewhat nationalistic idea, that dance (performed in the nude) dictates and mirrors a nation's concept of beauty ([2] 1929, p.23). The call for 'national hygiene' is implied in this thought.

Isadora encourages however, not only the natural naked body, but also the natural feminine body. The female element is for her the very expression of Nature, of its procreative, rhythmical energy. For the woman, dance is not merely physical or artistic outlet, but a concept, which affords her an attainment of her natural powers. Bess Mensendieck's statement in one of her gymnastic text-books, testifies to how dangerously close the vision of the Matriarchy , concealed in Isadora's words, is, to a purely functional view of woman.

> "Perhaps it is interesting for some of the carriers of this energy, to experience how their bodies are constituted, to what extent they are masters of their own bodies, how to effectively apply this strength to the ideals of procreation and beauty; how to achieve existential advantages through good health and preserved energy and how out of this organism, the optimum adjustment, the greatest possible utilisation for the most complicated challenges of cultural life, are to be achieved." (Bess Mensendieck: Körperkultur der Frau. München [5] 1912. p.3)

Mensendieck and others in Germany, in fact demanded an elevation of the status of woman; limit however, in contradiction to Isadora's intentions, the woman's possible scope; they see her role as determined by nature, which means for them the norms of the established society:

the female body should be capable of the functions of wife and mother: that which is functional is beautiful. Mensendieck insists on this so-called female function - an idea which the fascists would later adopt - while Isadora's vision aims at an easily misunderstood renewal through and within woman.

Isadora's conception of an archaic, archetypal femininity could only be effected by means of individual education and a new type of school. This idea corresponds to the paedagogical (partially socialist influenced) endeavours of the period: In the stead of mere rote-instruction and an imparting of bare facts, an Idealism of obligation, which considered education as the affiliation to a central idea, emerges. One no longer believes that man is determined by the group or the environment, or in psychological differences between the classes. One rather emphasizes, that the individual is capable to decide for himself and therefore to be taught.
In the same way, the individual's capacity for self-determination is supposed to result in the enforcement of collective ideals. Since education was no longer regarded as the privilege of the bourgeoisie, there was rather an effort to re-integrate the uneducated classes as well within the parameters of an 'idealistically postulated value system'.

Isadora formulates in THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE her metaphysical concept and her conception of physicality, emancipation and education, inter alia, against the background of the German and European tradition of thought.

Here again, typical of the period, they in a lively way are pitted against the effective Materialism of the beginning of the 20th century, against the bourgeois, industrialised society. As contrasting position functions the renewed consciousness of Nature whereby -as opposed to the commonly understood definition of Nature (which regards nature as something not made by man and that strives without his help)- Isadora defines nature as cosmic flow which motivates and directs man and his physical movement.

Because she refers to the Ancient Greeks as example and model of naturalness, her concept for the transformation of the society and the world, is opposed to modern progress and rooted in the past. Isadora identifies in the pantheistic religions the reattachement to the primal laws of nature and cosmos, the developmental-psychological potential of the Dance, a potential which should lead the activation of collective female energy towards a strengthening of the matriarchal influence in society. This thought-complex, too, sees in the present no perspective and devotes itself to utopianism.

THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE in its rejection of the present, the here and now, in favour of the praeterital and/or futuristic is similar to the diverse individualistic schemes for the betterment of the world, to be found in that period: ameliorative schemes in which elements are dismantled out of valid existent systems and re-integrated to form new patterns. In one aspect, however, Isadora transcends these social, political and cultural alternative programmes; I wish to conclude my exposition on this point:

In the negation of a rational, positivistic, materialistic and utilitarian worldview; in the rejection of the traditional and in favour of the utopian reality, Isadora and her contemporary reformers postulate variations of a single theme which dominated this times: that is - a new definition of the Life|Art matrix. Where, however, her contemporaries effect only a fraction of the changed Art and Life perspective, Isadora lives her art, and her life is symbiotically determined by the reformative concepts of her dance. One source for this creative bonding of art and life is the peculiar artistic spontaneity inherent in her being, and which gives back to dance its substance, another is rooted in the intellectual discipline with which she attempts to give her theoretical basis authority and authenticity. Isadora restores the 'I' to art, and in doing so, liberates it from its pseudo-objectivity. She admits at the same time the danger of subjectivation and individualisation. She practises a total identification that unites Art and Life, the subject with the content and form of its statement, but which however ceases to exist without the desire of the audience itself for identification: a process therefore which functions only in an accomplished performance.

Isadora epitomises through, in, and with her dance, the concept of a total lifestyle against the background of a metaphysical connective and thus abolishes for herself the contemporarily proclaimed contradiction between nature and civilisation. THE DANCE OF THE FUTURE is one aspect of the totality of the dance experience: it is her theoretical image.

NINETEENTH CENTURY SCIENTISM AS AN ORGANIZER OF BELIEF

THE ROLE OF EVOLUTIONISM ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF ISADORA DUNCAN

JUDY LEVINE

In Disraeli s novel Tancred the hero is urged by Lady Constance to read Revelations of Chaos "You know she gushes all is development -- the principle is perpetually going on First there was nothing then there was something then -- I forget the next -- I think there were shells then fishes then we came -- let me see -- did we come next? Never mind that we came at last, and the next change will be something very superior to us something with wings "(Disraeli in Barzun 1941 54) Tancred appalled at the possibility of her developing wings, changes his mind about marrying Lady Constance

History is a sieve that works, and the residue is the artwork of the future (Barzun 1941 323)

Man s conceptions of himself were jolted by nineteenth century science His awareness of geological time was radically changed, and this led to a different outlook on man's relative importance to the universe Man's relationship with animals was also viewed in a new light, allowing a type of kinship between man and nature that was peculiar to this century The concept of progress took on an entirely new meaning The idea of evolution, and Darwin's contribution to the evolutionary cause, were at the center of these changes

The scientific principle of primary importance to the nineteenth century was order The classification of the universe, and the understanding of the workings of the universe, were crucial to the nineteenth century beginning of sciences such as biology botany zoology chemistry, and physics. The subject of science became in the nineteenth century, the universe itself, and discovery was the primary activity of science. The search for natural laws, and the manner in which this search was conducted became the scientific method. Scientific method according to Berkner is "a means whereby a stable generally agreed upon ever enlarging body of knowledge can be generated in a form that can be independently checked and reconstructed by anyone familiar with the method" (Berkner 81). Within this definition of scientific method lie assumptions worth examining.

According to Barzun, "we tend rather to imagine a science of pure discovery of organized observation and common sense" (Barzun 1941 337) The ideal of the scientific community, pure in its search for knowledge and unanimous in its acclaim of the truth is a fallacy, perpetuated both by scientists and by those writing about science and was especially strong in the nineteenth century This ideal contributed to the public s sense of belief in the scientific community as a correct and all-knowing body Science had an authority in the nineteenth century (and still does to a large extent today) that rested not only on its powers of explanation, but also on its presumed strictness of method This strictness of method implied that the body of knowledge that was science was truth itself, absolute, and final Science thus became the ultimate search for truth and its method the indisputable way of finding it Scientism or the belief that "nothing is outside the scope of science and that it can furnish answers to all human

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problems (Barzun 1941 35) helped to establish a culture in which science was not just a specialized discipline belief in science became a system of faith one in which science was given credit for having the answers to any unanswerable questions According to Bernal Science in one aspect is ordered techniques in another it is rationalized mythology (Bernal 3) It is the part of science that is rationalized mythology - a belief system founded on the tenets of reason and order -- that the nineteenth century seized upon and used as an aid to constructing a non church-oriented world view

Barzun writes "to exempt science from criticism is to give it the status of an established religion (Barzun 1964 78) This is exactly what occurred with many of the sciences in the nineteenth century Among themselves scientists avidly discussed and disputed various theories, but the public conception of science was of an ideal vision of order The theological base of society became transplanted by the scientific with a belief in evolutionism becoming a credo of belief in the order of the universe

Evolutionism struck at notions of time the concept of progress relationships with nature, and man s kinship with animals According to Eisely until the one great effort at synthesis -- evolution -- was achieved man saw himself essentially as having emerged from an unknown darkness and as passing similarly into an unknown future (Eisely 27-28) The principle of evolutionism subsumed smaller currents of scientific thought to become a Darwinian world view evolutionism became the finding of one great principle of being Barzun writes, "progress its law and cause the vestiges of creation: all is development: the principle is perpetually going on -- these phrases signaled the coming age of evolution and the birth and transfiguration at one stroke of Darwinism" (Barzun 1941 55) The idea of development was taken up by intellectual society at large understood and misunderstood as was convenient (see quote from Tancred cited above) Nietzsche and Shaw both championed the possibility of the evolutionary improvement of man believing according to Goudge, "man has the capacity to surpass himself and to become a new species (Goudge 186)

Evolution was an idea that threatened the orthodox view of creation and by extension the orthodox view of the world as a fixed static entity With evolutionism looking to the past became an acceptable means of finding out how, and why man evolved to his present state It also became a means of proclaiming what lay in the future Evolutionism replaced traditional religion's striving for betterment with the idea of a future generation of humans further along the evolutionary scale such as Shaw s superman or Nietzsche's ubermensch.

Although Isadora Duncan was born towards the end of the nineteenth century, she utilized that century s philosophic base. She read widely, and the movement of evolutionism, striking at the heart of established religious doctrine, contributed some of the glue that held together the bits and pieces of her philosophy The credo of order in nature and the universe, and the inclusion of man within this order all had their influences on Duncan.

Duncan once described the expression of the human foot as one of the greatest triumphs in the evolution of man" (Duncan 1928, 54), and she described the dance of the future as "a new movement, a consequence of the entire evolution which mankind has passed through" (Duncan 1928: 62). Thus, her dance, and the philosophical base that went with it were products of the evolution of mankind Duncan compared the movement of mature man to that of savages, saying "Man, arrived at the end of civilization, will have to return to nakedness, not to the unconscious nakedness of the savage, but to the conscious and acknowledged nakedness of the mature Man, whose body will be the harmonious expression of his spiritual being (Duncan 1928: 55) The important part of this statement, for this essay, lies in its reference to the Garden of Eden, and its manipulation of that myth to evolutionary purposes. According to Duncan man is now at the pinnacle of civilization as it has been known, and will move further with

evolution into the divine Duncan mixed together progress evolutionism, spirituality and the human body

She went on to say the movement of this Man will be natural and beautiful like those of the free animals (Duncan 1928 55) The idealized mixture of nature and beauty is not new to the nineteenth century but its particular relationship with animals -- the progression of nature to animals to man -- is peculiar to evolutionism A tenet of evolutionism according to Barzun was that "human history was a part of natural history and that natural history was characterized by the process of change-according-to-law which we call growth" (Barzun 1941 52) Max Eastman felt Duncan's legacy was "to be unafraid of the natural life and free aspiration of an intelligent animal walking the earth" (Eastman in Genthe Forward) The identification of man and animals as belonging to the same class of beings governed by the same natural laws was an outgrowth of evolutionary theory and was utilized by those who thought that the freest man was one who could throw off the shackles of modern civilization Isadora Duncan became to herself and other artists a symbol of this freedom.

The principle of cultural Darwinism that evolution was in constant flux implied that not only was change inevitable but mankind's present form was the highest form possible at this time. Duncan adopted this wholeheartedly, and it took two tracks in her philosophy it gave her the belief that she was the most advanced dancer at the height of civilization as it now stood, and it also gave her the burning desire to pass on her heritage via a school to the dancers coming after her who would, by the tenets of evolutionism be necessarily more advanced than she

Duncan wrote in 1903 "My intention is, in due time to found a school to build a theatre where a hundred little girls shall be trained in my art, which they, in their turn will better" (Duncan 1928: 60-61) The idea of the evolution of the dancer to the highest pinnacle is also apparent in this statement made in 1906 about her students "showing themselves eagerly desirous of some more perfect realization of the body in motion (Duncan 1928, 132), and the wish for her students to become more "perfect in form and gesture" (Duncan 1928 80) Duncan's school was a chance for her to manifest evolutionism by passing on her knowledge to younger dancers and thus bringing them to a higher stage of artistic life.

The notion of natural selection, which went hand in hand with Darwin's evolutionism meant to someone like Duncan that her survival was proof she was a higher form. Part of the influence of evolutionism on society was the assumption that man was the highest being From this came the idea stated by Shattuck that "mind is the highest level of existence that evolution (or "emergence") has produced so far ..God will come as an outgrowth or construct of mind -- man surpassing himself" (Shattuck, 54) This gave Duncan a certain confidence that she and those of her school, would flourish The concepts of evolution and progress allowed Duncan to proclaim that her dance was the dance of the future, and by establishing schools to create even higher forms of dancing, she could contribute even further to the flourishing of true dance Through her school, a belief system, even more than a dance system was being transferred and with evolutionism, transformed.

Duncan created a belief system involving the divine, and evolutionism allowed her a theory of creation that was not in a traditional religious mode. Evolutionism decisively destroyed the Ark, and Darwin gave Duncan the tools to create a spiritual philosophy of her own In 1905 she wrote to Gordon Craig:

> I think you take Darwin from the <u>wrong</u> end -- Is the flower less beautiful for understanding about <u>roots</u> -- but then I find roots rather beautiful & I find Darwin beautiful too -- & fine -- he is always fine -- puts one on one's feet -- & supplies the best

> Philosophy Divine Philosophy -- & if read alright
> his observations teach the living truth of univer-
> sal life and love -- (Duncan in Steegmuller 97)

The last phrase of that letter 'his observations teach the living truth of universal life and love' is indicative of Duncan's use of Darwin's work, and science in general to justify her choice of an unconventional life-style. She equated modern science and free-thinking as seen in this quote about her childhood and family: "Goodness knows not one of us was of a churchy turn of mind each being completely emancipated through our ideas of modern science and free-thinking" (Duncan 1927: 125). This equation allowed Duncan to claim science as her justification for being a 'free woman' and evolutionism allowed her to proclaim her new ways in regard to marriage, etc., to be the natural ways of the future. Darwin's observations also gave Duncan the concept of a unity of life and spirit, it was this base which she expanded to express the divine. Duncan wrote in 1922: "From my earliest childhood I have always felt a great antipathy for anything connected with churches or church dogma. The readings of Ingersoll and Darwin and Pagan Philosophy had strengthened this antipathy" (Duncan 1927: 276). Duncan mixed evolutionism with the idea of a religion of scientism (she translated this religion of scientism into the spirit) and this gave Duncan her forward-looking foundation. In her movements, she attempted to express this vision of the Divine, divorced from dogmatic religion. Duncan's contribution to her art, according to Carl Van Vechten, is spiritual, it is her feeling for the idea of the dance which isolates her from her contemporaries" (Van Vechten in Magriel: Duncan 28). Duncan took evolutionism with its statement of man's progression through time and nature, and added its application to the artist. She derived a philosophy that strove for beauty and truth, invoking the weight of the scientific community as her base.

Duncan took science, or her idea of science, and claimed it as a basis for her art. In that way, she made her art indisputable, and in making it indisputable, she made it into a religion. This was not an isolated phenomenon -- Brockett writes: "As faith declined under the impact of scientism, it became increasingly common to seek in art a substitute for religion" (Brockett and Findlay 32). Duncan used the combination of science and her dancing to make a religious belief which she then proselytized. She declared in 1901: "The Dance is a religion and should have its worshippers" (Seroff 42) and spoke of going to Greece and "making a pilgrimage to the very holiest shrine of art" (Duncan 1927: 115-116). Margherita Duncan wrote about Isadora Duncan: 'art was a religion with her' (Margherita Duncan in Duncan 1928: 18), and Jose Clara wrote "when she appeared we all had the feeling that God...was present" (Clara in Magriel: Duncan 44). Barzun feels both "science and art are held above reproach as disciplines a man can worthily give his life to and be fulfilled by" (Barzun 1964: 17) and that evolutionism, in particular, "satisfied the first requirement of any religion by subsuming all phenomena under one cause...the scientific quest and the religious wish, both striving for unity, were thus fulfilled at one stroke" (Barzun 1941: 65).

In Darwin's day intellectuals presented themselves, according to Barzun, as would be scientists...recorders of what was -- secretaries of the universe taking down its dictation" (Barzun 1941: 321). Duncan partook of this notion of discovery, writing that "true movements, moreover, are not invented, they are discovered" (Duncan 1928: 102). Martin writes about Duncan that "she was not seeking to invent or devise anything, but only to discover the roots of that impulse toward movement as a response to every experience which she felt in herself and which she was convinced was a universal endowment" (Martin, in Magriel: Duncan 3). Duncan wrote to a newspaper editor that looking at Greek vases was "an attempt to <u>discover</u> the <u>secret</u> of their ecstasy <u>through</u> <u>exploration</u> of the symbolic <u>ideas</u> of their gestures" (Magriel: Duncan 37) [emphases mine]. Taking the emphasized words out of this statement, we have Duncan writing

that she was discovering a "secret" through exploration of ideas -- the ideal of the scientific method.

Duncan's often repeated quote about standing for hours with her hands on her solar plexus seeking the central spring of all movement, also reveals her quasi-attempt at use of the scientific method. In speaking of the period of the unseating of God Shattuck writes "With the field thus cleared of supernatural encumbrances the true approach to the divine came to consist in man's probing of his innermost states" (Shattuck, 40). By looking inward, to what Duncan termed "the central spring of all movement, the crater of motor power, the unity from which all diversities of movements are born" (Duncan 1927: 75), and speaking of "the motor in my soul" (Duncan 1927: 168), Duncan followed the tendency Shattuck mentions of probing innermost states. Her movement and choreographic choices were dictated by inner impulse, and her wish to find "a first movement from which from which would be born a series of movements without my volition, but as the unconscious reaction of the primary movement" (Duncan 1927: 77) shows not only the Freudian influence of this period but also a belief in the developmental nature of movement expression. Evolutionism supported the idea that life emerged gradually, and Duncan utilized the idea of origin and evolution to determine her method of movement invention, or discovery. Duncan mixed the scientific method of careful discovery with the idea of divine inspiration, prompting Benois to say "She is motivated not by logic but by elemental inspiration" (Benois, in Steegmuller 47). Her admiration of the Greeks for being "the greatest students of the laws of nature" (Duncan 1928: 57) showed another quasi-scientific idea -- that of natural laws. She went on to speak of these laws as "all is the expression of unending, ever-increasing evolution, wherein are no ends and no stops" (Duncan 1928: 57). This statement of Duncan's is not very far from the vision of Disraeli's Lady Constance, quoted at the beginning of this essay, of "the principle of development perpetually going on." The quasi-scientific use of Darwinian laws was practised throughout nineteenth century intellectual society, and Duncan simply adopted this practise to dance.

The laws of nature and the laws of the universe became one and the same to Duncan, and the search for these laws became the basis for much of her writing. Speaking of this type of search, Barzun writes "there is grandeur in this ideal, this <u>mystique</u> of scientific method, which men have been willing to live and die for" (Barzun 1964: 91). This grandeur was certainly not lost on Duncan's public or private personna. Science has always cannonized research, and Duncan simply picked up on this in the wording of her search for the true art of dance.

More than Duncan realized, the tenets behind evolutionism allowed her to create and maintain her position as a liberated woman and dancer of the future while delving deeply into the ideas of the past. Extremely important in her philosophy was the freedom she felt to partake of the writings of the past, and the use that she made of these writings to proclaim herself the dancer of the future. A Darwinian view of the future as arising in an evolutionary way from the past was at the heart of this relationship.

In Bayreuth, Ernst Haeckel commented on her dancing, "likening it to all the universal truths of nature, and said that it was an expression of monism, in that it came from one source and had one direction of evolution" (Duncan 1927: 154). Though evolutionism and nineteenth century scientism had a direct influence on Duncan's technique and methods, schools, public and private personna, and helped to justify her choice of life-style, the influence of evolutionism on her choreography is more subtle. Haeckel's comment that Duncan's dancing "came from one source and had one direction of evolution" provides one key. Evolutionism allowed Duncan to acknowledge her debt to history and to use this debt, through the evolutionary principle of perpetual development, to proclaim herself as the inevitable next step in the art of the dance. Duncan could be both backward-looking <u>and</u> forward-looking without contradicting herself

because of the evolutionary dictum that all life and development springs from the past Duncan could use music from earlier eras adopt costumes and decor reminiscent of an earlier period of art history and use Ancient Greece as an inspiration for her movement vocabulary and yet not seem old-fashioned. due to the evolutionary rhetoric she adopted Without evolutionism Duncan would most likely have attempted the same type of choreography but the tenets of evolutionism gave her an impeccable scientific rationale

In Duncan s use of the scientific method to produce an art experience akin to spirituality she was actually very close to the aims of the ancient discipline of alchemy Duncan was not involved with traditional alchemy but her goal of discovering movement expressive of spirit had much in common with the alchemical model of extracting the Divine from the everyday. The alchemical attempt to explore the mysteries of human life has been a theme in twentieth century theater since Artaud (see Knapp) Duncan was especially drawn to the aims of nineteenth century romantic alchemy and the transmutation of the base into divine essence Alchemy's quest to turn metal into gold was a physical manifestation and metaphor of a search for laws of nature that could serve as a religious phenomenon (see Jung 242-254). alchemists sought to distill the pure essence from material objects. much as Duncan sought to express the Divine in human movement. and both used "scientific" methodology to achieve this.

Debus writes 'alchemists were convinced...that their search for the truths of nature might be conceived in terms of a religious quest which would result in a greater knowledge of the Creator" (Debus: 27-34). This mixture of spirit and matter physical quest and religious goal. was not Duncan's alone Wagner's music-drama. states Brockett, 'was intended to provide a mystical vision of human destiny. one capable of bringing meaning to an otherwise limited existence [he] was also to influence those who sought to make of art a substitute of religion" (Brockett and Findlay. 32). The substitution of science and art for religion was wide-spread in the late nineteenth century Haeckel according to Nordenskiold. borrowed from Goethe to decree a unity between God and nature "which denotes true monism and which admits of a true divine worship (Nordenskiold 515) The doctrine of mechanistic evolutionism directly ties cosmic forces to natural phenomena (Goudge 181-182) and Duncan's reading of Haeckel together with her enthusiasm for Wagner. certainly helped her to make the link between art the material. and the Divine. outside of organized religion

According to Manfredi. 'only religion science and art can be called peculiarly human" (Manfredi 19). He goes on to differentiate between the three:

> Science emphasizes a desire to create a conceptual system that gives experience intellectual consistency: religion remains a search for some basis to our ways of living that transcends brute force art grows out of the need to create signs sounds and realms of perception that express more than the hedonistic survival needs of the organism (Manfredi. 19).

Duncan had all of these needs. and she evolved a philosophy that allowed her by justifying her art with a scientific base and methodology to reach for the Divine She gave experience consistency as man's presence within nature. searched for laws of expression of the Divine. and created art from this definition of the human experience and these laws Duncan mixed the human body and the Divine to find an exalted pinnacle of expression with her roots she described to Craig as "rather beautiful" firmly entrenched in the scientism of the nineteenth century. and her arms outstretched to meet the art of the twentieth century and beyond.

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ISADORA DUNCAN: HER INFLUENCE ON THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH MODERN DANCE

June Layson

A research study was based on the working hypothesis that Isadora Duncan (b. 1877 d. 1927) influenced the founding and development of British early modern dance, albeit unwittingly. Other pioneers, such as Loie Fuller and Ruth St. Denis, who also performed in London, may well have been influential too ; indeed Maud Allan had several long-term contracts in London theatres. Nevertheless, it was postulated that, by virtue of her many performances in London and mainland Europe, her forceful exposition of the ideas and theories underlying her work, her remarkable impact as an innovator of a new theatre dance genre and her international reputation as a radical artist, Duncan could be identified as the prime inspiration for the British early modern dance movement.

The three main protagonists of early modern dance in the UK, Madge Atkinson (b. 1885 d. 1970), Ruby Ginner (b. 1886 d. 1978) and Margaret Morris (b. 1891 d. 1980) neither regarded themselves as belonging to one school nor acknowledged Duncan as their common inspiration, except in an incidental or marginal way. However, place and time parameters supported the working hypothesis and similarities between aspects of their emergent dance styles and in their writings both to each other and to Duncan indicated that this was a potentially rich research area.

The research problem was to conduct a comparative analysis of Duncan's work and that of the British protagonists and to devise an acceptable model for so doing.

