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PROCEEDINGS SOCIETY OF DANCE HISTORY SCHOLARS

Fifteenth Annual Conference
University of California
Riverside, California
14 - 15 February 1992

Proceedings
of the
Society of Dance History Scholars

American Dance Abroad
Influence of the
United States Experience

Fifteenth Annual Conference
University of California
Riverside, CA
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CONFERENCE PAPERS

Fifteenth Annual Conference
University of California, Riverside, CA
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Christena L. Schlundt, Compiler

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$410-Was That a Necessary Expense?

Naima Prevots

This paper has its focus on the role of government in sending American dance abroad; how this began and why; the nature of policy decisions and the impact of government involvement on American dance here and abroad on both dance and the arts in general.

The history of international exchange, or cultural diplomacy starts with the private sector at the beginning of the twentieth century. Andrew Carnegie took the position that the exchange of ideas and individuals could be an important factor in eliminating conflict between nations. In keeping with the American idea that laissez-faire private initiative rather than government control was the necessary path to action and accomplishment he created in 1910 the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The emphasis was on sponsoring exchange of professors and students; exchanges of publications; stimulation of translations and the book trade; the teaching of English; and much of the activity was aimed at Latin America. The Rockefeller Foundation, established in 1913, by the 1920s had become involved in cultural exchange. The International Institute of Education was founded in 1919 to achieve peace through international understanding and under the leadership of Stephen Duggan,professor of government and education at City College in New York, focused primarily on student exchange.

Until the late 1930s private philanthropic initiatives were the sole basis for various forms of cultural diplomacy defined by Frank Ninkovich in The Diplomacy of Ideas as "a form of statecraft concerned with the management of intellectual influences on international politics". This reflected the belief in volunteerism and avoidance of government control and the power of selected elite individuals to spread the values of moral rearmament. The emphasis was not so much on specifically putting forward the idea of the superiority of American capitalism or our particular way of life but rather the premise that leaders could institute a meeting of the minds which would avoid and prevent misunderstandings between nations. Centralization of control was suspect by many in the political, educational and artistic arena.

The rise of Hitler and events in Latin America precipitated the beginning of some new thinking. The Germans, Italians and Japanese began to use cultural diplomacy as a specific extension of their military and economic policies and as an extension of their ideologocial and national interests by sending teachers and establishing schools and programs; by 1941 it was estimated that foreign schools in Latin America had been established as follows: 670 were German, 58 Italian and 134 Japanese.

President Roosevelt arranged a special Inter-American conference for the Maintenance of Peace on December 23, 1936 in Buenos Aires and out of that grew the first official sponsorship by the government of educational and cultural exchange. The Division of

Cultural Relations within the State Department was created in 1938. It is interesting to note that this marked the United States' formal entry into the field of cultural diplomacy at the same time that the government was cancelling WPA projects and its support of art at home. Through the 1940s various other units developed in the State Department but their role was consistently to facilitate private philanthropic projects and educational exchange. The early government support was in Latin America followed by activity during World War II in China and post-war in Germany. Records identified so far show no signficant activity in the performing arts aside from a conference on music.

The cold war was directly responsible for the first government involvement in sending the performing arts abroad, and this was to have enormous impact on future arts support and legislation and visibility for American dance in our own country as well as in others. President Eisenhower, on July 27, 1954 wrote a letter to the House Committee on Appropriations in which he said: "I consider it essential that we take immediate and vigorous action to demonstrate the superiority of the products and cultural values of our system of free enterprise". An "Emergency Fund for International Affairs" of $5 million was allocated by executive order:two and one-half million for the performing arts and the same amount for participation in world fairs. On August 1, 1956 the 84 Congress passed Public Law 860, the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956 which provided permanent legislation for continuting the program.

The purpose of the program as stated in Public Law 860 was "to strengthen the ties which unite us with other nations by demonstrating the cultural interests, development and achievements of the people of the United Sstates. . . and thus to assist in the development of friendly, sympathetic,and peaceful relations between the United States and the other countries of the world". In Executive Order 10716 issued June 17, 1957 the following functions were delegated to the Department of State:(1) To provide for tours in countries abroad by creative and performing artists and athletes from the United States, individually and in groups, representing any field of the arts, sports or any other form of cultural attainment,and (2) To provide for United States representation in artistic, dramatic, musical, sports and other cultural festivals, competitions, and like exhibitions abroad.

When the emergency funds were allocated in 1954 an operating structure was established that stayed in place until 1962. The American National Theater and Academy was brought in to serve under a contractual arrangement as professional administrative agent for the Department of State.ANTA was established by an act of Congress in 1935 for the purpose of widening interest in theatre.
ANTA established panels of experts in dance, drama and music who reviewed individuals, companies and projects. The decisions of the panels were then passed on to what was called the OCB Cultural Presentations Committee for discussion and final approval or disapproval. This Committee consisted of representatives from the

Department of State and the USIA.The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Labor and other agencies sent participants as appropriate. The Committee for Cultural Presentation was under the Chairmanship of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Judging by the minutes of the dance panel meetings and the dance projects that were selected for overseas, panel decisions carried a great deal of weight and the other review units abided by their decisions. The underlying philosophy was that the government would support performances overseas but the ideal situation was one in which tours were partialy supported by bookings and private enterprise and funding was supplied when these were hard to obtain or when important unexplored geographic areas could be exposed to the American performing arts.

The company of Jose Limon was the first to go abroad under the President's emergency funds; performing in Rio de Janeiro for a meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council and in Montivedeo for a UNESCO Conference, during November and December 1954. Two other companies were part of the 1954 appropriation - the Graham company and Ballet Theater, and the total amount allocated for dance was $250,000. Other allocations included $401,000 for orchestras; $54,000 for drama groups; $1,313,000 for musical groups; $42,800 for individual artists; $83,200 for sports activities. Among the other groups sent abroad were the Symphony of the Air (formerly the NBC Orchestra), the New York Philharmonic,the New Music Quartet,the Sauter-Finnegan Orchestra and companies of Porgy and Bess;\and Oklahoma.

The Limon Company was an enormous success. The American Embassy in Rio de Janeiro sent a message to the State Department: "Limon Company top artistic and personal success. Even writer unfriendly United States praised highly. All other critics favorable to highly favorable, audiences enthusiastic". John Martin wrote in the New York Times:"The reports are now in on the recent experiment of the State Deparment in sponsoring Jose Limon. . and we can all heave a great sigh of relief. It was a roaring success, both artistically and diplomatically." Martin went on to discuss some of the reactions to the repertoire of fourteen works, noting that Humphrey's "Variations and Conclusions" from New Dance was extremely successful as was "the Vivaldi Concerto". Less well received were Humphrey's Day on Earth and Story of Mankind.

Eisenhower requested additional budget and renewal of his Emergency Fund in 1955. The hearings beforethe subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives revealed serious hostility and considerable ignorance. the hearings also revealed considerable support for the arts as a tool against Communism and faulty images of America, as well as a minority view that the arts have intrinsic value.

The meetings were chaired by John Rooney (D-N.Y.) and the opening statement, made by Acting Secretary of State Herbert

Hoover, Jr. helped set the tone.

> The Department is, of course, vitally interested in all phases of the program, touching as it does, on many aspects of our foreign policy. There have been many shifts and changes in the cold war during the last year . . . We must of course remain vigilant. . . No matter what progress will be achieved, there will be fundamental and basic differences between the ideologies of the free world and the Communist systems. Greater and greater emphasis may well fall on the economic and cultural differences between the two conflicting systems. . . The promotion of peaceful United States objectives should be facilitated by every means at our disposal. Frequently an international trade fair, an important cultural event, or a scientific gathering,provide opportunities to influence public sentiment, of value as great, or even greater, than more formal official occasions.

The total cost of the Limon tour was $35,400 and at the time of budget hearings in June regarding Eisenhower's request for more money, this was the only dance company that had actually toured. The Congressmen reviewed every item of expense and found it very difficult to comprehend what a dance company does, how it tours, what it needs and why so many precious tax payers dollars are necesssary. The first item of the budget that was questioned was $410 "preliminary costs (getting scenery and costumes in order)". The explanation was made that the money was used to "get their scenery and costumes in order. . to have them freshened up". Congressman Rooney then asked:"What happened to the scenery and costumes after you spent $410 on them? Whose property were they by then?" With a little bit of thought and attempt at understanding it would have seemed clear that the government had no use for dance costumes (unless of course some of our elected representatives would have enjoyed using them for their speeches!)

Rooney then went on to question "an expenditure of $11,427 of the taxpayers money" which was due a South American impressario whose income was lower than expected. After a brief explanation that it was our responsiblity to make up the difference between what we guaranteed and what was taken in, Rooney then asked,"While you are at it, could you please tell us exactly what an impressario is?". Many of the questions were simply a mechanism for stating dissatisfaction with the entire notion of government funding of any artistic activity and questioning their value in any overseas exchanges. Congressman Clevenger put it very clearly when he said "We are operating in a field where I am not willing to operate at all". He then went on to be more explicit about his negative attitude.

> When we are running a deficit of probably $3,500 million this year. .. I wonder where in the Constitution you can find anything that gives me the right to spend the taxpayer

> money for projects of this sort. .. Certainly when you go to Milan and to Rome,you are carrying coals to Newcastle, when you carry music there. . . Just how responsible are we as representatives of the people when we vote to continue this madness until the crash takes us over? I just simply cannot find the justification to take it away from the people.

The questions and discussions that took place in 1955 when Eisenhower asked for more money make it clear that the initial 1954 attempts at cultural diplomacy had been successful enough to override objections. There were those in the hearings who pointed out that the Russians were spending enormous amounts of money in the cultural war. It was made known that in 1950 the Soviet Union had sent 39,000 athletes, scientists, writers, artists, musicians and dancers abroad and that their program in France alone was estimated at $150 million. One story told in testimony dealt with the negotiations for airbases with Iceland that are done on a yearly basis. It seemed that each year the Russians hampered the negotiations by emphasizing that Americans were militaristic and materialistic in contrast to the Icelanders and the Russians who were interested in culture and peace. Congressman Kearns of Pennsylvania when he was part of the negotiating team in 1955 arranged for the United States Air Forces Band and Orchestra to stop in Iceland on its way to Europe, and at one of the concerts he himself took the baton as conductor. Apparently this deeply impressed the Icelandic community and negotiations proceeded smoothly and swiftly. A musical performance became an important tool in international relations!

Once the increase in budget was approved in 1955 funding and administration of the program remained fairly stable until 1962, at which point it was decided that all contractual arrangements would be made by the State Department and that ANTA would no longer handle bookings and panels. Otherwise the structure of panel decisions and State Department as overseer remained in effect until 1978 when all cultural exchange abroad was shifted to USIA,where it is still housed today. USIA (The United States Information Agency) was established in 1953 and overseas carries the name USIS.

The dance panel was at the core of all decisions made about which companies and individuals would go abroad. Dance panel meetings took place once a month and records of deliberations shed light on important issues regarding this new merging of art and politics that faced those making decisions. The panel from 1954 to 1962 consisted at various times of the following: Lucia Chase, Emily Coleman,Hyman Faine, Doris Humphrey, Lincoln Kirstein, Walter Terry, Martha Hill, Bethsabee De Rothschild, Agnes De Mille, George Beiswanger, Ann Barzel, Margaret Lloyd,Alfred Frankenstein, John Rosenfield. Also present at the Dance Panel meetings were various individuals connected with ANTA such as Roger L. Stevens, Robert W.Dowling, Robert C. Schnitzer, Rosamond Gilder.

Some of the major questions under discussion at Dance Panel

meetings had to do with the goals of the program. Were we sending abroad dance that would represent our highest artistic achievements or we were sending abroad dance that was sure to receive a favorable reception and that represented safe and accessible material? Was there a possiblity that sending dance abroad would be seen as propoganda and competition as opposed to sharing and excange of the artistic vitality and diversity of America? What did this concept of diversity mean and how could it be exported? Did it mean that we sent material that represented our varied heritage or we focused only on things that seemed particularly American? Could a panel with people of different backgrounds agree on what constituted the highest artistic quality and could there be representation from different geographic areas of the United States? The Dance Panel also questioned the strength of their own decisions, and on more than one occasion the various individuals were concerned that their judgements be upheld, although they were consistently interested in genuinely helping the State Department showcase American dance all over the world in the most appropriate ways.

The Dance Panel was in agreement about many artistic decisions that related to the quality of a group or a performer. There were many cases where there were requests for support and the discussion was both fair and thorough. If the panel did not feel they were knowledgeable about the work, they tried to arrange auditions or make sure they could view performances, and only then did they come back to make a decision. For over a year there was considerable pressure to send the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo on tour abroad and the panel consistenly maintained its position that the company was lacking in quality. At one point two powerful individuals involved with the Ballet Russe, Julius Fleishmann and Watson Washburn, threatend to destroy the international exchange program if the panel would not change its mind.

One of the items on the agenda for several panel meetings in 1955 centered around approval of Merce Cunningham and John Cage. The music panel had approved funds for Cage and agreed that Cunningham and his company should be part of the tour. The dance panel seems to have been unanimous in its dislike of both artists. There were statements that Cunningham was "confusing and abstract" and that he was not representative of American dance, and that they did not approve artistically of what he did with other dancers. There was even a statement made that "the Panel considers Harry Partch even more contemporary and avant-garde than Cage, and Sybil Shearer better than Merce Cunningham, if we want to send this type of performer".

There is not a sense from the panel minutes that ballet was judged to be more important than modern or that there was any question about the validity of modern dance. There was some question about how much modern dance to send abroad, given that there was very little knowledge about it and often it would seem to appeal to smaller audiences. Although it was felt that audiences would respond more broadly to Ballet Theater, New York

City Ballet and San Francisco Ballet,there were questions raised as to the newness of the repertory for foreign audiences. Often the discussion centered around whether repertory had to be specifically American or just high quality. The issue of "American" came up with particular artists who were not native born, and the decisions usually focused on where the artist would be performing geographically and their identification with study and work in America.

Doris Humphrey made a visionary attempt to bring more modern dance into the funding cycle. In 1957 she proposed a competition for professional dance companies and soloists at the 92nd Street YMHA which would take place over a period of six months. First prize would consist of an invitation to perform at the Brussels World Fair and elsewhere in Europe; 2nd prize, performance dates in the United States;3rd and 4th Prizes would be money awards. The plan engendered considerable discussion but ultimately was rejected.

The panel grappled with how best to represent our American Indian heritage and our Negro heritage; what kind of group could be sent abroad to show American square dances and other "American folk dances". Many times the question arose as to whether a variety show would best represent American dance, and whether they were aiming at a mass audience or a more educated one. On the whole the dance panel set its goals on sending abroad what they felt were the greatest choreographers and performers, whether these would attract a mass audience or not.

Kirstein and Chase made it clear that dancers in their companies were not particularly keen on touring abroad during those years. Stages were poor, hotel facilities extremely uneven, travelling difficult. There were some amusing cultural differences according to one of the reports in the minutes. "In India the people will go to see any Negro in any show. In every one of the countries of the Far East, the dance is wanted above anything else, because there is no language barrier involved, and there is movement,pageantry and color. However, in Baghdad and Iraq, dancers are considered the 'lowest of the low', and other services would be expected of them after the performance."

There seems to be no question that our first government initiative in sending the performing arts abroad had enormous impact both here and abroad. There is no quantitative measure of the impact and we must rely on anecdotal information, reviews from the various countries where the artists performed, and subsequent arts activities in America and other countries.

For Americans it was perhaps the first time that they realized the quality and degree of activity in their own country in the realms of theater, dance and music. American newspapers reported on the various performances and the favorable reception accorded our country's artists. The foreign press devoted space and attention to the various activities in the performing arts, and

there was strong commentary that this presented an entirely different view of America - one that pleased them enormously. For Americans here and for those serving abroad, our choreographers and composers had been mere dots on the landscape, dots that could be ignored and passed over. For those in other countries the arts were and had always been an essential and valued part of their lives and America had never been represented abroad as a land with a rich heritage of creative expression. They could appreciate our art even though sometimes they might not have understood it and suddenly seeing and hearing another side of America created respect and admiration.

Edward R.Murrow had a New Year's Day broadcast of his show in 1956, less than two years after the Eisenhower Emergency Fund was begun. He titled the broadcast "Year of Crisis" and asked correspondents Daniel Shorr and Robert Pierpont what they considered the most significant diplomatic event in their respective areas during the last year. Shorr had just spent one year in Russia and he answered that for him the appearance of the show Porgy and Bess in that country marked the most significant event. Pierpont had just spent the year in the Far East and responded that the visit of the Symphony of the Air was the event of the greatest diplomatic significance.

Government sponsorship of American dance abroad presented our creative expression in a totally different light than work that might have toured as part of a commercial venture. For the first time the United States was saying to the world that serious art was an important aspect of life in America. Ambassadors and cultural attaches arranged meetings of artists and political and educational leaders and wherever possible there was more in depth contact through lectures and workshops and individual and community discussions. Our experiments with form and content, with vocabulary, with space and shape and time; our teaching methods and our choreography - all of these were presented as something we were proud of and wanted to share.

It is safe to say that dance abroad was never the same after the American companies, performers and teachers began appearing on a regular basis and interacted with political, artistic and educational leaders in the various countries. Our own American companies benefitted from the approval and exposure in other countries, and perhaps one can point to the "grass is greener" syndrome in this regard. A company such as the San Francisco Ballet received positive recognition after they toured and their image at home was greatly improved. Not only did the tours give them a chance to perform on a regular basis but they also gave the company a more solid financial base, a chance to broaden perspectives, and acceptance on a very wide scale.

The conclusion is inevitable that discussions engendered at home by the Eisenhower Emergency Fund and passage of Public Law 860 as well as visibility and acceptance abroad were potent factors in increasing the support of the arts in American life. A bill to

create a National Cultural Center was finally passed and signed by Eisenhower in 1958 and this represented a solid victory for domestic arts legislation. Democrat James Wright noted the change in his own attitude when he spoke in Congress.

> Let me say this in all sincerity, Mr. Speaker,and I think it is important. I suppose that I have done my share of demagoguing. All of us like to portray ourselves as real, sure enough corn-fed, homegrown log cabin boys . . . In striking such a pose, it is always kind of easy to ridicule and poke fun of things of a cultural nature. I plead guilty to having done my share of it, but I think, Mr. Speaker, that we have reached a state of maturity in this Nation where that kind of attitude no longer becomes us. Sooner or later we have to grow up and stop poking fun at things intellectual and cultural.

The momentum that was established was powerful enough to overide those who suspected and mistrusted the arts and those who were negative towards any government involvement. In 1965 the National Endowment for the Arts was created. Roger Stevens, active in ANTA and the State Department activities from 1954 to 1962 became its head and the panel system of peer review which had been established during those years became the basic format for awarding grants.

There are still many questions to be answered regarding various aspects of cultural diplomacy and dance as one aspect of that. Is it possible to document in more specific ways the impact of cultural diplomacy as an aspect of foreign policy? Are performances and tours by foreign artists merely pleasant events that perhaps impact only other artists? If cultural exchange does effect other artists and perhaps the select elite few does this have a short range or long range impact on how countries and governments understand one another and interact in the political arena? Do performances by artists effect larger communities and mass audiences and does this then have an impact on how leaders make international policy? Were any of the artists sent abroad during the Cold War and after ever used by CIA or other agencies to further policies without their knowledge? How do we value cultural diplomacy at this moment in time and should we and do we have any cultural policy?

At this moment in time the arts in America are besieged with conservative reaction that threatens and demeans experimentation and freedom of expression. Government support of the arts is being questioned on all sides and the great flowering of activity that took place all over our country after the founding of the NEA is being forgotten, misrepresented and maligned. Reactionary presidential candidates are putting forward isolationist ideas that seem to tie in with their ideas about a narrow, racist, censored way of life in America. Funding for American artists has been reduced both at home and abroad. This work in progress on cultural diplomacy with an emphasis on dance points to the need for a

government that values and supports the arts, for that is an integral facet of our place in the world and our spiritual health at home.

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DANIEL NAGRIN'S PATH ABROAD, 1967

Robyn Bissell

By the time Daniel Nagrin left for The Netherlands in the spring of 1967, he was to be in the vanguard of American modern dancers in Europe. His name may not have been as familiar as Taylor's, Cunningham's, Graham's, or Ailey's, Americans and their companies seen in Europe for several years prior to Nagrin's visit, but he was to make an impact. In his usual thorough and relentless manner, Daniel Nagrin began to investigate the possibility of touring Europe long before his 1967 trip. As a working class artist, a tour of Europe was yet another source of potential income. Acquiring as many performance dates as possible and receiving a reasonable compensation was optimum. Ever resourceful, Nagrin began corresponding with acquaintances and potential producers as early as 1964. And while trying to construct his path abroad, Nagrin received anecdotal evidence of the state of modern dance, or more specifically the lack of, in various countries. This information as well as a chronicle of the performances, the circumstances surrounding them, and the artist's impressions of the performances will be discussed here. (Unless otherwise noted, the references cited are from the Daniel Nagrin Collection housed at the University of California, Riverside.)