In the absence of extant Duncan choreography (the reconstructed dances are not readily available to a researcher in the UK) and only partial evidence of Atkinson's, Ginner's and Morris' early compositions, a two stage procedure was followed. [The first stage has been completed at Doctoral level. The second stage has been taken to postgraduate level with particular research on Madge Atkinson and Margaret Morris being developed further by Judith Chapman and Joan White respectively - two of my former postgraduate students, now colleagues at the University of Surrey and its associated college, Roehampton Institute.] In the first stage wide-ranging written, visual and aural sources on Duncan were amassed and collated. These were used to compile a detailed chronology and two choreochronicles, to articulate the contexts in which she lived and to identify the influences upon her work. A comprehensive choreographic analysis was carried out on Duncan's oeuvre (using the Adshead et al 1982 model) and, finally, the results of this were compared with her writings.

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From the first stage of the research eight statements characterising Duncan's work were generated. These can be substantiated by reference to her choreography and to her writings. The statements may conveniently be summarised as:-

- the relocation of the body centre,
- the acceptance and exploitation of gravitational forces,
- a reverence of the body and all 'natural' phenomena,
- an allegiance to ancient Greek ideals,
- a preference for the music of Romantic classical composers,
- a commitment to an eclectic range of subject matter with particular emphasis on socially relevant themes,
- the pursuit of a harmonious, lyrical choreographic and performance style,
- a vision of dance as expression.

These statements relate particularly to Duncan's work as an innovator of a new theatre dance genre but they also bear relevance to her wider concerns such as her belief in dance education and her nascent feminism.

In the second stage of the research the conclusions reached from the detailed study of Duncan were set alongside the results of previous studies of Atkinson, Ginner and Morris (Layson 1970 and subsequently) which had also been based on extensive written, visual and aural documentation.

Madge Atkinson originally studied several forms of dance in Manchester and during the period immediately prior to the 1914-1918 war she began to visit London to widen her dance experience. It was there that she met Annea (Annie) Spong. Spong, variously described as a pupil of either Isadora or Raymond Duncan, had a studio in London where she taught the "Spong method of natural dance". This link in the Duncan chain of influence on British early modern dance is interesting and in need of further research since it is through Spong that Atkinson traces the origins of her work to Duncan.

From this contact Atkinson subsequently developed her own dance ideas and by 1918 had established the Madge Atkinson School of Natural Movement in Manchester. In 1925 the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing (ISTD) invited Atkinson to found the Natural Movement branch of the organisation. Throughout the 1920s and up until the mid 1930s Natural Movement (NM) developed widely from its Manchester base and was seen to fulfill both theatrical and educational purposes. In 1936 the then School of Natural Movement moved to London and, particularly during the 1939-1945 war, developed its work in education further. In 1944 NM held an important place in the curriculum of the newly opened London College of Educational Dance

which, in 1968, became the teacher training college of the ISTD.

Unlike Ginner and Morris, Atkinson did not publish extensive texts on her work and, therefore, the main sources of information on NM are articles in the Dancing Times and various archival materials. The basis of NM is, as the name implies, everyday movement actions such as walking, running and skipping. This underlines the technique which is easy and unforced yet demanding in its apparent effortlessness. The typical NM dancer is bare-footed and dressed in a loosely-fitting ancient Greek-style tunic. Much of the technical work focusses on gaining an anatomically correct stance and from this developing a lightly tensioned poise together with sensitivity in the body. In movement the oppositional swing of the arms is emphasised by turning at the waist and this allows various positions or designs of the body in space to be stressed. Such bodily actions are clearly derived from ancient Greek drawings and friezes.

The values central to NM stem from Atkinson's quest for beauty through the natural movement of the body and the need for an expressive dance form suitable for both amateurs and professionals. In the teaching of NM the understanding of the different structural components of music is central and movement observation encouraged.

By the 1970s NM had declined as an educational dance form but it is currently undergoing a revival of interest. What characterises it today amid other more obviously technique-based modern dance forms is the emphasis on simple, uncluttered movement performed in a lyrical, harmonious manner.

Of all the British early modern dance styles NM seems to have gained the most from Duncan's innovations and to have stayed broadly within the Duncan idiom. Re-stagings of some original choreography took place in 1983. [This was as part of the programme of the Study of Dance Conference, University of Surrey. A video of this performance, lecture demonstrations and other archival materials about NM are currently being prepared as a multi-media resource pack by the National Resource Centre for Dance, University of Surrey.] The reconstructions clearly show Atkinson's readily acknowledged debt to Duncan. The use of simple costumes and props (such as large light scarves), the selection of music from classical composers and the small group dances (where individuals meet and part along clearly defined floor patterns) are all hallmarks of the NM choreographic style and very similar to the dances that Duncan made for her senior pupils. Furthermore, the method by which these works have been handed on from first generation NM dancers to those of today has ensured that the original dance style pioneered by Atkinson has remained virtually intact.

One of the first published systematic attempts to develop a revived Greek dance form in the UK appears to be that of Watts (1914) and Emmanuel's text (translated from the French and published in London in 1916) also explores this theme. In Ruby Ginner's many writings there is at least one quotation from Emmanuel but there are also several references to Duncan whom she terms "the first exponent of this form" (Ginner 1933 p.12). Even so, it is clear that Ginner did

not see her own work as Duncan-influenced but rather regarded it as springing from the same source, that is, the "Greek ideal". The specific dance form associated with Ginner and, ultimately, her co-worker Irene Mawer, is the Revived Greek Dance (RGD).

The facts about Ginner's early career have yet to be fully established although it seems that one of her first theatrical engagements was with F.H. Benson's company. [Duncan was a member of Benson's company in 1900.] Certainly by 1914 she had formulated the theories and also the main steps and exercises which became the basis of RGD. Subsequently Ginner developed her work in the theatre both as a dancer and a choreographer although increasingly in the 1920s and 1930s RGD came within the dance education context particularly in the private sector. The Association of Teachers of the Revived Greek Dance was formed in 1923. Later known as the Greek Dance Association it was affiliated to the ISTD in 1951 and still thrives within that organisation.

The basic principles of RGD are clearly set out in Ginner's three main texts (1933, 1960 and 1963) and many issues of the Dancing Times from 1921 onwards contain reviews of her performances and RGD displays, as well as reports of the Ginner-Mawer school and its activities.

The origins of Ginner's work are essentially "Greek derived" and "artefact based". [It is interesting that in 1963 Ginner stated "My method, though originally inspired by and based on the arts and ideals of Ancient Greece, was transformed by my personal interpretation into a modern idiom" (p.1). This claim is not dissimilar to that made many years earlier by Duncan and was possibly written in response to Lawler's (1962) criticisms of revival attempts.] This gives a definite two dimensional look to the RGD set exercises and steps, although the dance itself has a more sculptured, rounded form. The links with Duncan's choreography are clear in the emphasis on a free, lyrical movement style with a similar choice of costume and musical accompaniment. Furthermore, in Ginner's texts the same principles that Duncan identified as being central to the development of her choreography are evident. Some statements, such as "the beauty and sanctity of the human body" (Ginner, 1933 p.v), "[dance as an] expression of modern life and thought" (Ginner, 1963 p.83) and "in Nature the student will find stability, poise, rhythm, every degree of force and speed" (Ginner, 1963 p.88), are so redolent of Duncan's writings (even in the use of capitals to emphasise) that it is difficult to conceive of Ginner as being other than directly influenced by her. Yet Ginner's own testimony and, to an extent, the RGD itself, supports the view that although this British early modern dance style originally had much in common with Duncan's work and shared basic ideals and values it evolved along a different and possibly a much more restricted route. Even today it has retained its Greek allegiance and in a far more tangible form (for example, in choice of subject matter) than in Duncan's choreography. The fact that it currently exists in an educational rather than a theatre context reflects the impact of two world wars at crucial stages in its development but also it is a consequence of Ginner and her colleagues deliberately cultivating a dance style more participatory

than audience based. Perhaps in its later educational role it has come full circle to one of Duncan's cherished beliefs in a participatory dance experience accessible to all. Nevertheless, its implicit essence and aesthetic of another era, both in terms of the first quarter or so of the C20th and ancient classical Greece, has undoubtedly limited its growth since the late 1930s.

Revived Greek Dance exists in the 1980s as an interesting dance phenomenon loyally promoted by its adherents although to others it is highly anachronistic. Yet, however it is perceived, its niche in history seems to be within the British early modern dance style and, as such, Duncan-influenced.

The life and work of Margaret Morris, the founder of Margaret Morris Movement (MMM), is comparatively well documented (Morris 1967, 1971, White 1980) and, with a substantial amount of archival material as yet unresearched, is likely to become increasingly so. Morris spent the early years of her life in France and then in London where she first received ballet classes. In 1909 she met Raymond Duncan and from him learned the six Greek positions and variations which she incorporated into her own embryonic system. A year later she had her first professional engagement when she choreographed dances for Gluck's "Orpheus" and also opened her school. Morris' aim was to train dancers for the theatre where her own choreographic and performance interests lay but by the mid 1920s her work had widened to include educational aspects and a decade later, after qualifying as a physiotherapist, she embraced medical and therapeutic concerns. The widening scope of MMM did not deflect Morris from her commitment to theatre dance and her founding of the Celtic Ballet (1947) and the Scottish National Ballet (1960) are clear indications of this.

MMM is a highly structured form of dance in terms of its technique, in the carefully designed learning levels through which the dancer progresses and the different teaching levels established. The basic Greek positions are evident in MMM class work, particularly in movements in opposition, and these are studied together with exercises for spinal mobility and correct breathing. The aim is to achieve balance and purity of line and an overall sense of the aesthetic in anatomically and physiologically correct movement. In addition dance is regarded as an art with natural links to music and visual art, and the co-existence of the arts and their expressive potential is paramount.

Morris developed a detailed notation system (also based on the anatomical structure of the body) and this has facilitated current performances of many of her early compositions. The MMM dance style is very fluid and often surprisingly three dimensional, given its Greek basis. Its dynamic range is wide and, unlike most of the other early British modern dance styles, is not orientated solely towards female performers. Although its earlier context was the theatre MMM developed into a widely accessible dance form. Today its place is largely in recreation with the remedial aspects making it particularly relevant for dancers of all ages and abilities.

The work of Atkinson, Ginner and Morris can be seen to form a varied

but nevertheless identifiable British early modern dance style. Taken together their work exhibits many features in common with that of Duncan. The British innovators were all choreographers, dancers and ultimately teachers and they developed their ideas from a theatre context to education and beyond. Atkinson, Ginner and Morris shared basic premises on the origins of their work since the influence of ancient Greek ideals and/or ancient Greek dance and the return to a natural form of movement were of crucial importance. Their overall choice of costume, set and music closely echoed that of Duncan as did their selection of subject matter and their total commitment to a lyrical, harmonious and expressive dance style.

However, none of the British early modern dance pioneers achieved the international acclaim that was accorded Duncan and none was as daring as Duncan in her use of dance as political and social comment. Perhaps because they all came from fairly stable, middle class backgrounds the path of the revolutionary artist was not for them. But each in her own way made a substantial contribution to the development of dance in the UK. Between them, Atkinson, Ginner and Morris spanned almost a century and the fact that they each lived to guide the development of their work over several decades has ensured its survival to today. Duncan, unlike Graham and Cunningham who followed her, did not contribute directly to the development of modern dance in the UK but she gave the British early modern dance pioneers their several starting points and perhaps this was all that these remarkable women needed.

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DANCE FOR LIFE: ISADORA DUNCAN AND HER CALIFORNIA DANCE LEGACY AT THE TEMPLE OF WINGS

by Margaretta K. Mitchell

Imagine a Greek temple high on a hillside set against the golden light of the setting sun. Through the columns dancers enter, crowns of spring flowers on the younger heads, garlands of flowers in the hands of the older dancers. The line of bodies are traced by flowing scarves and tunics, their pastel colors and bright flowers blending in motion like a spring garden tossed in breezes. The dancers turn and leap and fill the court with strands of dance woven in an intricate pattern. Hanging their garlands, their offering, on the columns, they greet the audience, arms raised. The Spring Festival has begun.

The Temple ritual is a sequence of dances: a frieze of sedate maidens as fragile as figures on a piece of Wedgewood china, a tribe of young Amazons with clenched fists defying their enemy, Furies emerging from the underworld, a solitary mother singing to her baby.

Our ears are full of Chopin and Schubert waltzes. Our eyes are lost outside time at a point between imagination and reality. Before us now, the fluted columns rise in a semicircle to meet the sliver of of new moon. Music and light are now captured in the Temple interior where figures of dancing children, like swallows crisscrossing at twilight, dart in and out of the columns. In this temple is a living connection to the past, to the turn of the century, to the great dancer Isadora Duncan, and through her vision, to ancient Greece. Here is the iconography of that ancient culture moving through our own children. Here is that long-repressed spirit of grace and power we find in the Greek goddess, Artemis, whose image personifies an unfettered spirit--Earth's wilderness. By springs in dense forest, she led the young in dance, in song. At one with nature, she danced her own dance.

Now the youngest sprites skip with joy, drop flowers in the basket held by a smiling silver-haired woman wearing a golden toga, and respond to her call to leap over the moon.

For twenty years I have borne witness to this scene. Since I first met Sülgwynn Quitzow in her golden toga and sandals at the Temple of Wings high in the hills of Berkeley, California, I have sought its sources and acknowledged its beauty with my camera. I began to photograph with no intention beyond pure pleasure of capturing the sight of children dancing. The dancers echo the architecture, seeming to move to the energies of that more ancient time when the universe was alive with the presence of gods and goddesses, when the human body was itself thought of as a temple to house the spirit.

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contemporary memory primarily as an eccentric rebel. History, in fact, did not seem to know exactly how to categorize this thoroughly idiosyncratic young woman from far-off California who burst upon the dance world at the turn of the century with the startling announcement--that she had rediscovered the ancient dance forms of the Greeks and that the poetry of Walt Whitman and the surging rhythms of the Pacific had provided her with a new music. Over the past twenty years, however, the many levels of significance in the life and art of Isadora Duncan have been revealing themselves. Historians of the dance now look to her innovations as constituting a major premise in modern dance art. Historians of California are seeing in the young Isadora --a native daughter, nurtured in her early youth in exclusively California circumstances--a bold fulfillment of the Mediterranean metaphor that animated so much turn-of-the-century California creativity. In her search for something joyous and Greek, something healthy, natural and beauteous, the young Isadora Duncan, seeking her Grecian ideal, was seeking a Californian ideal as well, one depicted, among other instances, so luminously in the paintings of Arthur Mathews, whose golden California girls, attired in the raiment of ancient Greece, danced joyously beneath a California live oak under a warm sun as if, like the dancers on Keats' Grecian urn, they would be forever young, joyous and free. Arising out of special local American circumstances, Isadora Duncan brought a universalized California message to America first and then to Europe. In both her life and her art, Isadora Duncan sought to celebrate the female as a universalized human image, complete in itself, equal to the male form as a representation of humanity. Today, we are beginning to accept this notion, but it was revolutionary when Isadora Duncan first introduced it. Historians are only now beginning to glimpse the full implications of that freedom and self-acceptance Isadora Duncan sought in her life and expressed in her dance. The thriving survival of the Temple of Wings and its attendant dance programs for more than seven decades testifies to the continuing relevance of the Duncan dance tradition as a means of introducing young women to their womanhood, of celebrating the feminine as a full and complete premise for human existence. The children and young adults pictured in Margaretta Mitchell's photographs are recreating the environment in which Isadora Duncan found herself most happy: an atmosphere, an ethos, if you will, of youth, joy, and a loving acceptance of what it is to be a woman in body, mind and spirit.

Isadora Duncan created an original concept of body movement that

changed the course of Western dance and women's lives. Our first pioneer artist of modern dance, she claimed the California land and seascape as a primary source of her vision.

At the turn of the century, the San Francisco Bay became the focus of a new Mediterranean culture. Here at the edge of the continent was born a new vision, a renewed promise of Utopia. The early Californian, affected by the power of the untamed wilderness, strove to live in harmony with nature and identified with an ideal vision which rejected artificiality and convention and romanticized the power of nature. The untrammeled wilderness became a symbolic image of the American experience: freedom of body, freedom of spirit.

Isadora Duncan personified this new American vision, breaking the Victorian mold of confinement and convention in her dance, her clothes, and her life.

Set against the tradition of ballet, her style was one of natural, flowing gesture reminiscent of nature's rhythms and evocative of forms of ancient sculpture. She paved the way by her radical example for what we call modern dance, but she also led the struggle of the women of the twentieth century to live their own lives.

She believed that "the dancer of the future will be one whose body and soul have grown so harmoniously together that the natural language of the soul will become the movement of the body. The dancer will not belong to a nation but to all humanity. She will dance, not in the form of a nymph or fairy, or coquette, but in the form of woman in its greatest and purest expression . . . . She shall dance the freedom of woman."

In the study of Greek statues, Isadora found the points of natural balance in the body, declaring that "Greek positions are only earth positions." She studied herself; she trusted her own nature. Her dance echoed the rhythms in nature. Her art was abstract, a pure expression of the body in space, an embodiment of music, not dependent on stories and character. That natural spirit, united with a demand for personal freedom, was, in her eyes, truly American.

As a young woman in California, Duncan already felt a call to discover "a new dance that will express America." Her childhood friend, Florence Treadwell Boynton, shared the same vision of freedom, of a vital life lived in harmony with nature.

The early years and visions of Florence and Isadora were closely tied. They were born within six months of each other and grew up together in Oakland.

When Isadora and Florence were infants in 1877, Oakland was becoming a center of trade for the San Francisco Bay, proud of its new stature as the western end of the transcontinental railroad.

Isadora's memories are of the hard times caused by her father

At the center of this experience was a view of beauty that exists outside time and place, unable to be owned by a certain period. Gradually I learned that the inspiration for this dance expression and its setting was the great dance pioneer Isadora Duncan. Indeed, her childhood friend and first American follower, Florence Treadwell Boynton, built the Temple as a living memorial to the great dancer. Possibly it could be the one place where the Duncan legacy has been most continuously developed over the longest time.

This place also gave me the sense of history that I left in the eastern landscape of my childhood. I had grown up with a past I could touch daily: four generations in adjacent towns, mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, a victorian house, porched front and back. Here in the dancing interchange between youth and age I felt again a sense of lineage. The living philosophy of Sülgwynn Quitzow rooted in her mother's generation had kept the Duncan dance legacy alive at the Temple of Wings for four generations.

Sülgwynn dedicated her life to the natural, unforced physical development of children. The dance expression moves out from the heart (or the "magic eye" as she told the children) through the arms reaching to the sky, creating the arc of a crescent moon: an open embrace to the world. From her teaching, children acquired an unselfconscious freedom of movement, flowing with an energy reminiscent of nature, of water, wind, clouds.

Indeed, nature provided the continuity I missed at first in California. I was captivated by the dynamic clash of sky and earth, the edge of land and sea, bright light washing over a constantly shifting landscape of hills, canyons, water, fog. Then, at the Temple, I found the connection between the inner expression of nature and the natural movement of bodies.

My commitment to this project was always renewed each year at the close of the festival when the dancers, led by Sülgwynn, faced the Golden Gate. There was silence. She raised her arms to the west. The dancers followed, silhouetted against the lowering light. I can only imagine that her gesture was to Isadora who had directly inspired her life, to her mother, to the whole of nature. I know that we all were participants in that moment. Beguiling, enchanting, unique. If out of curiosity you came to the festival, you might laugh at first in embarrassment, gradually become captivated by delight, and then end amazed that such an experience exists. Its beauty seems to fragile in our nerve-jangled, hard-edged world, and so necessary.

I knew I was committed when I asked Sülgwynn how she differed from other dance teachers, and she answered: "They teach dance for the theater--I teach dance for life!"

Kevin Starr has contributed the following statement:

There was a time when Isadora Duncan survived in

Joseph's disappearance with $10,000 in deposits from his own bank. Her mother, in dire straits, gave piano lessons and took in sewing. All four children worked as soon as they could, and eventually, with help of friends like the Treadwells, they found a settled life.

Florence's memories are more tranquil. "Oakland," she writes, "was once a great meadow with generously distributed groups of magnificent old oak trees." She remembers orchards, dairy farms, cool, shady canyons and homes with palm trees and windmills.

Brochures of the time called Oakland the "Athens of the Pacific"' it was there that Isadora spent the first sixteen years of her life. Both Florence and Isadora shared lessons at Cole School and singing, gymnastics and dramatics at Germania Hall. Florence joined the music and dancing at the Duncan home where as a child Isadora taught children in the neighborhood to dance. Elizabeth, her older sister, joined in. "Our fame as teachers increased," Isadora writes. "We called it a new system of dancing, but in reality it was no system. I used to recite a poem and teach the children to follow its meaning in gesture and movement. In the evenings my mother played to us while I composed dances." Not only were the dance classes a success but her brother Augustin's barn theater in their home at 8th and Poplar Streets "became quite celebrated in the neighborhood," according to Isadora. Florence, dreaming of becoming an actress, knew all the female roles and greatly admired Isadora's brother Augustin who had decided to be an actor.

Romance blossomed between Florence and Augustin but was discouraged by Papa Treadwell. He didn't want his only child to marry an actor. It is said that he helped the young "Gus" to leave California and join Isadora in New York. The young Isadora had left California in 1895 and with her family made her way eventually to Europe and a great international career as a dancer.

The successive triumphs of Isadora, in New York and throughout Europe, were dutifully and lavishly recorded in the San Francisco papers of the period, often referring to Miss Duncan as "a California Girl," making much of her dancing barefoot and in scant costumes.

If the natural exuberance of her style has the California landscape as its spiritual source and the sculptural art of ancient Greece as its form, Isadora's aspiration was actually futuristic--toward a liberation of the spirit and a reconciliation with that which is natural and free in each of us. For all her disguise in Grecian tunics or her studied references to ancient sculpture, Isadora's message in Europe was essentially an American call to individual freedom. Even Isadora's dress became a freedom banner. Her flowing tunics declared a physical freedom that told women, "You have a right to wear what is natural to your body."

Back in California, Florence maintained communication with the Duncan family. Married to young Charles Boynton, she pursued her own dream at home. As early as 1909, she declared herself an exponent of Duncan's philosophy of dance and dress as well as an advocate of healthy

living in the out-of-doors. Her mission was to improve the task of motherhood by demonstrating higher ideals and greater imagination.

In Berkeley at the Hillside Club she gave a program called an "Isadora Duncan afternoon." She prefaced her dances with the reading of several letters from Isadora Duncan. The newspaper accounts report that "Mrs. Charles C. Boynton of Alameda yesterday appeared before the Mother's Club of Berkeley at the Hillside Club and, clad only in a Grecian robe, presented the dances of her world-famous girlhood friend, Isadora Duncan." Mrs. Boynton said that "It is a great age of every nation when the nation recognizes its women; but when a nation recognizes its children, also, that is a greater age, and this recognition is the spirit of our age." Each dance was a game for mothers and children to play as a way to "develop the child physically and to enlarge its imagination." Besides the study of dance, there were also circles to study the new ideals in food, in home architecture and the home garden.

Inspired by photographs of Isadora Duncan's dancing children, Florence went Greek and dressed her children (and at times even her husband Charles) in loose, simple clothing and sandals, shedding the corsets and stiff collars, the fussy ruffles, stays and other Victorian refinements. She worked for open-air schools so that children would not be confined indoors all day. She thought their growing bodies needed fewer clothes and more fresh air and freedom of movement.

During summer holidays, the family went barefoot, which women didn't do in those days. It was considered almost immoral. One of the daughters recalls her father asking her mother, "Do you mean that you are going to let the boys see your feet?" She raised eyebrows again when she gave birth to a child outdoors under a grape arbor. Her daughter recalls, "She was in and out of the newspapers all the time because of her original ideas. She was always ahead of other people."

Ever dreaming of an ideal home to express her ideals, Florence discovered a perfect site on the side of the then bare hills of Berkeley, facing the Pacific and the setting sun. The roads wound into the hills, following the old cowpaths between fields of lupine and poppies. The land was part of the newly organized community where members were attempting to create a utopia of simple homes designed in harmony with nature. This domestic utopia was a flowering of social idealism peculiar to Berkeley at a time when its young university perpetrated a particular self-image of a Pacific Athens. The dramatic scenery, blended with a pastoral longing for a simple life close to the earth, called for a corresponding naturalism in architecture and living. A friend and fellow idealist, Bernard Maybeck, sold the Boyntons the land next to his and was their choice for architect.

Florence imagined the temple as a clearing in the forest with trees holding up tent canopies; Maybeck began plans in high enthusiasm.