The foundation of modern dance in America by 1964 was firmly established. However in Europe, modern dance was just breaking ground. The sphere of Mary Wigman and Rudolf Laban was present but limited in its influence. That which did exist did so in isolated pockets, primarily in Germany and in the British educational system. Up to then the classical idiom was the reverential dance tradition. From the National Ballet of Holland to the Paris Opera Ballet to the Royal Ballet, the dance news from Europe was status quo for 400 years.

From the point of view of those Nagrin corresponded with, modern dance was either nonexistent or ballet or Graham influenced. Marion Schnabel, an acquaintance of Nagrin's, expressed her dissatisfacton with the state of dance in Germany at the time. From Munich she wrote, "Apparently Jerome Robbins is the hero of the modern dancers here...Also there aren't enough dancers... Anyway a new 'real' stimulus, particularly from the U.S. is...needed here & is longed for. I would guess that the situation is about the same in Milan" (9 Dec 1964).

As one of the most significant progenitors of modern dance in America, Martha Graham was gaining this same distinction in England. Even though she performed there years earlier, Graham's dance did not take hold until the 1960s. The impresario Robin Howard is generally credited with sponsoring Graham in England and fostering her acceptance there through a Graham trust. Subsequently, dancers were trained in her technique at Howard's London School of Contemporary Dance.

It is not surprising then when in a 1966 letter to Nag Barbara Salinger, a dance student from London, writing a th on Americn Modern Dance, ingenuously asked him how his d differed from Martha Graham's (31 Aug 1966). Surely, ubiquity of Graham will be encountered again.

Fernau Hall, the London critic, also saw the need for Amer modern dance to burgeon on foreign soil. In a letter tc Elina Mooney, Hall wrote that "modern-dance-wise London is s a backwater--needs people with ideas" (26 July 1965). conceeded that eventhough a fair amount of American moder seen, there still remained a void. The perception was modern dance needed to take hold and flourish on its own: is, modern dance works must be created in England. Earl Hall encouraged Nagrin to come to England and suggestec contact Ruth Foster at the Dance School at Dartington Hall Totnes, a new dance school there. He recounted to Nagrin Margaret Barr, a former Graham pupil, had a dance group Dartington from 1931--1937 and recognized that the Amer modern tradition though absent for many years "must hav prominent place" in the new school's curriculum (26 July 1965

Hall served as advisor always relaying detailed and insigh information. He suggested that Nagrin organize his tour so he arrived in London during the summer. This was impor because significant things in dance happened in summer; tradition dates back to the Ballets Russes which performed London during this time of year (14 April 1966).

In further correspondence, several persons reappear as signif cant to the maintenance of modern dance in Great Britain: Foster, Robin Howard and his trust, and in a less promi standing, Gregg Mayer. But it was she who was the most vc An American dance graduate residing in London and a some dance teacher at Oxford, Cambridge and various dance stuc Mayer was an uninhibited 27 year old in 1966 when enlightened Nagrin. She informed him that "there is hardly modern dance here; Graham people and me, really. They Charles (Weidman) on here but neither he nor Emily Frankel succeeded with the English public...When I came here enc 1959, nobody at all was doing modern. Now there's lots undisciplined Wigman & Laban people, not doing as well as t teachers...Then there is a Graham trust which uses poor Mart name often in vain, as a sort of snob appeal. You'll show that there's more to dance than <u>only</u> Laban & Graham!" (14 A 1966).

As a champion of American modern, Mayer stated unabashedly purpose in England: "My main aim here to date is to tr incorporate modern dance into the higher education[al] syster I'm becoming a sort of Margaret H'Doubler, I feel, though not what I came for. Only Laban, sans technique, is taught the schools here...I teach a mixture of Graham, Humphrey-We: and May O'Donnell and mostly 'me' as the English are diff. I

from Americans...esp. [sic] regarding reactions to the modern arts (of which, frankly, they know precious little). I know they'd love your jazz-modern approach" (22 May 1966). To sum up the frustration she felt, Mayer, in a less than profound moment, contended that modern dance in England is "nowheresville" (18 June 1966).

Familiar names and similar sentiments appear in the letters from Ann Hutchinson-Guest to Daniel Nagrin. She suggested that he contact Ruth Foster and Robin Howard and remarked that the "educational field which is based on Laban is feeling a need for a more structured development & are finding American 'modern' stimulating" (22 July 1966). For an artist who often has as much to say vocally as well as gesturally, Hutchinson herself was eager to see Nagrin's current dance and hear his views. However, was the status quo of this nation of propriety ready for Daniel Nagrin? For his bold and brazen nature, Hutchinson issued a caveat: "Once you are there & people meet you I feel sure openings will arise. You are very dynamic, which is good, but the English are not used to it, are more reserved, & so you might have to hold back some of your enthusiasm at first till they get to know you" (2-3). A concept difficult to imagine.

When Nagrin left the U.S. in April 1967 to begin his three-month journey, he did so with his wife in one hand and his suitcase, brimming with enthusiasm, pulled behind him in the other. As a soloist, there was little he needed to present his wares. A dancing salesman of sorts, Nagrin took with him a taperecorder and a collection of eleven dances. The program was similar to what he was touring in the states prior to this trip: PATH, A GRATITUDE, WHY NOT?, IN THE DUSK, NINETEEN UPBEATS, NOT ME, BUT HIM, WITH MY EYE AND WITH MY HAND, SPANISH DANCE, INDETERMINATE FIGURE. Moreover, he added several dances from his jazz suite: BLUE MAN and BOP MAN, a distinctly American set of dances. The number of dances performed varied depending on whether he was giving a lecture-demonstration or a concert.

The program Nagrin took abroad manifested his commitment to dance only that which he is personally concerned with at any given time (Daniel Nagrin, letter to Judith Delman, 6 Nov 1967). Yet, as the Nagrin's embarked on their cultured path, parts of the world engaged in abject battle. War raged in Vietnam and tensions escalated in the Middle East. Nagrin's dance on the atrocities of war, THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, was in the making but not to be premiered until 1968. What he brought to Europe was a program not about the universality of war but the exclusivity of America. This was a time when the United States in a conscious effort was aiding the European community by offering economic aid in the form of loans and grants (Richard Pipes, MODERN EUROPE [Homewood, Il: The Dorsey Press, 1981] 336) as well as contributing culturally by sponsoring American dance, music, art, etc. through State Department grants. And it was Nagrin's purpose to share his vision of American life through his version of modern dance. His obligation 'to bring to light the present' evinced by muscular tension, facial distortion, skewed leaps,

and sinuous arms and hands was what the European audienc about to confront.

On 11 April 1967 in Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Daniel N performed his dance on a European stage for the first tim his career. In early negotiations with the Werkgroep Dansk which produced this performance, it was important that N bring to Rotterdam quintessentially American dance. C Hartong, a friend and representative of the Werkgroep, had to arrange a "specimen of tapdance" (15 Jan 1967). Not a dancer, Nagrin offered his jazz suite instead. Hartong wel this proposal and pointed out that "people are still r vague about this [kind of dance]" (16 Feb 1967). Wanting audience to have instructive contact with the performer, Werkgroep also insisted that Nagrin give a "dance-talk" prog

Nagrin realized after the performance that this hybrid lecture/demonstration and a concert did not work for him be all the momentum got lost (Letter to Ruth Unger, 13 April 1 He could not "cope with the pressure of speaking simple Eng while conveying complex ideas (Letter to Corrie Hartong October 1967). Though the reviews he received were m several critics agreed with Nagrin. Whereas one reviewer that he "did not succeed in making true this hightuned intro tion with his own dance...His movements were interesting. his dance lacked force of expression" (DE ROTTERDAMER 12 1967), another reviewer was quite insulted, referring to "lecture-concert" as "being originally meant for native Mbongo-Mbongo as an American cultural contribution uneducated territory" (ROTTERDAMS NIEUWSBLAD, 12 April 1 Having already seen a performance or two by the compani Graham, Cunningham and Taylor, another reviewer remarked Nagrin's version of the history of modern dance was a "r onesided introduction that we really do not need in Netherlands" (HAAGSE COURANT, 12 April 1967).

Despite the critics observations, it was difficult for audience to ignore this performer, who though small in sta commanded attention merely by his proud and imperious pres In a letter home, Nagrin humbly recalled that "for the 2 curtain calls the audience was standing & applauding" (13 1967).

Nagrin appeared next on 15 April in Amiens, France as par Les Journées Américaines, a festival presented by the Mais la Culture and under the tutelage of the U.S. Ambassadc France. During this particular festival, Nagrin was the dancer among the other American musicians, scholars and v artists scheduled. The Maison de la Culture regularly pres foreign, that is, non-French theatre, films, dance, etc. I case of American appearances, the United States Inform Service (USIS), acting as a liaison, coordinated and subsi these events. Its function was "to enhance appearances a make them serve [the] mutual purposes" of the USIS and performer as best it could (Myriam Johnston, 10 Nov 1966).

One of the purposes in this instance was to secure the financial consideration for the performing artist. As was most of Nagrin's appearances on the tour, this one was arranged without the representation of an agent. Thus Myriam Johnston of the American Cultural Center in Paris mediated negotiations. The agreement she reached with the Maison de la Culture was that the Embassy agreed "to make up any deficit" in the ticket sales up to Nagrin's "$500 (2400 francs) fee figure" (4 Jan 1967).

Over the next month, commencing on 19 April and continuing through 15 May, Nagrin toured the English countryside, including a stop in Edinburgh, Scotland. This leg of the tour was sponsored by the Association of Principals of Women's Colleges of Physical Education in Great Britain. Most of the engagements at the seventeen physical education colleges were scheduled as lecture/demonstrations, however, a few master classes and concerts were interspersed. The schools at which Nagrin performed concerts included I.M. Marsh College in Liverpool, Dunfermline College in Edinburgh, Birmingham College in Birmingham, and Dartington College of Arts in Totnes.

The schools on the tour generally provided education and training in various areas of physical education often with an emphasis in dance. Courses that were commonly offered included Laban based space harmony, effort and rhythmical training, and lyrical and dramatic expression, in addition to the history and aesthetics of dance. It is important to note that Dartington College of Arts became a center for the growth of American modern dance in England under the tutelage of Ruth Foster. In the PROSPECTUS 1966-67 from Dartington the recognition of the significance of American modern as part of a dance curriculum was made evident: "The College is...internationally associated with modern dance through its connection with Kurt Jooss and Rudolf Laban and, more recently, with the Lucas Hoving and Merce Cunningham Dance Groups. Teachers of modern dance are being sought from England and America, so that some of the experience gained in England from the teaching of Rudolf Laban is supplemented by the development of Modern Dance in the United States" (8).

As one engaged in this development as a dance preceptor as well as an artist, Daniel Nagrin played an affecting role during this tour. The reception accorded him at the colleges was munificent; as a guest in England, he was treated like royalty. He described the hospitality as "exquisite & extravagant" and declared with amazement that he had "had more breakfasts in bed than in my whole life before this" (30 April 1967, 3). Yet, recalling the concensus of Hall, Hutchinson and Mayer, the education of the students at these schools, though it included movement, had not been infused as yet with the American spirit and the American techniques which embody that spirit. The enthusiasm and desire to be enriched by something unfamiliar and modern is evidenced by Nagrin's cursory account of his appearance at Endsleigh and I.M. Marsh: "Performances in Hull &

Liverpool fabulously received. Audiences bright. applauded Path, with which I start the Lect Demo when t no concert, the moment I broke it. I.M. Marsh students acting overwhelmed & just too much" (2). Several weeks l again described the pervasiveness of the zeal for his The "last two engagements Eastbourne & Chichester so succ people acting as if they had been assaulted: Smi staggering" (12 May 1967). Clearly, according t assessment, those from the English countryside were un influence of that intoxicating substance known as modern d

Nagrin's taxing schedule was made even more so by a tw concert appearance at the Lamda Theatre in London in the of the college tour. This 6 & 7 May engagement was sec Fernau Hall and although he acted as guide and men supplying Nagrin with the logistics of planning performances, Hall's generosity was not purely altruistic was important for Hall that Nagrin's performance not onl success for the artist himself but also for the develop the art of dance in Britain. In short, this American nee be seen.

Nagrin's success hinged on the fact that the performance to be viewed critically. And in London at the time, th easily accomplished. In a 1967 DANCE MAGAZINE article, Hall contended that "almost anyone...[in Great Britai likely to see at least two reviews of the same event" because of the large body of dance writers and publicatic which they write. Unlike then and now in the U.S., edit Great Britain "take the view that a dance event is news, r coverage, and this helps maintain the idea that the danc major art" (October 1967, 50). The variety and volume critical response becomes significant: The performance dra reviewers, the reviews attract the audience, and the au invites change and growth in the dance. Nagrin's perfor then certainly gave him the opportunity to stimulate growth.

In his own assessment of the Lamda appearance, Nagrin re equable: exhausted upon arriving in London, he "did a fai 1st night & a very good performance 2nd night. Au responses slow to start but both nights built to ver finish with bravos, etc. at end" (12 May 1967). Similarly was a concord among the professional critics. Most agree John Percival who commented that the works Nagrin showe not going "to set the Thames on fire" (DANCE MAGAZINE 1967, 96). But they agreed that he did a creditable job. were struck by the resolve in his movement and by the ver what that movement said.

Jane King writing for the MORNING STAR declared that "his is full of anger: he bares his teeth, his eyes flash an movements are frustrated, tormented" not to give us a vic thrill but to tell us something about the world as in N BUT HIM (9 May 1967). In this dance, Nagrin alternately

and removed a black mask while reciting 'not me, but him.' John Percival writing for the TIMES told the reader that Nagrin's "most telling discovery is the way one movement can turn into another of quite another kind...in INDETERMINATE FIGURE he uses it to show a man dancing out his little imaginary vanities, ignorant of impending and inevitable death" (8 May 1967). Despite the bias toward ballet at the time, Daniel Nagrin's American modern style earned the respect of these writers and others. He succeeded not only because he was able to carry a solo performance but also because his intent to describe, in his more dramatic dances known as Portraits, the dark side of human existance, was understood. There was no denying these distinct and memorable characters.

It is not without surprise that the most reflective and generous reviews came from Fernau Hall. His review appeared in the NEW STATESMAN several days following the performances and an extended version appeared in the July/August 1967 BALLET TODAY. Hall acknowledged Nagrin's intent: "Always there is conflict, violence, passion; nearly always there is a clear reference to contemporary life in America, handled often with satire or irony and always with high intelligence." More important was Hall's closing statement which echoed his thoughts mentioned earlier: Nagrin's "impact has been considerable and seems likely to play an important part in fostering the renaissance in the art of the dance which is now very evident" (BALLET TODAY).

There was little time to languish or delight over these reviews; by the time Nagrin received them, he was completing the academic tour and then traveling to Austria. On 19 May he performed at The Museum of the 20th Century in Vienna.

On a return engagement to France, Nagrin performed an evening concert in Paris on 1 June at the Museum of Modern Art. This performance under the auspices of Animation, Recherche and Confrontation was arranged by Dominique Dupuy of Ballets Modernes de Paris (bmp). In an attempt to bring contemporary dance performances to Paris, Marsailles, and other French cities, Dupuy would arrange them unrelated to his duties at bmp (31 Oct 1966).

In a letter to Ruth Unger, Nagrin's assistant in New York, Lee Nagrin wrote of an uplifting experience: "The concert was excellent last night. Response very good. We know of two critics who were there, one the woman from Dance Magazine you wrote [to]...A small room in the museum, with platform on 3 sides only, finally. They accomodated Daniel's needs" (2 June 1967). On the contrary, Marie-Francoise Christout, the woman from DANCE MAGAZINE, from a spectator's point of view, found the auditorium "somewhat inadequate" (July 1967, 88). She did however concur that "Nagrin won the respect of the audience for his sincerity and inquiring spirit" (88).

After three hours of sleep, the Nagrins were on a plane to Freiburg, Germany to begin, as described by Lee Nagrin, the next

onslaught (2 June 1967, 2). And an onslaught it was; N performed ten concerts throughout Germany in two-and-a weeks. The final leg of this European blitz was sponsor both the Amerika Hauses in the repective German cities in Nagrin performed and the USIS in Germany. (The Amerika H served as the U.S. Cultural Center in each city.)

An indication of the type of performances the USIS was like sponsor was found in a letter from Aileen Miles, Cul Officer of the German Embassy, to Nagrin after he returne the states. She wrote, "We are thoroughly pleased with lively reaction of audiences and press to your program. We prefer such exciting, even controversial presentation run-of-the mill programs which leave no visible trace in audience's minds" (29 June 1967).

According to Lee Nagrin most of the America Houses, with se capacity of 250 to 1000, were close to full (8 June 1967). audiences at dance events in Germany included many Amer because of the lack of a language barrier [Adolf Fis PFALZISCHE WOLFZEITUNG, 7 June 1967].) Nagrin's purpos reach a willing audience was confirmed at each perform Likewise, the inordinate number of reviews whether gratuitc reserved in their opinions offered insight into his work de coming from critics unfamiliar with American modern dance.

The German tour started out on a high note. The eight hu or so in attendance at the Freiburg performance on 2 surprised even the Amerika Haus sponsors (Lee Nagrin, 6 1967). The German newspapers applauded his appearance thanked the Amerika Haus for bringing Nagrin to Freiburg. BADISCHE VOLKSZEITUNG hailed lavish praise: "Announced as o the best present day dancers in the world...Daniel Nagrin p himself entirely worthy of his reputation...[he appeared] w program that both in expression and dance heritage was near compendium of dance" (6 June 1967). The BADISCHE ZEITUNG Nagrin to have "risen to the circle of the elite in dance.. proves himself a specialist" (6 June 1967).

The Kaiserslautern concert on 5 June was part of the Ge American Cultural Week series. Consequently, dignified vis such as the American Ambassador from Bonn, the acting ge consul, and the mayor of Kaiserslautern viewed his perform Despite the distinguished audience, the real joy for the Na was that the concert was simply "in a real theatre wit excellent crew" (Lee Nagrin, 6 June 1967). With pleasure relief, Lee Nagrin declared that "the German tour is g Well prepared--1st class treatment." She emphasized that had "got things down to a system now. I mean imagine, imagine stage preparations being complete in 3 hours & g cues, doing a performance, when hardly anyone speaks English (1-2).

Referring to Nagrin as an "outsider," a term listed on program and suggesting his solo status, the German critic

Fischer acknowledged Nagrin's presence in Kaiserslautern. Writing for the PFALZISCHE VOLKSZEITUNG, he explained that "America has been able to build a strong tradition in [the modern school of expressive dance] and for this reason this performance was an important and very specific supplement to this American cultural series" (7 June 1967). In describing aspects of his movement, Fischer expounded on a similar thought by John Percival previously mentioned: "The particular element of [the] dancer's expression used by Nagrin, his personal quality, is the activization [sic] of his body. This takes place partly without any acoustical background; from the motion alone an autonomous rhythm develops in which every single motion is cultivated: he tracks after it, captures it and gives it import. Thereby something rises where nothing was before" (2).

The variety of types of dances on the program was an identifiable signature of Nagrin's work. Minimal movement characterized PATH, pantomime characterized 19 UPBEATS, folk images characterized A GRATITUDE and SPANISH DANCE, and American vernacular characterized BLUE MAN and BOP MAN. Although this diversity in the content of the program characterized the breadth of his dance personality, it was the more concrete and less abstract dances to which the German audiences and critics responded. One such critic wrote that after the intermission, "A variation inspired by the dances of the Fiji Islands 'With My Eye and With My Hand', an impression: 'Spanish Dance' and a strongly stylized jazz study 'Blue Man-Bop Man' appeared more obvious (palpable) than the previous numbers." Marlott Persijn-Vautz continued with approval: "The gripping finale, 'Indeterminate Figure', the philosophy of the hopelessness of human hope and effort, is danced fear of life. The mime of the sharply delineated, strongly expressive face and the motions of the sinewy (muscular) body are not new, although such pure cultivation (as Nagrin has) is to be found only among really great dancers" (DIE RHEINPFALZ, 7 June 1967).

After Kaiserslautern Nagrin performed in Stuttgart, Munich, Frankfurt, Nuernberg, Hannover, Bremen, and finally on 19 June in Berlin. Here in Berlin, the then home of Mary Wigman's school, Nagrin's ability as an experienced dancer was lauded. Remarks such as "he is a well-trained, spirited expressive dancer...His motions are very flexible, his faun-like leaps magnificent" (G.Z., DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 21 June 1967) and "he stands...technically speaking on a solid well rounded background" (H.F., BERLINER MORGENPOST, 21 June 1967) shaped the reviews. However, his ability to carry a solo performance was not looked upon as kindly: the full expression of the movement could be better realized with at least a partner. The variety of types of dances while exciting to critics mentioned earlier were found monotonous to those in Berlin. Unaccustomed to minimal movement in dance, the critics and audience found the opening number PATH quite disturbing. In stark silence Nagrin carried a twelve foot beam while performing a basic pattern that transversed the stage; the drama and tension that built did so out of the repetition of the movement. The Berlin audience

impatiently laughed and clapped signifying him to stop (G.Z. H.F.). But of course he did not until he reached the opposit corner of the stage and placed down the beam thus indicatin that the task he was performing internally was complete.