Eventually disagreements caused him to leave the project. Nevertheless, his design is basic to the scheme. With the final renderings drawn up by Randolph Monro, Florence realized her rustic palace.

The Temple of Wings is clearly related to Greek ideals, but in form it is a free-wheeling adaptation of a temple. Although some saw it as a grandiose whim of an eccentric, it actually did provide the Boynton family with their needs: heat, light and a roof over their heads. But more than this, it functioned as a symbol for life as a sacred art.

While to our contemporary eyes the Temple may seem bizarre (or at the least impractical), it was a natural choice for the Boyntons. Indeed, the form of the Greek temple stood for simplicity and purity of proportion to those who were turning from the machine arts of the late Victorian world.

It is logical that Maybeck's Palace of Fine Arts, created for the Panama Pacific Exposition of 1915, incorporates similar ideas. The same Italian sculptor worked on both, casting in concrete the 34 Corinthian capitals for the 18-foot-high fluted columns at the Temple of Wings. Florence herself researched many of the architectural details to better carry out her vision. She had the floor built on hollow tile so that the hot air from the furnace would keep the floors warm for dancing.

The columns supported a ceiling painted sky blue with drifting clouds, a hint of sunset at one end and the hues of sunrise at the other, with a large circular skylight as the center of each wing. There were heavy canvas awnings hung against the columns for protection from wind, rain and cold weather. A narrow central section held two floors of family rooms for bathing and dressing, with curtains across a front balcony. In the two open-air studios, the family lived and danced, weaving a complete fabric of Art, Dance and Life.

The Temple drew considerable attention from the journalists of the day. Mrs. Boynton expressed herself with confidence in an interview for Sunset magazine in 1918: "My profession is motherhood. The inspiration came to me to build an outdoor home where the family could live free from domestic drudgery and convention in dress. We have named our open-air home of two circular porches 'The Temple of Wings' and we have dedicated it to the democracy and freedom of women."

Mr. Boynton, a successful San Francisco lawyer, wore his proper three-piece suit to the office, but joined the family in his toga once in the privacy of the Temple. He was a true believer himself, a devotee of their domestic simplicity, their dancing, and particularly of the simplified diet. He is also quoted in the Sunset interview: "This 'simple diet' life is no dream of a faddist. We have actually lived it out for four years. . . . We have solved the problem of living for these times of high cost. . . . Our menu consists of California fruits and nuts, raisins, dried figs, prunes, almonds, English walnuts, peanuts, and fresh fruit in season. Besides these, it includes cheese, honey, milk and galleta, an Italian hardtack. We cook but one article of food: we roast peanuts, a fifteen minutes' task

daily. Our fuel bill does not exceed $1.50 a month, and of course, we do not employ a cook."

While Isadora danced the newly-felt spirit of freedom on the stage and lived it flamboyantly in international circles, Florence housed that spirit on home ground in this highly individual style. Over the years the friendship between Florence and Isadora was kept alive by frequent correspondence and by encounters in New York, Boston and Philadelphia in 1908, and in San Francisco in 1917 when the Boyntons attended all of her San Francisco Performances. In the words of one of the Boynton daughters, "We saw her dance from box seats especially saved for us and then we went backstage. On stage she was a priestess of dance, pure and spiritual. Backstage she was charming, witty and a worldly woman. We knew from our mother that Isadora didn't just want to create schools of dance; she wanted to change the lives of people through dance. We lived that ourselves."

The Temple, as an open-air pavilion, was entirely destroyed by the Berkeley fire of 1923, and stood in stark ruin.

With her insistence on beauty, even the architectural ruin was an inspiration to Mrs. Boynton, who staged the wedding of her daughter Sülgwynn to Charles Quitzow in the burnt-out heart of the cleared and decorated colonnade. It took place by the light of the full moon. The bride wore a white Grecian gown and a garland of gold leaves in her hair. Bridesmaids, like priestesses in their flowing tunics, entered bearing lighted torches. Sülgwynn fondly remembered the ceremony, "a most splended pageant, one of the best ones mother gave." In the end it fell naturally to her to carry on the dance studio in the rebuilt Temple as her parents grew older. She and her husband Charles moved in permanently in 1946 and carried on a partnership of music and dance that lasted until Sülgwynn's death in 1983.

In the Duncan philosophy, art is part of life. In all her teaching, the focus was on children and their simple, natural movement. Her goal and that of her followers, Boynton and Quitzow, was not to create dancers who perform to entertain, but rather to inspire in all people an understanding of dance as an expression of life and of life as dance.

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MEMORIES OF DR. VALÉRIA DIENES

presented by Dr. Gedeon P. Dienes

The memories of Dr. Valeria Dienes are taken from her biographic manuscript written during the 1950's and 1960's. These excerpts were translated from Hungarian in January 1987 by Dr. Gedeon P. Dienes, Valeria Dienes' son, and presented as part of his keynote address at the SDHS conference 14 February 1987 at the University of California, Irvine.

My university studies had nothing to do with dance. I graduated in philosophy, aesthetics and mathematics and wrote my Ph.D. dissertation in epistemology (1905).

In the academic year of 1911-12, the third I was spending in Paris, at the Collège de France as a pupil of Henri Bergson, I lived in a student hostel where some girls told me about a little theatre in the rue des Ursulines where Raymond Duncan, Isadora's brother, moved in with all his groups, and was doing various interesting things. They wore chitons, woven by themselves, they modelled vases, sang peculiar tunes in very unusual keys, accompanied on funny wind instruments, reading scores written in undulating lines (neumas), and, in addition, you would learn very pleasant movements in the small theatre from Raymond.

This aroused my interest because in our previous years in Paris with my husband Paul, we had seen Isadora dance after the performance in the Chatelet and had been so enraptured that - together with the other spectators - we lined up in front of the box office to buy tickets for the next performance. What a recreation it was not to see rigid legs, walking on pointed toes, hackneyed postures and lines but a natural, true, fresh human body showing pure human joy, sorrow, children's playfulness in its nakedness and not the eternal sex in her movements. These reminiscences soon took me to the rue des Ursulines where you could register with the "Groupe finance" by paying as many franks as you wished. I still inquired about an approximate sum and was told that some paid one frank, others fifty for a month according to one's individual budget. I decided to pay five franks a month which was what I could afford as a student.

Raymond interpreted his task of teaching very simply. In his self-woven chiton with fringed trimmings and his long hair reaching down his shoulder he leaped into the auditorium - where we had been lined up in a row - and swept through the room showing us a few movements and was gone. You had to imitate it. It was a sample. We all tried as best we could. Raymond sometimes watched, sometimes left us. He was interested in one or two people, others were left to themselves. I regularly attended these exercises even when he preached "theory." On such occasions the boxes [around the auditorium] were full of people from all walks of Paris life. I remember seeing there young workers [who had also come to the exercises], other students, aristocrats, intellectuals, and everybody had a good time.

I took a fancy to these classes which were a good balance to my spiritual work at the University. I studied from morning until

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closing time [no electricity had been installed in the Bibliothèque nationale to protect from the fire the values collected there] . . . but half of my mind was already in the rue des Ursulines, preparing the geometry of the human body and movements.

This autodidactic movement learning lasted for about three to four months which happened to coincide with a performance of Elektra in the Trocadéro where Raymond's wife, the beautiful Penelope, was Elektra and where I saw movement choirs shaped according to the drawings on the Greek vases for the first time and saw - also for the first time - Raymond's "lyrical dances" in the intermissions which were meant to outline the emotional atmosphere of the act to come. I liked Elektra very much but I found the lyrical dances poor in movements, all too homogeneous. I do not remember feeling anything like rapture, enchantement I had felt the year before when I saw Isadora.

It may be interesting now to register what I brought home to Hungary from these classes of "groupe danse." First and foremost it was the moving in profile and the movement from one profile plane into the other. Raymond spoke of no other plane [like the frontal one]. He used a few poses of the so-called arm scales for Greek pyrrhic dances and he taught two basic elements of locomotion, namely steps, and jumps, like skippings and swings [*elan* in French]. Expressive gestures were added to the movement for some emotional scenes. The profile of the movements dominated every moment of balance. This was the movement material that underlay Isadora's dances adorned with her individual means of expression and her music designs.

When in the summer of 1912 I came back to Hungary, I first showed this movement material to artists but my main concern was slowly becoming the geometrical and rhythmical analysis of human movement and I felt there must be more to it than what Raymond had taught us. When some ten years later [in the early twenties] I again met Raymond, I mentioned to him what a rich domain he had opened for me and what an interesting analysis I had embarked upon. His answer was that what he had taught was ready and there was nothing more to it. He was utterly uninterested. And I never spoke to him again. And he never got to know the system of human movements I have since developed from his rudimentary vocabulary, a system I called orchestrics, which was to consist of four spects of or approaches to motion - space, time, force, and meaning - which developed into such disciplines as plastics (which sounds funny today and could perhaps be called stereotics), rhythmics, dynamics and symbolics.

ISADORA DUNCAN IN HUNGARY

Dr. Gedeon P. Dienes

When reading and rereading Isadora Duncan's autobiography, first in German, then in English, I was often disturbed by her neglecting dates and years and the succession of events in her life. Nevertheless I had to realize that she could not be blamed since, as an artist, she was never meant to write a scientific study or a methodologically established chronology and topology of her past. It is the task of historians to ascertain a reliable sequence of the events in her life.

When commissioned in Hungary to write a summary of "modern dance" in the first half of our century, I decided to analyze the relation of the "pioneers" to Hungary and, as a one-time member of the Duncan colony in Nice and Paris, I particularly tried to find out the details of Isadora's appearances in Hungary, to establish the chronological order and the geographical location of her performances so as to build up a background against which those months spent in my country could better be understood.

This was the time when the 80th anniversary of her touring Hungary came to be mentioned in the Hungarian press by some historically minded journalists and men of letters [like Tamás Ungvári in the daily Magyar Nemzet of 6 March 1982. Miklós Kovalovszky ibidem on 6 April and others] who challenged dance historians "to account for Isadora's doings in Hungary" where she is supposed to have stayed between February and September 1902. After such preliminaries I started a more thorough search for documents in my country for shedding more light on the months in question, though the distance of eighty years including two world wars and other events detrimental to the preservation of documents and their ensuing scarcity made my fact-finding attempts rather difficult.

Although it is well known that Isadora's stormy emotional life had a climax in Budapest (a tempting subject), I rather concentrated on the factual side and the artistic features of her stay, (which are obviously inseparable from her personality) trying to trace her through Hungary of these days and to reveal the impact her dancing had on the Hungarian intellectuals and on the public at large. Having found and examined a large number of documents from the press and other printed matter etc. that are accessible in Hungary I could establish a certain number of facts, dates, places, sequences of events and something of the social background against which she performed. Yet we must not forget that documents are liable to be contradictory at times, and the available sources are so exhausted. Therefore the search for new sources can never be discontinued, nor do I give up finding further documents. I shall give a cross-section of the present state of my research quoting facts that may be looked upon as definitely established as well as hypotheses which either may prove correct or may have to be modified.

In the following I shall describe the time and space elements on which I can rely as on an established framework.

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The earliest record I have of Isadora's staying in Budapest dates from 15 March 1902, [Magyar Nemzet] promising a soirée of artists on 17 March featuring Miss Duncan and a number of prominent actors and actresses including Emilia Márkus, one of the two "Hungarian Eleonore Duses," who was to become Vaslav Nijinksy's mother-in-law, (i.e. still the "élite" for when Isadora had been dancing), now in the Casino of Lipótváros (Leopoldville, an elegant district of Budapest). This was where Mari Jászai (the other Hungarian "Duse") saw her dance (not necessarily for the first time) and became so enthusiastic of her natural and pure style of moving and of her whole personality that she wrote perhaps the most touching article about Isadora that ever appeared in the Hungarian press: "The Little Dance Poetess" in Uj Idók [20 April 1902. For excerpts, see F. Blair: Isadora, 1986, pp. 56-57]. This was to become a great friendship. Isadora said to a reporter of Magyar Szinpad: "I shall compose a dance expressing my affection and friendship I feel for Jászai" [13 April 1902]. Jászai's article came to be quoted later throughout the country wherever Isadora went, setting the atmosphere for the appearance of this young girl utterly unknown in Hungary.

Following a week's rehearsals in a salon of Hotel Royal, Isadora's first public appearance in Hungary is known by now to have taken place on 19 April 1902 in the Uránia Theatre, Budapest, where she was to dance on twenty nights, almost consecutively between 19 and 29 of April and between 14 and 23 of May, followed by a week's rest. Her impresario Alexander Gross (or Grosz) was clever enough to announce three concerts first (on 19-21 April) and - when the houses were sold out - to announce another three (for 22-24 April), all tickets at increased prices. For the subsequent four concerts (on 26-29 April) Isadora changed her program by introducing four dances to Chopin's compositions. Let us not forget that as from 20 April, Strauss' Blue Danube was invariably encored after every concert.

After a fortnight another four performances were announced in the press citing Isadora's words addressed to the director of Uránia Theatre: "I have danced for the rich audiences of Budapest and now I would like everybody to get acquainted with my art. Would you give me an opportunity to fulfil this wish of mine?" This meant another ten concerts in a rhythm of four plus four plus two. These included two different programs, one for the first five nights and another for the last five concerts. At those concerts she danced also a czardash and a waltz when called for an encore.

The Budapest season ended by a gala evening at the Budapest Opera House - as we read in My Life p. 113 - when Isadora had a Gypsy orchestra brought up to the stage and danced "the song of the Gypsies," in fact a very popular romantic Hungarian song "bringing the vast audience to tears" and ending with the "Rakowsky March." Here the German-language edition of sixty years ago is correct: it was the Rakoczi March she danced to (Rakowsky was a Bulgarian revolutionary of the past century). And another thing. We have checked every nook and corner in and around the Opera but have found no documents corroborating the gala performance Isadora is talking about. This, of course, does not mean that it did not take place; it may only mean that we have not looked in the proper nooks and corners.

Now disregarding this gala, the ten April concerts and the ten May concerts do not add up to "thirty sold-out houses in Budapest" but if her further appearances in provincial Hungarian towns are also

considered, the number of her public performances comes close to thirty (in fact to twenty-eight attested by documents).

In June 1902 Isadora was busy touring Hungary. She started at Pécs (Fűnfkirchen) where she danced on 3 and 4 June then went, (via Budapest) to Temesvár (today Timisoara), Roumania where she danced on 8 June and to nearby Szeged (Southern Hungary) where she gave two concerts, on 12 and 13 June. This was followed by an interval of a fortnight during which the press was silent and Isadora probably rested in Budapest. Then she re-appeared at Debrecen on 26 June and at Arad (today Roumania) for two performances, namely on 29 and 30 June. As announced by some Budapest papers before starting on her tour, she was to dance also at Nagyvárad (today Oradea, Roumania, known in German as Grosswardei), at Kassa (today Kovice, Czechoslovakia, known in German as Kaschau), in Pozsony (today Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, known in German as Pressburg), at Sopron (known in German as Odenburg) and at Győr (known in German as Raab), both in Western Hungary. (The German names are given to help identify local sources, including German-language newspapers of which there were many in those days.) This ten-town tour seems to have dwindled to its half, i.e. to five towns where the press reported on her concerts and carried criticisms.

As for the rest of her planned itinerary, I have checked the local dailies of Nagyvárad, Kassa, Pozsony, Sopron and Győr published in July and August (four to five more important dailies in each town) but I could find no trace of Miss Duncan's visit and I feel entitled to conclude that she did not perform in these towns.

As to Isadora's own account of her tour, let me quote both the English and the German versions in order to compare them. "I gave performances (she writes in the English version) in many towns, including Sieben Kirchen where I was impressed by the story of the hanging of the seven Revolutionary Generals. In a great open field outside the town I composed a march in honour of those Generals, to the heroic and sombre music of Liszt [London edition, 1968, p. 115].

Here is the German text (in my English translation): "I danced in all Hungarian towns down to Fűnfkirchen and Arad where I was deeply impressed by the fate of the Hungarian martyrs of the year 1848. On a large open field outside the town where the drama had taken place, I created - to the sombre sounds of Liszt's Trauermarsch - one of my most beautiful dances, attended by a crowd, hats in hands, tears in the eyes, in deep silence" [Leipzig edition, 1928, p. 106].

Let me point out that there is no such a place as "Siebenkirchen." Isadora was, of course, not meant to remember all the funny Hungarian and German names of the places she had gone to or the number of generals hanged, for that matter. Yet the editor of the English version in 1968 could have checked the correct date in the German edition of 1928 where Isadora's innocent mistakes had already been corrected. The above name is obviously a contamination of Siebenbürgen (a region where Arad lies, i.e. Transylvania in English) where she danced last and of Fűnfkirchen (the German name of Pécs) where she made her first appearance on her concert tour. It was indeed at Arad that she danced in honour of the revolutionary generals who had been executed in an open field near that town in 1849, the thirteen of them.

The question obviously arises why Isadora did not carry out the entire tour as had been planned (at least according to preliminary

press reports) and why she discontinued it at Arad on 30 June. There may be more than one reason for that.

Knowing that July was the month when the theatres in Hungary had their vacation, Gross may originally have planned a tighter schedule for Isadora but, for reasons not known so far, he could not organize all the planned performances before the end of the season.

Another explanation, and perhaps a more likely one, would be that the press was later not so unanimously enthusiastic about Isadora's dancing as earlier. This could be ascribed much rather to the somewhat arbitrary demands of her impresario (concerning ticket prices, the hiring of the theatre etc.) than to some wearing off of her powerful impact on the audiences. At Debrecen, the penultimate town in her actual tour, for instance the press dealt lengthily with Gross' demanding double prices for the tickets and not wishing to pay any rent for the theatre. This did not set the right atmosphere for Isadora. One of the critics wrote: "In spite of the 50 per cent extra charge on the tickets the public filled the theatre to capacity yet, when leaving the theatre, nine out of ten were of the opinion that half price would have been enough for the tickets . . ." and later ". . . Duncan would hardly venture to dance for a second time because she would probably not be able to fool the public the way she did it at first." [in the daily Debreczen, 28 June 1902]. At Arad she was again highly praised but she never got to Nagyvárad where two unsigned articles had actually prevented her from making the stage. She was accused of asking the director for 500. -- forints when the greatest actors appeared for 100 to 200.-- and her impresario was again blamed for wanting the stage without paying and 100 per cent increased prices on tickets. Another article, again unsigned, was address directly to Mari Jászai accusing her of having "committed a terrible crime against Hungarian art and serious histrionics by having chanted the praises of a dancer called Miss Izidora Duncan so loud . . . that the public highly appreciating Jászai's words was taken in by her and swarmed to see and gape at the miracle advertized" [Nagyváradi Naplo 4 June 1902]. Under such preliminary conditions it became impossible to have the planned three concerts in that town. Let us add, both of these articles have since been attributed to Endre Ady, the greatest Hungarian revolutionary poet of the first half of our century who, by the way, is said never to have seen Isadora dance. Had he seen her and had Gross not demanded such exaggerated sums for her appearances, her tour in the Hungarian provinces may have turned out differently. This, of course, does not cast any shadow on Isadora's art which was highly praised by critics; it rather shows a bias against art may elicit an untoward financial approach and lead astray the best intentions.

In this context, however, I want to stress that the documents available fully bear out Isadora's words on her tremendous success: "Throughout this trip I received a wonderful ovation from the audiences in all these little Hungarian towns. In each of them Alexander Gross had a victoria waiting with white horses, and filled with white flowers, and I, dressed all in white, in the midst of cheers and shouts, was conducted through the town like some young visiting goddess from another world" [My Life, p. 115]. I feel that these words truly describe the atmosphere in which she travelled, lived and danced during June 1902.

When I wanted to put my finger on the very day Isadora came back

to Budapest after her tour and met her Romeo again, and on the day she left Hungary for Vienna, I found myself at a loss. These two days, "back to Budapest" and "away from Budapest" will probably be found between 1 July and mid-September. I have not been able to identify the first, while the latter seems to be an easier task. "I saw Romeo's debut in Mark Antony. My last vision was the mad enthusiasm of the theatre audiences. The next day I left for Vienna." [My Life, p. 116]. Now since after July 1, Julius Caesar was first on 15 September, for the first time in the 1902/03 season, this may be identified with what Isadora calls "debut" and this sets the date of her departure ("the next day") on September 16.

Now before analyzing Isadora's frustration, i.e. one of the bitterest and saddest she ever experienced" [p. 116], let us cast a glance at the dances she performed in Hungary.

The program of her début [19 April 1902] in Budapest, Uránia Theatre, consisted of not more than six dances: three in the first part and three in the second. This can be considered as her "basic" program which was invariably preceded by a lecture on the nature of her art by József Márkus (editor-in-chief of Magyar Szinpad - Hungarian stage - a daily carrying programs of every Budapest theatre with a column on the provincial ones) in Budapest and by others in the provincial towns. Here is the program in English [cf. Exhibit No. 2].

Overture. Handel: Largo. Performed by members of the orchestra of the Hungarian Royal Opera.

Introductory lecture by József Márkus

First Part

I. "Primavera", after Alessandro Filippi Boticelli's painting(1447-1510). Music by Ferroni.

Accompanying poem: To Torquatus, 7th Ode of Horace's IVth Book. Translated by Benedek Virág. Recited by Ilka Angyal. The accompanying chorus is sung by members of the choir of the Hungarian Royal Opera.

II. Ninetta. Music by Couperin.

Accompanying poem: Ninetta by Antal Radó. Recited by Ilka Angyal.

III. Angel Playing the Violin, after a painting of Ambrogio de Predis. Violin solo "Nobilità d'Amore" di Cesare Negri(1604).

Accompanying poem: The Home of Angels(after Du Bellay) by Antal Radó. Recited by Ilka Angyal.

Second Part

IV. Pan and Echo. Mosches's 14th Idyll. Music by Ferroni.

Accompanying poem: Pan and Echo. Translated by Sz. Z. Recited by Oszkár Beregi, member of the National Theatre.

V. Excerpts from Gluck's Opera "Orpheus"

Accompanying poems: Orpheus and Euridice

(I. The dryads mourning over Euridice's death.

II. The shades listening to Orpheus. - III. Orpheus meeting Euridice.) by Antal Radó. Recited by Oszkár Beregi, member of the National Theatre. The accompanying choruses are sung by members of the choir of the Hungarian Royal Opera.

VI. Bacchus and Ariadne to music by Giovanni Picchi./1621/.

Accompanying poem: Carnival Song. (by Lorenzo Medici). translated

by Antal Radó. Recited by Oszkár Beregi, member of the National Theatre.

As from 26 April there was a change in the program. The Angel Playing the Violin was replaced by the following:

III. Chopin: Polonaise, played on the piano by Sylvie Risigari.
IV. Chopin: Mazurka in A sharp major
V. " : Prelude in E minor
VI. " : Mazurka in C major
VII. " : Waltz in C sharp minor
Accompaniment by Sylvie Risigari

Let me make a few comments on the program.

As can be seen from the photostatic copy in Exhibit 2, entitled "Miss Isadora Duncan's Dance Evening," her first name is misspelt, and this recurs on more than one occasion in the press. Since her name was thus associated with the name "Izidor," well known in Hungary, though a man's name, it prompted some papers to go as far as suggesting that Miss Duncan might be Hungarian by birth.

Another misleading phrase is the "accompanying poems" which did not accompany the dances but were recited before each of them probably to create the necessary atmosphere and to explain what the subsequent dance would be about. Three dances were preceded by poems written by A. Radó for the occasion. A widely known translator of literary works from many different languages and a clever rhymer, he is also responsible for the Hungarian version Lorenzo Medici's Carnival Song. Horace's Ode is an earlier translation by Benedek Virág (1754-1830), "father of Hungarian literature" of those days and also called "the Hungarian Horace," and the translator of Pan and Echo remains an unknown Sz. Z. Let us note that the verses composed or translated by A. Radó are of no particular literary value yet seem to have been suitable for evoking an atmosphere Isadora wished to have before she appeared on the stage.

Another feature of information was the speech of József Markus, mentioned above, who spoke about Isadora's past and plans. The text is not available, as far as we know, but the content can be gathered from varous articles citing parts thereof. He explained how Isadora had learned to dance from her grandmother, a dancer herself, how under her long illness she evolved the idea of reviving classical Greek dance, how devotely she studied ancient life under the expert guidance of the famous painter Alma Tadema in England, stressing that her dance was based on philosophical considerations and - eventually - when rich, how she would erect an institute in Hellas for teaching young girls antique Greek dances.