Likewise, after the Berlin performance his path abroad wa complete; the task that he had begun several months earlier wa finally finished. He could lay down his beam, but not for long That same week he taught a class at Mary Wigman's studio an less than a month later he began constructing yet another tou on U.S. soil. This economic necessity of a working artis notwithstanding provided us with a heritage. Even today thi master builder continues clearing his path and laying the brick of the foundation of American modern dance. (Daniel Nagrin i Professor of Dance at Arizona State University in Tempe ar plans to tour this year.)

This chronicle of Daniel Nagrin's tour of the spring of 19€ places him, a lesser known figure, in the foreground of Americ moderns who went to Europe in the 1960's. Along with Graham Cunningham, Taylor and Ailey, Nagrin helped open the eyes of th people of a continent to an unfamiliar way of expressing th universe and thus enriching the spirit. By the sheer number ar wide range of performances and the size of audiences, Nagri certainly had the opportunity to encourage the growth of moder dance in Europe as much as any other American modern before him.

The tour reflected his life's work to reach an audience and t teach; his path through Europe was yet another rebirth in th continuing process of the artist to speak to the huma condition. Yet although his presence was widespread, it was onl a beginning. His impact can barely be judged from this side o the Atlantic; the nature of the change engendered is yet to b assessed. But the zeal and honesty with which he carried th: solo tour on foreign soil is remembered and applauded here as i was there nearly twenty-five years ago.

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THE REAL SHOCK: THE MERCE CUNNINGHAM DANCE COMPANY'S WORLD TOUR, 1964

David Vaughan

The subject of this paper is the six-month world tour by the Merce Cunningham Dance Company in 1964; its planning and implementation; the personnel, repertory, and itinerary; audience and critical response; and the aftermath--the effect on the company itself and the influence of the company, if any, in some of the countries visited. Because the author of the paper was himself a participant, it will be convenient at times for him to refer to himself in the first person, but it is hoped that the paper will not be any less valid a contribution to this conference because of that. Dance history, after all, is something we are all living through every day.

In 1963, there were plans to present the Merce Cunningham Dance Company in a Broadway season. When the theatre in which this was to take place became unavailable, Merce Cunningham and John Cage decided to put the money that had been raised for the season toward an overseas tour, the company's first. They had received invitations to visit India and Japan, and if dates could be arranged in Europe, the result could be a world tour. (Cunningham and Cage had spent the summer of 1949 in Paris, and had gone to Europe again in 1958 and 1960, with Carolyn Brown, Cunningham's partner, and David Tudor, company musician.)

I had been working as secretary of the Merce Cunningham Studio since it opened in December 1959, and John Cage asked me to undertake the task of putting together such a tour. I did this by writing letters to everyone anyone could think of who might help to get us an engagement. Thanks to my amateurish organization, the tour turned out to be very much a barn-storming operation. Some of the theatres the company danced in were well-appointed, even prestigious--Sadler's Wells in London, the Fenice in Venice, the Opera House in Cologne--but others were much less so. The company flew to Europe on 3 June 1964 (to Paris, whence they took a bus to Strasbourg, where the first performance took place), and returned to New York (from Tokyo) on 29 November 1964, nearly six months later.

On tour in the United States, the company usually travelled in a beat-up Volkswagen bus (which John Cage had bought out of his winnings in a quiz show in Milan, on which he appeared as an expert on mushrooms). Either Cage or Cunningham drove, and the bus also accommodated the other five dancers, David Tudor, the technical director (who was often Robert Rauschenberg), and the company's personal and theatrical luggage. Arrangements on the world tour were somewhat more commodious: the company travelled mostly in a rented bus, but also on occasion by plane, by train, and even by boat.

The problem of financing the tour was a formidable one. The proceeds from a sale of donated art works organized by the Foundation for Contemporary Performance Art--with the purpose underwriting the projected Broadway season--amounted to about $20,000, and the JDR 3rd Fund made a generous contribution to travel expenses in the Far East. No aid was forthcoming from the US State Department (though individual cultural attachés, notably Francis Mason in London, were very helpful.)

Early in 1964, the Cunningham Dance Foundation was formed the first such corporation in the modern dance field, I believ to make it possible for the company to receive contributions t free. By June 1964, the company's assets in terms of cash in the bank totalled some $40,000, considerably short of what was needed for the tour; it was hoped that performance fees would make up the difference, although these were often far from munificent. On at least one occasion, Rauschenberg bailed us out by selling a painting. Even so, the accumulated deficit amounted to $85,000 by the end of the tour.

Merce Cunningham decided to take an augmented company on tour, ten dancers in all: himself, Carolyn Brown, Viola Farbe Sandra Neels, Shareen Blair, Barbara (Dilley) Lloyd, Steve Paxton, William Davis, and Albert Reid; Deborah Hay, then married to Alex Hay, who went along as assistant to Robert Rauschenberg, danced in a few pieces. Cage and Tudor, as usu were the musicians, and Lewis L Lloyd and myself were the administration. The dancers and the two administrators were paid $165 a week, and the choreographer, the musicians, and tl designer and his assistant were paid $185. There were no pe diems.

The repertory was an ambitious one, consisting of seventeen works: the group dances Aeon, Antic Meet, Crises, Field Dance Nocturnes, Rune, Septet, Story, Suite for Five, Summerspace, Winterbranch; two duets, Night Wandering (for Cunningham and Brown) and Paired (for Cunningham and Farber); a trio, Cross Currents (Cunningham, Brown, Farber), that was first performe the tour; and Cunningham's solos Changeling, Collage III, an Untitled Solo. Cunningham danced in every piece.

In all, sixty-six performances were given (there were al one or two lecture demonstrations and two or three television tapings), in thirty cities, in fourteen countries. These we (in order): France, Italy, Austria, Germany, England, Sweden Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Belgium, Holland, India, Thailand, and Japan. In Paris, London, and Venice (where Rauschenberg represented the United States in the Biennale, a in fact won the International Grand Prize), audiences were distinguished, including people from the worlds of art and mu theatre and cinema, as well as the dance. Even so, eggs and tomatoes were thrown on to the stage of the Théâtre de l'Est Parisien at the third and last performance in Paris. (Of course, no performance in that city can be called a success

without an element of scandale.) The single performance in Bangkok, en route from India to Japan, ended up as a Royal Command Performance in the presence of Their Majesties, King Phumiphon and Queen Sirikit.

In London, the company had been booked for a week at Sadler's Wells Theatre, after which there was a gap of three weeks in our schedule. We had already had a similar, though shorter, hiatus in Cologne, which put a strain on company morale, not to mention the budget, and we were anxious to avoid another such situation. The response of London audiences and critics was positive enough to persuade our producer, Michael White, to offer us a further two and a half weeks at a theatre in the West End of London, the Phoenix, that providentially became available. This was the longest (almost) continuous engagement the Cunningham company--and possibly any American modern dance company--had ever had.

When the tour was being put together, we had received an invitation to give a performance at the Museum of the 20th Century in Vienna. There was no theatre there, but the director offered to put up a stage in the large central space, with windows overlooking a public park. Cunningham felt that a repertory program would not work in such a situation, and instead had the idea of giving a show without intermission, consisting of excerpts from the repertory put together in a new sequence, with a continuous musical accompaniment (not that to which the dances were performed on regular programs). He called the result "Museum Event No 1." It worked so well that he decided to give two more "Museum Events" in the Modern Museum in Stockholm, where a similar situation existed. (Many of his innovations have come about as a solution to a practical problem.) Since that time, the company has given Event performances numbering in the hundreds, in all kinds of spaces.

Needless to say, audience response was not always enthusiastic. In some places audiences were puzzled or even downright hostile (in Cologne, for instance, where the audience then, and again eight years later, was the most boorish the company has ever encountered). In Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India, we were treated like princes, but in Chandigarh, in the Punjab, the bureaucrat in charge of our arrangements made the memorable comment as we were leaving, "if we had known how good you were we would have treated you better." One was not always sure exactly what people expected, though the program booklet carried an essay by John Cage on the company's aesthetic. This did not prevent the sponsors in Prague from announcing on the poster, "style of West Side Story." One got the feeling that audiences in Eastern Europe, especially the young people, were hungry for any kind of artistic manifestation from what was then the outside world. If anybody expected dance with an overt political message, they did not of course get it from Merce Cunningham, though the significance of the kind of benign anarchy reflected in the collaboration of Cunningham, Cage, and Rauschenberg was not

perhaps lost on some of our audiences.

In London and Paris especially the critics took the work c Cunningham and his collaborators seriously in a way that was nc always the case at home. Nigel Gosling, art critic of the London Sunday paper The Observer, and its dance critic under th pseudonym "Alexander Bland," wrote an enthusiastic first notice (2 August 1964):

> At a blow, ballet has been brought right up in line with t front-rank experimenters in the other arts--something whic has hardly happened since the days of Diaghilev. Here is heartwarming proof that it is an art with a future, openin up ranges of possibilities which stretch out of sight....
>
> Diaghilev would have loved Cunningham. Besides admiring him as an artist he would have respected the seriousness and discipline of his company, the spare wit a style of Rauschenberg's costumes and lighting, the consistent invention of the choreography and the provocati strangeness of John Cage's musical accompaniments. Above all, his acute artistic antennae would have tingled at the sense that Cunningham was talking in the language of today

Not all the reviews were as positive, of course, but as always the fact that London has four or five serious daily papers and similar number of weeklies and monthlies, each with its own critic, meant that audiences could read a variety of opinions a then go and make up their own minds.

In Paris, too, coverage was copious, and widely varied. The veteran critic Dinah Maggie wrote a thoughtful piece in Combat ("Le cas Cunningham," 18 June 1964):

> Dancers like Carolyn Brown and Viola Farber could hold the own as stars in the most important companies in the world, under whatever label.... One wonders, in the last analysis, why this assembly of artists squanders an undeniable talent in wanting to astonish or shock, under t pretext of non-conformism, when their greatest successes a due to their poetic inspiration and not to their claims to all kinds of happenings, improvisation, and pop art.

(Author's translation.)

News of the company's reception abroad reached the United States and aroused new curiosity there about Cunningham's work. On its return the company was booked into a new dance series at Hunter College Playhouse, where so many of Cunningham's early N York concerts had been given. The performance, on 12 February 1965, was sold out long in advance, so a second and then a thir were added, on the two following evenings. These were also so out.

One way and another, the Merce Cunningham Dance Company would never be the same again. Some of the dancers left after the tour, and it was clear that the association with Rauschenberg could not continue; he was now a painter of international stature and could no longer devote the time and energy to the dance company that he had in previous years. The days when the dancers and the artistic personnel lived together like a family were past. Inevitably, the company was going to become a bigger operation: there was no doubt any more that it was a major dance company. The state councils on the arts and the National Endowment for the Arts had come into being, with touring programs that immediately called upon the participation of the Cunningham company. As the critic Nancy Vreeland Dalva (née Kaufman) wrote, "Cunningham has not gone establishment, but the establishment has gone Cunningham" (Daily Texan, 14 February 1977). Nowadays, the company tours more extensively abroad than at home. It has returned to all the countries visited in 1964 except Finland, Czechoslovakia, and Thailand--and has gone to several places that were not on that original itinerary. Students from many of these countries have travelled to New York to study at the Merce Cunningham Studio in Westbeth.

One person who was present at the Paris performances was the late Michel Guy, who was to become director of the Paris Autumn Festival and, from 1974 to 1976, Minister of Culture in the government of Jacques Chirac. He later spoke of the "real shock" that he had experienced when he first saw these dances, which then seemed so iconoclastic, though he came to realize that Cunningham's work was fundamentally classical. Together with Bénédicte Pesle, who had already seen the company in the States and was to become its European representative, he promoted the company's frequent--almost yearly--returns to France, starting with the Fourth International Festival of Dance at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées in Paris two years later, at which the company provoked noisy demonstrations. (The theatre was used to such scenes, ever since the premiere of Le Sacre du printemps in 1913.)

In 1973 Guy was responsible for the commissioning of an evening-length work (Un jour ou deux) by Cunningham for the ballet of the Paris Opéra, and in 1976 for his company's residency at the Festival of Avignon, with a program of classes, open rehearsals, and performances that introduced not only the general public but many young French dancers to the Cunningham technique and aesthetic. As I have indicated, traffic across the Atlantic went both ways. Some of the French dancers who came to study at the Cunningham Studio returned to France to form companies of their own, among them Kilina Crémona, who had taught both at the Cunningham Studio and in the Avignon residency.

We are used to the fact that there is often an Oedipal relationship between younger modern dancers and their older mentors, whose teaching they later reject. Cunningham himself rejected Martha Graham in this way. Some young French

choreographers have followed this pattern with a vengeance, as may be seen in an article in a Paris publication, L'Evénement jeudi (6/12 February 1986), under the title (roughly translate "The Cunningham Heritage: dancers and choreographers tell all last." Jean-Claude Gallotta succinctly sums up the pattern: "Cunningham was at first the great love. Then came rebellion After that, withdrawal. At last, I killed my father, but as adopted son. After that, I could quietly do my own dancing somewhere else and I was able to love him all over again...." Others have yet to reach that final stage. Karine Saporta sa that "in France they've made Cunningham into a kind of McDonald's." Daniel Larrieu: "When, very recently, I finall saw his performances, I was disappointed. His choreographic material seemed to me at a standstill. As for Cage's ideas, Cunningham is empty of emotion. I demand it, but also abstraction, feeling, structure, graphic discovery. I want i all." (Author's translations.)

Nowadays, the influence of Pina Bausch seems stronger in France than that of Cunningham. Perhaps what has really happened is that French choreographers have reverted to type. Cunningham said to me after seeing some contemporary French choreography, "If this is what they do, why do they like what do?"

In Britain, the situation was somewhat different, though is true that neither country had very much in the way of a mod dance tradition of its own. In the late sixties, Robin Howar had founded the London School of Contemporary Dance, and soon afterward London Contemporary Dance Theatre, both under the influence of Martha Graham. It might be said that in short order British dance went through a history that had taken twen years or more in the United States, that is to say it had to absorb and assimilate the influence of Graham and then produce new dance of its own. The Cunningham Dance Company returned London during its 1966 European tour, and several times since then, though not with the frequency or regularity of its visit to Paris.

Several young choreographers emerged out of choreographic workshops at The Place, home of LSCD, notably Richard Alston a Siobhan (Sue) Davies. Alston, who had seen the Cunningham company on one of its early visits to London, formed a small collective company called Strider, very much under Cunningham's influence. Both he and Davies came to the United States duri the seventies to study at the Cunningham Studio and elsewhere. (Davies returned a second time during the eighties.) On his return to Britain Alston became first a resident choreographer, then artistic director, of the Ballet Rambert, whose name he changed to Rambert Dance Company to reflect the fact that it w no longer a ballet company but a post-Cunningham, contemporary company. The company has already taken three Cunningham work into its repertory and is about to acquire a fourth, a creatio So far, there has been no reaction against Cunningham's work a

extreme as that seen in France, though it may be on the way.

Several British students have come to the Cunningham Studio as a result of seeing his company in London; one of them, Emma Diamond, is now a member of the company, and three others have been or are members of its understudy group.

If I may be permitted one final, personal note: it is astonishing now to look back on the 1964 tour, which as I have said was a barnstorming operation, not at all like the company's tours abroad in later years. Then, I was sometimes worried that Merce Cunningham might be displeased by the sometimes rough and ready travel arrangements, the inadequate theatres, the long hours. But Cunningham is not only a choreographer of genius, he is also a trouper. For him, the tour was, in spite of everything, as enjoyable as the "intoxicating vaudeville tour" he made as a teenager with his first teacher, Maude Barrett. (See "The Impermanent Art," in 7 Arts No 3, 1955.) I believe that he was never happier than when he danced night after night in London. When we got back to the States, with everyone exhausted and the company threatening to fall apart, I thought, it was all my fault. But then one day Cunningham said to me that, given the opportunity, "I would leave again tomorrow."

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RECREATIONAL ISRAELI DANCE AND AMERICA: NEARLY INSEPARABLE

Edy Greenblatt

This paper discusses the historically close relationship between Recreational Israeli dance (RID) and America. It will first discuss the nature of RID and then examine the dynamic exchange which has characterized the form from its inception until the present day.

RECREATIONAL ISRAELI DANCE (RID)

Israel, unlike most modern nations, was brought into political existence instantaneously by United Nations proclamation in 1948. It is a rather small place. It is roughly 85 miles wide (at its widest point) by 280 miles long [1] -- approximately the size of New Hampshire or the area serviced by the (714) area code in Southern California. Its population is approximately 4 1/2 million. [2] Of this, approximately 3 1/2 million are Jews, 600,00 are Moslem Arabs with the balance made up of Christians, Druz and others.[3] Agriculture is an important part of the culture and economy, but more than 80% of the population lives in cities working in areas such as manufacturing, tourism, and technological research and development. [4] In Israel, diversity is the norm: the population is comprised of families from Russia, Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. Diversity is also reflected in the types of housing, lifestyle choices and quite dramatically the arts of Israel.

In this nation of heterogeneity, early dance leaders recognized the need to create a dance form to help unite this nation of nations. Though before independence there were a handful of Jewish Palestinian dances, *rikudai-am yisraeli* -- literally Israeli folk dance, was intentionally created just after 1944 when, according to Gurit Kadman, "a small number of interested people met and started thinking seriously about ... folkdances" [5] Kadman hoped that dance would help develop a distinct "Israeli" culture and unite the new Jewish nation of immigrants.

The conscious and subconscious models for the new Israeli "folk" dance were primarily European in formation, locomotive patterns, body use and music. The Balkan-borrowed "hora", firmly implanted as a physical symbol of Zionism no doubt influenced the new Israeli dance style.

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1 Israel Information Center (ed.)
2 Ibid.
3 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ed.), p. 82.
4 Ibid., p. 10, 67-69.
5 Kadman, p. 4

Furthermore, Gurit Kadman, Rivka Sturman, Shalom Hermon, Tzvi Friedhaber and many other early choreographers were European born immigrants who had brought their concepts of "folklore" with them.

In contrast to the modest beginnings of early choreographers in the 1940's and 50's, Recreational Israeli Dance (RID) in the 1990's boasts a repertoire of well over 1500 dances[6] with an estimated 400,000 Israelis who participate weekly in RID activities.[7] *Rikudai-am yisraeli* , is a contemporary, secular, social dance form. In Israel, RID, often called Israeli folk dance, is very much popular culture. Outside of Israel, recreational Israeli dance is danced in Australia, Canada, China, Japan, New Zealand, thoughout Central and South America, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, the United States and in Western Europe: more than 25 countries all together. Throughout the world, RID is done voluntarily and dancers participate more because they enjoy the movement and music than out of any sense of religious or national identification.[8]

Most dances are done in circles, in lines around a circle, or male/female couples arranged in and progressing counterclockwise around a circle. When there is insufficient space, many concentric circles form. Circle and line dances feature only unison movement while couple dances include unison, parallel or both types of movements. Movement focuses on locomotion and leg gesture. The torso is erect, the arms, hands, head and neck are primarily passive. [9]

A distinctive feature of RID is that each dance is choreographed to a specific melody. Therefore, a song which already has a dance to it is usually considered unavailable for new choreography. Most dance songs last 2-3 minutes and are played on cassette tapes. The meter is most often 2/4, 3/4 or 4/4 and the lyrics are sung in Hebrew, the national language. Melodies are created in Israel or often borrowed from Russian, Greek, Arabic, or Latin American music traditions.

Regularly scheduled dance events are weekly activities defined by the dance teacher, level of the group, specific time, and location : for example, David Shimon's advanced group, Tuesday nights at the Sports Hall in Tel Aviv. Dancing usually takes place in community center recreation rooms or university, high school or municipal gymnasia. In the summer, many groups meet outdoors, dancing on basketball courts, on rooftops or at the beach. An average dance session lasts between 1 1/2 and 4 hours. Most of the

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6 Edery
7 Meishar (ed.), cover
8 Greenblatt, p. 61
9 Ibid.

time is spent dancing familiar dances. At sometime during the evening, the teacher , almost always a male, quickly teaches a dance or two.

AMERICA'S INFLUENCE ON RECREATIONAL ISRAELI DANCE

What then has America had to do with the development of a seemingly Euro-Middle Eastern hybrid dance form? American made records, compact disks (CD's), dance notations, movement elements, dance events and even entire dances have had a major impact on the development of RID in Israel.

Though Hed Artsi and Symphonia recorded a few 78's with Israeli dance music, the majority of early RID 78's were produced in the late 1940's & 1950's in the U.S. -- Dvora Lapson supervising for Israel Music Foundation & Folkcraft -- Fred Berk and Katya Delakova for The Folkdancer Label. These records were usually accompanied by written verbal dance notations which were quite similar to the standard used among International Folk Dancers in America. These records were used to teach at Israeli and International Dance events including the Stockton International Folk Dance Camp in 1951.[10] The dance notations written by Dvora Lapson for that camp were put into the California Folk Dance Federation format for publication in *Let's Dance Magazine*, September 1951. Gurit Kadmon's dance notes, the industry standard and quite remarkably like their American counterparts (only in Hebrew) prior to 1951, show a shift and standardization to the California model beginning shortly after the publication of the *Let's Dance* article and notations.[11]

The first Israeli dance LPs were produced in America: *Israeli Folk Dances* LPs 5/6 and 7 produced in 1957 by Dvora Lapson for the Israel Music Foundation in New York[12] followed soon after by *Israeli Songs and Folk Dances* by John Filcich at Festival Records in California in 1961.[13] In 1962, the first of Fred Berk's Tikva Series of Israeli folk dance records *Dance Along with Sabras (T-69)* was released.[14] These records were produced because obtaining good accordionists for Recreational Israeli dance evenings in the U.S. was very difficult, often impossible. American resident teachers of Israeli dance had access to record production facilities and recognized the importance of "portable" music in the dessemination of the new Jewish

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10 Filcich
11 Harris (ed.)
12 Lapson, 1957
13 Filcich
14 Uziel

dance culture.[15] When these records arrived in Israel, they began to offer dance teachers there a choice between accordionist and recorded music.