In May the program changed considerably. The prologue was a writing of Mari Jászai "On Miss Duncan" and read before the concert. The favourite dances, like Orpheus, Pan and Echo, Bacchus and Ariadne were still on and new dances were included, such as Proserpina by Homer, The Stealer of Honey by Theocritus, Ovid's Narsiccus and Alcestis's Farewell by Euripides. For a few days the second part consisted of a "Greek legend" Pygmalion and Galatea performed by Oszkár Beregi and Isadora, a scene in "Pygmalion's bedroom," but this was not a success. "No-one could take Beregi's Pygmalion seriously, his declamation was sloppy. The same applies to the verses

accompanying the other dances which Beregi recited this time simlutaneously with the music and dance. . . . word and dance were in constant controversy . . ." [Pesti Hirlap, 15 May].

Isadora danced the same pieces during her tour in Hungary where they were acclaimed with the same enthusiasm as in Budapest.

An analysis of the articles praising Isadora's art would need another score of pages but perhaps it is worth mentioning the major features of her dance that were emphasized. The critics (and also the public) were captured mainly by the beauty of her classically shaped body, by the nakedness of her feet and legs (and shoulder), the naturalness of her comportment, the expressive and narrative power of her dancing, her capacity of conjuring up Antiquity and by the novelty of her dance as against the hackneyed movements of ballet.

In conclusion, let us come back to Isadora's farewell to Hungary where she experienced her greatest public triumphs on the stage until then and learned in love the moment that is "worth more and more desirable than all else in the universe." Still about her journey from Budapest to Vienna she wrote: "All joy seemed suddenly to have left the universe [My Life, p. 116]. "In Vienna I fell ill, and was placed by Alexander Gross in a clinic." Without unduly dramatizing the situation it seems likely that Isadora had more reason to be frustrated than just parting with her Romeo. In his above-cited article T. Ungvári writes: "on a recently found photograph Beregi and Isadora are tenderly looking at each other, yet even the pleated and ample skirt of the dancer cannot conceal her being pregnant." I do not want to elaborate on the rather telling stylistic signs in Isadora's description of her reminiscences because this is not the purpose of the present study, yet the circumstance of her illness, as described by herself, do not exclude the assumption of her having had a miscarriage, a possible prospect of which may have been another reason why her tour in Hungary had to be discontinued.

This is how much I could so far deduce from the documents available at present in my country, but the many thousand words in the contemporary press and other sources have induced me further to analyze and evaluate them in order to fill in the blanks in Isadora's days in Hungary.

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x

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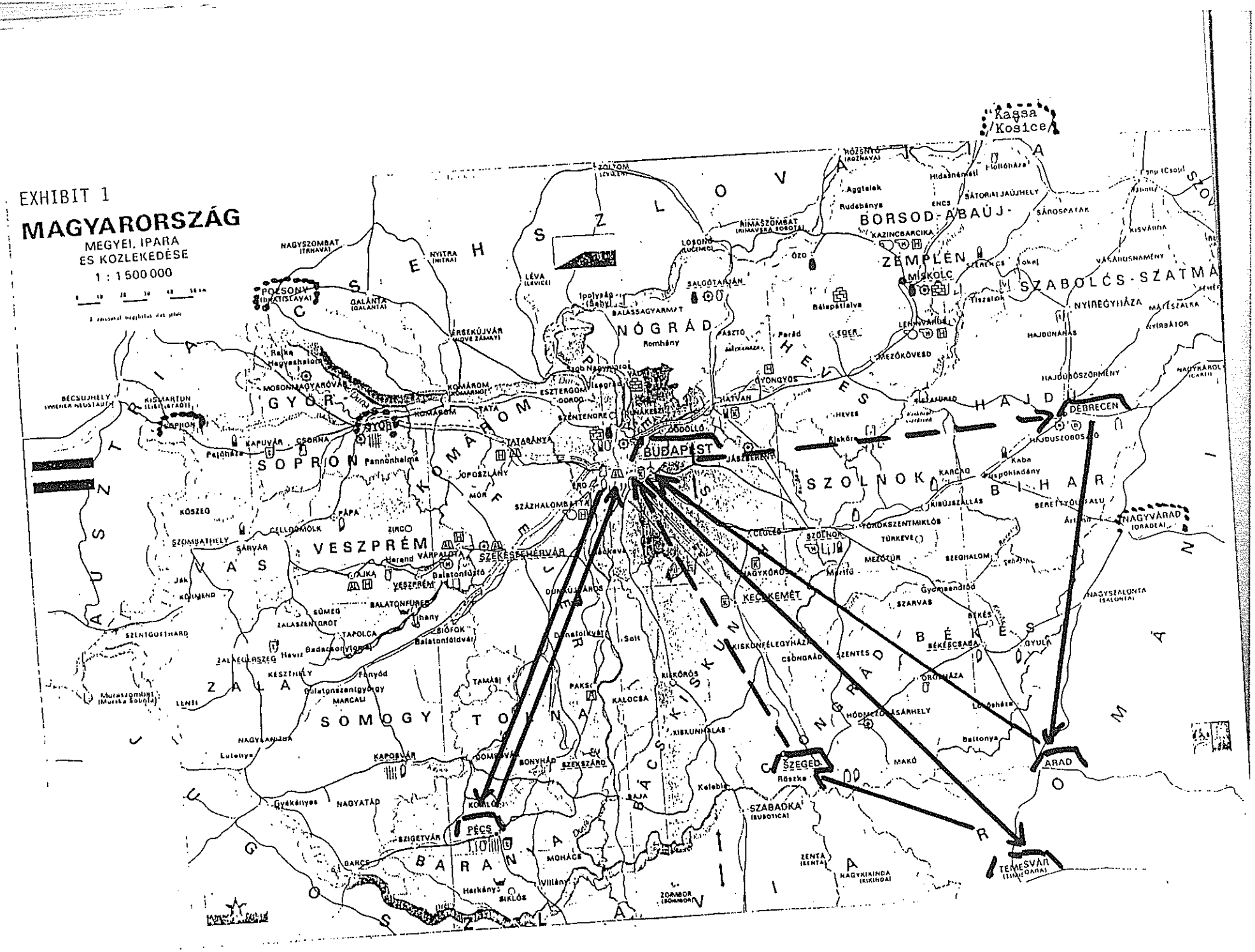
-x-: Miss Duncan - szerelmes /M.D. is in Love/, in Magyar Sxinpad, 23 April 1902.

/Miss Duncan/, in Pesti Hirlap, 13 May 1902.

EXHIBIT 1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Pásztó
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Balassagyarmat
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Győr
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Sopron
Kőszeg
Szombathely
Sárvár
Celldömölk
Pápa
Zirc
Veszprém
Balatonfüred
Tatabánya
Budapest
Szolnok
Karcag
Debrecen
Hajdúszoboszló
Hajdúböszörmény
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Sümeg
Tapolca
Balatonfüred
Siófok
Balatonföldvár
Tata
Komárom
Esztergom
Győr
Mosonmagyaróvár
Sopron
Kőszeg
Szombathely
Sárvár
Celldömölk
Pápa
Zirc
Veszprém
Balatonfüred
Tatabánya
Budapest
Szolnok
Karcag
Debrecen
Hajdúszoboszló
Hajdúböszörmény
Hajdúnánás
Nyíregyháza
Szabolcs-Szatmár
Szécsény
Salgótarján
Balassagyarmat
Rétság
Losonc
Ózd
Miskolc
Tokaj
Szerencs
Sátoraljaújhely
Hidasnémeti
Rudabánya
Aggtelek
Kazincbarcika
Nagyvárad
Szeghalom
Mezőtúr
Gyomaendrőd
Szarvas
Orosháza
Szentes
Csongrád
Kiskunfélegyháza
Kiskőrös
Kiskunhalas
Kalocsa
Paks
Dunaújváros
Dunaföldvár
Tamási
Szekszárd
Bonyhád
Mohács
Siklós
Harkány
Villány
Baja
Kelebia
Szabadka
Zenta
Nagykikinda
Zombor
Kaposvár
Nagyatád
Gyékényes
Marcali
Fonyód
Balatonszentgyörgy
Keszthely
Zalaegerszeg
Lenti
Szentgotthárd
Jánosháza
Körmend
Sümeg
Tapolca
Balatonfüred
Siófok
Balatonföldvár
Tata
Komárom
Esztergom
Győr
Mosonmagyaróvár
Sopron
Kőszeg
Szombathely
Sárvár
Celldömölk
Pápa
Zirc
Veszprém
Balatonfüred
Tatabánya
Budapest
Szolnok
Karcag
Debrecen
Hajdúszoboszló
Hajdúböszörmény
Hajdúnánás
Nyíregyháza
Szabolcs-Szatmár

EXHIBIT 2

Negyedik évfolyam. Budapest, 1902. április 19. 228. szám.

SZÖVEGES ÉS KÉPES

MAGYAR SZINPAD

SZINHÁZI NAPILAP.

Előfizetési ár: Negyedévre 7 korona. — Egy hóra 3 korona.

Laptulajdonos és felelős szerkesztő: MÁRKUS JÓZSEF.

Szerkesztőség és kiadóhivatal: Budapest, VI., Teréz-körut 38. szám.

URÁNIA-SZINHÁZ.

Miss Izidora Duncan tánczestéje.

Műsor:

Lapunk tulajdona.

Nyitány. Händel: *Largo*-jából. Előadják a *M. kir. Opera* zenekarának tagjai.

Bevezető előadás. Tartja: *Márkus József.*

Első Rész.

I. **„Primavera".** Alessandro Filippi (Botticelli) festménye után. (1447—1510.). Zenéje: *Ferroni*-tól. Tánczolja: ***Miss Izidora Duncan.***

Kisérő vers: **Torquátushoz.** Horatius IV-ik könyve, 7-ik óda. *Virág Benedek* forditása. Szavalja: *Angyal Ilka* urhölgy.

A kisérő kórust a *M. kir. Opera* énekkarának tagjai éneklik.

II. **Ninetta.** Zenéje: *Couperin*-tól. Tánczolja: ***Miss Izidora Duncan.***

Kisérő vers: **Ninetta.** Irta: *Radó Antal.* Szavalja: *Angyal Ilka* urhölgy.

III. **»Hegedülő angyal«.** Ambrogio de Predis festménye után. Hegedüsolo: »Nobilita d'Amore« *Cesare Negri*-től. (1604.) Tánczolja: ***Miss Izidora Duncan.***

Kisérő vers: **Az angyalok hazája.** (Du Bellay nyomán.) Irta: *Radó Antal.* Szavalja: *Angyal Ilka* urhölgy.

Második Rész.

IV. **Pán és Echo.** *Moschos* 14-ik Idyll-je. Zenéje: *Ferroni*-tól. Tánczolja: ***Miss Izidora Duncan.***

Kisérő vers: **Pan és Echo.** Forditotta: *Sz. Z.* Szavalja: *Beregi Oszkár,* a *Nemzeti Szinház* tagja.

Ujdonság Budapesten.

V. **Részletek Gluck: »Orpheus« dalművéből.** Tánczolja: ***Miss Izidora Duncan.***

Kisérő versek: **Orpheus és Eurydice.** (I. *A dryadok gyásza Eurydice halálán.* II. *Az árnyak hallgatják Orpheust.* — III. *Orpheus találkozása Eurydice*-vel.) Irta: *Radó Antal.* Szavalja: *Beregi Oszkár,* a *Nemzeti Szinház* tagja.

A kisérő kórusokat a *M. kir. Opera* énekkarának tagjai éneklik.

VI. **Bachus és Ariadne.** Zenéjét irta: *Giovanni Picchi.* (1621.) Tánczolja: ***Miss Izidora Duncan.***

Kisérő vers: **Farsangi ének.** (Lorenzo Medici verse.) Forditotta: *Radó Antal.* Szavalja: *Beregi Oszkár,* a *Nemzeti Szinház* tagja.

ISADORA DUNCAN AND HER RELATIONSHIP TO THE MUSIC OF CHOPIN

Lillian Loewenthal

The pillars of Isadora Duncan's repertory were those dances composed to the music of Gluck and Chopin. The longest-lasting and most actively performed, they stretched from the earliest, slim beginnings of her career to almost the very end. Gluck was referred to as her companion of the "first hour," but I have taken the liberty of including Frederic Chopin as an equal of that first hour and, in specific ways, more equal than Gluck.

The observations presented here are not absolute, of course. They are a personal assessment drawn from a combination of factors. It was my privilege as an adolescent to study both music and Duncan dance. I also had the opportunity to see in cherished performances the outstanding exemplars of Isadora's tradition, the Isadorables and their finest pupils. There are my individual responses to the music of Chopin and my personal perception of Isadora Duncan as woman and as creative temperament. And there has been an ongoing investigation of written and oral documents on her life and critiques of her work.

The literature on Duncan tells us that she and music made beautiful things together; that music for this inspired woman was the grand source, the root of her creativity; that not only was pleasure and incentive derived from music, but in times of personal distress she reaped from it its consoling, healing, and meditative properties. Wagner had truly magnetized her; she composed a substantial number of dances based on his scores. Her stirring conceptions to Tchaikovsky's music earned her great acclaim. The Schubert program consistently remained memorable for audiences, while Beethoven, the master and titan, urged her on toward large and powerful dance visions. But she was artistic kin to Chopin, and it is in the environment of his music that I sense Isadora Duncan, artist, to be most herself.

I do not view the composer and the dancer to be twin souls--in personality there were more differences than similarities--but between the extraordinary and creative psyches of Duncan and Chopin there exist interesting parallels. Initially, what appears most striking in both cases is the intimacy of the expressional material that each of them revealed through a single instrument of art. For Duncan, the moving body was her voice, the sole apparatus--private, sensitive, flexible--with which she achieved utterances of remarkable eloquence. For Chopin, the piano, an instrument of versatility and incredible sensitivity under his touch, became an extension of himself and mirrored his every mood.

The first important composer for the modern piano, Chopin today retains the title "Poet of the Keyboard." No composer before him gave music so personal a voice. It was said that he could create out of his inmost soul, like no other. George Sand believed he could make an instrument speak the language of the infinite. He moved piano litature into a new era.

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Isadora was the first of a new era in dance, and actually a greater insurgent in art than he. Apart from his spectacular innovations in pianistic style, Chopin made no noteworthy contribution to the development of the larger musical forms, as did Beethoven, Berlioz, or Wagner. Isadora catalyzed Western dance toward radical change. As no previous dancer, she transmitted through movement a vivid range of moods and esthetic impressions from the human experience. She was a maker of poetic images woven with the delicacy and magic of motion. Many held the opinion that there was not a complex human emotion in Chopin's music that she did not express in her dance.

Chopin, whose outline of melody embodied the rhythm of dance, astounded his envious contemporaries--Schumann, Hummel, Mendelssohn, Liszt--with the richness of his melodic invention and tonal color. His psychological contrasts and intensities--melancholic, fragile, vivacious, rapturous, and strong--were consonant with the esthetic sensibilities and artistic energies propelling the dancer. Isadora identified in his music her own desire to articulate that which was beautiful, to revel as he did in the nobility of man's spirit, and to convey through her art medium that elemental passion for freedom so powerful in each: his directed exclusively toward his Polish fatherland; hers, more universal in scope, toward all humanity.

Technically, the composer was anything but simple. His musical intricacies have never ceased to challenge those who attempt to study him seriously. His melodic line could be luxuriously elaborate: flowing as if spontaneous, cascading with subtle fluctuations of tempo into elegantly long musical phrases, or intoning a tender, heartwrenching simplicity. With soulful melodies and rhythmic shifts that took one by surprise, he produced an atmosphere somewhat restive, ambiguous, even suspenseful.

Suspense of motion is the key to the Chopin style and its technical mastery--his rubato rhythm. Schumann neatly described rubato as the left hand maintaining a firm rhythm, while the right hand can be "ever so slightly delayed, ever so slightly hastened" (James Huneker, Chopin: The Man and His Music). Liszt spoke of it as a swaying and balancing (Franz Liszt, Frédéric Chopin). Chopin told it this way: "Fancy a tree with its branches swayed by the wind. The stem is the steady time, the moving leaves are the melodic inflection" (Huneker). This in itself would create the unusual state of rhythmic irregularity and uncertainty that French writer André Gide found so essential in the playing of Chopin (Gide, Notes on Chopin), and it was early evident in Isadora's Chopin.

Adapting this almost schizophrenic situation to her dances was tricky. Rubato had to be worked at until it was properly nuanced, as Isadora found out. Victor Seroff, a biographer of Isadora and also of Chopin, discussed the enigmatic rubato with her toward the end of her life, and she conceded that it had taken time and much practice before she correctly sensed its elasticity of rhythm (Seroff, The Real Isadora). But her accompanist, Maurice Dumesnil, remarked: "Isadora was a born, not a made dancer" (Dumesnil, An Amazing Journey). She was a natural for this music.

To begin with, Isadora's personal grace and lyricism of form, her feeling for the flow of the music, her extended and decorative contour of line seemed to sketch visually Chopin's musical structure. Instead

of preoccupying herself with the pianistic embellishments, she phrased her movements more simply along the underlying linear curve that carried the heart of the music. It was always the deeper essence and meaning that illuminated her interpretations. Isadora possessed an uncanny suspense of motion, her disciple Maria-Theresa once commented. One could almost call it her own built-in rubato, with the same anticipation, hesitancy, and elusiveness of the Chopin style. Entirely appropriate was James Huneker's suggestion that Chopin's music "should be played in curves...delivered in a flowing, waving manner" (op. cit.). It should be noted that when Chopin was less romantic, more militant and tempestuous, he elicited a compatible interpretive response from the dancer: her movements became sturdy, strongly accented, on the beat with the music.

Chopin "done into dance" took the American rebel a major step forward in the development of her dance craft. The Duncan dance odyssey that began in London in 1900 was witness to the first of her choreographic efforts with the music of this most elegiac of composers. Largely, if not entirely, influenced by the distinguished musician and musicologist James Fuller-Maitland from the Royal College of Music, Isadora prepared for the first time Chopin preludes, a waltz, a mazurka. These few pieces became the nucleus from which grew one of her most popular program offerings.

The dances to Chopin pop up in the memoirs and journals of French artists and socialites during the years 1900 and 1901. When she is introduced to Vienna in early 1902 by the amazing Loie Fuller, it is with a Chopin prelude, and Fuller herself is dazed by the beauty of this dance as she watches Isadora perform it (Fuller, Fifteen Years of a Dancer's Life). Still in 1902, there are accounts of her performing not only mazurkas, preludes, and waltzes, but nocturnes and even the heroic Polonaise in A flat. I mention this because of the paucity of data surrounding the origin and chronology of the Duncan repertory. Isadora, shall we say, was lax. She left little indication of what she did, when and how. These dates reveal a far earlier existence for much of her repertory, especially the Chopin pieces.

Before the close of 1902, Isadora emerged with a completely original program of Chopin's keyboard works to round out the full concert presentation that alternated with her more descriptive and pictorially based Dance Idylls. Depending on the country in which she appeared, the new program was billed as a Chopin Avond, Abend, Soirée, Evening. The known range of his eloquent music to which she danced is quite extensive. Over the years she explored this music ever more fully, reinterpreting and refining it with the deepening responses of her maturity.

Audiences in the early years were attracted to her Chopin evenings for a variety of reasons. For the most part they were not casual spectators. They came out of love for music in general, Chopin in particular, and the sheer curiosity of encountering a different esthetic experience already much talked about, if not unanimously praised. Captivated as they were by her youthful radiance and incredible charm, they were perturbed by her unorthodox manner of moving and by the imposition of dance on the music. Was this not an intrusion decidedly peripheral, even extraneous, on what they considered the dominent element--the music itself? As late as 1921, English critic Ernest

Newman, who was intoxicated with the pure beauty of her movements in the Chopin dances, nonetheless thought them an interference with his own preconceptions of the music (Newman, "Dances of Isadora Duncan," Living Age(Boston), June 1921).

The musically literate apparently assumed that, since her dance was an interpretation of the music, it should be a direct translation of the music's notation to the dancer's symbols, that it should coincide accurately with the rhythm, beat, structure, and dynamics as composed. The negative complaints went like this: music is fast, Isadora slow; music sorrowful, Isadora runs; music has a turbulent rush of sounds, Isadora plucks invisible flowers. The positive response differed: "Ah! Chopin! If he could have seen this child dancing, how the great master of melancholy and sorrow would have been overjoyed," wrote a reviewer for a Dutch newspaper (Algemeen Handelsblad (Amsterdam), April 8, 1905). The success of the Chopin program accelerated as the reports of a public enraptured by it mounted. The cynical critic periodically raised his pen to suggest sneeringly that if Chopin could be set to dances, one might as well go ahead and translate Roman history into madrigals. And so it went.

Isadora's appeal, personal and artistic, was enormous, so much so that on the whole critics would chide her gently, almost apologetically, if they took issue with some detail. It was surely their limitation, not her divine dancing...BUT dance the waltzes and mazurkas, dear Isadora; they lend themselves to choreographic configurations...BUT (and one could hear the gnashing of their teeth) stay away from the nocturnes, ballades, preludes, etudes; they just are not meant to be danced, dear girl! Poor Isadora. She was not a good listener and probably took enjoyable refuge in what we today refer to as selective hearing.

A young intellectual in 1904 Paris is lured by the posters on the kiosks he sees all over the city. They advertise Isadora's concert, a Chopin Soirée. Promised are waltzes, polonaises, the unifying of dance with music. What a temptation! It had to be seen. He did see it and left an especially fine critique of the evening, which was published a few years later in the Mercure de France. George Delaquys described Isadora Duncan as "a poem in a flying tunic. Behind the bodily beauty we had the feeling that a sensitive intelligence existed between the pieces and their gestures, as the writer in his choice of words, or the painter in his mixture of colors" (December 15, 1906).

There are times when I bless that fascinating rascal in Isadora's life, Gordon Craig, for having been such a marvelous witness to her Chopin and having left such a sensitive account of what took place on stage: "I went to see a dancer such as we see everywhere, but what I saw moving was something different--it was a poetess. Unable to speak--moving--this figure seemed to be everlastingly searching for the words of the songs she wished to sing" (Craig notebooks, Bibl. Nat., Paris). This was in 1904, in Berlin. He continues by describing a pattern of moving that is at once Chopinesque and Duncanesque. Isadora came through the curtains and walked downstage to the piano, where the pianist had just finished playing a short prelude. "In some five or six steps she was standing by the piano, quite still and as it were, listening to the hum of the last note...then there sounded the voice of Chopin again...she had not moved at all. Then, one step back or

sideways and the music began again as she went moving on, before or after it" (Craig, Index to the Story of My Days). This "moving on, before or after it" echoes Schumann's "ever so slightly delayed, ever so slightly hastened," not quite following the rhythm, but almost mysteriously against it.

In retrospect, we realize that with the Chopin choreographies Isadora Duncan was able to identify her dance as a creative art form equal to that of music of concert stature. With only occasional exceptions, she observed the custom of music for the piano performed by a pianist. Accompanying Duncan in the Chopin programs over the years were numerous pianists. Several were gifted musicians, with great reputations independent of their collaboration with her, among whom were the beloved Dutch composer and pianist Julius Roentgen (from her 1905-1906 Netherlands season), the eminent "prince of pianists" Harold Bauer, and Walter Rummel, distinguished pupil of Debussy.

With regard to the staging of her Chopin dances, most accounts compliment the highly effective visual organization she achieved by employing simple but thoughtful devices: plain draperies, uncomplicated but well-placed lighting, and soft costumes that blended with the harmonious relationship between the poetic quality of her movements and the tonal coloration of the music. With these minimal theatrical materials she accomplished, a reviewer reported, "sources of marvel."

The preludes, which musicologist James Huneker described as "pale-tinted mood miniatures," were set against the violet-lavender hues of her costume. For the "dances of the soul," the mazurkas, her tender, delicate, and gently seductive gestures floated in a pink-blue airiness of fabric through a rosy stage lighting that, in the words of a critic, "made one's nerves tingle." The melancholy "mysteries of night," the nocturnes, found the stage space enveloped in a deep blue, while from the left wing a projected circle of light eerily traced her solitary figure in its wanderings. The stage brightened for the polonaises: when they were "heroic battle hymns," she flashed forth in her short, fiery-red tunic; when they resounded with the stateliness and majesty of victory, she moved in pride and splendor, wreathed with roses (Huneker, op. cit.).