Later in the sixties, Israeli dance choreographers resident in America began producing records of their own. Shlomo Bachar began his Hadarim series in 1966,[16] Moshe Eskayo the Israeli Folkdance Center Series in 1969[17] followed shortly thereafter by Moshiko Halevy, Dani Dassa, Israel Yakovee and others. These records differed from the early ones in three ways. First, they utilized comparitively sophisticated recording techniques and current western instrumentaion to produce recordings that sounded more "contemporary and exciting" [18]. Second, they included dances choreographed by Israelis resident in America. Third, they included new Israeli songs because many of the new dances were choreographed to melodies composed by Israelis in America.

At the same time in Israel, the dance movement was growing and so was the demand for new dances. Choreographers began creating dances to songs played on the radio. The accordionists soon became an unnecessary expense and cassette recordings became the preferred musical accompaniment.[19] The Israeli dance records produced in America provided a wealth of well recorded music to tape from. Furthermore, the new music on them was sometimes used to choreograph Israeli-made dances.[20]

To understand this phenomenon, one must be familiar with prevailing attitudes toward immigration from Israel at that time. The figureheads of the Israeli dance movement (just as most Israelis at the time) believed that to leave Israel, to become a *yored* (a fallen one) was akin to treason. Therefore, Israeli dances choreographed by non-residents were considered non-dances and their music "available" for new choreography. It was these "treasonous" recordings which enabled tapes to easily replace nearly all accordionists by the end of the 1970's.[21]

American residents have continued to produce records, tapes and now CD's to meet the demand for RID music in the US and abroad. In the late 1970's and 80's RID gained enormous popularity. The 80's also saw a huge increase in the rate of new dances created along with the increased use of popular radio music.

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[15] Eskayo & Lapson, 1992
[16] Bachar
[17] Eskayo
[18] Bachar
[19] Abuhav
[20] Bachar and Eskayo
[21] General consensus among all interviewees

Whereas Recreational Israeli dances numbered tens of dances in the 50's and somewhere over 250 in the mid-sixties,[22] by the end of the 80's over 1000 dances had been publically presented. This change in the dance community was accompanied by a change in the attitude of the dance leadership in Israel. Slowly, dances choreographed by American resident Israelis began to be introduced and accepted in Israel. Of the 1500 plus dances introduced since 1948, nearly 200 were choreographed in America.[23] Although only some of them are danced regularly in Israel, many of the innovative choreographic elements presented in the "ones which didn't make it" have found their way into the RID movement repertoire.

It is possible that the need for quality new dances and a new-found generousity of spirit may have catalyzed the attitude change toward *yored* dances. Another likely factor was the increased exposure of Israeli dance choreographers to American participants and dance leaders. In the mid to late 1970's, airline deregulation made travel between Israel and the United States markedly less expensive. Although there had been weekend and week-long Israeli dance camps and workshops held regularly for more than a decade, suddenly, Israeli dance choreographers were coming to America to teach their material first hand. The organizers of these events were frequently the American chorerographers themselves who, in the past, had been the source of new Israeli dances to the American public. Whether it was because they had personal reasons for "friendly professional contact" with them, or because Israeli's saw first hand the beauty and success of the "American made" dances, American resident choreographers were soon welcome to teach their dances in Israel.

Teaching at American dance camps provided lucrative opportunities to work, gain prestige both at home and abroad, travel and shop in the U.S.. Cordless microphones, CD players, variable speed cassette decks, high speed duplicators, and video cameras are practically mandatory equipment for RID leaders. Because of Israel's high import taxes, equipment here is available at effectively less than half price. Given RID's total dependency on technology, those who come to America invariably have technological advantages over those teachers who are unable to travel.

Invitations to teach in America are often contingent on bringing new dances. Some choreographers will not teach their new dances in Israel until they've presented them in America. They fear that others will learn their dances and will be invited instead. Their fears are justified. Once in America, choreographers and teachers have an unprecedented opportunity to learn each others dances and videotape them for easy transport home. Recently, the dance *Aba Shimon*, choreographed by Los Angeles resident

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[22] Uziel

[23] Based on Edery

choreographer Israel Yakovee was presented at *Hora Keff* Israeli Dance Camp in New York in August 1990. Guest instructor Mishael Barzilai learned the dance and took it back to Israel with him. In August the following year, Barzilai, guest teacher at Spectacular Summer *Dalia* dance camp in New York's Catskill Mountains taught *Aba Shimon* among his new dances from Israel.[24]

The large, highly mobile populations of Israelis living in America have helped make RID in Israel and America nearly inseparable. Currently, in some large cities there are RID events where 80% of the participants are Israelis . The teachers are often teachers who have immigrated from Israel and simply are continuing their work in another city. These events are nearly identical to RID events in Israel. Between the video tapes and the humans who travel back and forth between the U.S. and Israel daily, dances arrive so quickly that a new dance presented in Tel Aviv on Sunday can be taught in Los Angeles on Tuesday, New York on Wednesday and then in Haifa on Thursday.

The fascinating feature about this 40-year transatlantic dance exchange is that nearly all of it was and is catalyzed by individuals operating independent of the plethora of political, religious and cultural organizations in the U.S. and Israel. The dance connections between Israel and America are personal and individual. The first Israeli dances were taught in America because Dvora Lapson, Fred Berk and others had direct personal contact with pioneers of Israeli dance. Its quite likely that Kadmon got the California folk dance federation formatted dance notes from Lapson and simply continued to use the format. American records were brought to Israel by friends of dance teachers or by the record producers themselves. "American-made" Israeli dances were first presented at dance events run by choreographers' personal friends. The most frequent early visitors to U. S. dance camps often included these same people.[25] All business interactions are based as much on friendships as on professional factors. It is this important personal dynamic which created the ties between RID in Israel and America.

Israeli dance teachers and choreographers are linked by a complex network of personal relationships which move music, information, electronics, and dances around the world. Recreational Israeli dance's growth and world synchrony are the results of individuals who believed and still believe that dance is a national, cultural and personal necessity.

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[24]Video in Motion (ed.)
[25]Uziel

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HULA HIPS AND SMILING LIPS: AMERICANS ABROAD AT HOME

Jane C. Desmond
Institute of the Arts, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

INTRODUCTION:

While in Hawaii recently, I was struck by the omnipresence of the hula. In cabarets, shopping malls, hotels, and outdoor ampitheaters, hula abounds. There are hula shows and hula contests, hula by children, and hula by adults. Free hula lessons for tourists, and serious hula schools for the residents. Hula dolls, hula skirts, hula postcards, and hula music are all on sale. The performance of hula serves as an important focal point of the Hawaiian experience both for tourists and for the activist movement working for sovereignty for the indigenous Hawaiian population. The hula, and especially the hula dancer, may well be the prime signifier of Hawaii today. This paper will examine one aspect of this phenomenon: the performance of Hawaiiana as it is presented through contemporary hula shows for tourists. Given the time limitations, I will focus on two specific aspects of tourist shows: the visual economy of tourist hula performances, and the presentation of the body in those performances. There are many other aspects of this phenomenon which deserve investigation, including the hybridity of dance styles in some of these shows, but I will not have time to pursue those questions today.

It is no accident that the hula is an integral part of nearly every tourists' experience of Hawaii. A vacation in Hawaii represents and is marketed as a sojurn in Paradise, as numerous brochures can attest through their pictures of waving palms, pristine beaches, and smiling "natives." "Come to Life in Hawaii," invites the Hawaiian Tourist Bureaus' official brochure. Its featured hula "girl," sweetly smiling in her "grass" skirt, is perhaps the ultimate fantasy of reinvigoration through contact with the "natural" beauty of Hawaii. The notion of the hula "girl" functions as a site of condensation for a whole constellation of notions about the "primitive" as non-European, as pre-historic, as exotic, sensual, pleasure-seeking and rooted in the body.

For Euro-American consumers, male and female, the escape to Paradise repeats the social economy of colonialism while reversing its flow of capital. Rather than relying on the export of organic

goods like sugar cane and pineapples, Hawaii now earns most of its income through tourism, hosting six million visitors last year. Although it is one of the United States, Hawaii looks like nowhere else in America. The predominant populations are of Asian/Pacific ancestry, with Caucasians in the minority and African-Americans making up only a tiny fraction of the population. American tourists can thus go to a foreign country, replete with foreign languages, foods, and music and dance, without ever leaving home. The other largest tourist group, the Japanese, can have a somewhat similar experience, going to "America" while effectively remaining among the Asian populations of the Pacific. For both groups though, Hawaii offers the transformative fantasy of a return to the "primitive" past, a past most effectively evoked by the image of the brown-skinned hula "girl," draped in fragrant leis, waiting to awaken the senses.

Tourism, fundamentally, is a form of pleasure based on voyeurism. It is predicated on difference, on the notion that there is something different to see, and perhaps to experience in other ways as well. Hula shows, found in a variety of venues in Waikiki from hotel nightclubs to shopping mall corridors, offer an opportunity for the visual consumption of difference presented as the performance of a "cultural" identity. This difference is located across space and metaphorically back though time, and is anchored in the display of the "native" body, with its bare feet and legs, unfettered long dark hair, and undulating pelvis.

TOURIST PERFORMANCES

Tourist performances are the perfect vehicle for the construction and consumption of cultural difference for several reasons: they provide an experience of it in a condensed, controlled, maximized form, created with a literal and figurative point-of-view for the tourist in mind; they are rooted in the display of the "authentic" "native" body; and they provide, in a subliminal way, a guarantee that these people performing embody a link to the past. A mythologizing time warp places the contemporary body in the past, "nativizes" it, idealizes it, and decontextualizes it to facilitate the creation and consumption of cultural difference.

Given the importance of vision to the tourist enterprise, it is no surprise that "performance" is one of the key commodities used in the promotion of tourism. The majority of popular tourist destinations feature "culture" as one of their selling points. This concept in tourism implies both the big "C" and little "c" uses of the word culture. Tourism promises both an exposure to another "culture" in the sense of the whole complex of beliefs, behaviors,

languages, and products of a particular community, and it offers examples of "Culture" in the Germanic sense of the word, i.e., artistic production, as one condensed and privileged example of the broader culture. This artistic production can consist of handicrafts, theater, architecture, etc. Usually, a "show" of some sort is featured in tourist literature for a particular area. And the word "show" is particularly apt, as it purports to "show" the visitor something distinctive, perhaps unique, and maybe even "essential" about the culture in question. Furthermore, the viewing structure of theatrical performance, where one group of people watch another group of people do something, is particularly conducive to the visual structure of tourism. Whereas some of us might be uncomfortable staring on the street at examples of the very difference we came to see, we can do so with complete impunity in a performance viewing context, which exists for that very purpose.

And, it is in these performances, particularly some "folkloric" types of performance, that we see most dramatically the display of difference, packaged for easy visual consumption. Often these performances feature "the past" in their costuming, music, etc. Usually this is dubbed "tradition." During these presentations the interpenetration of European and American goods and visual images that have spread throughout the world are contained or at least muted. The illusion of some kind of "authentic" difference can be preserved in performance if it seems to be getting lost in the spread of multinational capitalism and its concomitant "cultural" export.

Folkloric performances are analogous to museums, where "culture" is corralled or collected and put on display for consumption (usually) by members of groups other than the producers of said artifacts. But, an interesting effect, a sort of Doppleganger, occurs with the living museums or living history displays we get through performance. The performers themselves are, of course, our contemporaries. In most cases, they leave the stage, take off their make-up and costumes, get into their cars and merge with us, unnoticed, on the local freeway. But for the moment of perception during the performance, they are seen as living embodiments of the cultural difference the show purports to display, a difference located somewhere in our own prehistory, as Johannes Fabian has noted.[1] The performers' corporeality is the ground or guarantor of the authenticity of the actions presented.

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[1] Johannes Fabian, Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

They are presumed to have a special connection to the past and its reconfiguration through the performance that we have come to see.

THE HAWAIIAN BODY

Authenticity and re-creation are key issues in the museumification of cultural production that exists in tourist shows. What does it mean to museify the living body as artifact or symbolic referent of an entire "culture"? Are tourist performances today really any different from the display of "natives" at world expositions in the late nineteenth century? How or how not?

"Authenticity," like history, can be continually reconstructed, as Hobsbawm and Ranger have noted.[2] This is one way of masking the results of culture contact. The history of the hula in Hawaii is radically shaped by the presence of European missionaries who tried to ban the Hula in the nineteenth century, and by the influence of European and American musical styles and instruments throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The change from chanted hula to sung hula, which has predominated since the late nineteenth century, reflects the influence of hymn singing styles and the importation of a ukelele-like instrument by the Portuguese. And within the Pacific, a growing pan-Pacific identification has supported the popularity of Tahitian-style hula, with faster rhythms and more furious hips, a style very popular in tourist shows. In Hawaii, the tourist industry has a stake in the imagining away of the history of this cultural contact. For example, Tahitian hula is no longer identified as such in tourist programs, but rather is presented as "Hawaiian." The resulting construction of an authentic Hawaiiana for tourist consumption depends on a selective inattention not only to historical events, but also to the resulting current makeup of Hawaii's population. U.S. tourists for the most part do not go to Hawaii to see the Chinese-Hawaiians, or the Japanese-Hawaiians, or the Philippino-Hawaiians, or the Japanese-Philippino-Hawaiians. They go to see Hawaii as unspoiled nature and "Hawaiians" as Polynesian-looking indigenous islanders. A quick glance through tourist brochures will confirm the required look. In Hawaii, as in a number of other places, "authenticity" is ultimately thought to reside in the body, although it can also be acquired by experience to some degree. What is "Hawaiian," and who is Hawaiian are two separate questions.

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[2]Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., The Invention of Tradition, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

To "be" Hawaiian and to "look" Hawaiian, is an interesting subset of this aspect of performance and its perception. Let's take a troupe of hula dancers for instance, like those performing at the Kodak Hula Show in Honolulu. This is the longest running, most established show in Honolulu, and it is free. Sponsored by Kodak, it literally advertises the relationship between vision, tourism, and the picturing of difference that underlies tourist performances.

Tourist expectations and desires for difference would require that the performers "look" Hawaiian, or at least vaguely Polynesian, or at the very least generally "Asian" in their facial features, hair, skin tone, and general physical stature. Given that the majority of tourists in Hawaii are Japanese, or Americans of European ancestry, each group may have different implicit requirements for what looks constitute "Hawaiian-ness" in their eyes.[3] But both audience groups would probably feel cheated if a travelling troupe of blonde, blue-eyed women from Ohio showed up to do the Hawaiian dances. No matter how well-trained, this ficticious group may be, they would be presumed to lack the cultural context, acquired via the lived experience of "being" Hawaiian (a non-unitary term in itself) to authenticate or give meaning to their performance.

In the Kodak hula show, whose audience includes a number of Japanese tourists, all of the performers look more Polynesian than they do Japanese or Chinese or Caucasian. But in the Don Ho show, another of the longest running and most popular tourist shows in Waikiki, the spread is interestingly different. Here there are no Asian visitors in the audience, mostly white Americans from the midwest. Ho's range of physical difference among his performers is greater than that of the Kodak show. Ho himself is of Chinese descent, with light skin, a strong nose, and dark eyes somewhat hidden by his gold-brushed glasses. Suave and debonaire seems to be the style he is aiming for with his white loafers and purple blazer.

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[3]For the Japanese, who presumably are more attuned to reading the physical semiotic clues that are flagged as representing Japanese, Chinese, Philippino, or Polynesian ancestry, a general look of "Asian" identification may not be enough to represent Hawaiian-ness. For the European-Americans however,a the degree of reading skill in perceiving and analysing physical codes among non-European-Americans, may be much more generalized, so that anyone with dark straightish hair, "brownish" skin tones, and facial features that could possibly be perceived as "Asian," would, in the context of the hula show, adequately represent "Hawaiian" people.

Just how different can Don Ho be from his guests and still represent "middle America," the population that is both addressed and featured in numerous ways throughout the structure of this show? First of all, he can't look "too" Chinese. He is, afterall, "American," and the whole subtext of his show is a celebration of Americana. Similarly, the dancers and back-up singers in his show must provide the proper balance between "Hawaiian-ness" and "American-ness," i.e. "whiteness." Of the male dancers, only one had facial features that clearly marked him as being of Asian/Pacific origin. Of the females, two were possibly of Asian/Pacific ancestry, while two looked clearly Caucasian. The lead female singer was a Caucasian college student. Whatever the familial backgrounds of these performers, what is important is how they "looked" and how those "looks" would or could be perceived by the predominantly Caucasian audience. By mixing well-tanned Caucasians with Asian-Pacific performers, and by stressing that everyone grew up in Honolulu, i.e., "is" Hawaiian, Ho achieves a look that mediates between similarity and difference at the very level of the bodies of his dancers. What starts at the level of the performers' bodies is elaborated at the level of the choreography where modern hula is mixed with ballet, jazz, and MTV style dancing to yield an accessible show-biz mix with a tincture of Hawaiian flavor.

"WOMAN, NATIVE, OTHER"

But if the "native" body is necessary for the production of Hawaiiana for tourists, it is the female "native" body that provides its quintessence. Let's consider the Kodak Hula Show. For fifty-four years, since its opening in March of 1937, this show has presented a vision of Hawaii to tourists. As the male master of ceremonies (one of only two men performing in the whole show) tells it, the Kodak Hula Show was begun because "people wanted to take pictures of the hula girls and musicians and couldn't do it in the nightclub shows." So the enterprising Kodak company sought out performers for a daytime show to satisfy the tourists'photographic desire.

In the Kodak show, there are some old style hulas performed with chanting, many modern hulas with ukelele music, and even one comic hula, but the whole show is built around photo-taking opportunities. Roughly midway in the first half of the show, the host introduces the "picture post card" segment. During this musical post card photo opportunity, the dancers move "so you don't have to." Five attractive young female dancers in ti leaf skirts and strapless cotton tops walk in. They wear long flower leis and

fancy flower head pieces. Each carries a letter held at waist height in front of them like a shield. When they are in a row, the letters spell out H A W A I I. In a line they walk to the first quadrant facing the bleachers. They stand and smile as that group takes its "post card" while musicians sing the tune "My Sweetie Pie." The letters are precisely aligned, and all of the women are smiling. They make it simple for us to produce a professional-looking image, with no closed eyes, half-turned faces, or blurring motion. In this moment, we are asked use our cameras (and almost everyone in the audience of several hundred complied) to reproduce the primary signifier of Hawaii, a smiling woman in a grass skirt, literally labeled "Hawaii." The routine continues until each quadrant of the bleachers has had its turn. Finally, "My Sweetie Pie" ends, and the living postcard dissolves as they exit. It seems that the image of the hula girl rather than the hula itself is most important for memorializing and encapsulating the tourist experience.

Judith Williamson has pointed out the linkages in European and American derived patriarchal and capitalist systems between the location of an internal cultural other in the sign of "woman," and the production of an external cultural other in the form of the "exotic."[4] Just as the concept "woman" is linked to notions of the "natural," so too are notions of the "exotic other," or the "native." Extending Williamson's argument, we could said that a woman is Hawaii, and Hawaii is a woman. The "native" woman's body, via the hula, becomes a condensed signifier for all of the cultural difference that the imaginary and mythologized destination of Hawaii must be made to bear.[5]

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[4]Judith Williamson, "Woman is an Island: Femininity and Colonization" in Tania Modleski, ed., Studies in Entertainment, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 99-118.

[5]The "native" is presumed to live outside capitalist production, in some vague sort of idealized economy, and work is removed from the equation altogether. This is another reason why performances, which emphasize singing and dancing, associated in Euro-American culture with play, celebration, or romance rather than with significant religious or social occasions, work so well as tourist activities. Performances reinforce the image of the happy, expresssive native who spends his or her time singing or dancing, but not toiling in field or factory. The irony of course is that the labor for much of the world's leading economies is now performed "off-shore" in the developing nations or in internal marginalized communities within the first world countries.

The visual display of dancing female"natives" helps to reify cultural difference, and links it to the realms of the natural, of "the feminine," and of the body, the signifier to which racial, sexual, and "cultural" difference is ideologically consigned. This is the confluence of signifiers that the image of a smiling Hawaiian woman in grass skirt with swaying hips relays to an Anglo-European audience. No wonder this is such a potent image, so ubiquitous, so quintessential to the mythology of Hawaii as a tourist destination.

This, in theory, is the semiotic function of the hula girl, at least for the Caucasian tourist audience. But, in reality, the case becomes more complicated, as it usually does. For older women in long muumuus also dance, and occasionally men do too. And, some of the professional performers are obese. The sight of such huge bodies dancing is something rarely seen on the mainland, and was remarkable to me. (I want to note also, that in the performances and competitions not meant for tourists, which are numerous and have been growing in popularity since the 1970's and include the Prince Lot Hula Festival, and the Merrie Monarch Festival, the dynamics between viewer and performer are necessarily quite different. This is the case even though some of the same hulas may be performed by the same dancers who also work the tourist shows, luaus, shopping centers, etc.) But these contestations of the stereotype or prototype of the hula dancer do not replace the domant image, dominant in both advertising and in numbers within the tourist shows, of the beautiful, curvaceous but slender, gently smiling, brown-skinned, but not too brown, hula "girl" who happily performs for the mainlander audience.

CLOSING THOUGHTS ON TOURISTS AND THE HULA

It is important to note that watching is not the only hula-related activity that tourists can enjoy. There are a multitude of opportunities for tourists to learn a little hula themselves. There are free hula lessons at shopping malls and at hotels and as part of several of the outdoor performances. The aspiring dancer can easily purchase a hula costume to take back home (I got one in Woolworths' for less than $10.00), along with the proper music tapes with which to accompany oneself. These accoutrements even come with simple instructions, including pose by pose pictures a la Arthur Murray, so you can recreate the experience in the privacy of your home.

The music cassette I purchased, copyright 1987, is called Let's Hula, and contains dance instructions in pictures for three songs, all popular hits in the 1940's, which indicates the tenacity of the image

and its fantasy. My tape features the hit "Princess Poo-Poo-ly," and although its lyrics are more risque than most you would hear in tourist shows now, its subtext of sexuality and desire still animate the tourist viewing activity. Here is a sample of the lyrics: "The Pricess Pupule--has plenty papaia--and she loves to give it away. Now all of the neighbors they say--oh me-a oh my-a, you really should try a--little piece of the princess pupule's papaia--now princess pupule's not truly unruly--to pass out papaia each day--for all of the neighbors they say--she may give the fruit--but she holds on to the root--, and so she has the root--and the fruit--to boot..."

For those who are too shy to dance themselves, there are numerous places where you can get your picture taken in full hula dress, with leis and pompoms and grass skirts, posed by the photographer with one bare leg poking alluringly through the fake folliage. It is thus possible not only to see and consume Hawaiiana, but also to enact it yourself as a tourist, and to memorialize the moment in a large photo, suitable for wall mounting. Via the hula lessons and the hula posing, hula itself becomes an exportable commodity, taken back to the mainland and to Japan via the bodies of Japanese and American (mainly) female tourists. This serves to temporarily sexualize and primitivize the tourist body, through the discovery and reenactment of a lost, pre-industrial past of harmony with nature which can be purchased for the price of a round trip to Paradise.

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THE RED CURTAIN: BALANCHINE'S CRITICAL RECEPTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Nancy Reynolds

Before beginning my discussion of Balanchine's return to the Soviet Union, I would like particularly to thank the Moscow dance historian Elizabeth Sourits, who provided me with several pieces of criticism from Soviet periodicals and discussed with me the context of Balanchine's visit within the history of Soviet ballet. She also provided thumbnail sketches of the critics, indicating who was worth reading and who wasn't. Needless to say, this kind of information was invaluable. In 1962, some excerpts from critical reviews were published in English in the newspapers and in Dance News. For the fresh material recently brought to my attention by Elizabeth Sourits, I would like to thank my present-day translators, Selma Jeanne Cohen and Steven Nielson.

Balanchine with his company, the New York City Ballet, toured the Soviet Union October 9-December 1, 1962, visiting Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, and Baku. The varied and adventursome repertory consisted of Balanchine's Serenade, Agon, Western Symphony, Prodigal Son, Tchaikovsky Pas de Deux, La Valse, Donizetti Variations, Concerto Barocco, Symphony in C, Pas de Deux from Midsummer Night's Dream, Episodes, Scotch Symphony, La Sonnambula, Raymonda Variations, and Allegro Brillante--clearly, there was no compromise in that department! There were also two works by Jerome Robbins--Interplay and Fanfare--which I shall not consider here.

It was Balanchine's first visit to his homeland since his voluntary emigration in 1924. According to both Elizabeth Sourits and Oleg Vinogradov, Artistic Director of the Kirov, Balanchine was pretty much unknown in the Soviet Union, although two of his ballets had already been seen there--Symphony in C, performed by the Paris Opera Ballet in 1958, and Theme and Variations, which American Ballet Theatre brought to Russia in 1960. (Members of the Bolshoi, who had visited the United States in 1959, had been exposed to a few Balanchine ballets, and had attended a particularly disastrous Agon rehearsal.)[1]

Despite the defection of Nureyev in 1961--which had an intimidating effect on the Kirov--and the Cuban Missile Crisis with the United States a year later--which most of the populace was never told about--Russia in 1962 was experiencing a period of thaw under Khrushchev. During that year, Fokine's memoirs were published, as was a poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, "Stalin's Heirs," questioning Stalinist principles. Dmitri Shostakovitch's opera, Katarina Izmailova, once condemned, was again performed. Perhaps the most dramatic breakthrough was the publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch, which described the horror of Stalin's labor camps as never before. In dance, several of the choreographers who suffered during the

Stalin era, notably Goleizovsky and Jacobson (but also Gusev, Vainonen, and Lopukhov), surfaced again. And, although it is popularly believed that a chief impact of Balanchine's visit was to bring about the acceptance of the one-act ballet--Valery Panov says as much in his autobiography[2]--an examination of current repertories, particularly those of the smaller companies, reveals that one-act ballets to music by Bartok, Ravel, Stravinsky (Firebird), and Shostakovich had already been produced. In keeping with greater openness toward the West, not only American Ballet Theatre and the Paris Opera, but also Britain's Royal Ballet had visited the Soviet Union, as had a Cuban company.

Nevertheless, the legacy of the drambalyet and the reputations of those who produced them--particularly Rostislav Zakharov and Leonid Lavrovsky--were still very much alive in Russia. This so-called drama ballet was a lumbering four-act monster, weighted down with a social or moral message, a great deal of pantomime, and often, endless folk dances. Sometimes the heroine was the only dancer on pointe. From the '30s through the '50s, this was virtually the only type of ballet permitted, with the exception of the classics (often in versions modified to suit Communist ideology) and Les Sylphides. But Yuri Grigorovich's Stone Flower of 1957 began a breakthrough to a new era; even though it, too, had a rather ponderous, moralistic message, the plot of the three-act ballet unfolded through dance instead of pantomime. Thus, even before Balanchine's arrival, things were beginning to change.

It is almost self-evident that when examining the works of writers or other creative people in a totalitarian society, certain factors must be kept in mind. Throughout the '30s, '40s, and most of the '50s, citizens of the Soviet Union were totally isolated from the West, so they had little background on Western developments in any field; thus, many of their opinions were developed in a vacuum. Then there was the constant shadow of the Communist Party, to which writers owed greater or lesser allegiance. Although there seems to have been some latitude in how slavishly they had to mouth the Party line (or whether or not they even had to be Party members), there were certain things that simply could not be said. Two have particular relevance to evaluations of Balanchine. Writers were afraid to praise anything foreign too highly, for fear of implying that the analogous Soviet product was inferior, or at least not the best. (At an earlier time, it was not considered wise to even know or talk very much about anything foreign--much less to praise it--surely one reason few people had heard of Balanchine.) After all, Khrushchev publicly objected to "some so-called modern dances, brought into our country from the West."[3] Moreover, he regarded abstract art as fit only "for donkeys" and said that listening to jazz--clearly a foreign product, as it was invented, as he said "by Negroes"--gave him gas pains.[4] Secondly, since there was a history of Soviet artists being denounced and

ostracized for producing "formalist" art, it stands to reason that critics were not about to praise abstractionism, whatever they may have thought about it in private.

... While in Russia, Balanchine gave an interview, published in The Soviet Artist, No. 33 (October 1962), a rare instance of his putting into words his philosophy of the dance. He said, in part:

"Ballet is such a rich art that it should not be an illustrator of even the most interesting, the most substantive of literary sources. By itself and of itself, it will speak for itself. The ballet is flowers, beauty, poetry. And about this one must speak only aesthetically, if it is necessary to speak about it at all.

"Dancers work on every cell in their bodies for 15 years, and on stage every cell should sing. And if the beauty of that trained body, its movement, its plasticity, its expressiveness give the audience aesthetic satisfaction, then the ballet, in my view, has achieved its goal.

"I believe that woman is the queen of dance. . . . It is not important whom she is portraying. What's important is, simply, to see the pure beauty of her body, her movement.

"I think that the ballet, if you will, is the most poetic of the arts. It is, of itself, so expressive that it has no need of any particular content or text. After all, sound, musical sound, has meaning without either literature or libretto. . . . Yes, I am, if you please, an advocate of pure art, art in and of itself."

Rather touchingly, he concluded, "All my life I have wanted--and still want--to make it so that the beauty of movement of the human body, the purity of lines, their plastic expressiveness should not be forgotten, that ballet should not become a sauce, a seasoning for some other dish, because I am firmly convinced that ballet itself is one of the most beautiful art forms."[5]

Balanchine--and if I know him, with somewhat diabolic intent--thus provided a platform wide open to attack, even though insightful critics were quick to point out that, in common with many great creative artists, he broke his own rules when he saw fit. From a theoretical and ideological viewpoint, however, critics found much to oppose. Their objections centered on the following points: Balanchine's avoidance of plot and the consequent lack of characters for the dancers to portray; the appropriateness of his choice of music, especially so-called "symphonic" or concert music; his use of movements outside the classical lexicon; and for the more devoted Communists, the lack of a moral point, heroic struggle, or a happy ending in most, if not all, of his ballets.

Above all else, the Soviets required content in the ballet. There were both aesthetic and political considerations. As I. Kuznetsova, a noted musicologist, wrote, "Balanchine speaks of expressiveness, but can there be such a thing as expression

without content? Can anything be expressed in movements and mimicry that are deprived of a concrete task?"[6] The composer Aram Katchaturian stated flatly that "without an idea, without a subject, there cannot be true emotional art."[7] Drawing nearer to Communist ideology per se, Natalia Roslavleva, a dance historian whom we know as the author of Era of the Russian Ballet, observed, "Perhaps we do not think of choreography itself without content or still, even more exactly, without social significance."[8] And, furthest to the left, Rostislav Zakharov, choreographer of The Fountain of Bakhchisarai and one of the old guard, a product of the Stalin era, felt impelled to note in his reviews that "It should be pointed out that in [Balanchine's] choreography, the ballet master adheres to the principle of purely formal quests unacceptable in Soviet ballet, which is based on subject matter, a dance plot, kinship with the people and realism."[9]

These objections were tied closely to the second major stumbling block for the Soviets: the fact that in many Balanchine works, the dancers were often no more than "just" dancers--not kings, queens, heroes, or the vaunted common folk. The critic M. Sabinina wrote, "Let us state outright that Balanchine has reached great heights in the path he has taken. But oh how cold and dry the air is up there. It's hard to breathe in such 'rarified' atmosphere; the pulse of life weakens, and its forms are threatened with a stone-cold frostbite. No, it's dangerous to go any higher. The connection with the real world could be lost. And art could lose its most precious property--man."[10] From Roslavleva's point of view, "Art is an examination of the understanding of the world, [whereas] a dancing man for Balanchine is a mechanism, described in terms of physics."[11] Along the same lines, she considered the corps de ballet to be "treated like well-trained pawns," while for Sabinina, "the corps-de-ballet disappears as a unified faceless mass."[12] She wrote, "The New York City Ballet is a perfect, excellently schooled orchestra. And, as in an orchestra, where the slightest deviation would lead to anarchy and falsehood, here, too, the dancer is not allowed any freedom whatsoever, lest the harmony of the whole be disrupted."[13]

As the Soviets saw it, only two ballets had true "content"; they were La Sonnambula and Prodigal Son, and these were reviewed at a length out of proportion to their worth, particularly as compared to something like Concerto Barocco--but we all know hard it is to write about plotless choreography! Prodigal Son, in which a young man falls into bad company before returning to the embrace of his family, was considered dated and was criticized for its Capitalist-inspired black view of the world. Kuznetsova wrote that, with its "insane goons, prostitutes, and wretched thieves," it was "a veritable human outcry in the utter darkness of the bourgeois city."[14] The critic Anna Ilupina explained that "our people consider any psychological overstrain or nervous tensity incompatible with the radiant and elevated art of

ballet."[15] (In this connection, it is worth noting that two years previously, American Ballet Theatre was not allowed to perform Billy the Kid or Fall River Legend in the Soviet Union, since both depicted an amoral society and were examples of "American decadence.") Roslavleva thought Sonnambula "very interesting," adding "but, of course, in these one-act ballets there is no place for the development of characters or for more deep emotions in the psychology of heroes."[16] Kuznetsova found the mystical Sleepwalker-Poet duet "expressive," but precisely because the dancers were "PORTRAYING SPECIFIC PERSONS," as she wrote in capital letters.[17]

For the Russians, La Valse and Serenade seemed to have acceptable thematic connections to the music and both were praised. Kuznetsova put aside her stridently critical pen for a moment to write of the "marvelously staged Ravel waltzes";[18] Elizabeth Sourits, writing most evocatively, called La Valse "an ideal blending of music and dance; Balanchine interprets the music, in which there is, in Ravel's words, 'something fatal,' as a tragic work. Three female figures in broad dark-blue and red dresses rise to the music of a waltz. When they start to spin, caught up in the whirlwind of the music, and their twirling skirts give off a fiery flash from within, they recall the dance of a dying fire and the glow of embers covered by ash. Then other figures appear, some like flaring yellow flames, some dressed in costume of predominantly purple hues. The black silhouettes of men flit among them. Drawing close to them for an instant, and speeding away just as quickly, they dart about the stage, spinning in self-abandon. And this ceaseless spinning conveys a stronger and stronger sense of alarm. In the depths of the stage, chandeliers shimmer between swaying black columns (are they columns or strips of black mourning crepe?), and the people keep spinning and spinning, as though they want to forget something horrible, until one of the dancers is overtaken by death."[19]

Serenade, with its soul-drenched music and romantic atmosphere, emerged as the quintessential Balanchine ballet for the Russians, one which represented the point at which his theories and Soviet requirements most fully converged. Although the ballet was plotless, it was full of emotional coloring, and although it had inventive choreography, it contained more than the usual number of academic ballet steps. It couldn't have hurt that the music was Tchaikovsky! Sabinina called the ballet "a clear development of a poetic idea," but could not resist interpolating some dramatic elements [just as today's Russian dancers do in abstract ballets]. She wrote that "Serenade is a lyrical poem constructed on the contrast between two concepts--the soft, contemplative passivity of the female [Balanchine would have loved that!], and the active energy of the male. Expectation and brooding melancholy [are represented by] a group of female dancers, the excitement of meeting and recognition [come with] the entrance of a solo male and a duet, [then comes]

jealousy, and, finally, the triumph of happiness. [Where she saw that I don't know!] All of these stages of feeling are conveyed in a few episodes of a profoundly poetic dance allegory. The ballet not only captures the beauty of plastic movement, but also speaks to the audience, touches its heart."[20] Other observers saw "the trio as a refraction of the Odette and Siegfried theme, a striving for the dream that relieves the dogged prose of life, the standard 'love triangle,' or the eternal folly of youth."[21] Several noted the lineage of Fokine; Katchaturian wrote approvingly that "Serenade is distinguished by a fresh balletic style and an original choreographic vocabulary."[22]

The next bone of contention was Balanchine's relationship to music. Virtually all of the critics considered that he had set himself too narrow a challenge, too rarified a quest--which they perceived as his attempts to "interpret" the music through movement alone, to achieve a synthesis of music and dance--although few went so far as Roslavleva in finding that he "parallel[ed] every note in the structure of non-programmatic music with the structure of the movement in the polyphonic design of dance," in the manner of Dalcroze.[23] Sabinina complained that Balanchine ballets "demand too tense a form of attention from the average member of the audience."[24] Or, as famed ballerina Olga Lepeshinskaya put it, "I do not like that kind of art where I have to think. I like the kind which the heart feels immediately."[25]

Balanchine's choice of music was also criticized. As is well known, he often used distinguished concert music in support of his ballets. The Soviet drambalyet, dominant through the '50s, by decree had been danced to insipid commissioned scores; as mentioned, however, some shorter works had been created to Bartok and Ravel, and in 1961, young Igor Belsky had even choreographed--albeit in a programmatic manner--a Shostakovich symphony. However, Bartok and even Shostakovich are one thing, Tchaikovsky and Bach quite another. For Sourits, the more profound the music, the less successful Balanchine was. Representative of music's lighter side was Symphony in C, to Bizet, of which Sourits wrote, "it is hard to imagine a more musically substantial dance; . . . The flashing fireworks of the sounds spill over naturally and happily into festively flashing dance. In the middle comes the lyrical part, a duet that is staged as though on an extended sigh, but in the same defined and elegantly sketched contours [as the first]."[26] Indeed, Symphony in C was generally very well received, both in the Paris Opera and the New York City Ballet presentations.

But, Sourits continued, "the more complex the inner world of the piece of music is, the less satisfying for the audience is the proffered transposition of the music into the language of visual images. That is the reason the ballet Theme and Variations was not successful. The devices that had acquitted themselves when the choreographer was working with simple music [such as Bizet] proved to be insubstantial when he turned to the

work by Tchaikovsky. Allegro Brillante confirmed the impression. And the same was true of Concerto Barocco. The dance lines are sustained in strict, exact ornament . . . and plastic figures interweave with each other easily, freely and smoothly, with a dispassion that precludes any clash, conflict, or battle. But if there is a feeling or an idea to the composer's 'patterns of sounds,' it is . . . difficult to catch it in the pattern of the dance."[27] Concerto Barocco, which most of us find so exquisite, was admired for its musicality but not liked. The comment that it was "cold and clever" was typical. Sabinina wrote, "It is sophisticatedly beautiful, interesting, and appealing to the intellect and associative thought, but is it moving?"[28]

One might have expected denunciations of Balanchine's formalism in the press, but perhaps because this was a dangerous subject most critics didn't touch it as such. The closest to a defense of Balanchine's method was written by Mikhail Gabovich, a former dancer--in fact, a star of the Bolshoi. He went out on a limb to maintain that "even the ordinary training, the daily lesson of the classic dance, devoid, naturally, of any plot content, is beautiful in itself, aesthetically meaningful, emotionally impressive. . . . It is my opinion that in the forms of the classic dance are concentrated, generalized and plastically consolidated the nobility and grandeur, elegance and grace, power and vitality of the most beautiful, idealized movements of the human body. It is this extremely remarkable attribute that Balanchine utilizes widely in his plotless 'choreosymphonies.'"[29]

As might be imagined, a good deal of heat was generated by Balanchine's radical ballets Agon and Episodes. After all, they are completely abstract and non-referential--"formalism" epitomized. As for their music, Webern (whose entire orchestral output formed the score for Episodes) had been officially condemned in 1948, and the most recent Stravinsky tolerated in the Soviet was Petruchka of 1911. (He completed Agon in 1956.) As the last straw, the choreography often deviate completely from the classical syllabus. These factors posed considerable ideological problems for the critics. Sourits did her best to rationalize Balanchine's choices. While admitting that the works contained some "repulsive combinations of movement," she went on: "sounds that seem unnatural to the unaccustomed ear engender poses that seem equally unnatural to the unaccustomed eye; poses in which the human body is virtually turned inside-out, and in which the arms, legs, torso, and head take positions counter to those that over the ages have come to be deemed the most aesthetically pleasing. However, there is a logic to this . . . If, say, rising up smoothly onto the toes corresponds to a stable, pure combination of sounds, then the dissonance of Stravinsky's and Webern's music should, of course, be expressed by means of corresponding choreographic dissonance. It stands to reason that the ready-made figures that are so firmly a part of the lexicon of classical dance are far from capable of always

expressing the content of a contemporary music that is rich in . these ballets were works in progress--"sketches for future ballets, not yet ready to be put to the test of the audience's judgment."[30] Zakharov was quite benign: "The music [of Agon] is incredibly difficult to dance to; therefore George Balanchine's choreography, built up on complex and frequently changing counts, is closer to mathematics than to art. . . . the composition, addressed as it is to the mind, leaves the heart cold."[31] Katchaturian saved himself possible embarrassment by not mentioning Agon at all. With Russian flair for the dramatic, Ilupina considered this ballet, which we find witty and cerebral, to be "a morbid tragedy."[32] (It might be well to remember, however, that Agon, when new, generated controversy and contradictory opinions everywhere.) Kuznetsova, whose specialty was twentieth-century music, particularly that of Shostakovich, was clearly not prepared for the sounds of Stravinsky and Webern. She found in Agon "music which virtually defies logical development and choreography consist[ing] of perfectly arbitrary combinations of hardly characteristic movements! . . . In Episodes . . . something in the orchestra squeaked and clanked, as though it weren't instruments that were being played, but rather some bolts being screwed in to complete the assembly work of some strange project. On stage, to the squeaking, clanking and sawing, transpired things difficult for the standard audience to understand. . . .In Episodes, everything, and at the same time, nothing was unexpected. . . . The lack of a developing choreographic image, and its substitution by an arbitrary string of movements allegedly giving the choreographer complete freedom, simultaneously deprived the audience of any interest in the ballet whatsoever."[33]

Space prohibits my evaluating all of the opinions expressed about all of the ballets, or discussing critics' reactions to the dance technique, or their impressions of the performers. (Both stimulated considerable comment, pro and con.) In closing, I would like to make one or two additional points. Despite the ideological restrictions and lack of exposure to variety in live performance, there were probably more thoughtful people writing about dance in the U.S.S.R. in 1962 than in the United States. Some of their arguments are extremely well developed, which I have been unable to indicate in a short paper such as this. Moreover, I have deliberately chosen the most provocative viewpoints; there was much praise for Balanchine in the press, but not all of it makes interesting reading, and much of it is rather vague. Lastly, no matter what the critics said in print, after a slow start, New York City Ballet played to sold-out houses, including the 6000-seat Palace of Congresses in Moscow. While the first nights may have been reserved for diplomats and other bigwigs, later, just about everyone who was interested could obtain a seat. In fact, the tour was a triumph for Balanchine. Both Russian and American observers wrote of 20-minute curtain calls, variations repeated at the audience's

insistence, and rhythmic chanting of BAL-AN-CHINE, BAL-AN-CHINE at the end of performances.