A word about the waltzes. For all their gaiety, their coquetry, their winsomeness, Chopin meant them to have an aristocratic bearing, which prompted Schumann to caution: "Dancers of these waltzes should be at least countesses" (Huneker, op. cit.). In her dances to certain of the waltzes, Isadora brought a delectable lightness and charm of spirit, her rhythms enticing, even rapturous at times, but she did not distort or make excessive the basic reserve of these dances. Her intrinsic musicality and artistic judgment imposed their own restraints on her interpretive license.

Isadora Duncan debuted in St. Petersburg toward the end of 1904. Eager for conquest, she could not have chosen a more fitting program with which to court a new and sophisticated audience. Whether or not she gave calculated consideration to the choice of program for her premiere event--and we may never know this--she must instinctively have sensed that for a first impression in this stronghold of European ballet, she had to put across the nature of her art in its most

striking departure from ballet. She had to present her most supple and fluent forms in their pure, abstract imagery, in their most evocative, expressive character. Chopin danced was just the challenge for the musically literate Russians and the aficionados of the Imperial Russian Ballet.

Just as Rodin's massive opus, the Gates of Hell, resembled nothing that had been seen before in the sculpture of his age, Isadora's Chopin evening in St. Petersburg was an enlightenment of the senses. Perhaps the single most significant impression received by the spectators of the dancer and the music was the extraordinary capacity of dance to articulate feeling. They were intrigued by the sight of the entire body in motion, as though "bewitched by the music." The individual dances were given careful scrutiny by music and theater critics. There were respectful comments pertaining to her fine plastic sensibility, the unity of gesture and music, her evocations of pleasure, melancholy, passion, and the expressiveness of her facial features.

The piece that moved them most, she had composed years earlier and had performed without accompaniment. Because of its strong symbolic dramatization of youth's struggle and apprehension of approaching death, it was given the title The Maiden and Death. Later, she set it to Chopin's B-minor Mazurka (opus 33, no. 4), and it was this version that so touched the Russians.

Alexander Benois, painter and designer for Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes, wrote of Isadora's debut visit and of its effect on the classical ballet in Russia: "The music of Chopin...lends itself well to choreographic interpretation and this, one of Miss Duncan's most interesting discoveries may induce our routine choreography to take a new direction" (Benois, Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet). More precisely, they lost little time in taking that new direction. Within short order there were two new ballets with unmistakable Duncanisms in them: Fokine's Eunice and his Chopiniana, the latter to become the exquisite Les Sylphides.

Fortunately, Isadora did not have to wait for the mass of dance literature that has since appeared to know of her visit's impact. However, it is doubtful that she could have foreseen its full ramification. Her later observations comment on the ballet's use of Chopin's music and on the adoption of simpler, freer costuming. Balletomane Arnold Haskell supported her comments: "Following upon Isadora Duncan, he [Diaghilev] was the first to use classical music for ballet purposes, and today the majority have forgiven him his 'vandalism' and accept the results" (Haskell, Dancing Round the World). Edwin Denby, the observer of contemporary American dance, traced in the Duncan dances to Chopin the style and plasticity of gesture that most influenced twentieth-century ballet: the yielding, pliant quality of the backbends, the expressive arm gestures, the amplitude of the phrasing. In particular he called attention to the rose-petal hands and loosely drooping fingers that were to appear in Fokine's Spectre de la Rose (Denby, Looking at the Dance).

The Chopin evenings grew to sophisticated adulthood. They became Chopin Recitals and enjoyed wide public acceptance still later when they emerged as Festival Chopin around 1918. Pianist and musical adviser Walter Rummel joined her at this time, and together they took

the Festival on an active itinerary in Europe. From her standard Chopin repertory she selected individual dances and regrouped them for their psychological enhancement of Festival Chopin's theme--Poland Tragic, Heroic, Joyous. In its social timeliness, the aftermath of the Great War, it told of the suffering, struggle, and ultimate triumph of human will. Audiences were ready for the signal of hope reborn and the irresistibility of life made manifest in its theme of regeneration--poignant, but uplifting and indomitable.

With Isadora's departure in 1921 to found a new school of dance in Soviet Russia, Festival Chopin was dismantled as a thematic entity. No clear picture of her concert activity in Russia with specific regard to the Chopin cycle is as yet available. On September 3, 1926, at her studio in Nice, she and the pianist Irakli Orbeliani revived for a single performance what was the last of Chopin Recital. The death of Isadora Duncan one year later brought to a close a relationship of inspired artistry between a poetess of the dance and the spirit of a poet's music.

ISADORA DUNCAN'S SEVENTH SYMPHONY IN THE NETHERLANDS. REACTIONS TO HER CHOICE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MUSIC

Nancy de Wilde

Isadora Duncan danced her Seventh Symphony to the music of the same name by Ludwig van Beethoven in the Netherlands in October 1907. Duncan was then thirty years old and a famous dancer in Europe, especially in France, Germany and Russia.[1] She danced regularly in the Netherlands in the years 1905, 1906 and 1907.[2] Since about 1890 there had been no ballet performances in the Netherlands, but there did exist a culture of music, drama, literature and visual arts. The performances of Duncan were reviewed mainly by music and drama critics.[3] From April 1905 up to and including April 1907 Isadora Duncan had success in the Netherlands: she got predominantly positive reviews and drew relatively full houses. In October 1907 she was a famous dancer in the Netherlands.

One of the innovations in theater dance by Isadora Duncan was that she danced to existing music. She did not have music composed for her, as was customary around 1900 in ballet and popular theater dance; she also did not use improvised music according to fixed patterns, as was often customary in folk dance, social dance and ballet classes. Up to and including the tour in April 1907 Duncan's choice of music was predominantly well-received in the Netherlands, because she danced mainly with instrumental opera music and with dance music, that is music that was composed for social dance or that was named after a social dance.[4] One critic wrote about the Chopin-Schubert Evening (sometimes also called Waltz-Evening) that the waltzes were not written to dance to and that the rhythm was too fast.[5] Several writers criticized the interpretation of the music; they thought that the waltzes resembled each other too much or they had imagined something else to the music. Most of them however were enthusiastic about the Chopin-Schubert Evening, as they were about the Dance Idylls and Iphigénie programs.

Isadora Duncan danced the Seventh Symphony three times in the Netherlands. The first performance was on Thursday night October 17 1907 in the Large Theater in Rotterdam, with an intermission

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between the movements two and three.[6] The intermission was inserted contrary to Duncan's wishes, according to Frits Lapidoth.[7] This Dutch drama critic was exeptionally enthusiastic about Duncan's work since 1905. He was the founder of the Dutch department of the German Society for the Support and Maintenance of the Dance School of Isadora Duncan and wrote many positive reviews and articles about her. In her autobiography Duncan mentioned his regular visits to her, when she lived in Noordwijk aan Zee in the Netherlands.[8]

On Monday night October 28 Duncan danced the Seventh Symphony in the Building for Arts and Sciences in The Hague.[9] Before the intermission Duncan did not dance: the orchestra played the overture Leonore Number 3 by Beethoven and George Shapiro, Duncan's pianist and conductor, played Beethoven's Sonata for Piano Opus 31 Number 2. After the intermission Duncan danced the Seventh Symphony.

The third performance was on Thursday night October 31 in the Municipal Theater in Amsterdam.[10] Before the intermission Duncan danced the Seventh Symphony, after the intermission she danced the world premiere of Five Spanish Dances to the orchestrated music of the same name by Moritz Moszkowski. In Rotterdam and The Hague she had given one of the Five Spanish Dances as encore.[11] In Amsterdam she gave the waltz Christmas by Peter Tchaikovsky from The Seasons in orchestrated version as encore.[12]

In Rotterdam and Amsterdam Duncan was accompanied by the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra, in The Hague by the Residentie Orchestra, all three times conducted by George Shapiro. During earlier Dutch tours Duncan was accompanied by the Haarlem Municipal Music Band, that continiously played badly according to many reviews, her conductor Martin Shaw and Duncan herself. In March 1907 Duncan wrote about the Utrecht Municipal Orchestra, with which she had not worked earlier: "I wouldn't mind dancing B(eethoven), if he (Willem Stumpff, her Dutch impresario[13]) has a really first class symphonic orchestra - not the Utrecht one - it wouldn't be fair. Every orchestra has the notes."[14] Now that she had better orchestras from Willem Stumpff, some critics criticized the conducting of George Shapiro in comparison with that of one of the permanent conductors.[15]

Isadora Duncan choreographed the Seventh Symphony in the beginning of 1904 in Germany and gave the premiere in April 1904 in the Trocadéro in Paris.[16] In Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft Richard Wagner called Beethoven's Seventh Symphony the apotheosis of the dance.[17] In 1904 Wagner and Beethoven were beloved composers for Duncan. Probably Duncan knew Wagner's characterization of the Seventh, that will have been the reason that she chose this symphony.

Not many descriptions of the choreography of the Seventh Symphony, a piece that remained nineteen years in Duncan's repertory,[18] have been published. In February 1905 the Russian critic Vilkina compared Duncan with a flutist on an Etruscan vase, with Botticelli's Venus, with a maenad and with an Amazon.[19] In November 1909 the American critic Carl Van Vechten compared Duncan in the Seventh Symphony with the headless sculpture of Nike of Samothrace in the Louvre.[20] The Dutch reviews give some additional information about the choreography.

Duncan let the first movement of the symphony be played as a musical introduction and danced the remaining three movements. After the movements two and three she took applause and there were short pauses in which she changed her costume.[21] For the second movement (Allegretto)she wore a white dress, for the third movement (Presto-Assai Meno Presto) a pink dress and for the fourth movement (Allegro Con Brio) a red and green dress. She wore her hair loose.[22]

In Rotterdam the orchestra was visible, probably on stage, which disturbed the illusion according to Frits Lapidoth. The placement of the orchestra in The Hague is unknown; in Amsterdam the orchestra played in the pit.[23] The first movement of the symphony was played with the house lights off and with an empty, gold lighted stage.[24] According to Lapidoth Duncan had brought a blue backdrop to the Netherlands for the first time for this tour.[25]

Duncan appeared at the beginning of the second movement in the semidarkness from the background and strode along the shadow edge seriously contemplating.[26] A critic mentioned that she made the gesture of listening to the music at the alternated passage for flute and horn at the end of the Allegretto and in the second part of the Presto.[27] A Dutch poet affirmed this image in a sonnet

about Duncan's Seventh Symphony with the verse: "who there listening waiting stood".[28] In the same sonnet the flute playing was mentioned:

"with tender love-hands
Looked for the keys of flutes, unseen,
Then extended the arms and on the flat palms
Felt influence of the gods, that descends".

The flute playing in the second and third movements was apparently the most striking image of the choreography, because three other critics mentioned it. One spoke of the playing of the shawm,[29] another of a panpipe,[30] and a third one thought of the gesture of a Greek flutist.[31] The fourth movement began with some bars of music before Duncan entered.[32] Lapidoth compared her in the last movement with a fairy of the spring.[33]

From the Dutch reviews it appears that Duncan told no story in the Seventh Symphony and that she did not follow the musical structure. She let herself be inspired by the atmosphere of the music. Duncan told Lapidoth that she wanted to complete her solo dance with a group of dancers.[34] Years later she wrote about the Ninth Symphony by Beethoven in her autobiography: "I was possessed by the idea of (...) - a vast ensemble - dancing the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven (...) an orchestra of dancers (...) which would be to sight what the great symphonies were to sound."[35] In Rotterdam she also said to Lapidoth that her choreography was only a sketch, what he doubted when he saw the piece for the second time in The Hague. Duncan had received a mainly negative press about the Seventh Symphony especially in Russia in February 1905;[36] perhaps for that reason she talked carefully about this piece.

Duncan's innovations in dance style, costume, decor and choice of music had been accepted in the Netherlands rather easily, until she chose the Seventh Symphony by Beethoven. Just as in Russia this choice of music and her interpretation of it raised dance aesthetic questions. Negative reviews dominated, but there were also three writers who defended Duncan. In one newspaper a polemic arose about this subject, between the musician Anton Averkamp as opponent and the journalist Johannes Raaff as supporter.[37] The arguments of opponents and supporters give us some insight into Dutch dance aesthetics in 1907.

The most important question concerned her choice of music: is it allowed to dance to music that is not specifically composed for dance? Most of the critics were definite in their negative answer with as first argument: it is incorrect to use a work of art in a different way than the artist intended. Anton Averkamp wrote: "A symphony by Beethoven is a complete work of art; one is not allowed to add something to it, neither also to take away something from it."[38] "Nobody is free to make use of a work of art in the vein as Miss Duncan did with Beethoven's Seventh, when one can assume that the creator of the work of art would resist it. (...) One can imagine Beethoven, the giant, the proud withdrawn man, facing the elegant, graceful, always smiling Miss Duncan. What would he have answered her, if she could have asked him to give her his Seventh Symphony? Even a person of much less grim nature would have refused her with indignation."[39] The musician Willem Hutschenruyter called the work of Duncan a sacrilege,[40] another called it a desecration of the music[41] and another spoke of an artistic crime.[42]

A second argument against the choice of music was: a choreography is an unnecessary interpretation of the music and disturbs the listener in his concentration. Anton Averkamp said: "One needs no comments or explanation to music. And no means to come to an enhanced mood. (...) He that needs external means to get in the mood does better not to occupy himself with Beethoven."[43] A critic wrote: "Everyone has the right to think of something completely different from the dance when hearing the music, in spite of the dominant severe rhythm."[44] Another writer stated: "Where the music springs from such deep sensations as does Beethoven's - so deep, that each seeks to probe the ground of it for himself (...) up to the measure he feels deeper by nature - there the dance cannot help us to better understanding of it. On the contrary, it hinders, diverts, creates ambiguity between the music and the visual performance."[45]

The second question that the Seventh Symphony raised was: had Duncan interpreted the music well? Was the symphony musically choreographed? One critic thought that Duncan did not interpret well the solemn striding rhythm of the Allegretto and ignored the melancholic complaining singing of the melody.[46] The critic

Louis van Gigch said that she found only the gaiety and the joy of living in the music and not the tragedy: "She is so often not in harmony in her utterance, even in disharmony with the music that she wants to perform. That brings her to interpret the dynamic climax of the Allegretto as elation, where the tragedy that she apparently does not hear in fact lies hidden. (...) The music is for her only an occasion, a rhythmic motive to her fine play of happy moods and tender lines."[47]

But Louis van Gigch also defended Duncan: "Take her as she is. Because she is sublime when she is able to reach the music. (...) One all-too hastily shouts 'a sacrilege' and bold statements like 'absolute music cannot be danced' (...) leave me cold. There is nothing more relative than the absolute. (...) Duncan has chosen to dance this symphony (...). And if the interesting and artistic effort fails to result, that is no reason to see it as a 'desecration'."

Johannes Raaff, who worked for the same newspaper as Frits Lapidoth, wrote an open letter criticizing the articles by Anton Averkamp and Willem Hutschenruyter and he pleaded for the freedom of an artist to interpret another work of art. "Isn't a verse by Heine or a drama by Shakespeare or the Egmont by Goethe a complete work of art? Shouldn't we then condemn Beethoven because he wrote music to the Egmont, or Verdi because he did the same with Shakespeare or Schumann for his music to so many songs by Heine? (...) Let an artist express his mind in the way he prefers; a good result is all that matters. So it becomes not a fundamental question about the possibility to express something with Beethoven's music through dance what is congenial to Beethoven. Why should it not be possible? Why should not someone be able to write an epic based on the Seventh Symphony, that was equal to the symphony? (...) Better, purer, more naturally is possible a combination of music and dance; in both is existing a similar movement element, while in none of both is found something that is conflicting with the other form of artistic expression."[48] Raaff also criticized the assumption of Averkamp that Beethoven banned dance to his music: "How would the 'grim' Beethoven have spoken against the 'elegant, graceful, always smiling' Miss Duncan? I dare to put

the following into Beethoven's mouth roughly: My dear child, you are not able to do it, but I will compose something that lies more whitin your powers.' (...) The fuss that there is made today about piety to works of art, is quite unbearable. This does not have to happen and thât is not permitted. Good heavens, the work of art itself does not suffer through it. Which damage can it bring to Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, when Duncan dances to it? Just as little as when someone composes bad music to a good poem."[49]

So Johannes Raaff had his doubts about the choreographic interpretation by Duncan, but he was of the opinion that a choreographer is allowed to use all music, like a composer uses poetry for a song or a play for an opera.

Frits Lapidoth defended not only Duncan's choice of music, but also her interpretation of the music; he was the only one to do this. "Since some confusion of concepts about the intention of Isadora Duncan seems to prevail, we might point out once again that she did not pretend to complete Beethoven. She merely creates images in dance movement, inspired by the work. (...) And, he who can appreciate this has to admire the overwhelming variety of her series of images, has to feel the dancer's great intimate understanding of this delightful music, that she makes to live plasticly in her work, of course according to her personal conception."[50] At Duncan's death twenty years later Lapidoth returned to the issue: "And some people did not want to recognize that it was not at all her idea to complete an orchestral number or just to illustrate it, but to express her feelings and her visions, that she felt in herself and saw come up before her spiritual eye, when hearing certain works of music. It was not plastic transposition of the musical idea, that she pretended to give; but expression of her own sensations and imaginations, awakened by the music."[51]

The attack on the Seventh Symphony was repeated a year later in New York in November 1908. The Duncan literature does not say whether Duncan was defended there in the same way as in the Netherlands. The defence by Frits Lapidoth, Johannes Raaff and Louis van Gigch is especially interesting in the light of the liberalization of criteria for beauty in international Western dance

aesthetics after about 1940. The so-called symphonic ballets or dance symphonies in the period 1920 to 1940 (that are choreographies to mainly nineteenth-century symphonies) prepared the way to the freedom to use any music for theater dance.

In 1915 Duncan choreographed the Unfinished Symphony by Franz Schubert and a year later the Sixth Symphony by Peter Tchaikovsky. In 1923 Fyodor Lopukhov made in Petrograd The Magnificence of the Universe to Beethoven's Fourth Symphony. In the 1930's Léonide Massine made several symphonic ballets. In 1938 he made his Seventh Symphony, the second choreography to Beethoven's Seventh. Discussions arose again around the symphonic ballets by Massine about the choice of music, especially in London, that developed in favor of Massine. These dance aesthetic discussions did not arise anymore when George Balanchine presented his Symphony in C to the symphony of the same name by Georges Bizet. Since about 1940 tolerance prevailed to dancing to a symphony and choreographers could choose any music, although the old moralized counter-arguments are still used by some music lovers.

The second dance aesthetic question that Duncan's Seventh Symphony raised in the Netherlands - has the choreographer interpreted the music well - is asked even today now and then when judging choreographies to existing music.

Massine's Seventh Symphony was never danced in the Netherlands. The second premiere of a choreography to this music in the Municipal Theater in Amsterdam was very recently: in March 1986 by the Dutch National Ballet in a choreography by its own choreographer Toer van Schayk. Of course there were no objections to the choice of a symphony in the Dutch reviews. The choreographic interpretation of the music was judged mainly positively. But no critic mentioned the first choreography to the same music by Isadora Duncan, that raised so many reactions in the Netherlands. Well, that is nearly eighty years ago and has been forgotten for a long time.

NOTES

1. Fredrika Blair, Isadora. Portrait of the Artist as a Woman, New York 1986
   Francis Steegmuller, 'Your Isadora'. The Love Story of Isadora Duncan and Gordon Craig told through Letters and Diaries, New York 1974
2. Lillian Loewenthal, Isadora Duncan in the Netherlands, in: Dance Chronicle volume 3, number 3 (New York 1980), p.227-253
3. Dutch newspapers are present in the Royal Library in The Hague. Programs of Isadora Duncan performances are present in several municipal archives and in the Netherlands Theater Institute in Amsterdam.
4. In the first Dutch program Dance Idylls she chose social dance music by Fabritio Caroso and Cesare Negri, probably instrumental opera music by Jacopo Peri, Giovanni Picchi and Attilio Ariosti, instrumental opera music by Christoph Willibald Gluck and music with a dance name by François Couperin, Jean-Philippe Rameau and Johann Strauss. The Maiden and the Death she danced without music. In the second Dutch program Iphigénie she chose opera music by Christoph Willibald Gluck from Iphigénie en Aulide, Iphigénie en Tauride and Armide. For the Chopin-Schubert Evening she chose music with dance names by Frédéric Chopin (Mazurkas and Waltzes), by Franz Schubert (German Dances) and by Johannes Brahms (Waltzes). She chose further Preludes, Nocturnes and a Berceuse by Chopin.
5. Lillian Loewenthal, op. cit., p.240-241
6. Program is present in the Municipal Archives in Rotterdam. The Large Theater (Groote Schouwburg) in Rotterdam was opened in 1887 and burnt down in 1940.
7. De Nieuwe Courant (The Hague), October 29 1907, F(rits) L(apidoth) (1861-1932, drama and literature critic). Lapidoth was married then to the poetess Hélène Swarth. See also: Jeroen Brouwers, Hélène Swarth; haar huwelijk met Frits Lapidoth 1894-1910, Amsterdam 1985
8. Isadora Duncan, My Life, New York 1927, p.192
9. Program is present in the Municipal Archives in The Hague. The Building for Arts and Sciences (Gebouw voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen) in The Hague was opened in 1874 and burnt down in 1964.

10. Program is present in the Municipal Archives in Amsterdam. The present Municipal Theater (Stadsschouwburg) in Amsterdam was opened in 1894.
11. De Nieuwe Courant, October 29 1907, F(rits) L(apidoth)
12. De Telegraaf (Amsterdam), November 1 1907, L(ouis) van Gigch Jr. (1884-1939, critic and lawyer)
13. Willem Stumpff (1868-1932) had the music agency De Algemeene Muziekhandel, voorheen Stumpff en Koning in Amsterdam. He organized Duncan's performances in the Netherlands in 1905, 1906 and 1907.
14. Francis Steegmuller, op. cit., p.213
15. Algemeen Handelsblad (Amsterdam), November 1 1907, Sibmacher Zijnen (1859-1926, music critic)
    De Telegraaf, November 1 1907, L(ouis) van Gigch Jr.
    Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, November 2 1907, anonymous
16. Algemeen Handelsblad, April 29 1904, anonymous
    Allan Ross Macdougall, Isadora. A Revolutionary in Art and Love, New York 1960, p.87
17. Richard Wagner, Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft, 1849 in: Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen, Leipzig 1887, dritter Band, p.94
18. June Layson, Isadora Duncan. A Preliminary Analysis of her Work, in: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research volume 1, number 1 (London 1983), p.39-49
19. Fredrika Blair, op. cit., p.112
20. Paul Magriel, Isadora Duncan, New York 1947, Reprint: Nijinsky, Pavlova, Duncan. Three Lives in Dance, New York 1977, p.20
21. Algemeen Handelsblad, November 1 1907, Sibmacher Zijnen
    See also: Fredrika Blair, op. cit., p.424 note 9
22. De Nieuwe Courant, October 18 1907, F(rits) L(apidoth)
23. Algemeen Handelsblad, November 1 1907, Sibmacher Zijnen
24. Het Nieuws van den Dag (Amsterdam), November 2 1907, anonymous
25. De Nieuwe Courant, October 8 1907, F(rits) L(apidoth)
26. De Avondpost (The Hague), October 29 1907, E.J.B.
    Het Nieuws van den Dag, November 2 1907, anonymous
27. Het Nieuws van den Dag, November 2 1907, anonymous
28. De Amsterdammer, November 10 1907, Hein Boeken (1861-1933, poet)
29. Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, November 2 1907, anonymous
30. De Telegraaf, November 1 1907, L(ouis) van Gigch Jr.