Moreover, Elizabeth Sourits assured me that the young people loved the programs, particularly the experimental ballets. It is all a part of Russia's sad story that they did not have a chance to act on their new-found enthusiasms; for by 1965, in reaction to liberalization, the country was again under heavy censorship. Indeed, the programs of the Kirov Ballet when I visited in 1989 were more conservative than those of 1962. Despite one more tour by the New York City Ballet in 1972--also very well received, though not the revelation of the first--it would take the era of glasnost and the VCR before Balanchine could have a sustained impact on Russian ballet.

NOTES

1. My information on the state of dance and life in the Soviet Union derives principally from two interviews with Elizabeth Sourits in New York (December 1988; November 1991). Additional details were provided by interviews with Oleg Vinogradov, Director of the Kirov Ballet, February 1989, in Leningrad, and Barbara Horgan, Administrator of the Balanchine Trust, February 1989, in New York, and a letter from Vera Krasovskaya (Leningrad, June 26, 1991). Essential background is to be found in Mary Grace Swift, The Art of the Dance in the U.S.S.R. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968). John Martin, retired dance critic of the New York Times, traveled with the troupe and filed several reports to the Times. As something of a groundbreaker, the tour was given coverage in the general media, as well as, of course, in dance publications.

2. To Dance (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 157.

3. Swift, Art of Dance, 273.

4. Ibid., 151.

5. Excerpts from this talk were reprinted in English in Dance News, December 1962. Additional translation by Steven Neilson.

6. The Soviet Artist, No. 33 (October 1962). Translation by Steven Nielson.

7. Izvestia, October 10, 1962. Reprinted in English in Dance News, November 1962.

8. Unidentified clipping given to me by Elizabeth Sourits. Translation by Selma Jeanne Cohen.

9. Pravda, October 10, 1962. Reprinted in English in Dance News, November 1962.

10. Unidentified clipping given to me by Elizabeth Sourits. Translation by Steven Neilson.

11. Roslavleva, op. cit.

12. Sabinina, op. cit.

13. Ibid.

14. Kuznetsova, op. cit.

15. Moscow News, October 18, 1962 [in English].

16. Roslavleva, op. cit.

17. Kuznetsova, op. cit.

18. Kuznetsova, op. cit.

19. Teatr, 1963. Translation by Steven Nielson.

20. Sabinina, op. cit.

21. Kuznetsova, op. cit.

22. Katchaturian, op. cit.

23. Roslavleva, op. cit.

24. Sabinina, op. cit.

25. Quoted in Newsweek, October 22, 1962.

26. Sourits, op. cit.

27. Sourits, op. cit.

28. Sabinina, op. cit.

29. Sovetskaya Kultura, November 1, 1962. Reprinted in English in Dance News, December 1962.

30. Sourits, op. cit.

31. Zakharov, op. cit.

32. Quoted by John Martin, "New York City Ballet Is Success in Soviet Union," New York Times, October 22, 1962.

33. Kuznetsova, op. cit.

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WHAT IS AMERICAN DANCE?

Connie Kreemer

With the quincentenary of Christopher Columbus first coming to what are now these United States of America, there has been a plethora of articles, films, documentaries, interest, and debate about looking at and redefining history. This conference is certainly topical in presenting the theme,"American Dance Abroad: Influence of the United States Experience."

Fundamental to the conference topic is the question, "What is American dance and what is the United States experience?" It is my contention that the idea of American dance is perceived differently, not only in countries abroad but also within our own United States. Certainly the United States experience is different for each individual, especially dependent on the color of one's skin. So what is American dance and choreography?!

When we think of American dance, first thoughts include ballet, a European tradition that now includes the Dance Theater of Harlem, Broadway show dancing, which up until now has been done primarily by either Caucasians or African Americans, modern dance, a form started by Caucasians, or tap dance and jazz dance, which was originally executed by African Americans. It is noteworthy that historically all of the above forms of American dance have been performed primarily by either whites or blacks. Perhaps this fact has helped to color our ideas of what American dance is. It is not the intention of this statement however, to diminish the struggle that African Americans have encountered in being accepted as artists in this country.

With European and African sensibilities acknowledged as contributing to the mainstream of American dance, we must question why Asian Americans and Latinos up until now, with key exceptions like Jose Limon, have not made a recognized contribution to the field. Is it because there has never been and is no talent among them? Is it because proportionally speaking, there are too few of them in the dance profession? To me that is like suggesting that there were no great women artists or composers in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. And what about the Native Americans? How has their dance been esteemed in this country?

One example of how Native American dance has been viewed historically can be gleaned from reading Father Geronimo Boscana's

Historical Account of the Belief, Usages, Customs and Extravagancies of the Indians of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano written progressively between 1812 and 1822. In describing the principal dances and feasts of the Acagchemem Tribe, Father Boscana used such phrases and adjectives as : "ludicrous customs," "insipid and monotonous ceremony," "a disgusting appearance," "grotesque movements," "accompanied with all the brutalities," " ridiculous fable," disgusting attitudes, " promiscuous" and "immodest exhibition."[2]

Often cultural sensibilities are misunderstood and overlooked Boscana's account presents a blatant example of a Western European sensibility being applied to another culture. Hence Native Americans were labeled with terms such as "primitive" and "savage." Although this idea is far from new, indeed, anthropologists have been looking at it for decades, in this panel I want to push the idea of cultural sensibility relative to dance even further. Are there sensibilities among Latinos , Native, Asian, and African Americans that have been overlooked, that we have not given enough voice to in American dance?

And what about when we get into more subtle areas of looking at dance? Where does racial experience fit into those creations we see on the stage? Does it shape a sensibility in certain ways, that we as dance historians, critics, and viewers can't even know, unless we ask the question? While the black/white paradigm of American dance may seem patently resolved, among African Americans there is currently debate about ethnic differences and aesthetics such as , "Are we dancers who happen to be black, or are we black dancers?" In fact, there is ongoing debate in every field right now, questioning categories and trying to resolve issues of racial diversity: one which is trying to celebrate pluralism while maintaining some sense of collective that holds us together.[3]

In agreement with Professor Lisbeth Haas, in her article "What is an American? The Pluralist Society Reconsidered," I perceive a ranking order up until recently of the political and historical understanding of what constituted an American , to have been, whites first ("Anglo-Saxon, if not also Protestant and male"[4]), then blacks, as second class citizens, and other nonwhites have been basically reduced to "foreigner immigrants," of varying degrees, often compared to Native Americans, who were viewed as an "uncivilized race of men."[5]

But in this age of pluralism and multiculturalism the idea of what is American is changing drastically. There are those who would say that along with the rewriting of classroom history texts has come a recognition and acceptance of peoples of all color as American. When I recently spoke about this topic to Ellen Stewart, Director of La Mama E.T.C. in New York City, she said that the times have already changed. In fact she said that if you look at who is getting funded right now in the arts, it would be fair to say

that Asian Americans have arrived, that they are "top dog" right now receiving much of the funding. She also said that African Americans were not receiving as much as in the past, but according to her, it was because they weren't doing as much at the moment. She said too that she feels an acceptance of all peoples now, that "the change has come, at least in New York." [6]

The idea for this panel came up because of my wanting to present an Asian or Asian American viewpoint on American Influence Abroad. My first thought was that it was presumptuos of me to present an Asian American perspective seen through Caucasian eyes. My next thought was that there are not all that many Asian Americans involved in dance in the first place, and that many of them who are, have not had the opportunity to go abroad. Why this is, is of course a difficult reason to prove. Personally, I think that a lot of it has to do with the fact that Asian Americans are not considered "truly American." And this led to the thought that perhaps up until very recently in history, most people of color have not been considered American. I concluded that what was really needed was a multiracial panel of artists sharing their own stories and perceptions about these issues.

Racisim and discrimination are not words that can be taken lightly, nor can they be proven without hard facts. And yet the situations in which one encounters racism often make the facts elusive; they remain intangible feelings and suspicions. And yet we all know that racism and discrimination have existed and do continue to exist. In a topic as sensitive as this issue, personal experiences convey at least a partial representation for measuring the climate of national attitudes.

Given that these experiences have had little representation up to this point, I have organized this panel so that artists' voices could be heard. Happily, much has changed and seems to be changing daily to bring about the acceptance of peoples of all colors as American. However in thinking about Ellen Stewart's ideas that artists of color have arrived, I was reminded of a comment Martha Graham made long ago that it's not that artists are ahead of the times, it's that society is behind the times. To me, Ellen Stewart is in the forefront of what's happening in the arts. That she could make those statements provides me with a measure of great optimism, but whereas she may feel that people of color have "arrived," I don't think that idea has quite filtered down throughout America or through the rest of the world.

I say this based on personal observations. My experiences of living with and traveling with an Asian American have sadly proven otherwise. Since I am Caucasian, I can only share how my own encounters have led me to these conclusions. What I am about to say is not intended to exclude

other races from having similar or equal relevant situations. Having been married to an Asian American, and having traveled around the world with him, I have been made acutely aware of just who is considered "truly American." Though the modern dance form Mel Wong creates and performs may have been accepted as American, I'm not at all sure that he as a person has been perceived as such. I have sensed differences in the way we both have been treated. Besides the difference of gender, I can only attribute it as due to the color of our skins.

In this country, in Phoenix, Arizona, 1986, I witnessed a man mistake Mel Wong for a Native American, when I heard him say in a restaurant parking lot, "Get out of the way, Chief." I sat next to Mel at a resort in the Poconos when a man, in trying to make pleasant conversation, said "When did you get off the boat?" And I have watched Mel endure question after innocent question of, "When did you first come to this country?" as if, because he is of Chinese heritage, he can't be American. No one ever asks me during initial introductions, when I arrived. Even his own mother, a first generation Chinese American, occasionally refers to "the Americans" when she is talking about herself and her friends in a situation where there are both whites and Chinese.

On our travels abroad I have likewise witnessed differences in treatment towards the two of us. We were in an elevator in Hong Kong, when a British man of repute, who had been introduced to both of us several times, got into the elevator and said good morning to me and distinctly ignored Mel. Of course that has larger ramifications, getting into the patriarchal attitudes of the British to the Chinese in Hong Kong, but nevertheless it is a salient example.

I can attest to the fact that as a Chinese American, Mel Wong has often found that he is essentially a man without a country. As a dancer/choreographer in the USA he is not considered American because he doesn't have white or black skin. In Hong Kong he is not considered "one of them" because he doesn't speak Chinese, and in China he is essentially viewed as a renegade because his ancestors happened to come to the United States, as early as four generations before him. We were actually told that China was not interested in hiring a Chinese American modern dancer/choreographer, but would rather hire a white or African American first.

Laws in this country have helped to perpetuate the idea that Asians cannot be Americans. Historically, men have gone to great lengths to keep the Chinese from becoming United States citizens. The Naturalization Law of 1790 specified that only "whites" were reserved the right to naturalized citizenship, and this law remained in effect until 1952. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prevented Chinese laborers from immigrating to this country and in 1888 Congress" made it unlawful for 'any Chinese person'

(except for merchants) to enter the country." Ronald Takaki, in his book, Strangers From a Different Shore, asserted that the Natural Origins Act of 1924 "totally prohibited Japanese immigration while permitting entry of Irish, Italians, and Polish." He went on to say that European women could become wives to immigrants and could be brought back to the United States, but even US citizens could not bring Asian wives into this country, since they were classified as "aliens ineligible to citizenship. "In 1922 with the Cable Act, the law went even further by withdrawing the US citizenship of any American woman who married an "alien ineligible to citizenship."[7]

In terms of Asian cultural sensibility and the question of how we as dance veiwers should try to look at choreography, I was appalled in 1985 when the Mei Wong Dance Company performed *BUDDHA MEETS EINSTEIN AT THE GREAT WALL* at the Asia Society in New York City and a critic from one of the major publications came up to me, then manager of the company, during intermission to ask what Zen Buddhism was? Having received a press release before the concert, how is it that this individual could even accept the assignment of viewing *BUDDHA*, knowing nothing about Buddhism? The review never appeared in the publication, which is tantamount to having no performance when one is trying to promote a company.

Another example includes my being at a Dance Critics conference in New York. I was involved in a discussion about Mei's work with Julinda Lewis, when the editor of one of the major New York publications happened to walk by and overhear part of our conversation. Not knowing who I was, that person came up and suddenly interjected, "Oh, Mei Wong, everyone knows he's vague." Later during Mei's New York season, we had the misfortune of having that very editor come to review Mei's company performance. Not surprisingly, the review said that Mei's choreography was "obtuse."

Granted, this was in the seventies, when post modernism was at its height, and dance was not "supposed to mean anything," but it is my belief that if critics had taken the responsiblity to ask certain kinds of questions, such as, "How does Mei's Asian heritage effect his sensiblity as an artist?" or "What do these rituals and props symbolize?," rather than assuming that they weren't supposed to mean anything either because of the current trend or because he came from the Cunningham school, perhaps the dances might have been more comprehensible to them.

Up until recently it appears that the racial and cultural experience itself has been largely treated as invisible. We must educate ourselves and start asking questions such as, "What kinds of sensibilities do we need to know in order to examine the different aspects of American Dance so that we can better understand and view it?" We should embrace cultural and racial differences and acknowledge that they are eminently worth knowing about for their own sake, and at the same time promote the unification.

cooperation, and acceptance of all peoples in this country. Having a panel such as this, is perhaps a step in appreciating just who as an American up until now, has been able to influence anyone, either at home or abroad. Fortunately, times are changing. Let us hear the views from the individual panelists.

I would now like to introduce the panel members.

Maria Cheng was born in Wuhan, China and moved to the United States when she was ten years old. For six years she was a member of the Nancy Hauser Dance Company, during which time she also worked with Jamie Cunningham, Viola Farber, Murray Louis, Molly Lynn, and Don Redlich. She has produced and toured nationally two solo concerts, partnered Bill T. Jones in his *Break* for KTCA-TV, was featured in Robert Wilson's *The Knee Plays* choreographed numerous productions for the Guthrie Theatre, and performed with members of the Minnesota and Philadelphia Orchestras. She has collaborated with Gunther Schuller, Pauline Oliveros, and Liang Tsai Ping.

Maria's works, ranging from the proscenium/traditional/solo to the site-specific/experimental/ensemble, have been presented by Dance Theatre Workshop of New York, Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, presenter of the National Performance Network, and other presenting institutions across the nation. Her works reside in the repertoires of the Clive Thompson Company of New York, Mordine and Company of Chicago, Dancers Company of Utah, Iowa Dance Co'Motion, and the Minnesota Jazz Dance Company. She has received four National Endowment for the Arts Fellowships, and grants from the Harkness, Jerome, Bush, and McKnight Foundations.

She performed at the 5th International Hong Kong Festival of Dance and in Bejing in the summer of 1990. Maria has served as advisor/panelist/consultant for numerous arts councils across the nation. She is currently Associate Professor and Acting Coordinator of the Dance Program at the University of Minnesota.

Donald McKayle was born in New York City in 1930. He became excited about dance after seeing a performance by Pearl Primus. In his last year of high school, McKayle auditioned and won (as Primus had earlier) a year's scholarship to the New Dance Group. Studying with Primus, Sophie Maslow, William Bales, Jean Erdman, and Hadassah, McKayle also enrolled in New York City College. His debut as a professional dancer was made in the

spring of 1948, at the Mansfield Theatre, in dances by Sophie Maslow and Jean Erdman.

Eventually winning a scholarship to the Martha Graham school, McKayle studied with Graham and performed with her company in their Far Eastern tour in 1955-56. He also performed as guest artist with the companies of Anna Sokolow, Merce Cunningham, and Jean Erdman; danced in Charles Weidman's *Traditions* ; performed with the Dudley Maslow-Bales troupe; and was soloist with the New York City Opera Company.

McKayle's Broadway works include *Sophisticated Ladies*(1981), *Golden Boy*(1964), and the Tony Award-winning *Raisin*(1974). McKayle has also worked extensively in regional theatre, films and television. McKayle has earned the Outer Critics Circle Award for Best Choreography and the NAACP Images Award for Concept/Writer for the Best Stage Play for *Sophisticated Ladies*, as well as five Tony Award nominations for his work on Broadway and an Emmy nomination for the 1975 production of *Minstrel Man*. McKayle has taught at the Julliard School, Bennington College, Bard College, and other institutions, and served as Dean of the School of Dance at the California Institute of the Arts.

Donald McKayle no longer has his own dance company but maintains an ongoing relationship with several dance companies that are repositories for his works: the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater of New York, NY; The Cleo Parker Robinson Dance Ensemble of Denver, CO; the Dayton Contemporary Dance Company of Dayton, OH; and Lula Washington's Los Angeles Contemporary Dance Theater. This past year Mr. McKayle choreographed *Sombra Y Sol* (Images of Frida Kahlo) and *Infinite Journey*, remounted his *Songs of the Dishinherited*, directed, and choreographed *Rocking with Rachmaninov*, an evening conceived by Horace Silver, the renowned jazz artist, and was honored by the Alvin American Dance Theater with an All McKayle Program. Along with his busy professional life McKayle is also a full professor of dance at the University of California at Irvine.

Priscilla Regalado grew up in Los Angeles and began her dance training at Eugene Loring's American School of Dance. She has studied jazz, modern, ballet, African, and folklorico dance in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York. Donald McKayle, Rebecca Bobele and Mia Slavenska have been among her most influential teachers. Ms. Regalado received her BFA from Cal Arts and completed her graduate studies in Dance Ethnology at UCLA.

After moving to the San Francisco Bay Area in 1978, Ms. Regalado founded and performed with Los Salseros, a salsa dance ensemble. She co-founded and co-directed the Dance Loft in Project Artaud, where she

performed with many Bay Area jazz musicians. In 1982 Ms. Regalado was a principal dancer with Bagong Diwa, a Philippino dance company that performed traditional and modern work. From 1983-85 she performed and collaborated with Deborah Slater. She created and directed her own company, Priscilla Regalado & Dancers, from 1984 through 1987. Caravan Movement and Sound was created with partner Hassan al Falak in 1985. She co-directed, choreographed and performed with that company of ten dancers for two years. Recently, Ms. Regalado has appeared with Dancing the 80's in Your 40's, the Ellen Bromberg Ensemble, in the Mendocino Dance Series (in concert with Tito Puente's Latin Jazz All-Stars), and with June Watanabe in Company for Festival 2000.

Ms. Regalado has created over sixteen works, which have been presented by Footwork Studio, the University of California at San Francisco, San Francisco State University, the Bay Area Dance Series, the Festival for Social Change, the Isadora Duncan Dance Awards, Company in Flight, and other venues.

Currently on the faculty of the American Conservatory Theatre, San Francisco University High School, and the California State Summer School for the Arts. Ms. Regalado has developed and teaches a distinctive jazz and Latin-jazz technique. In July of 1991 she taught at the Colorado Dance Festival.

In 1986 Ms. Regalado was a finalist for Outstanding Achievement in Choreography at the Isadora Duncan Dance Awards and has been nominated again this year for her performance in the Frida Kahlo piece. She received the Si Se Puede award from Life on the Water and El Teatro de la Esperanza in 1987, in recognition of her artistic contributions to the Bay Area. Her work has been supported by grants from the Zellerbach Family Fund to rework and refine her work on Frida Kahlo, and she has received grants from the California Arts council, the Dance Bay Area Commissioning Project, and City Celebrations's Commission Works (funded by the National Endowment for the Arts and the Rockefeller Foundation).

Mel Wong is a choreographer/visual artist who is uniquely involved in exploring the relationship between visual arts and dance in the environment. He has established an international reputation, first as a performer with the Merce Cunningham Dance Company, and secondly as a choreographer, teacher, and performer with the Mel Wong Dance Company. His educational background includes undergraduate work at San Francisco State University and graduate work at the University of California at Los Angeles and at Mills College, where he received an MFA in the Visual Arts and the Catherine Morgan Trefethen Fellowship in Art. His paintings and sculpture have been

exhibited in galleries and museums throughout the nation. His dance background includes professional training in ballet and modern dance in California and New York. He received a Ford Foundation Scholarship to Balanchine's School of American Ballet in 1964 and 1965, and toured internationally with the Merce Cunningham Dance Company (1968-72). He has been choreographing and performing his own work since 1970, and formed the Mel Wong Dance Company in 1975. Since then he has choreographed over ninety-five dances. In 1983-84 he became the first Chinese American to receive a Guggenheim Fellowship in choreography.