31. De Avondpost, October 29 1907, E.J.B.
32. Algemeen Handelsblad, November 1 1907, Sibmacher Zijnen
33. De Nieuwe Courant, October 18 1907, F(rits) L(apidoth)
34. De Nieuwe Courant, October 29 1907, F(rits) L(apidoth)
35. Isadora Duncan, op. cit., p.213
36. Fredrika Blair, op. cit., p.112
37. De Amsterdammer, November 10 1907, Ant(on) Averkamp (1861-1934, musician and music critic)
    Willem Hutschenruyter, Heiligschennis, in: Toonkunst, December 5 1907, p.361-362. Willem Hutschenruyter (1863-1950, musician and music publicist)
    De Amsterdammer, January 5 1908, J(ohannes) J.Raaff (1871-1930, journalist and lawyer) and Ant(on) Averkamp
    De Amsterdammer, January 19 1908, J(ohannes) J.Raaff and Ant(on) Averkamp
38. De Amsterdammer, November 10 1907, Ant(on) Averkamp
39. De Amsterdammer, January 5 1908, Ant(on) Averkamp
40. Willem Hutschenruyter, op. cit., p.361
41. Land en Volk (Den Haag), October 29 1907, J.
42. Het Vaderland (Den Haag), October 29 1907, anonymous
43. De Amsterdammer, November 10 1907, Ant(on) Averkamp
44. Het Nieuws van den Dag, November 2 1907, anonymous
45. Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, November 2 1907, anonymous
46. Algemeen Handelsblad, November 1 1907, Sibmacher Zijnen
47. De Telegraaf, November 1 1907, L(ouis) van Gigch Jr.
48. De Amsterdammer, January 5 1908, J(ohannes) J.Raaff
49. De Amsterdammer, January 19 1908, J(ohannes) J.Raaff
50. De Nieuwe Courant, October 29 1907, F(rits) L(apidoth)
51. F(rits) L(apidoth), Isadora Duncan†, in: Het Tooneel 13, 1927, p.89-93

WALT WHITMAN AND ISADORA DUNCAN: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PERSONAL MYTHOLOGY

Ellen Graff

Isadora Duncan has been called the spiritual daughter of Walt Whitman (Johnson 1949:20). "I hear America singing" says Whitman (1965:12). "I see America dancing" echoes Isadora (1928:47). There is little doubt that she modeled her prose after Whitman, whom she greatly admired. In this paper, I would like to suggest that Whitman's influence on Duncan was more than stylistic; for Whitman, form was determined by content, and his content was the expression of the self. In this he was a perfect model for Isadora.

Whitman, a rather unremarkable journalist, had burst upon the American literary scene with Leaves of Grass in 1855. An uneducated man, his particular genius lay in an ability to write in a seemingly 'artless' style, as if thoughts and emotions poured out of him, unimpeded by formal literary conventions which might mar the intimacy. "Song of Myself" established him as one of the great poets of American literature. His biographer, Paul Zweig, says, "he forged his language instrument and his inclusive, miscellaneous form in order to write it" (1984:227). A study of this lengthy and rambling poem reveals many similarities between Whitman and Duncan: in their personal psychology, in their philosophy, and in their art.

I'd like to quote from the opening stanza of Song of Myself:

> I celebrate myself, and sing myself
> And what I assume you shall assume
> For every atom belonging to me as good
> belongs to you.
>
> I loafe and invite my soul
> I lean and loafe at my ease observing a
> spear of summer grass.
>
> My tongue, every atom of my blood, form'd
> from this soil, this air,
> Born here of parents born here from
> parents the same, and their parents
> the same,
> I, now thirty-seven years old in perfect
> health begin,
> Hoping to cease not till death.
>
> Creeds and schools in abeyance,
> Retiring back a while sufficed at what
> they are, but never forgotten,
> I harbor for good or bad, I permit to
> speak at every hazard
> Nature without check with original energy
> (Whitman 1965:28-29).

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Three themes shared by Duncan and Whitman present themselves: (1) nature as a source of inspiration; Whitman observes "a spear of summer grass," and speaks of "Nature without check with original energy," (2) a transcendental merging; "For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you," and (3) the cult of personality; "I celebrate myself and sing myself." He claims the right to create himself. "I, now thirty-seven years old, in perfect health begin."

"Nature without check with original energy"

For Isadora, the source of all dance was to be nature. Specifically, the movement of waves would form the basis of all movement. In The Art of Dance she writes:

> All the movements of the earth follow the lines of wave motion. Both sound and light travel in waves. The motion of water, winds, trees and plants progresses in waves. The flight of a bird and the movement of all animals follow lines like undulating waves. If then one seeks a point of physical beginning for the movement of the human body, there is a clue in the undulating motion of the wave. It is one of the elemental facts of nature, and out of such elementals the child, the dancer, absorbs something basic to dancing (1928:78).

Isadora's preoccupation with waves as a basis for all movement in the universe, and her formulation of the law of wave movement as a basis for her own movements, is translated into a successive quality in her dances; movement flows from one part of the body to another, so that "every movement, even in repose, contains the quality of fecundity, possesses the power to give birth to another movement" (1928:91). The wave like basis of her movement helps to explain the curving lines, and soft rounded shapes which we associate with Isadora's dancing; the wave rises, peaks and subsides in great curves, there are no straight lines. Here is H.T.Parker describing one of Isadora's performances:

> 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 (1982:59).

The impression is of one movement growing organically from another, without extraneous or arbitrary developments. Like Whitman, whose literary form grows from the thought which it expresses, Isadora's movements seem to result from the inevitable unfolding of a natural cycle.

While critics have likened the rhythms of Whitman's long flowing lines to the the sound of waves rolling out of the sea, the most pervasive nature symbol for Whitman in "Song of Myself" is the simple blade of grass. In verse six he writes:

> A child said "What is the grass?" fetching it to
> me with full hands:
> How could I answer the child? I do not know what
> it is any more than he (1965:33).

Then he enumerates the meanings to be found in a single blade of grass; perhaps it is "the handkerchief of the Lord," or "a child," or "the uncut hair of graves" (1965:33). The entire universe is contained in this one detail of nature.

For both Whitman and Duncan the infatuation with nature results in a glorification of the human body. "Welcome is every organ and attribute of me, and of any man hearty and clean," (1965:31), and "I am the poet of the Body," proclaims Whitman (1965:48). Isadora railed against those who would deform the body through dress, or through training, finding divinity in the natural form of the naked body. In her performances this was translated into costumes which revealed naked arms and legs, and showed clearly the contours of her own form. And, of course, the bare foot for which she was so famous. "Madam, I believe in the religion of the beauty of the human foot," replied Isadora when asked why she danced with bare feet (1928:54).

"For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you"

"Song of Myself" is a poem of merging: of body and soul, of man and woman, of poet and poem, of man and cosmos. Speaking to his soul Whitman recalls:

> How you settled your head athwart my hips and
> gently turned over upon me,
> And parted the shirt from my bosom bone, and
> plunged your tongue to my bare-stript
> heart (1965:33).

In a kind of mystical union, body and soul are merged. And later, he writes, "I am the poet of the woman the same as the man," (1965:48) and "Walt Whitman, a kosmos" (1965:52).

This sense of a kind of polymorphous identification is present in accounts of Isadora's work as well; critics felt she could speak with many voices during a single performance, could shift identities as she danced. Andre Levinson describes her as an "artist-androgyne [who] can be at once Orpheus and Eurydice, Narcissus and Daphne, Pan and Echo, and L'Ange avec Violin" (1983:444). H.T. Parker wrote about her performance of Gluck's Iphigenia in Aulis, saying, "still less . . . did she try to individualize herself as Iphigenia," (1982:58) thus implying that she portrayed many characters as she danced. "I am large, I contain multitudes," says Whitman (1965:88). "I have tried always to be the chorus," says Isadora (1928:96).

Duncan and Whitman might both be called mystics. Isadora saw herself as part of a great universal chain of energy, linking her dance to a cosmic force which could be expressed through the medium of her body. She wrote:

> "I . . . sought the source of spiritual expression, which would flow into the channels of the body, filling it with vibrating light, the centrifugal force reflecting the spirit's vision. . . I found that thereafter when I listened to music the rays and vibrations of the music streamed to this one fount of light within me, where they reflected themselves in Spiritual Vision,. . . . and from this vision I could express them in Dance"(1928:137).

In "Song of Myself" Whitman's glorification of the self and the senses results in a spiritual union with the cosmos; the poem has been interpreted as an account of a traditional mystical experience (Miller 1964:92-94).

"I celebrate myself and sing myself"

"Song of Myself" is about the birth of a poet (Zweig 1984:87); its most intimate theme is the merging of poet with poem (1984:94). "And of these one and all I weave the song of myself," says Whitman (1965:44). Untrained, the son of a carpenter and a semi-literate mother Whitman is a self-constructed poet; he has carved the poetry from his own life, making himself the subject of his verse. He is the original self made man. Isadora, like Whitman turns to herself as the source for her art, seeking "the mirror of vision for the creation of the dance" in her own experience, and turning to her own body to discover that "central spring of all movement, the crater of motor power, the unity from which all diversities of movement are born" (1928:136).

When we look for precedents to the free verse introduced by Whitman in 1855 we find there really are none; Leaves of Grass, unmetered and unrhymed, revolutionary in its formless form, "the most unusual book of poems ever to be written in the United States," (Zweig 1984:4) does not emerge from a literary tradition. What is its relationship to the heroic couplet, to the Shakespearean sonnet? Look at the length of each stanza; some contain as few as eight lines, others are pages long. What is the form that governs this most original poetic style? In his search for a structure that would embody his ideas, Whitman turned not to established forms, but to himself. Personal expression is paramount.

Duncan's art is also modeled upon self-expression. In looking for a form which could capture her ideas she rejected the classical vocaulary of ballet, and turned to herself. "For hours I would stand quite still, my two hands folded between my breasts, covering the solar plexus. . . . It was from this discovery that was born the theory on which I founded my school" (1928:136). Duncan looks to her own body

for the answers to her questions; movement will come from an inner personal source.

Like Whitman's verse, Isadora's dance is free. While she relied upon musical patterns and rhythms to structure her dances, her denial of a conventional dance vocabulary is analogous to Whitman's repudiation of the heroic couplet as a shaping force for his poetry. Duncan refused to fit her body into the Procrustean bed of ballet - she would discover the forms of her movement herself. Although she drew from the forms of Greek sculptures and paintings, and probably from more contemporary sources, such as the pre-Raphaelite painters, as well, she didn't go the established school of her own art. She borrowed the elements she needed from other art forms, presumably discarding what did not fit in her philosophy, and then channeled it through her own body, so that what emerged was a personal expression.

This is a rather stunning point of view; to presume that one can define one's own art, one's own self. Whitman and Duncan formulate their own rules, creating principles of behavior outside of existing artistic and social institutions. It is a kind of supreme egotism, and indeed, both Duncan and Whitman freely admit to this. "I know perfectly well my own egotism," says Whitman (1965:77). "I speak to you this afternoon as an egotist," replies Duncan (1928:128). At one level, this allowed them to flaunt traditional values; Whitman defied customs in dress and manner (Allen 1961:149), as did Isadora. Her Greek dresses, her celebrated love affairs, her illegitimate children, all defied the manners and morals of her time. Moreover, both artists saw themselves as prophets. [The greatest poet] "is a seer", says Whitman (1965:713). Isadora speaks of the mission of the dancer "to express what is the most moral, healthful and beautiful in art" (1928:56). Her sense of mission extends to her obsessive attempts to establish a school to train the children of the world, and thus finally to transform the world through dance. Here is a vision of the artist as a kind of high priest, offering salvation to all celebrants.

The Construction of a Personal Mythology

Contempt for traditional institutions and values led both Duncan and Whitman to assay an `artless' style in their work. "Song of Myself," an extremely long poem, lacking any overarching narrative line, seems to spill out of the poet's crowded mind, a random collection of images and ideas tumbling out in the most unself-conscious way. "Anti-poetry" it's been called (Zweig 1984:104), apparently lacking in form, the result of unpremeditated impulse rather than carefully controlled constructions (1984:168). Compare this to Isadora's improvisatory style, her seemingly spontaneous, impulsive performances:

> Miss Duncan's dancing . . . . seems to spring spontaneously into being, to be the instinctive translation of the rhythm and the mood of the music, or of some vaguely indicated episode, in wholly natural and seemingly unfettered movement (Parker 1982:58).

Closer inspection reveals, however, that both Whitman and Duncan have gone to considerable trouble in order to convey the impression of an untrained, intuitive talent at work. Whitman's notebooks tell us, that his artless style is an artifice:

> Make no quotations and no reference to any other writer.
>
> Rules for Composition - A perfectly transparent, plate-glassy, style, artless, with no ornaments.
>
> Clearness, simplicity, no twisted or foggy sentences, at all - the most translucent clearness without variation.
>
> Common idioms and phrases - Yankeeisms and vulgarisms - cant expressions when very pat only (Zweig 1984:10).

This last reminds us of Duncan's movement vocabulary; walks, skips and leaps - natural, everyday movements are the material of her dances.

Whitman first began to keep his notebooks in 1847, and "Song of Myself" contains many phrases and themes which saw their first light in these notebooks. The journalistic prose has been written and rewritten in order to achieve its unliterary style (Zweig 1984:228-229). Here is the work of a master craftsman, not the spontaneous utterances of an intuitive talent. And, as the many editions of Leaves of Grass attest, this is a craftsman who continued to work and rework his material, experimenting with the order of poems which made up the monumental opus, arranging and rearranging them in thematically related clusters, orchestrating the many themes so that their reverberations could be heard (Miller 1962:50).

Isadora, like Walt, seemed to be at great pains to hide the technical preparations behind her spontaneous style. Her letters to Gordon Craig suggest that at least sometimes she rehearsed on a regular basis, and that she sought new movement ideas in the disciplined atmosphere of the studio (Steegmuller 1974:170-171). But she preferred to give the impression that she was totally untrained, an intuitive dancer. "When I was fifteen years old and I realized that there was no teacher in the world who could give me any help in my desire to be a dancer, because at that time the only school that existed was the ballet, I turned . . . . to the study of nature" (Duncan 1928:126). Nesta McDonald suggests, however, that Isadora actually studied with the ballerina Maria Bonfanti when she was in New York (1977:52). The point is, that the appearance of a naive and untrained style, was central to the artistic creations of both Whitman and Duncan, and probably had to do with the model each had chosen as a source of inspiration; nature.

It is hard to know how many of the similaritites in personal style and artistic sensibility are the result of direct influence. Certainly Isadora was a great reader of Whitman. Her letters to Edward Craig contain many references to "Walt", and Steegmuller belives that she probably traveled with his complete prose works (1974:73). On one

occasion she requests Craig to send her her Whitman (1974:111), then thanks him for complying, adding, "I read him on the cars coming home" (1974:115). She seems to want to see with Whitman's eyes (1974:34), and certainly her rather oratorical writing style is patterned after his prose. If she was such an avid reader of Whitman, perhaps she was influenced by some of the ideas he expressed:

> Not I, not any one else can travel that road for
> you,
> You must travel it for yourself.
>
> You are also asking me questions and I hear you,
> I answer that I cannot answer, you must find out
> for yourself.
>
> He most honors my style who learns under it to
> destroy the teacher (1965:83-84).

For a devoted reader of Whitman the message must have been clear. Look to yourself; no one else can tell you what you must do; no one can teach you.

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ISIS AND ISADORA

Margaret Thompson Drewal

One of the things that distinguished female concert dancers at the turn of the century from nineteenth-century ballerinas is that they were for the first time controlling their own stage personas.[1] Previously, men assumed this responsibility. The image of the unattainable, ethereal female in Romantic ballet was essentially a male creation. He was the dance master and choreographer. When women took on these tasks for themselves, suddenly a new kind of image appeared.

This new image was grounded in the spiritualist movement that had a deep interest in classicism, primitivism, orientalism, and nature. In 1858, reacting to Darwin's lecture on natural selection, spiritualists attempted to unify science and religion by transforming their concern with human spirituality into an empirical inquiry on the nature of spirits that often took the form of seances (Moore 1977:19).

Then in 1877, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1976:I, xxx-xxxi) inverted Darwin's theory and expanded it to encompass a spiritist ideology, drawing directly from Indian religions. She agreed with Darwin that evolution was the development of higher orders of animals, but went on to assert that, if scientists had not ignored spiritual evolution, they would be forced to confess the superiority of ancient philosophers over themselves. Evolution, she suggested, began with pure spirit which then descended and became matter: "arrived at this point, they speculated in the Darwinian method, but on a far more large and comprehensive basis." Emphasizing "strict logical reasoning," Blavatsky assigned a superior status to ancient wisdom--to the spiritual rather than the physical--turning Darwin's evolutionary scale on its head.

Primitive man was thus set into a structural opposition to modern man, a retread of Rousseau's natural man versus conventional, or rational, man. These two polarities formed the basis of Darwin's evolutionary model. Both Darwin's and Blavatsky's theories reflect Rousseau's legacy of romanticism.

What Blavatsky did was to place the Other--ancients, Asians, and indirectly herself and women in general at the evolutionary pinnacle. After all, women had always been regarded as somehow more innately spiritual than men. The extent to which such structural oppositions

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1. This paper is a revised version of an unpublished one entitled, _Isadora Duncan's Persona: The Embodiment of Rousseau's Ideal_ (1985). I am grateful to Deborah Jowitt for commenting on the earlier version. Any mistakes are my own.

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are imbedded in our thinking is evident in Bruce Campbell's 1980 study of the Theosophical movement in which he asserts (1980:2), "the Theosophical Society was largely the product of the efforts of two contrasting personalities. One was the captivating, mysterious, and eccentric Russian woman Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. The other was the diligent, pragmatic American lawyer Henry Steel Olcott." As Kristin Herzog (1983:xi-xii) points out,

> In many instances women are considered more "natural" and therefore either more innocent or more inscrutably demonic than men, more divine but also more terrifying, like all divinities, and the same type of imagery is used for them as for many Indians, blacks, Orientals, and Mediterranean Europeans. . . . The highly popular sentimental novels fostered the idea that women civilized, refined, and spiritualized men, whether this was stated in a tame, traditional way or with a feminist vengeance.

Romantic ballet was based on such premises.

Blavatsky did not reject the stereotype of woman as Other, but rather attributed to it a superior status. This ideological flip has important implications for understanding the dramatic personas of revolutionary turn-of-the-century women such as Isadora Duncan and Blavatsky, as well as Genevieve Stebbins, Loie Fuller, and Ruth St. Denis, among others. As a woman and a European Asian (Ukrainian), Blavatsky identified strongly with the Other, with Western man's structural opposite. Ruth St. Denis also identified with the Other. In a move not dissimilar to Blavatsky's, she enlarged her persona to incorporate the Other, asserting her spirituality, as for example in her so-called "Hindoo" dance Radha. Duncan too identified with the exotic Other. She wrote, "we could not have the feeling of the Ancient Greeks. . . . I was, after all, but a Scotch-Irish-American. Perhaps through some affinity nearer allied to the Red Indians than to the Greeks" (Duncan 1955:134; also cited in Steegmuller 1974:6).

Woman as spiritual being, rather than as unattainable spirit, came to dominate, and was in fact exploited by women like Duncan. No longer the unattainable Other--the Romantic ballerina on point acting as if she were the fairy queen, the sylph, or the wili--female concert dancers became a more down to earth Other both on stage and in everyday life as well. They threw away their corsets and their point shoes and asserted their passions, their spirituality, and their "natural" affinities with Greek antiquity and ancient religion. As Alexandre Benois (quoted by Steegmuller 1974:47) commented on Duncan: "I must note at once that it is pointless to look for philosophical principles in her ideas; as a genuine artist, she is motivated not by logic, but by elemental inspiration."

It may be that Duncan was so popular in Europe, particularly among artists, because there she represented the exotic Other. She seemed to subscribe to that image explicitly. About being American, she asserted:

> The real American is not a gold chaser or money lover, as the legend classes him, but an idealist and a mystic. Not that I mean for a moment to say that the American is without senses. On the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon in general, or the American with some Celtic blood [e.g., herself] is, when it comes to the crucial moment, more fiery than the Italian, more sensuous than the French, more capable of desperate excesses than are the Russians. But the habit of early training has enclosed his temperament in a wall of iron, frosted over, and these things only come to pass when some extraordinary incident of life breaks through his reserve. Then one might say that the Anglo-Saxon or Celt is of all the nations the most fiery lover (Duncan 1955:79).

The social threat to American puritanical values was that Duncan existed not on the pages of a romantic novel, but in real life.

The relationship between the physical and the spiritual was central to Duncan's life-work, as Nancy Ruyter has pointed out. Duncan asserted that the body was the "luminous manifestation of her soul; whose body dances in accordance with a music heard inwardly, in expression of something out of another, profounder world" (Ruyter 1979:38), and, in a 1920 letter published in Progres d'Athenes, she wrote, ". . . the dance is for me the expression of the body reflecting the soul in ecstasy" (Duncan 1928:140). This perceived spiritual dimension of dance is also evident in Duncan's article "America Makes Me Sick!" of January 1923 (in Rosemont 1981:135). In it, she complains how a wealthy woman refused to give her money to pay an orchestra for two American concerts. She concludes, "that was all she cared for her children's souls--I had healed them, she said, but they weren't worth two hundred dollars apiece to her, those souls. In these United States we value the unseen things of the spirit in very few dollars and cents."

Ruyter also calls attention to Duncan's spiritual kin--the Delsartians, Walt Whitman, and Nietzsche. To this list should also be added Rousseau, Schopenhauer, and Darwin. Duncan read them all, took from them what suited her, and then mixed and blended the ideas. In a fundamental way though, she embodied Rousseau's ideal of natural instinct tempered by will. As Herzog (1983:xiii) observes, "instead of 'back to nature,' Rousseau says rather: forward to the fulfillment of human nature as it was meant to be." Rousseau's idea was that humans must use their reason and will provided by nature to reproduce the conditions of the original state of nature. And it was only in so doing that humanity could truly evolve and progress.

Duncan seemed to follow Rousseau's prescription. In her address to the Berlin Press Club in 1903 (Rosemont 1981:33), she asserted:

> People sometimes reproach me with having neither genius nor talent, nor deep feeling, but I have a will of my own, and my will is to free the art of dancing from the unnatural contortions which are the product of the modern ballet, and to lead it back to natural movements.

> How beautiful these movements are that we see in animals, plants, waves and winds. All things in nature have forms of motion corresponding to their innermost being. Primitive man still has such movements and, starting from that point, we must try to create beautiful movements significant of cultured man--a movement which, without spurning the laws of gravitation, sets itself in harmony with the motion of the universe.

Elsewhere Duncan proclaimed, "look at Nature, study Nature, understand Nature--and then try to express Nature" (Duncan 1928:142). Like Rousseau, she saw the natural, or the "primitive," merely as a reference point for creating "cultured" movement. By studying the past and ancient dance, Duncan saw herself as a major contributor to the spiritual evolution of mankind.

Modelled on Rousseau's ideal, Duncan portrayed herself as natural, instinctive, impulsive, passionate, and willful. Thus, she asserted in a 1906 letter to a Cologne newspaper editor (Duncan 1928:129), "my dancing is to me an instinctive thing born with me," and, elsewhere, ". . . the whole expression of our life must be created through culture and the transformation of intuition and instinct into art" (Duncan 1928:127). Not only through her dance, but also in her writing, Duncan was engaged in constructing her own persona, the way she wanted to see herself and to be seen by others.

One of the ways that Duncan constructed her persona was to quote what other famous men said about her. Sculptor Eugene Carriere supposedly announced, "Isadora, in her desire to express human sentiments, found in Greek art the finest models. . . . Yet, endowed with an instinct for discovery, she returned to Nature, whence came all these gestures, and, believing in imitating and revivifying the Greek dance, she found her own expression. She thinks of the Greeks, and only obeys her own self" (Duncan 1955:82). Instinct, return to nature, <u>but</u> tempered by will--she obeys herself. The reader is given Rousseau, masquerading as Carriere. Or, more accurately, Rousseau's ideal is invoked by having him speak through Carriere, her contemporary.

Duncan forges her identification with nature more strongly in her autobiography by quoting Gabriel D'Annunzio. The reader is told that D'Annunzio once exclaimed, "Oh, Isadora, it is only possible to be alone with you in Nature. All other women destroy the landscape, you alone become part of it. . . . You are part of the trees, the sky, you are the dominating goddess of Nature" (Duncan 1955:6). As a spiritual being, as Nature tempered by will, Duncan thought of herself as a child of the Egyptian goddess of Nature, Isis. She wrote to Gordon Craig (from Steegmuller 1974:56):

I am called Isadora.
That means Child of Isis--or Gift of Isis.
Isis is the Goddess of Birth--
Isis will always protect me because I have her name.
This is the 15 of January 1905.
Isis Protect Me.

Rousseau's idea of fulfilling human nature as it was meant to be through the instrumentality of the will or reason found expression in a kind of Isis ideology both lived and performed by female concert dancers. The late-nineteenth-century popularity of Isis was no doubt stimulated by the interest in classicism, for the cult of Isis was popular in the Graeco-Roman world (Witt 1971; Heyob 1975). Hellenistic statues of Isis still survive, and Genevieve Stebbins illustrated one of them in the 1902 edition of her book on Delsarte expression (1902:283). It was apparently Plato--another of Duncan's heros--who attributed the invention of dancing to Isis (Kirstein 1969:8; Duncan 1928).