Concerned with the interaction between dance and the visual arts, he combines elements of both in his mixed-media choreographic works. The Mel Wong Dance Company has performed at Footworks, San Francisco, at the Alice Tully Hall at Lincoln Center, the Asia Society, N.C., the Whitney Museum of American Art at Philip Morris, La Mama E.T.C., on the Dance Umbrella Series, the Dance Theater Workshop series, the Emanu-El Midtown YM-YWHA series, Riverside Dance Festival series, at the Anchorage in the Brooklyn Bridge Centennial Celebration, and at universities and arts festivals throughout the United States.

Mel Wong is presently Professor of Dance in Theater Arts at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Previous to this he was Co-Director of Dance in the Department of Theatre and Dance at the University of Colorado at Boulder. In 1987-88 he was guest artist at the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts. A former faculty member at the State University of New York at Purchase (1974-87) Mel Wong has taught previously at Arizona State University, Sarah Lawrence College, the New Performance Gallery in San Francisco, New York University, Cornell University, Colorado Dance Festival and New Performance, the Harvard Summer School Dance Center, for three summers at Quebec Eter Danse in Canada, and for three summers at the American Dance Festival at Connecticut College.

In 1990 he was a nominee for Outstanding Achievement in Choreography, Dance Bay Area Isadora Duncan Awards. His works can be seen in the repertoires of companies in Hong Kong, Japan, Europe, the United States and Canada. Since 1980 he has taught special workshops each year at the 92nd Street "Y" in New York City, and has conducted workshops and master classes throughout the world. Mel Wong has received grants and fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts (Choreography, Dance Company , and Inter-Arts), the New York State Council on the Arts (Visual and Dance), Foundation for Contemporary Performing Arts, Inc. and the Ford Foundation, among others.

ENDNOTES

[1] When I speak about American dance and choreography I am referring to theatrical dance. I am grateful to Allegra Fuller Synder for bringing this to my attention.

[2] Father Boscana, Geronimo, *Chinigchinich, A Revised and Annotated Version of Alfred Robinson's Translation of Father Geronimo Boscana's Historical Account of the Belief, Usages, Customs, and Extravagancies of the Indians of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano Called the Acagchemem Tribe*. (Banning, CA. : Malki Museum Press, Morongo Indian Reservation, 1978), pp.57-60.

[3] Robert Reinhold. "Class Struggle." *The New York Times Magazine*, September 29, 1991, pp.26-29, 46-47, 52. See also, articles in *Time Magazine*, July 8, 1991, pp.12-21, and an article by Golden, Tim. "Columbus Landed, er, Looted, uh - Rewrite!". *The New York Times*, Sunday, October 6, 1991, Section 2, pp.1,& 36.

[4] Haas, Lisbeth, "What is an American? The Pluralist Society Reconsidered." *Journal of Orange County Studies*, Number 3/4, (Irvine, CA: University of California, Irvine, Publications Office, Fall 1989/ Spring 1990), p.9.

[5] Takaki, Ronald, *Strangers From A Different Shore* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1989), p. 112.

[6] Ellen Stewart, in New York City, telephone conversation on October 8, 1991.

[7] Takaki, p.14

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THE ROLE OF AMERICA IN THE JACOBEAN MASQUE: PERFORMED ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE EXPLORATION OF SELF-TRANSFORMATION IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

Naomi Jackson

I invite you to look on this image and imagine. [see illustration 1] Imagine a magnificent display of colorful performers making their way to Whitehall through the City of London in 1613. In the lead parade fifty distinguished gentleman, richly attired and as gallantly mounted. Next advances a jovial throng of young boys assuming the character of baboons, each riding an ass and handling two flaming torches as they make funny faces at the crowd. This raucous bunch is immediately followed by a much more stately assembly. First, two exquisitely adorned carts arrive carrying 12 of the best musicians of the kingdom dressed as sun-worshipping Indian priests, and behind them? The chief attraction comes into view: a brilliant collection of masked men representing Virginian Princes, sporting Indian habits brightly decorated with soft feathers, silver pearls, and glittering suns made of gold plate. The Princes' masks are of an olive-color, their hair black and long, waving down to the shoulders. Each is accompanied by two Moors attired like Indian slaves and by an Indian torch-bearer, like the one shown here, whose clothes are likewise of an exotic flavour, covered with multi-colored feathers. And to bring up the rear, a sumptuous chariot containing within its silvery interior the earthly deity Riches, and the Goddess Honour, accompanied by her high priest--Law. A guard of two hundred men follow.

All this we must conjure up from a single remaining costume design, the one illustrated here, and some words on a page. But for those who can successfully marry textual description with a visual fragment, the historical moment springs alive. For the above procession was the public's introduction to the characters in George Chapman's 1613 Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn performed at Whitehall to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, to Frederic V, titular king of Bohemia.[1] It is a fascinating masque because of its central plot, which tells how the sun-worshiping natives of Virginia travel to Britain in order to participate in the nuptials. The text describing the affair offers a singular glimpse at how the discovery of the New World and the early attempts at establishing settlements, like the one in Virginia, were influencing Jacobean culture.[2] While this is the only surviving masque from the period which deals explicitly with the New World theme, and the only existing masque written by playwright George Chapman, my aim in this paper is to provide a broader social and political context in which to understand its significance.[3] I will illustrate how the various representations of the Native American, as they appeared in Chapman's masque, were easily adapted to the existing conventions of the court masque genre as a whole and as such, functioned as part of an already well-established mechanism through which the king, James I, sought to control the behaviour of his subjects.



Illustration 1: Costume design by Inigo Jones for Indian Torchbearer in George Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn* (1613)

The Jacobean masque grew out of disguisings of the fifteenth-century; court entertainments which involved the playful assumption of different personas as men and women appeared in masks. Another influence came from popular pastimes such as mumming, a folk festivity also involving wearing masks, that occurred during seasonal holidays like May Day and Christmas. Both mumming and disguising offered people from various social classes a chance to experiment with their identities. Similar to the characters of Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare, men assumed the guise of women, and women, men; kings became beggars, and fools, kings.

While a seemingly harmless pastime, in some ways the ability to transform oneself in whatever way one wished was exercising a type of freedom which threatened the absolute right of the monarch to determine the fate of his subjects. James I, who followed Queen Elizabeth and reigned from 1603-1625, was faced with the very real implications of this malleable view of the self as Puritans, parliamentarians, and an upwardly mobile business class increasingly questioned his authority. James, in a calculated attempt to re-assert his right, turned to performance and, in particular, the masque as a means of dramatically exhibiting his desired control over the formation of identity. Under his guidance, the masque form was harnessed for political purposes and through the partnership of Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson, it was fashioned into a tool for transforming men into loyal followers.[4]

The court masque, as it existed by the time of 1613, was divided into two main parts which both structurally and symbolically contrasted with each other.[5] These were the anti-masque, performed by professional actors, and the main masque, performed by members of the aristocracy, which also included a section involving audience participation entitled the revels. While the anti-masque, or opening sequence, was characterized by chaotic conduct signifying vice and disloyalty, the masque proper, or main section, displayed orderly behaviour signifying virtue and allegiance to the king. Dancing, as the central ingredient of the masque, became the main means by which these contrasts were achieved. In the acrobatic grotesque/comic anti-masque dances, arms gestured wildly, "strange" and "antic" movements abounded and funny faces were made. In direct contrast, a restrained upper-body ruled over a graceful, harmonious and refined floating of the feet through space, in the popular social dances--measures, galliards, corantoes--of the main masque. Symbolically, the virtuous, orderly body replaced the evil, chaotic body. And when the aristocratic audience joined the performers in the final part of the masque, known as the "revels", dancing offered a culminating symbol of the active participation in, and acceptance of, the court system.

While one may distinguish between the different parts of the masque, they were conceived as a whole in which the act of transformation played a central role. In each case, men and/or women of perverted ideals, namely anyone who was a potential threat to court life, were turned into those who acknowledged their proper social role. The first group of anti-masque characters often included references to the enemies of the King and court either through satiric verse or through their symbolic representation as demons, savages, and clowns, while the second, so-called enlightened group of masquers consisted of nobles, courtiers, and princes.

The transformation from one type to the other was marked in two major ways. At the most basic level, the message was made clear simply by having the anti-masque characters seem to metamorphose, like worms into butterflies, into a higher form of their kind. Hags or witches, for instance, would be replaced by Queens. The second, perhaps more ingenious method, was to refer in the spoken or sung text to the transformatory powers of the king. In this case, the main masquers, who were played by the gentry, or members of the royal family, were reminded that James was responsible for making them perfect. The king was metaphorically referred to as the one and true sun whose rays of light brought men out of darkness and restored perfection to a blemished form.[6]

It is within this broader context, then, that George Chapman sat down in 1613 to write the Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn and it is with this tradition in mind that he dressed up the young lawyers of the Inns of Court in feathers and gold and presented the image of the brown-skinned, sun-worshipping Native American to the court.[7] What Chapman no doubt realized was how happily contemporary perceptions of the Indian would marry with the conventions of the masque form. That this was in fact the case can be seen by analyzing the different representations of the Native American and how they functioned in the masque.

On the one hand we see the representation of the Indian as a savage. This is made clear from the description of the young boys who dance in the anti-masque as baboons, and designs by Inigo Jones for other masques that place apes, Indians, and barbarians all in the anti-masque category.[8] The Jacobean assigning of Indians the same status as savages, cannibals and wildmen arose from their familiarity with medieval mythology, and with neo-platonism which associated these types with everything subhuman in man, namely lust, greed, and shamelessness.[9]

The parallel association of Indian dancing with such vices, however, came more from contemporary accounts written by European explorers, of Indian rituals in the New World. Such reports, along with engravings and watercolors, described with shocked awe the natives' seemingly undisciplined, unrestrained, forceful use of the body in lengthy massive group ceremonies--the leaping, stamping, howling and loosely hanging limbs--claiming that like in the trance-like dances of witches, the devil had entered the Indians' bodies.[10] The traveller George Percy wrote in 1606:

> After they [Virginian natives] had feasted us, they showed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling and stamping against the ground, with many antic tricks and faces, making noise like so many wolves or devils.[11]

While the antics of Chapman's young boys back in England certainly did not attempt to replicate any 'real' Native American dancing, it is important to recognize from the language in this quote that what the two shared was an association in the mind of the Jacobean viewer with disorder and vice (again,

the chaotic body), making a dance of savages fit comfortably within the established anti-masque conventions.

But the Indian 'as savage' is not the only representation found in George Chapman's 1613 masque. In the main masque we are introduced to the elegant and noble Virginian Princes. Here the Indians are represented as potential European courtiers, as people who have wealth (there are extensive references to their gold) but lack law and order, and therefore honour, the greatest of personal attributes in European eyes. For Chapman, these Indians are capable of being reformed but only if they renounce their superstitious worship of the astronomical sun and pay homage to the one true source of light, namely James I. At this point, the playwright brilliantly employs the masque convention concerning the transformatory powers of the king and his sunny disposition. The character Eunomia (or Law) states:

> Virginian Princes, ye must now renounce
> Your superstitious worship of the sun,
> Subject to cloudy darknings and descents;
> And of your sweet devotions turn the events
> To this our Britain Phoebus, whose bright sky,
> Enlightened with a Christian piety,
> Is never subject to black error's night,
> And hath already offer'd Heaven's true light
> To your dark region; which acknowledge now,
> Descend and to him all your homage vow.[12]

The Virginian Princes follow this advice, and direct their observance to the king. Once they have done so, they may fall into the standard dances of the masque, dances whose orderly patterns signal their obedience to the monarch. At the conclusion of the masque, the performers are invited to join the king and wedding couple for a feast.

In some ways, this rather sympathetic representation of the Indian would seem to reflect the same kind of respect which was in fact paid by the British to native visitors at the time, especially such celebrities as the Indian princess Pocahontas when she attended the Jacobean court in 1617.[13] Yet I would argue that the key to understanding this attitude is the realization that the Native American is only really accepted once he/she has been Europeanized--namely, educated and christianized. Or to put it in the language of the masque convention, the Virginian Prince is only embraced once he has been transformed by the power of the king into a perfect English courtier.

What is so clever is that this racist argument fit so easily within the existing symbolism of the masque. That Chapman's characters' tawny, brown skin had to be symbolically blanched by the English sun, that they would have to be en/lightened in order to be civilized, recognizably followed from a far more general correlation in the masque tradition of darkness with chaos and vice, and lightness with order, virtue and honor. And this was a correlation that was continually played out in masque after masque, either explicitly, as in Chapman's Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn or implicitly, as in many others.[14]

On one hand, therefore, the particular ways in which the Native American was represented in Chapman's masque offer us interesting information on contemporary attempts at understanding a being considered partly animal and partly human.[15] For those interested in the New World and its inhabitants as a possible source of investment, and at the time, there were many who were, Chapman's masque provided an important forum for debating the economic and social issues raised by colonialism.[16] At a more general, and I think more revealing, level, the baboon and Prince were stock character types used by masque writers of the period to constantly retell the same allegory that used the 'Other' as a metaphor through which to condemn the forces threatening James' power. Above all, this allegory reflected the king's deep desire to maintain a definition of identity which had so perfectly kept his populace in hand. Such a definition recognized personal identity as something that had to be carefully moulded in accordance with a strict Code of behaviour as layed down by the king. It was only by fashioning oneself in accordance with the Code--learning to dance gracefully, for example--that a man guaranteed his acceptance into the whole social and political hierarchy of court life.[17] To deny this Code, and dress and move according to another set of values, was easily interpreted as an act of disloyalty.

Performing the Other in Jacobean masques was not so much about Native Americans, then, as it was a staged inquiry into, and drawing of boundaries to, the limits of self-transformation as overseen by the king and his supporters.[18] I'm sure that dressing up in exotic costumes was just plain fun, on one level. But the politics lying behind the ritual are clear. Here was a way of dramatizing the formation of identity and making sure that it went in one particular direction--a direction pleasing to the king. Any type of persona which was encroaching the supremacy of the established Code, whether it be labelled Indian or Puritan, became inscribed satirically in the anti-masque with its chaotic movement, and was then satisfyingly sterilized through the main masque's transformation scene characterized by its orderly, harmonious dances. Perhaps most tellingly, the performers were always returned to their original, read "politically expedient", self when, following the event, they would demask and join the rest of the court in an extravagant party.[19] Once again they (the playwright included!), were white, genuflecting citizens hungry for the king's favor.

Seen this way, the Native American was simply another exotic, mysterious, and potentially threatening character to be processed by a stock formula. This argument does not intend to excuse the stereotyping ocurring in George Chapman's masque, or to overlook the fact that the masque told a story of colonialism in which a desire for gold, and interest in converting the infidel was represented. My paper does aim, however, to use the Indian example as a means of unmasking the disciplinary agenda of James I and revealing the manner in which the dancing body was exploited by him for political ends.

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[1] For the full text and contemporary commentary on the masque see John Nichols, The Progresses of King James the First in four volumes, Vol.II, London, 1828: 566-586.

[2] Some studies which consider the influence of the discoveries on Renaissance festival entertainments in England are: Robert R. Cawley, Unpathed Waters. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1967, Suzanne Boorsch, "America in Festival Presentations" in Fredi Chiappelli (ed.) First Images of America. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976: 503-515 and Paul Nettl, "Exoticism in the Baroque Dance" in Dance Magazine, May (1948): 28-33.

[3] Other masques including some kind of reference to the New World are: *The Masque of Flowers* (1613) which includes an anti-masque in which there is a competition between drinking and smoking, wine and tobacco, and Ben Jonson's *News From the New World as Discovered in the Moon* (1620). Also see Chapman, Jonson and Marston's satire *Eastward Ho!* (1605).

[4] For excellent discussions of the relations of power at work in the masque see Julia Briggs, This Stage-Play World. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, Roy Strong, Art and Power; Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1973 and Leah S. Marcus, The Politics of Mirth. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

[5] see Andrew Sabol (ed.), Four Hundred Songs and Dances From the Stuart Masque. Brown University Press. London: University Press of New England, 1982: Introduction and Jerzy Limon; The Masque of Stuart Culture. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990.

[6] For a discussion of the symbolism of black versus white in the court masque, see Anthony G. Barthelemy, Black Face Maligned Race. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1987: 18-41.

[7] Feathers were the main differentiating mark for an Indian character in pageants and masques of the time throughout Europe. Designs for Indian dress by Inigo Jones and others were greatly influenced by costume books such as that by Pietro Bertelli and Cesare Vecellio. See the 1598 printing of Vecellio's Habiti antichi, et moderni di tuttu il Mondo (Venice), for which a 20-picture section on America was added.

[8] see the anti-masque costume designs in Orgel, Stephen and Roy Strong, Inigo Jones -The Theatre of the Stuart Court (2 Vols). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

[9] see Stephen Kogan, The Hieroglyphic King. London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1986: 93 and Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea," in Edward Dudley and M. E. Novack (eds.), The Wild Man Within. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972: 3-38.

[10] For an excellent contemporary account in images and words see Stefan Lorant (ed.), The New World; The First Pictures of America made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne and engraved by Theodore De Bry. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946.

[11] From George Percy, "Observations Gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606," in Ralph Brown, Impressions of America. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, In., 1966:13. See also the Frenchman John Lerius' descriptions of Brasilian Indians in Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, MCMVI, volume XVI: 553: "And surely, they did not onely horribly howle, but also leaped forth with great violence, and shaked their paps, and fomed at the mouth...So that I thinke, that the Devill entred into their bodies, and they suddenly became possessed with the Devil."

[12] Nichols, The progress of King James the first in four volumes, Vol.II, London, 1828: 582.

[13] She attended a performance of Ben Jonson's *Christmas His Masque* on January 6, 1917, of which she is reported as speaking with approval. For an account of the fate of early native visitors to England see Sidney Lee, "The American Indian in Elizabethan England," in Elizabethan and Other Essays. New York: AMS Press, 1970: 277-289. Lee seems to think that on the whole the visitors were treated well.

[14] Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605) was the first to deal explicitly with the theme of blackness. Dudley Carleton, a contemporary wrote,"Their black faces and hands, which were painted and bare up the elbows, was a very loathsome sight and I am sorry that strangers [Spanish, Venetian ambassadors and French visitors] should see our court so strangely

disguised." in Maurice Lee, ed. Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972: 68.

[15] For an interesting discussion of the problem of savagery and how to classify natives during the period see Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.

[16] For an idea of the investment issues related to the New World see, Robert C. Johnson's, "The Lotteries of the Virginia Company 1612-1621", in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol 74 (1966): 259-292.

[17] see Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare. University of Chicago Press, 1980 and Mark Franco, The Dancing Body in Renaissance Choreography (c.1416-1589). Alabama: Summa Publications, Inc, 1986.

[18] Julia Briggs writes that the masques were presented to the courtly audience, "both as an imaginative exemplification of themselves as they were, and as an ideal of what they might become, 'a kind of mimetic magic on a sophisticated level, the attempt to secure social health and tranquility for the realm by miming it in front of its chief figure', as Jonas Barish has expressed it." see Julia Briggs, This Stage-Play World. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983: 150.

[19] Dudley Carleton refers significantly to the magical nature of this moment by observing, "and, that done, the magician [James I] dissolved his enchantment and made the maskers appear in their likeness to be the earl of Pembroke, the duke [of Lennox], Monsieur d'Aubigny..." see Maurice Lee, ed. Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain 1603-1624. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972: 54. This is reminiscent of Shakespeare's Prospero and his conjuring up of the masque in *The Tempest*.

BUDDY BRADLEY:
THE "INVISIBLE" MAN OF BROADWAY BRINGS JAZZ TAP TO LONDON

Constance Valis Hill

Buddy Bradley was in the right place at the right time when he arrived in London in 1930 to choreograph a new Rogers & Hart musical on the West End. What Bradley had learned in New York at the Hoofer's Club, what he remembered as a chorus dancer at Connie's Inn, and what he knew from teaching dance routines at the Billy Pierce Studio, were all put to immediate use in Evergreen, with its tap chorus lines, ballroom adagios, acrobatic dancing and opening song-- appropriately entitled "Harlemania."

No one knew the politics of making dances for Broadway stars, or why Broadway was called the "Great White Way," better that Buddy Bradley, who created dozens of routines for the stars of Broadway musicals in the Twenties and Thirties, though his name never appeared on any program.

The "High Yaller" routine from the "Moanin' Low" number in The Little Show (1929), which proclaimed Clifton Webb as one of the hottest dancers since Earl "Snake Hips" Tucker-- that was choreographed by Buddy Bradley, who also coached Tom Patricola in a tap Black Bottom, Ann Pennington in a "cute" Black Bottom and Frances Williams singing "Black Bottom" in George White's Scandals (1926). Bradley created routines, sometimes complete scenes, for Mae West, Gilda Gray, Jack Donahue, Paul Draper, Ruby Keeler, Eleanor Powell. Adele Astaire's favorite was Buddy's routine for her in the Ziegfield Follies (1929).