But the significance of Isis extends beyond that. Edward Said (1979:84) suggests that the West's fascination with Egypt derived from its symbolic position as a bridge between Asia and Africa and between Europe and the entire Orient. Egypt was considered the center of ancient Civilization with a capitol C. Thus, one Orientalist--Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Fourier--in the 1809 preface to his thirty-two volume set entitled Description de l'Egypte celebrated Egypt as the homeland of the arts, where Alexander founded an opulent commercial center and where Homer, Pythagoras, and Plato, among others, studied science, religion, and law (Fourier, cited in Said 1979:84).

If Egypt represented the cradle of ancient Civilization for the nineteenth century--where science met ancient religion--then Isis represented, more specifically, its spiritual foundation, its Divine Mother from whom all humankind, West and East, evolved and progressed. The first chapter of Stebbins' book on dynamic breathing (1892:2-3) is devoted to bringing the ideas of spiritual and physical evolution together. Thus she attempts to explain science in terms of spirituality and spiritualism in terms of science, concluding that the only difference between the two is in mutual misunderstanding.

Isis embodied the spiritualist ideal of the union of the spiritual and the physical. In 1877, Blavatsky (1976) based her major two volume work--one on science, one on theology--on the idea of unveiling Isis. In Blavatsky's words (1976:I, 16), "our presentday philosophers 'lift the Veil of Isis'--for Isis is but the symbol of nature. But, they see only her physical forms. The soul within escapes their view." To unveil the Mother of Civilization was to expose the spiritual basis of all matter.

More than ten years later, in 1892, Stebbins performed The Myth of Isis as the closing pantomime on her recital program ("Genevieve Stebbins' Recital" 1892:388; Shelton 1981:15) and that same year she published,

> It is a welcome thought that science is slowly but surely unveiling the realities of nature's law. The mystic veil of the ancient Isis who has so proudly boasted, 'I, Isis, am all that has been born, that is, or shall be, no mortal man hath ever me unveiled,' is at last being drawn aside by the restless, scientific investigation . . . , and ere long our struggling, long-suffering humanity will stand face to face with divine truth. The pure form of nature as symbolized in the nude goddess we have quoted, will no longer be able to conceal her wondrous charms amid her drapery of illusive matter (Stebbins 1892:30).

For Stebbins too Isis had symbolic significance, a woman veiled in mystery, whom science would eventually have to unveil to reveal spirit.

In 1910, St. Denis performed her own version of Isis in the third scene of Egypta entitled "The Mystery of Isis." Later, the third scene was excerpted from the dance and taken on the road as The Veil of Isis. St. Denis had initially conceived Egypta as The Veil of Isis, creating a temple dance in which she impersonated a goddess, just as she had done the previous year in Radha (St. Denis 1939:138). Kendall (1979:82) suggests that St. Denis' manager, H. B. Harris, decided to produce Egypta because of the popularity of exotic Salome soloists' performances of the dance of the seven veils.

As a personification of Nature, Isis was a perfect Orientalist blend of mother nature, goddess, and progenitor of Civilization. Stebbins (1902:329) refers to Isis' veils as "the hieroglyphic of the material and of the spiritual worlds." Isis' veil is really a spiritualist metaphor for what they perceived to be the mystery surrounding a spiritual reality, one that continually eluded Darwinists focussing only on physical evolution. This idea materialized--so to speak--in the spiritualist use of veils at sceances in which spirits supposedly became manifest (see, for example, Pearsall 1972:160).

If Stebbins is correct, the idea of unveiling Isis was written right on her tomb at Sais (1892:30). In the eighteenth century, Rousseau spoke not of unveiling Isis per se, but of unveiling human nature. Thus, he confessed, "deep in the heart of the forest I sought and found the vision of those primeval ages whose history I bravely sketched. . . . I dared to unveil human nature and to look upon it in its nakedness, to trace the course of times and of events which have disfigured human nature. And while comparing conventional man with natural man, I pointed out the true source of our misery in our pretended perfection" (quoted in Cassirer 1963:19). Duncan (1955:3) must have picked up on this, for she observed that Rousseau made a supreme sacrifice for humanity--"to unveil the truth of his soul." Duncan was referring to Rousseau's Confessions, but she was also strongly influenced by his treatise Emile or On Education (see New York Tribune, January 20, 1923, p. 9, cited in McVay 1980:136, and also excerpts from a speech at the Kamerny Theater, Moscow, 1924, in Rosemont 1981:81-84). Almost as if in a conscious real-life actualization of the unveiling theme, Duncan herself, as a child of

Isis, unveiled in Boston to the dismay of the social elite and later announced that concealment is vulgar (Rosemont 1981:48-49).

In her own way, Duncan expressed the spiritualist concern with the unity of science and ancient religion in her dance. As Jowitt (1984:14; 1986:27) noted, she thought of her soul as a kind of dynamo. Thus, "here in our head is knowledge, thought; here in our breast is a motor supplying power for our most wonderful emotions!" (Rosemont 1981:82-83). And elsewhere she wrote: "I spent long days and nights in the studio seeking that dance which might be the divine expression of the human spirit through the medium of the body's movement . . . I . . . sought the source of the spiritual expression to flow into the channels of the body filling it with vibrating light--the centrifugal force reflecting the spirit's vision" (cited in Ruyter 1979:38).

Duncan's electricity metaphor might have come from Stebbins' book on dynamic breathing (1892:53), which speaks of the lungs as a battery storing up electricity from the dynamo. But the spiritualist view of inner vital force as electricity was expressed even earlier in Blavatsky's 1877 treatise. "The psychic and ectenic forces, the 'ideo-motor' and 'electro-biological powers'; 'latent thought' and even 'unconscious celebration' theories," Blavatsky stressed, "can be condensed in two words: the kabalistic ASTRAL LIGHT" (1976:I, 57-58). She asserted further, "call the phenomena force, energy, electricity or magnetism, will, or spirit-power, it will ever be the partial manifestation of the soul . . . of a portion of that intelligent, omnipotent, and individual WILL, pervading all nature." Here is the first clear expression of the relationship between electricity or magnetism, inner spirit, and will. She then goes on to quote extensively from Schopenhauer (1976:I, 57-58), pointing out that "there is a reflection of every one of these views in Schopenhauer's philosophy. Our 'investigating' scientists might consult his works with profit."

Blavatsky (1976:I, 137) associates the spiritualist concept of astral light with the wave theory of light proposed by scientists of the day. She notes (1976:I, 139) that the astral and celestial lights combine to constitute the soul and spirit of man. The grosser particles of the soul, she says, "enter into the fabrication of his outer form--the body." What is interesting is that the connection Blavatsky draws between the wave theory of light, the astral light of the spiritualists--which is understood as the soul--and its manifestation in the body seems to have found expression several decades later in the way Duncan conceptualized her body and movement (see Jowitt 1986:27). Thus, as Jowitt recently pointed out, Duncan experimented with wave motion and waves pervaded her dances.

Duncan tended not to cite women authorities, but clearly Blavatsky's ideas were in the public domain as early as September 29, 1877, when Isis Unveiled was published (Meade 1980:179). And indeed Jeanne Bresciani (personal communication, 14 February 1987) in cataloguing the Duncan collection in Victor Seroff's possession found that Duncan was carrying a copy of Isis Unveiled with her on her European tour. Many of Duncan's heros in fact had been cited more than

two decades earlier by Blavatsky, including Darwin, Plato, and Rousseau as well as Schopenhauer.

Isis Unveiled was popular for one thousand copies were sold within ~~the~~ first ten days of publication. It is thus interesting to speculate that Duncan's mother may have also been familiar with Blavatsky's work. Both mother and daughter shared an interest in Schopenhauer, whom Blavatsky quoted liberally. It is inconceivable that such a popular book published in the same year as Isadora was born would have escaped her mother's attention.

Isadora--a combination of Isis and adore (Dora)--was christened only fifteen days after Isis Unveiled came out in print, but she was born some four and a half months earlier. Blair (1986:6) speculates that Isadora was christened long after her birth because of her mother's ill health. It is equally plausible however that her mother, who was not a devout Catholic, decided to christen her daughter when Isis Unveiled caught her attention. It should also be noted that Blair (1986:2) assumes Duncan's mother was also named Isadora, but the documentation on which this assumption is made was not provided. In any case, Blavatsky's way of linking together spiritualist ideas with scientific theories, citing chapter and verse, provided a ready-made theoretical model--not to mention an extensive bibliography--for both Stebbins and Duncan after her. Duncan indeed gave Blavatsky's concept of astral light, or soul, its physical expression in her exploration of wave-like movement.

Duncan never portrayed Isis on stage as did Stebbins and St. Denis, but she spent two months in Egypt early in 1910 (Blair 1986:205-206) and danced at Isis' temple. More significantly, she lived and performed a kind of Isis ideology. Like Isis, she was always veiled to some degree in illusive draperies. One could argue that the broad interest in Classical draperies, and perhaps even Duncan's use of draperies to decorate her stage, relates directly to the spiritualist symbolism of veils. Indeed Blavatsky (1976:I, xxxvi) referred to spirit manifestations as "animated portrait-statues," drawing an analogy between spirit apparitions and statue posing.

Duncan wished to rediscover and to develop on natural movement as her personal contribution to the spiritual evolution of humanity. She thought of herself as Nature tempered by will, whose body radiated her soul in natural wave motions. Rousseau and Darwin provided the basic framework for progress and evolution based on a structural model of primitive man versus rational man, but spiritualists like Blavatsky gave the model a spiritual reinterpretation. It was Blavatsky who in turn gave an Isis identity to her reinterpretation in the very year that Isadora was born.

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THE IMPACT OF GREEK ART ON THE STYLE AND PERSONA OF ISADORA DUNCAN

Deborah Jowitt

[Since this presentation took the form of a slide lecture, what follows here is some of the prefatory and linking material, with a general description of the pictorial material and its thrust.]

When Isadora posed for Jacob Schloss in New York (probably early in 1899), wearing the costume in which she danced to the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayam, she wore ballet slippers and aspired, with the help of a convenient wall, to get up on point. Her "Mercury attitude" [slide] had more in common with that of a 7th grader [slide] illustrating the pose in a physical education manual of 1892 (Morris, 1892:75) than with antique statues of the messenger of the gods. And she was a good deal stiffer and more upright than the second maenad from the left on a pyxis in the National Museum of Athens [slide]. By 1903, however, when her brother Raymond snapped this photo of her in Greece [slide showing "attitude" tilted back, analagous to previously mentioned vase painting], the salon artist had herself become adept at maenadry and was well on her way to becoming famous.

What had happened to her in five years? She had read Nietzsche's The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music with its elucidation of the Dionysian aspects of Greek art and religion that countered the Apollonian serenity, and its passage on the role of the chorus in early Greek tragedy (the subject for another paper). She had re-read Plato, and she had begun to look deeply at Greek statues, vase paintings, and frescoes.

Isadora was Greekish before she knew Greece or Greek art well. That is, like many artists, aesthetes, health faddists, and dress reformers of her day -- some of them knowledgeable, some not very -- she had a taste for antiquity. George Wilson wrote in his Healthy Life and Healthy Dwellings (1880) that the classic style of dress was superior to the modern because "The whole weight of the garment was born by the shoulders, and not from a waist constricted by strings and bands, if not by tight-laced stays." (Newton, 1974:97) The passionate Hellenist, E.W. Godwin, the father of Edward Gordon Craig (later Isadora's lover), kept a cast of the Venus de Milo in his parlor and burned incense in front of it. And liked to see his mistress, Ellen Terry, wear Grecian robes. (Jenkyns, 1980:301) (In 1886, while Isadora was growing up in California, he had redesigned the interior of a London theater to make it resemble, as much as possible, an ancient Greek one, for a production of John Todhunter's Helena in Troas,

and had posed his chorus of women singers in attitudes drawn from the Parthenon friezes in the British Museum.) (Jenkyns, 1980:303-304). The heroine of George du Maurier's Trilby, that enormously popular novel of 1895, wore Greek attire when she sang on stage under the hypnotic command of Dr. Svengali. The prominent American Delsartean, Genevieve Stebbins was pictured in a similar gown, possibly for the 1892 performances that so impressed Ruth St. Denis. [Slides of women wearing Grecian fillets in their hair for a Delsartean tableau (reproduced in Ruyter, 1979: 16), of a " Greek Chain Dance" from Mrs. Lilly Grove's Dancing (Grove [Frazer], 1895/1901: 386), of poetry recitations, and of schoolgirls taking attitudes.) A Greek touch could elevate anything, including school performances: the girl pictured [slide] evidently thought that Attic draperies would add immeasurably to her recitation of "Hark The Wedding Bells Are Ringing" (Northrop, 1899:opposite 24).

If Duncan asserted that she didn't copy Greek statues (Duncan,1928: 102), it was, in part, to disassociate herself from such amateur tableaux and from the Delsartean excercise,"artistic statue posing". Duncan admired Delsarte; it was the fashionable and dilettantish applications of his theories that she wished to avoid. (Delsarte himself had paid serious attention to Greek statues, and Stebbins had added photographs of statues to the 1902 edition of her Delsarte System of Expression, in part to illustrate "harmonic poise", a three-part opposition in the body -- head inclined toward the weight-bearing foot, torso leaning slightly away from it.) (Stebbins, 1902: 458). A review of one of the three different recitals that Duncan gave at the New Gallery in London in 1900 makes it sound as if at that early date she were just an unusually gifted Delsartean: "Miss Duncan took up a series of graceful poses, like those of figures on a Greek vase, but passed from one to another so quickly that the succession of postures resolved itself into a dance." (The Lady, August 2, 1900: Duncan clippings,NYPL).

And she most certainly did "copy statues".

Another Schloss photo of Duncan (slide) tells us something more than the Mercury Attitude one. It shows a naturalness, an openness, an ease of body not unlike that of this dancing satyr in bronze slide). It was those qualities that she began to build on around the time of those first London recitals. In London, she came into contact with people who were erudite on the subject of Greece. Like Sir Andrew Lang, who had translated the Idylls of Theocritus, like the great Greek scholar, Jane Ellen Harrison, who at one of the New Gallery concerts is said to have read some of these idylls while Duncan

danced. ("Miss Duncan's Dance Idylls", J. Fuller-Maitland, The Times, March 17, 1900: Duncan clippings, NYPL).

In London, Isadora haunted the British Museum; later that year, she hit the Louvre, and she formed the habit of visiting museums in whatever city her touring took her to. At the Louvre in 1900, according to her, her brother Raymond sketched and, no one being about in the galleries, she danced (Duncan, 1927: 67). A collection of postcards that she travelled with (among the many items bequeathed to the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library by Irma Duncan) gives some hint of what drew her eye: figures in repose, serenely voluptuous, at home with the natural weight and shape of their bodies -- like the Three Fates in the British Museum, from the East Pediment of the Parthenon; figures caught in simple everyday motion, like the water-carriers (also from the Parthenon), or a Nike stooping to adjust her sandal; and figures in violent motion (The photo that she owned shows a portion of the Mausoleum frieze that depicts the battle of centaurs and amazons.) She thought enough of the headless "Dancing Maenad" in the Berlin Museum, with its mobile torso, to install a copy in her school. [slides of artworks described above and of Duncan's six adopted daughters -- Irma Anna, Theresa, Lise, Margot, and Erika with the maenad statue at the Dionysion outside Paris].

Studying Greek statues, friezes, and vase paintings was one of Duncan's strategies to separate dancing from the kind of entertainment it provided in music halls and vaudeville. And to distance her stage persona from things like flirting and showing off. It was related to other tactics: dancing to music by great composers, hymning Nature as the great source of movement and using the words of philosophers -- Nietzsche and Plato and Rousseau in particular -- to justify dancing.

In the late 19th and early 20th century when Isadora was beginning her career, intellectuals and artists tended to be wildly romantic about Greece, in particular Greece of the 5th century BC. They viewed it as a time when all art was great, all deeds noble, and all conversation brilliant. The whiteness and seriousness of the statues even made it possible for the Victorians -- in the words of Richard Jenkyns --"to contemplate the naked body with good conscience." (Jenkyns, 1980: 136). In reminding her audiences of Greek statues, Duncan knew she was assuring them of the high moral tone of her dancing.

For one thing, there was an ancient connection between sculpture and dancing. According to John Warrack (art historian and contemporary of Isadora), Athenaeus spoke of much ancient sculpture as "a record of dancing" (Warrack, n.d.:xvi). And that dancing was highly regarded. Lucian

suggested that there were no prizes for dancing at Greek festivals because it was too fine, too sacred to figure in public competitions (Warrack, n.d.:xvi). And Plato offered all the proof Duncan needed that noble movements ennobled the soul and vice versa. In her essay entitled "The Great Source" she serves up the idea with a Delsartean flourish: dancing gave the thoughts of the ancients, "a grace and a balance that immortalized them" (Duncan, 1928/1977:103) And: "The attitude we assume affects our soul: a simple turning backward of the head, made with passion, sends a Bacchic frenzy running through us, of joy or heroism or desire. All gestures thus give rise to an inner response..." (Duncan, 1928/1977:103)

She also saw in Greek art an affirmation of natural principles. Both John Ruskin in Modern Painters (Jenkyns, 1980:184) and Genevieve Stebbins in The Delsarte System of Expression (Stebbins, 1902: 376-377) had pointed out that the gods and goddesses that the statues so often represented were themselves the representatives of natural forces -- water, wind, fire. In them, Duncan studied, she said, the "concentration and evolution" of those forces. (Duncan, 1928/1977:58).

It is possible that a book might have encouraged Duncan to study the implicit motion of statues. One of the books on dancing that she says she read (and disliked) in Paris around 1900 could have been Maurice Emmanuel's curious The Antique Greek Dance After Sculptured And Painted Figures (1895). Emmanuel analyzed (often quirkily) the poses of many Greek statues and painted figures in terms of movement -- what gesture or step had preceded the pose and what, one could infer, was to follow. (Emmanuel, tr. Beauly, 1916).

Whether Duncan looked at terra-cotta figures of dancing girls and bacchantes, or marble statues of females striding boldly, or at the active, striving figures, especially in friezes of battle -- lunging, falling, warding off blows, she could draw from the lines of the bodies and the flying of their draperies ideas about the human body in motion that were stronger and more plastic than most theatrical dancing of her day. [slides accompanied the above.]

Although in early photographs, her lunges still have a trace of Delsartean gentility, you can see the power that began to figure in her solo dancing.

When I started to look at ancient art from museums Duncan is known to have visited or could easily have visited in the course of her travels, I began to notice striking parallels between the art and images of Duncan dancing or posing for the camera. Between them and her compositions for students too. The "Tanagra" studies, as

passed down by Irma Duncan, incorporated common attitudes found, if not on Tanagra figures, on other statues -- one hand draped over the head, both at the shoulder to adjust the tunic or don a necklace (or, as Emmanuel thought, to wring water from the hair).

Greek art fueled her offstage image: her ease and grandeur in repose, the way she draped her scarf, or leaned on a pillar. And, of course, her dancing image.

[This culminating portion of the presentation is the crux of my argument, but it is impossible to duplicate on the printed page. It consisted of projecting pairs of slides, juxtaposing well-known photographs or drawings of Duncan with photos of sculpture, vase paintings, and bas reliefs -- figures whose poses closely, in some cases exactly, resembled those of Duncan. The majority of the art is in the collections of the British Museum, the Louvre, the Vatican Museum, the Staatliche Museum in Berlin, The Muzeo Nationale in Naples, and the National Museum in Athens, as well as from various sites in Greece. Some of the points emphasized were the resilient yielding to gravity displayed in reclining poses, the lift of the arms with which Duncan ended so many phrases, the head turned away from the direction of forward motion, the strong crossing of the lifted leg in a skip, the arch of the torso. A postcard that she owned of a frenzied maenad led to a discussion of the fact that in her dancing, Duncan often suggested the intoxicated passion of the bacchante. Annabelle Gamson has pointed out the maenadic quality in the B sections of many of her solos.]

But the maenad of antiquity was not just a bloodthirsty reveler, she was at one with nature in a way that Isadora -- at least in her dancing -- hoped to be, offering her audiences idyllic visions of freedom, recreating through her gestures and her focus a pastoral landscape that seemed, in the early 19th century, to be vanishing. She perhaps wished to make spectators see her as they did these marble women with their heads thrown back, hearing the words of the Bacchae of Euripedes in her mind:

> Will they ever come to me, ever again,
> The long, long dances,
> On through the dark till the dim stars wane?
> Shall I feel the dew on my throat and the stream
> Of wind in my hair? Shall our white feet gleam
> In the dim expanses?

(The quote is from Gilbert Murray's translation of <u>The Bacchae</u>, a copy of which Isadora owned.)

Isadora's schemes were never lacking in grandeur or ambition. "The attitudes we assume affect our souls", she said. By allying herself with the serene and active and

passionate attitudes of Greek art, it was not only her own soul that she hoped to improve, but the souls of generations of pupils and of all those who saw her dance.

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[Slides of Duncan and of Greek art were drawn from a variety of sources, too numerous to list here.]
of sources too numerous to list here].

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY BALLET TECHNIQUE FROM LÉON MICHEL

Sandra Noll Hammond

Assisting in the demonstration: Jaye Knutson, Laurie Lowry and Kathryn White, graduate students from the University of Hawaii

Léon Michel (or Michel-Saint-Léon, as he preferred to call himself), in addition to giving the world an outstanding dancer and choreographer, his son Arthur Saint-Léon, left some priceless documents on early nineteenth century ballet technique: his teaching notebooks detailing exercises, enchaînements, entrees, and variations from the years 1829, 1830, and 1831. The technical descriptions, written in French, include music for each selection and occasionally simple drawings of dance poses. These three small notebooks, one of which is entitled Cahier d'Exercices pour L.L.A.A. Royalles les Princesses de Wurtemburg 1830 now belong to the Bibliotheque de l'Opéra in Paris (Res. 1137). They provide rare glimpses into the dance training of the early nineteenth century, the eve of the romantic ballet.

For a glimpse into the life of Léon Michel, we are indebted to Ivor Guest who, when documenting the life of the more famous son, uncovered some information about the long-ingnored father. Michel was a dancer at the Paris Opera and, in 1807, received the following commendation from ballet-master Pierre Gardel:

> He is first, one of the strongest men in Paris, secondly, an excellent musician, thirdly, a dancer whose positions combine grace with feeling and nobility, and fourthly, is charming and honest. (as quoted in Guest, 9)

Ten years later, in 1817, Michel received a pension from the Opera, and, released of duties there, accepted a position as Court dancing master in Tuscany. His next appointment, soon after the birth of his son in 1821, was in Stuttgart at the Court of Wurtemburg where he compiled his notebooks. (Guest,9)

These notebooks make no mention of barre work. Instead, they contain many pages of center floor exercises ranging from elementary combinations to challenging adagio and allegro sequences. Some of these entries add enlightening information about material only mentioned by other ballet masters of the time, such as the early nineteenth century version of the temps de courante. (Michel, 1829, 2)

Michel's written descriptions of the "tems de courant simple" and "à deux mouvements" concurs with Théleur's accounts (29-30, 66), but in addition Michel provides information about the accompanying movement of the arms. As in other examples of exercises, Michel suggests more than one way to perform the sequence à deux mouvements, "quand on sera un peu plus avancé." The suggestion is to add épaulement and to finish the tems de courante on the diagonal rather than en face. More clues to the execution of the courante à deux mouvements come from Gennaro Magri in 1779. His step of due piegate suggests the second bend and rise were made more quickly (57). Michel's tems de courante simple remains strikingly similar to the eighteenth century step of the same name (see Feuillet, 47; Rameau, 115-121; Essex, 66-67).

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Exercises of coupés usually are mentioned immediately following the temps de courante in all technical treatises of the first half of the nineteenth century. The basic movement is a step forward, sideward, or backward followed by an extension of the other leg. As such, it seems related to the coupé of the eighteenth century which was composed of a step (a demi-coupé forward, sideward, or backward) followed by another step or a leg gesture. The various nineteenth century exercises of coupés (five described by Michel in the 1829 notebook) also show a relationship to the Cecchetti adagio entitled Coupé et Fouetté en Avant et en Arrière (Beaumont and Idzikowski, 80-83). Michel's exercise beginning "Coupé en avant, coupé de coté, coupé en arrière," is virtually identical to one that his son Arthur notated, described and published 23 years later in La Sténochorégraphie (example 10). This later version, in which the dance notation is written directly above the musical notation, gives a clear indication of the timing of the movements. Balance and control are emphasized by a rise or step onto demi-pointe before the extension of the other leg to the height of the hip and a slow turn en dehors, challenges to dancers of any era.

The second Cahier Exercices de 1830 contains a number of simple drawings, including illustrations of two poses for a sequence of "double port de bras" (5) that show elements of the Cecchetti fifth and sixth exercises for port de bras (Beaumont and Idzikowski, 59). Arthur Saint-Léon notates the double port de bras in an exercise that includes grand ballotté and assemblé soutenu (exercise 12). Michel's port de bras finishes with a rise "sur les pointes" before making a "pas de bourrée à 4 pas" to assume the opening pose (which he illustrated) for the other side. Such a pas de bourrée is not described in the texts of this period, so the decision was made to interpret it rather like the eighteenth century pas de bourrée vité or à quatre pas (a suggestion proposed to me by Angene Feves) as described by Rameau (129-130).

An exercise calling for the dancer to "relevez le talon trois fois" (Cahier...les Princesses, 3) appears to be an early "version" of the Trois Relevé Adage of Cecchetti (Beaumont and Idzikowski, 66-68). Michel's version begins with "plié et relevez" followed by an extension of the leg à la seconde with the supporting foot "sur la demi-pointe." The heel of the supporting foot then is lowered and raised three times. The exercise is repeated to the other side before being done to the front and to the back. A simpler version, performed to the same music, appears on the same page. Although the latter exercise requires only a "développez" à la seconde with the supporting heel on the ground, it specifies a "relevez sur les pointes," following the initial plié.

One of the most challenging of all the center exercises is the "Foité." Michel's basic exercise (Cahier 1829, 12) contains the common ingredients found in most other accounts of the time: a high (height of the hip) circling movement by the gesture leg, accompanied by a bend, rise and bend on the supporting leg while a quarter turn of the body is made from one effacé corner to the other, followed by a step onto the gesture foot as it returns to the original effacé direction. The essential nature of the exercise was notated by Théleur (70), but much earlier it was described by Magri (86-87), whose fuete sotto al corpo e girando seems to anticipate Michel's foité exercise as well as his Foité en tournant (2nd Cahier 1830, 7). Arthur Saint-Léon provides further details in his descriptions and notations of "grand fouetté lent, posé attitude" and the same with "un tour" (examples 13 and 14). Michel also includes "Foités en sautant" or "grands foités sans quitter la terre," (1829, 12) done to the same music but more quickly than his other foité exercises.

Later versions of the basic movements are found in the work of both Cecchetti (Beaumont and Idzikowski, 71-72) and Vaganova (132-133).

The demonstration of three examples of allegro enchaînements gives only a hint of the variety of steps and combinations included in the notebooks of Michel. Many of the allegro phrases contain one or more slower movements as well, calling for great control and strength from the performer while providing pleasing contrasts to the viewer. The combinations range from simple (see example rendered in Labanotation) to complex. A demonstrated example of the latter begins with "entrechat à 5" and goes on to include ronds de jambe sauté, four brisés en arrière as well as connecting steps (Cahier...les Princesses, 41). Perhaps because one or more of the princesses might have experienced some difficulty with this enchaînement, Michel suggests "sissonne derrière de pied de derrière" can be substituted for the "entrechat à 5."

Thus, the picture imerges of a knowledgeable but compasionate taskmaster, a father no doubt proud of his talented young son, Arthur, some of whose compositions merit inclusion in the notebooks.

Pages of dances, variations, and entrées make the notebooks more than pedagogy texts. One demonstrated example, a "Petit pas pour la Princess Catherine," (Cahier...les Princesses, 30) is a charming, lively dance that is rhythmically challenging for the performer who must fit into the 2/4 phrases all the assorted steps specified in the description, including pas de basque, balancés, brisés, ballonnées, ballottés, etc., etc.

The three notebooks of Léon Michel help in the understanding and appreciation of ballet technique in the first decades of the nineteenth century, a period of transition and innovation, a time that echoed the old ways but forecast the new.

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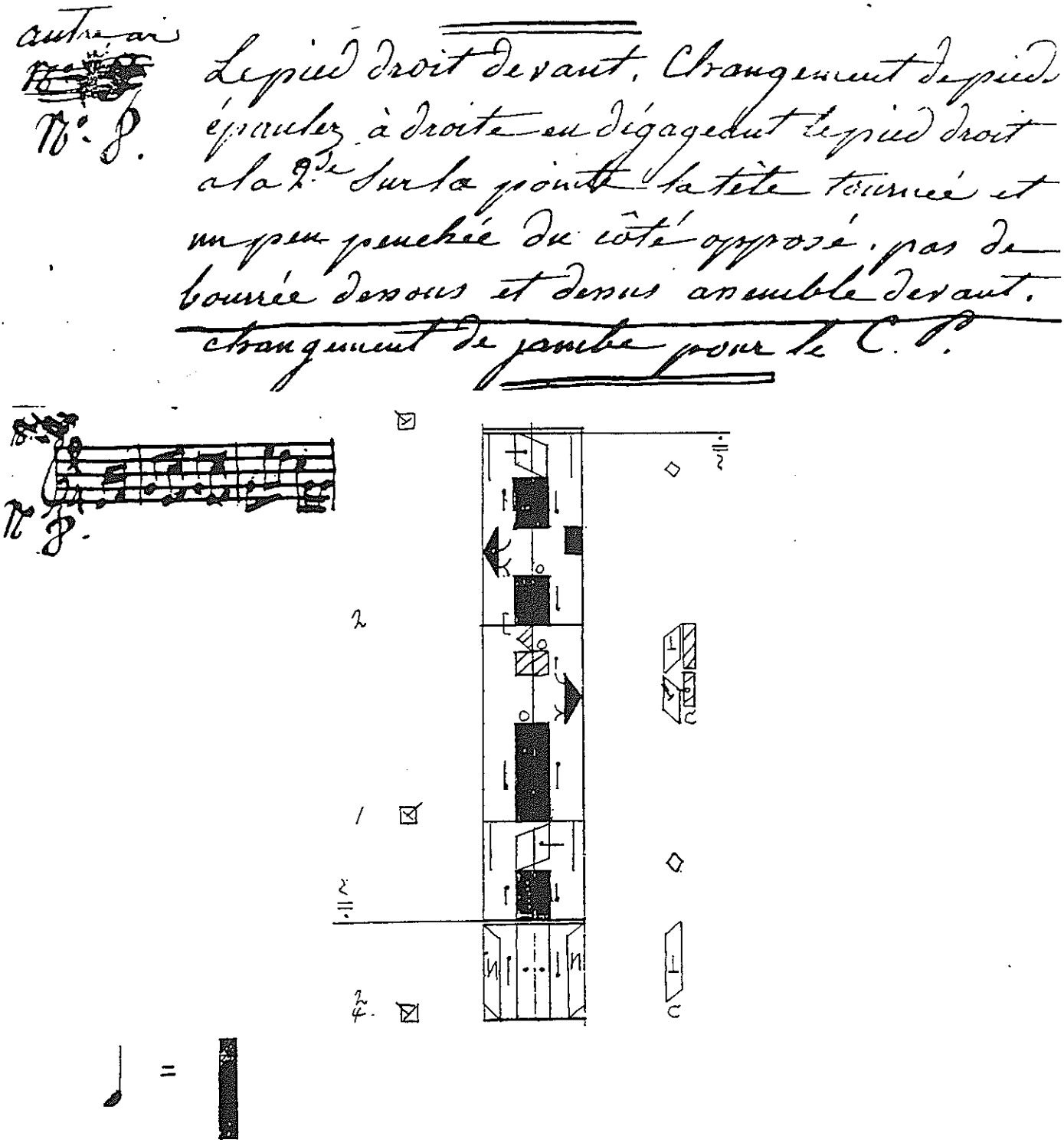
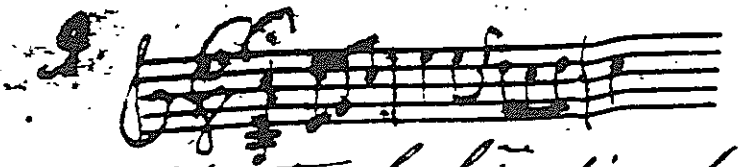
Léon Michel (Michel-Saint-Léon), 1830
Cahier d'Exercices Pour L.L.A.A. Royalles les Princesses de Wurtemburg



Reconstruction by Sandra Noll Hammond, Asso. Professor of Dance, Univ. of Hawaii.
Labanotation by Laurie Lowry, M.A. candidate in dance ethnology, Univ. of Hawaii.

1)



autre Des plies et relevé air N° 9.

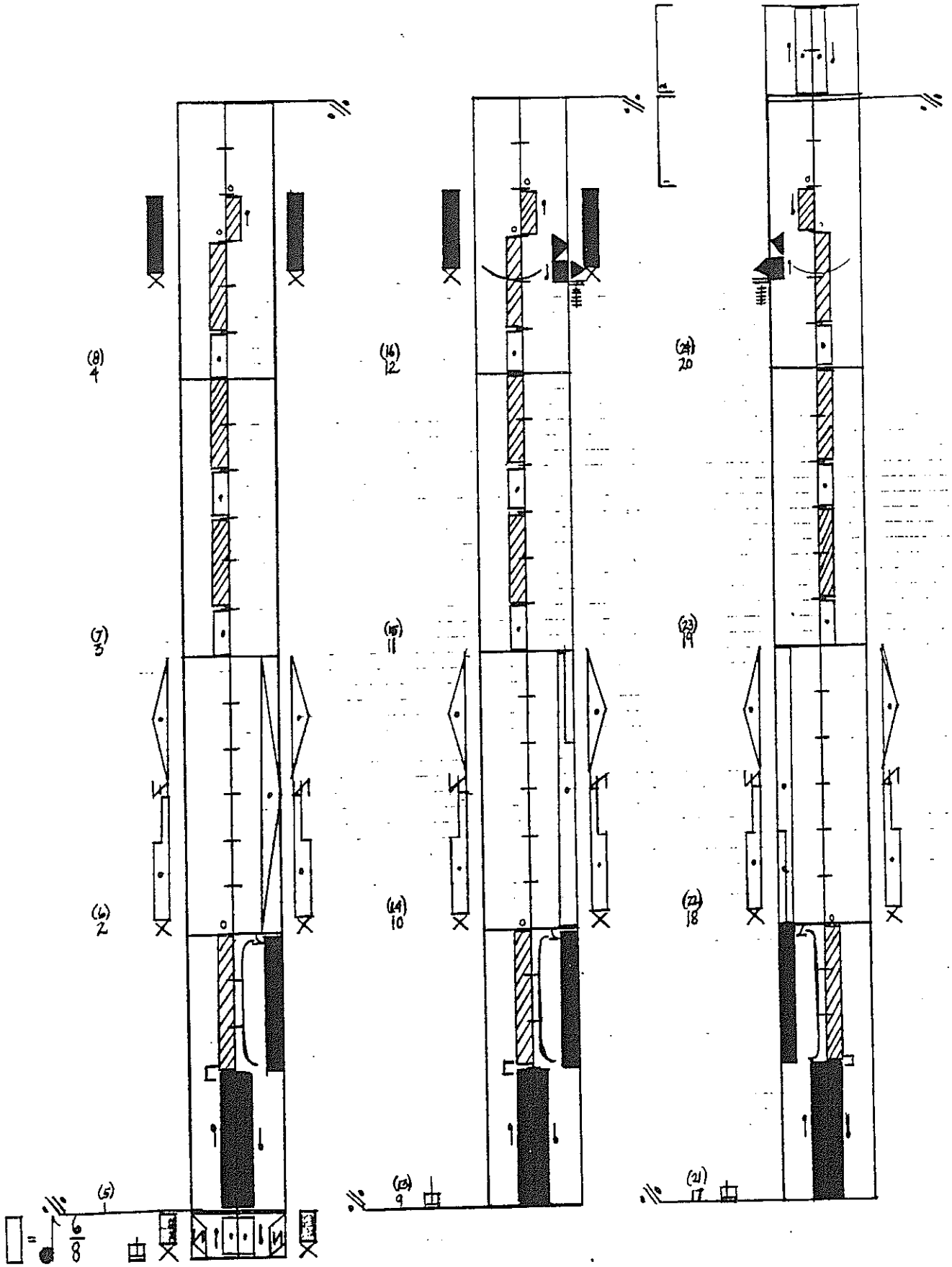
Etant à la 5e plies bien bas et relevez sur les pointes posez les talons, et relevez vivement le pied de devant sur la cheville développez lentement la jambe à la 2de sans poser à terre, ensuite posez derrière pour le C. P.

2)

autre même air N° 9.

Plies et relevez lentement portez la jambe à la 2de en l'air (en développant les bras) et sur la dernière pointe, posez et relevez le talon trois fois, sans poser l'autre pied à terre, posez derrière à la 5me C. P. Ensuite on relevera le pied en avant à la 4me en l'air et se relevera trois fois sur une pointe et battement tendu devant et derrière C. P. et de même le contraire pris avec le pied de derrière à la 4me en l'air &c

Léon Michel (Michel-Saint-Léon), 1830
Cahier d'Exercices Pour L.L.A.A. Royalles les Princesses de Wurtemburg



Reconstruction by Sandra Noll Hammond, Asso. Professor of Dance, Univ. of Hawaii.
Labanotation of 2nd exercise by Jaye Knutson, M.A. candidate in dance, Univ. of Hawaii.

For the Proceedings:1987 SDHS Conference

INFORMAL MEETING WITH MIKHAIL LAVROVSKY, VISITING SOVIET CHOREOGRAPHER

Sunday, February 15, 5:30-6:30 P.M. Salon D
Presiding, Selma Jeanne Cohen and Olga Smoak

Mr. Lavrovsky, premier danseur of the Bolshoi Ballet, and choreographer for the Tbilisi Opera House, Georgian SSR; spoke informally with conference participants. He described his studies at GITIS, the Soviet Choreographic Institute in Moscow; his work in Arizona with American dancers; and his views on US-Soviet cultural exchange. Translations to and from Russian were made by Olga Smoak, a dancer living in the US who has made several trips to the Soviet Union.

Lavrovsky graduated from the Bolshoi Ballet School in the 1960s. He entered GITIS (the Choreographic Institute) in 1977, while concurrently dancing principal roles with the Bolshoi Company. He was one of five dancers accepted. He considered the course of study equivalent to a university education in that he read Soviet and Russian history, political science and theory, economics, theater history, dance history, musicology, and other subjects. After completing his studies in 1982 he was assigned the Georgian State Opera House in Tbilisi to stage original ballets. In 1984 he completed a ballet to Porgy and Bess, a major choregraphic achievement. He explained that he had always admired Gershwin's music and also the theme of that opera. He arranged for Miguel Lopez of the Alvin Ailey Company to come to Russia and coach the dancers in the proper style.

Here in Arizona he is setting a ballet orginally choreographed for Soviet television, to the Bach Suite #2. It is cast for four men and one woman. Why this ballet? As a representative of Soviet ballet he wanted to work within the classical tradition that the Bolshoi company is most noted for. When he began working with the Arizona Ballet Company he had to readapt the work for the stage. When asked if changes were made because of the dancers, he explained that our dancers were different, but not necessarily better or worse than his original cast. He also wanted to make changes because he had more time to rethink some of the choreographic ideas and make improvements.

On the issue of cultural exchange Mr. Lavrovsky expressed the personal belief that our countries could best understand each other through opportunities for personal contact and dialogue, and not through information handed down by governments and press. He was very pleased to be invited both to Arizona and to the SDHS Conference. He felt that this "opening up of hearts and souls" was essential to mutual cooperation and to the graver problem of preventing world catastrophe. As a dancer and an artist he felt a strong bond with American dancers and dance scholars, although he did admit he missed his country.

Lavrovsky emphasized that the thoughts expressed were his personally and not necessarily representative of an official position. However he implied that Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev's recent policy of opening the doors to dialogue and cultural exchange was a welcome improvement.

Reported by Alice Helpern

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University of California, Irvine

February 13-15, 1987

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TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE

FEBRUARY 13-15, 1987

Thursday, February 13, 1987

IRVINE HILTON HOTEL

4:00 p.m. Premier Room	SDHS Committee Meetings Academic Affairs; Long-Range Planning

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Friday, February 13, 1987

IRVINE HILTON HOTEL

9:00 a.m.-7:30 p.m. Outside Imperial Room	Registration
7:30 a.m. Premier Room	President's Council Meeting
9:00 a.m. Premier Room	SDHS Board of Directors Meeting

1:00-2:30 p.m. Imperial Room	Issues in eighteenth-century sources Presiding: Selma Landen Odom, York University
	"Dating an André Lorin manuscript" Deborah Levine, Downers Grove, Illinois
	"Terpsichore reborn: the French noble style and drama" Richard T. Semmens, University of Western Ontario
	"The regular and the irregular: puzzles in the manuals and scores of the early eighteenth century" Shirley S. Wynne, Distinguished Visiting Professor, Mills College
1:00-2:30 p.m. Empire Room	Research in ballet history and ideas Presiding: Sandra N. Hammond, University of Hawaii
	"The lot of the dancer: London 1800-1830" John V. Chapman, University of Waterloo
	"Salvatore Viganò: his ballets at the Teatro la Scala (1811-21)" Elizabeth Terzian, University of California, Riverside
	"The objective temperament: post-modern dance and the rediscovery of ballet" Roger Copeland, Oberlin College
2:45-9:00 p.m. Premier room	Vendor displays open

2:45-4:45 p.m. Imperial Room	Current Research in Diverse Topics Aspects of expression in twentieth-century dance Presiding: George Dorris, York College, CUNY "A femme fatale communicates through dance" Svea Becker, William Patterson College of New Jersey "Dancing in and out of the dream" Marcia B. Siegel, New York University Ideas in philosophy and history Presiding: Curtis Carter, Marquette University "Acting and dancing: a comparative semiotics" Micheal Quinn, Stanford University "A woman of the theatre in Seville's golden age" Lynn Matluck Brooks, Franklin and Marshall College
2:45-4:45 p.m. Empire Room	Movement educators in Duncan's time Presiding: Barbara Barker, University of Texas, Austin "The intellectual world of Genevieve Stebbins" Nancy Lee Ruyter, University of California, Irvine "Dances and ballets by M.B. Gilbert" Eugenia Everett, Jackson Heights, New York "Sharing the dances of many people: the teaching work of Mary Wood Hinman" Selma Landen Odom, York University "Maggie Gripenberg (1881-1976): a Finnish pioneer in modern dance" Saga M. Ambegoakar, Ithaca College

Friday, February 13, 1987 (continued)

2:45-3:15 p.m. ZOT Disco	Research in the fifteenth-century ballo Presiding: Elizabeth Aldrich, Historical Dance Foundation, New York "Belriguardo (Vecchio): A critical discussion" A. William Smith, Ohio State University
5:00-6:00 p.m. Imperial Room	Scholars' Forum: research work in progress Presiding: Camille Hardy, New York University
6:30-8:00 p.m. Salon A/B	Welcoming Reception-California Night Hosted jointly by SDHS and Robert Garfias, Dean, School of Fine Arts, University of California, Irvine

Saturday, February 14, 1987

IRVINE HILTON HOTEL

8:30 a.m.-4:00 p.m. Outside Imperial Room	Registration
9:00-10:00 a.m. Salon B	SDHS General Meeting Election of new board; amendments to by-laws All interested persons are invited to attend
10:00-7:00 p.m. Premier Room	Vendors Display
10:15-11:45 a.m. Imperial Room	Isadora Duncan: ideas and influences Presiding: Christena L. Schlundt, University of California, Riverside "Dance of the future" Claudia Jeschke, Munich University "Nineteenth-century scientism as an organizer of belief: the role of evolutionism on the philosophy of Isadora Duncan" Judy Levine, New York University "Isadora Duncan: her influences on the development of British early modern dance" June Layson, University of Surrey

10:15-11:45 a.m. Empire Room	The visual context of Duncan's work and life Presiding: Judith Chazin-Bennahum, University of New Mexico "Isadora Duncan as seen by the artists of her time" Harriet Berg, Marygrove College, Detroit "Art and dance in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna" Marianne W. Martin, Boston College "Dance for life" Margaretta K. Mitchell, Berkeley, California
12:00 noon-2:00 p.m. Poolside	Luncheon followed by keynote speaker: Presiding: Dianne L. Woodruff, York University Dr. Gedeon P. Dienes, Scientific Advisor, Research Institute for Culture, Budapest, Hungary
2:15-3:45 p.m. Imperial Room	Duncan on Tour in Europe and New York Presiding: Nancy Lee Ruyter, University of California, Irvine "Duncan's second school in Paris and its 1915 performances in New York" Kay Bardsley, Isadora Duncan International Institute "Isadora Duncan in Hungary, 1902" Gedeon P. Dienes, Research Institute for Culture, Budapest
2:15-3:45 p.m. Empire Room	Duncan's use of music Presiding: Fredrika Blair, Carmel, California "Isadora Duncan and her relationship to the music of Chopin" Lillian Loewenthal, Dover, New Jersey "Isadora Duncan's *Seventh Symphony* in the Netherlands. Reactions to her choice and interpretation of the music" Nancy deWilde, Rotterdam Dance Academy

4:00-5:30 p.m. Imperial Room	Some sources for Isadora's persona Presiding: Deborah Jowitt, New York University "Walt Whitman and Isadora Duncan: the construction of a personal mythology Ellen Graff, Barnard College "Isis and Isadora Duncan" Margaret Thompson Drewal, New York University "The impact of Greek art on the dance style and persona of Isadora Duncan" Deborah Jowitt, New York University
Evening Program:	Dinner on your own followed by dance concert at UCI. Concert tickets should be purchased in advance at the registration desk.
7:30 p.m.	Buses leave Hilton for the theatre
8:00 p.m.	UCI Ensemble Concert featuring reconstructions of Duncan dances and other related works

Sunday, February 15, 1987

HILTON/UCI/HILTON

8:30-10:00 a.m. Outside Imperial Room	Registration
8:30 a.m.	Buses leave for UCI
	All Sunday sessions are lecture-demonstrations and workshops except the panel discussion. Bring tunics for the Duncan classes, if possible, and ballet slippers, skirts/pants for the nineteenth-century workshop.
9:00-10:30 a.m. Dance Studio 128	Workshop I in Duncan Technique Presiding: Harriet Berg, Marygrove College
	"Duncan technique and the legacy of Lisa Duncan" Madeleine Lytton, Paris, France
9:00-10:30 a.m. Dance Studio 120	Lecture-demonstrations Presiding: Eugenia Everett, Jackson Heights, New York
	"Early nineteenth-century ballet technique from Leon Michel" Sandra N. Hammond, University of Hawaii
	"An analysis of *Three Prayers* by Ted Shawn, using the laws and principles of Francois Delsarte" Mary Jo Horvath, Washburn University of Topeka
10:45 a.m.-12:15 p.m. Dance Studio 128	Panel Discussion Moderating: Nancy Lee Ruyter, University of California, Irvine
	"Responses to contemporary reconstructions of Duncan's choreography"
	Panelists: Kay Bardsley, Mignon Garland, Hortense Kooluris, Madeleine Lytton. Each panelist studied with one of Duncan's "adopted" daughters: Lisa, Irma, or Maria-Theresa

Sunday, February 15, 1987 (continued)

12:15-1:45 p.m.	Lunch on your own; restaurants are within 2 blocks of the studio. Directions will be posted at the studios.
1:45-2:45 p.m. Dance Studio 120	Workshop II in Duncan technique Presiding: Hortense Kooluris, Duncan dancer and teacher "Duncan technique and choreography" Lori Belilove, Isadora Duncan Foundation for Contemporary Dance
1:45-2:45 p.m. Dance Studio 128	Lecture-Performance of Duncan technique Presiding: Dianne L. Woodruff, York University San Francisco Duncan Dancers, Mignon Garland, Director
3:00-4:00 p.m.	Workshop III in Duncan technique Presiding: Kay Bardsley, Isadora Duncan International Institute "Duncan technique and the legacy of Maria-Theresa Duncan" Jeanne Bresciani, Dancers for Isadora
4:00 p.m.	Bus returns to Irvine Hilton
4:30-5:30 p.m. Hilton Chancellor Room	Board meeting with new members
5:30-6:30 p.m. Salon A/B	Informal Reception with Mikhail Lavrovsky, visiting Soviet choreographer, for conferees interested in cultural relations with the U.S.S.R. Presiding: Olga Smoak and Selma Jeanne Cohen
6:30 p.m. Salon A/B	Banquet and ball (advance reservations necessary) Entertainment by University of California, Irvine *Ballet Folklorico* under the direction of Raquel Castro Folk and historical dances will be taught by conference participants (Bring comfortable shoes!)