Bradley lived in the days when musical comedy had a dance director who "grouped" scenes, when stars had private coaches, and when there was a standing gentlemen's agreement that so long as the coach got paid, there was no need for program credit. Well-paid but well-known only in show business circles, Bradley received no public recognition for his work-- that included re-choreographing the entire production of Greenich Village Follies of 1928-- Busby Berkeley's name remained on the program as Dance Director.

Bradley received the first full choreographic credit of his career in 1930, in the London production of Evergreen, considered "one of the most exciting shows" Charles B. Cochran produced. Cochran, called the "Ziegfield of England," immediately got Bradley to choreograph his upcoming Cochran Revue, a lavish and chic production which was an annual event. The Cochran 1930 Revue choreographed by George Balanchine. The Cochran 1931 Revue catapulted Bradley into the English musical theatre. In the 1930's alone, he choreographed over 30 musical productions. Evergreen was made into a film in 1934, which launched him into the newly-emerging English film industry. And by 1950 the Buddy Bradley Dance School had over 500 students. It remained in operation until 1968, when he returned to New York. He died in Harlem in 1972.

That Bradley went to London in 1930 and ended up staying for 38 years is significant because through him, American vernacular dance was literally transplanted onto the English musical stage.

London was jazz-hungry by 1930. Popular European appetites fo American jazz were whetted in the Teens, piqued in the Twenties o the Jazz Age and remained insatiable ever since Josephine Baker an the entourage of African-American dancers and musicians of Revue Negre swept Paris away in 1925. While artists of the Europea avant-garde were inspired by the propulsive rhythms and modernis shapes of American jazz, their works were mere impressions o Africana and Americana. "I have created an American farce, done b a Parisian who has never been to America," (Cocteau:1920) wrote Jean Cocteau about his Le Boeuf sur la Toit in Paris, 1920. Five years later in London, Leonide Massine stated flatly: "Jazz represents us... it is an art form which represents the speed of modern life. Modern choreography finds its highest expression in jazz." (Massine:1925) That was his rationale for Crescendo, the jazz ballet he created for the Cochran 1925 Revue.

Infatuated with jazz and eager to capture the esprit Americain, Cocteau and Massine spoke jazz with a French and Russian accent. And so did other European choreographers: Bronislava Nijinska with Jazz and Impressions de Music-Hall; George Balanchine with Jack in the Box and Jean Borlin with the Ballets Suedois productions of La Creation du Monde and Within the Quota-- all jazz and jazz-inspired ballets in Paris during the Twenties.

Through the European telescope, American civilization stood for vibrancy and magnanimity, and called for boldness and originality (Huddleson in Knoles:1955). America's fusion of the races promised a new and original cultural synthesis-- that fusion had spawned Jazz. Some English critics believed, in fact, that "Negro rhythms" and "the peculiar instrumentation of the jazz band" were the only vernacular musical products that America possessed and that except for Jazz, America had not yet struck a line of original music: "King Jazz found his original kingdom in the United States because his restless, exciting... cacophonies are a true expression of the American people," wrote an English cultural historian in the late Twenties (anonymous author in Knoles:1955). Arriving in London in 1930, Buddy Bradley was King Jazz: young, rhythmically gifted and black, Bradley's style of American jazz dance was "the real thing."

Born in Harrisburg, P.A. in 1908, he taught himself the Charleston, Strut, Drag, Shuffle and a vast assortment of black vernacular dances from the deep South (Stearns 1968:162). In New York City, he learned tap dance in an alley next to the Hoofer's Club and picked up flash and acrobatic steps as a chorus boy at the Kentucky Club. He idolized Eddie Rector, whose graceful "Stage Dancing" made every move a beautiful picture. And though he danced in a Florence Mills revue in 1926, performing was not to be his fate. Around 1928, at the Billy Pierce Dance Studio off-Broadway, he found himself creating foot-tailored routines for a variety of dancers, from Broadway stars to gangsters' molls. He charged $250 a routine, and choreographed two routines an hour. He was good and the demand was ceaseless.

On Broadway in the Twenties musical comedy dancing, with its simple walking steps reserved for ingenues, was the lowest common

denominator in show dancing. While Uptown, African-American tap dancers in competition amongst themselves invented intricate steps with complex rhythms. Bradley's formula for creating dance routines was basic, but radically new: He simplified rhythms in the feet and sculpted the body with moves from African-American vernacular dance, blending simple rhythm tap with jazz dance into shapely routines which rose to a climax and finished gracefully.

From the "Million old jive steps" of Bradley's youth came new "Low-Down Dances" (Marcus:1928). His versions of the "Sugar Foot Strut" (which combined eccentric dancing and swivelling hip motions with strutting), "St. Louis Hop" (which moved the feet) "Louisiana Mess-Around" (which circled the hips), "Heebie Jeebies" (which patted parts of the body) and "Washington Johnny" (which rocked the head in perfect time to the music) all found their way into such London musicals as Words and Music (1932), Mother of Pearl (1933), Yours Sincerely (1934), Tulip Time (1935) and Revels in Rhythm.

Though Bradley simplified steps, he used the body to express rather than accompany the music. Though he simplified rhythms, he never sacrificed the eccentric accents of rhythm tap. Listening carefully to improvised solos from jazz recordings (Bradley bought and imported thousands of jazz recordings and was especially fond of bebop), he would ignore the melody and instead translate the accents of the improvisations, shaping new rhythmical patterns into the body.

The point here is that Bradley's jazz dance wasn't "white-washed." Rhythms, steps, and the loose and fluid body styling of African-American vernacular dance remained Bradley's native language. If the music for a dance number had a straight-ahead 4/4 rhythm, such as Jesse Matthew's Soft Shoe in Evergreen, Bradley would create polyrhythms in the body, with the head in moving in one rhythm, the shoulders to another rhythm and the feet in counterpoint. The names of musical numbers like "A Spiritual" (Creation, 1931), "Rhythm of the Wheels" (city life in New York from Let's Go Gay 1935), "Jubilation" (Jubilation, 1932), "Black Magic" and "A Window in Harlem" (Ballyhoo,1932) and "Half-Caste Woman" (Cochran 1931 Revue) suggest not only the presence but celebration of African-American music and dance traditions in the English musical revue.

Still, as Bradley's style of jazz dance was grafted onto the British dancer, it couldn't help but get Anglicized. Jesse Matthew's shimmies in the film Evergreen are tame when compared to the African-American original which was popularized by Gilda Gray. And the coiling "Snake-Hips" from Earl Tucker look subdued on the only slightly-swerving hips of the English chorus. Then, of course, Bradley purposefully embellished his own steps-- to his "Black Bottom" he added control kicks, back kicks, renverses, even pirouettes (Caspary 1927).

With the exception Blackbirds of 1936 (the London production staged by Bradley had a cast of African-American performers) dance numbers like "The Lindy Hop" and "Harlem" (from Cochran's 1931 Revue) were mostly performed by all-white, all-girl chorus dancers who in the course of the show would don a high heel, low heel, tap

shoe and ballet slipper-- often with discriminating between th tutu and the tap shoe (see Ada-Mae's tutu-tap costume in th Cochran 1931 Revue). Bradley and Balanchine shared the same poo of dancers in Cochran's 1931 Revue, in which Bradley choreographe twenty-nine numbers and Balanchine two. That was a custom tha continued with Bradley and Agnes DeMille (Words and Music, 1934) Bradley and Anthony Tudor (Lights Up!, Cochran's 1940 Revue) an with Bradley and Frederick Ashton in several productions.

Ashton first met Bradley in 1932. Jerome Kerns' The Cat an the Fiddle was a musical romance between an American jazz compose (played by Peggy Wood) and a Rumanian opera composer. Their unio bears fruit when he composes a new operetta blending both styles what a perfect analogy for Bradley, the show's upbeat jaz choreographer, and Ashton, who was called in to stage a poignan song in the first act finale.

Pleased with Ashton, C.B. Cochran, the show's producer, assigned him to Magic Nights, one of his late-night cabarets at the Trocadero (Bradley choreographed all the Trocadero shows during the 1930's, including Creation, Jubilation, Revels in Rhythm, Round & Round, Eve in the Park, Going to Town and Night Lights). For Magic Nights, Ashton created "An 1805 Impression" for Pearl Argyle, himself and Cochran's Young Ladies, "Tango" and "Rumba" for the contortionist Eve. Then he found himself dancing to Bradley's choreography: "The Changing of the Guard" was the show's tap dance finale. Ashton claims he faked the tapping, but more likely, he was learning to tap fast on his feet.

It was the Bradley-Ashton connection led to the collaboration and creation of England's first Jazz ballet, High Yellow, in 1932. It was choreographed by Bradley, scored by the British jazz composer Spike Hughes, produced by the newly-formed Camargo Society which included choreographers Marie Rambert, Ninette DeValois, Anton Dolin and Lydia Lopokova, and performed by ballet dancers from the Ballet Club and Vic-Wells Ballet.

High Yellow was set on some "unspecified tropical island" and each critic guessed at which one-- the South Seas, the Caribbean, even Florida. The ballet was first named "Coral Gables," then "Pink Palms," and then "Sorrow in Sunlight," until it was decided that "if the ballet was supposed to be a cross between black and white, it should be called High Yellow" (Hiam Greenberg in Vaughan 1977:78). I suppose what was meant by the "cross between black and white" was that African-American dance with a score by an English composer was being performed by English ballet dancers playing Afro-Caribbeans.

Ashton, "with appropriate insouciance" (Yorkshire Post 7June32), danced the role of Bambu-- Mammy's Big Boy who leaves his Island home to the dismay of his Sweethearts (danced by Alicia Markova and Doris Sonne) who quickly forget about him at the sight of him two Sailors (William Chappel and Walter Gore) who embark on the island on the next ship. Ashton assisted Bradley in shaping the ballet and teaching it to the dancers, "who took to his typical smoothness and languid hand movements with remarkable ease" (Hughes in Vaughan 1977:78).

The title of one review for High Yellow called it "A Feverish Lovely Thing" (Sunday Referee 12June1932). While some critics found Hughe's experiment in "modified Negro music" an unqualified success and were amused to see members of a jazz band mingled with the staid brass of the London Symphony Orchestra (Morning Post 7June1932), others disliked the waggling jazz movements, the nasal orchestral noises and the general mix of "Negroid and South American Spanish types" (The Times 7June1932). Francis Toye in the Saturday Review wrote: "When jazz is in question a kind of horrified shudder goes down the spine of the average English music critic who seems to think that any liking for it must endanger his reputation for good taste" (18June32). The critic for the Yorkshire Post wrote: "Those who deny that there is any connection between jazz and true ballet, and have refused to see any merit in attempts to combine them, will have to admit that there is a particular dancing theme that can only be illustrated by music punctuated by the saxophone and the tin-pan gong" (7June32).

Bradley and Ashton "spurred ideas off eachother" on four other musical productions in the Thirties: Ballyhoo (1932), After Dark (1933), Floodlight (1937) and Cochran's 1936 Revue Follow the Sun, a big dancing show which featured Claire Luce (partner to Astaire in The Gay Divorcee), Jeni LeGon (partner to Bill Robinson in Flying Down to Rio) and a delegation of Cuban dancers who introduced the Conga to London audiences.

Born in Ecuador and raised in Peru, Ashton's "Hispanic background" gave him a "natural sympathy" for Latin rhythms and an immediate "exposure" to Latin American dances (Pritchard 1991). Early ballets like Facade (1931), with sections "Tango" (Ashton with Lydia Lopokova), "Polka" (danced by Markova "with cheeky insouciance"), "Waltz" (with its Broadway-style chorus line patterns) and "Foxtrot" (added in 1941) were as much an expression of Ashton's boyhood in Latin America as they were a response to the Jazz Age of the Twenties when he was an emerging choreographer.

Bradley is often cited as influencing Ashton's choreography in Virgil Thompson's opera Four Saints in Three Acts, which was produced in New York in 1934, perhaps because Ashton recruited dancers from Harlem's Savoy Ballroom and described his choreography as "a combination of Snake-Hips and Gothic."(Vaughan 1977:100)

The "loose-jointedness" of Ashton's Les Masques (1933) is also attributed to the influence of Bradley's style of jazz dance, particularly its sharply-stylized gestures and the angularity of its line. Walter Gore, who danced the role of the Lover in a tightly-curled black wig, was meant to be a black man whose movements were inspired by Bradley (Vaughan 1977: 86).

But that ballets appropriated images of the African-American dancer, or that ballerinas did Charlestons en pointe, or that Frederick Ashton learned tap dancing from Buddy Bradley is inconsequential proof of the enormous appeal of Jazz and its impact on ballet in Paris during the Twenties and in London during the Thirties. The interplay between jazz and ballet was more subtle; the changes that jazz effected in ballet more fundamental.

The Shimmy, that torso-shaking dance done to Blues music

which isolated body parts; the leggy Charleston, which tilted th torso to the horizontal to splay arms and legs; and the Snake-Hip which dropped the center into the pelvis: how could these dance not have permanently altered the calm and long-lined verticalit of the ballet dancer? Or brought a downward drive of weight in th stage dancing of the chorus girl? The jazz dances from Afro-Americ which Buddy Bradley translated to the English stage isolated bod parts, thrust the pelvis, squared the port de bras and turned i the feet. The speed, dissonance and polyrhythms of jazz musi accented, pulsed, suspended and even stopped time, putting permanent fracture in the timing of the dance phrase. And the mass geometries of the chorus lines from black Broadway of the Twentie streamlined the corps designs in the ballet and musical revue

Though these Jazz-modernisms reformed the style of classica and show dancing on the London and Paris stage, there was difference in how the English and French were influenced. Unlik the Parisian appropriation of jazz in the Twenties, motivated i large part by fashionable taste, artistic voyeurism, primitivis myths of Africana, and "jazz-hot" fantasies of Americana based o views of "the other" from afar, the English jazz experience in th Thirties-- because of and beginning with Buddy Bradley-- was "body-to-body" experience. Not a stage performer like Josephine Baker who was exoticised on the Parisian stage, Bradley was i direct contact with English dancers, musicians and emergin choreographic artists. As a choreographer, teacher and produce who was based in London for 38 years, Bradley was there for the long run. To the English, he was the "real thing"-- or at least as close to the heartbeat of American jazz that an Englishman coul get to in the Thirties and from across the Atlantic.

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The Sketch 25February1931, 25March1931

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The Times "Royal Edition" 4December1930, 21December1939, 20March1931, 24December1931, 23December1932,

28January1933, 20February1934, 25april1934, 22april1935, 15June1935,15August1935, 5February1936, 10July1936, 16June1936, 24September1937, 20May1938

PROGRAMS:
Cochran's 1931 Revue
High Yellow (The Camargo Ballet in conjunction with Vic-Wells Ballet and The Ballet Club) 6June1932
Follow The Sun (Charles B. Cochran's 1936 Revue)
Ballyhoo (William Walker's Revue) 22December 1932
Let's Go Gay 27March1935
Lights Up! (Charles B. Cochran's 1940 Revue)

C.B. Cochran's Trocadero Grill Room Revues 1930-1939 (shows generally ran for a year April-March):
Creation 1931
Jubilation
Magic Nights with Frederick Ashton 1932
Revels in Rhythm
Eve in the Park
Going to Town 1938-39
Night Lights with Anthony Tudor

Jane Pritchard, dance historian and Archivist for Ballet Rambert, Telephone conversation Albany, New York-London September 6, 1991.

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CAROLYN CARLSON'S YEARS AT "IL TEATRO LA FENICE", VENICE, ITALY 1980 - 84. A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT ON THE ITALIAN DANCE SCENE.

by Ann Veronica Turnbull (M.A. Dist.)

The subject of this paper is the American dancer and choreographer Carolyn Carlson and in particular the years 1980 - 84 which she spent at Il Teatro La Fenice in Venice, Italy. This period has been chosen for certain characteristics which render it unique and because it can be seen as a case study, clearly defineable in time and space, through which to illustrate the importance of Carlson on the European dance scene and in particular in Italy and France.

First, Carlson's career up to the time of her move to Venice, is examined. This is followed by a brief outline of the Italian dance scene, at that time, as background to the paper which considers in detail her permanence at La Fenice.
A study of Carlson's years at La Fenice are interesting for several reasons both bureaucratic and artistic:

- the fact that Carlson had an independent contract and complete artistic freedom is unusual in a country where artistic policy is often subordinate to political convenience or to strong union demands.
- the group of dancers chosen by Carlson were all practically unknown and with little previous experience.
- the works which she created while at La Fenice form an important part of her artistic output and are interesting to analyse in terms of movement and form as well as inspiration and subject matter.
- the long-term effects which Carlson had on Italian dance, and in particular the group Sosta Palmizi which was formed by her ex-dancers after she left Italy.

The basis of this study is a wealth of primary source material which was made available to the author. This includes:

- archival material and performance programmes from Il Teatro La Fenice relevant to the period 1980 - 84. See Appendix No 1
- recorded interviews with the secretary to Italo Gomez, Artistic Director of La Fenice during the period of Carlson's stay, and with Giorgio Rossi, one of the original dancers chosen by Carlson to form part of the group Teatro Danza La Fenice di Carolyn Carlson. See Appendix No. 2.

A video produced by the R.A.I. (Radio Televisione Italiana) in 1988 and directed by Carlson herself, in which she talks about her relationship with the city of Venice, and magazine and newspaper articles in both English and Italian are also widely consulted. It should be noted that the author can be considered a fluent Italian speaker as she has lived and worked in that country for the past fifteen years. Consequently all references to and quotations from Italian books, magazines and journals are translated directly by her.

Maybe a brief note should be made here with reference to the problem of sources and their reliability in the field of dance research. The archivists of the Fenice theatre were extremely generous in giving time and materials where these were available. However it must be noted that, for example, no official record remains of the conference which was held on 7th. February 1981, the eve of Carlson's debut in Undici Onde. The title of the conference was "Danza Contemporanea e Balletto in Italia, Oggi" and three foremost Italian dance critics Vittoria Ottolenghi, Mario Pasi and Alberto Testa were invited to lead the discussion. All that has survived, in the theatre archives, is the official announcement for the press before the round table and two fleeting references in newspaper reviews after the performance. This rather careless attitude to the valuable instruments of the historians work are well-known to all, unfortunately. Another common problem is the inability to find dates which correspond for preformances and so on. This problem is particularly acute in the case of Carlson who frequently changes her works, even the title, as they develop so references can often be confusing. Even the personal contribution of those closely associated with Carlson cannot always be taken as reliable as memory is known to play tricks. Wherever and whenever possible all dates have been checked in more sources before being accepted.

At the beginning of the '80's, when Carlson moved to La Fenice the Italian dance scene was rather static. In her book La Danza Moderna (Milan, Longanesi & Co, 1977) Leonetta Bentivoglio identifies the causes of this as being: "social, cultural, ethical and political". (Bentivoglio, 1977, p. 165). Social and cultural because dance in Italy is almost exclusively identified with the ballet companies linked to the major Opera houses and as a result of this identification ballet is automatically avoided by the young who see it as being too traditional and by the intelligenzia who have never considered ballet on a par with music, theatre or opera. This latter position is also reflected in the structure and preferences of public financing where ballet is considered as a subsection of concert hall funding. Futhermore, Bentivoglio argues, the strong Catholic tradition with its dualistic vision and separation of body and spirit, has contributed to a general misunderstanding of dance at all levels of class and culture in Italian society. On the one hand, dance, as seen in a number of rather vulgar television variety shows is judged as being sinful, while on the other Classical ballet is considered as being spiritual, unworldly and the incarnation of abstract feminility. A further consideration is that in a society which has chosen to view art above all as a financial investment, it is clear that because of its anti-economic status dance continues to be relegated to a second rank.

The major part of all dance activity has always been in the hands of the ballet companies attached to the most important opera houses such as La Scala in Milan, San Carlo in Naples, L'Opera in Rome and even there dance activity is greatly restricted by funding policies which favour opera productions. As a result any

forms of dance outside of the ballet tradition have little or no space for development. A few rare exceptions can be noted here. The Futurist dance of Giannina Censi, inspired by the Futurist manifesto (Manifesto della Danza Futurista) published by Tommaso Marinetti on 8th. July 1917; the "danze plastiche", work of Alexander and Clotilde Sakharoff in Rome and Siena during the '50's. (The Comune of Argenta produced an exhibition dedicated to the work of the Sakharoff's from September to November 1991) and the Aterballetto company of Reggio Emilia.

This company appeared for the first time during the 1977/8 season under the artistic direction of Vittorio Biagi and with the assistance of ATER (Associazione Teatri Emilia Romagna). It was the first company to establish itself outside the confines of a state opera house and it did so for precise aims and reasons. It was to be a small-to-medium scale company, with low costs and ease of moviment for touring and a limited star system. In 1979 Amedeo Amodio was appointed Artistic Director, the company's official home became il Teatro Municipale Romolo Valli in Reggio Emilia. The success and international acclaim of this company have since confirmed the vision of its founders, but at the time of Carlson's arrival in Venice it was still comparatively unknown.

During a recent conference entitled **Italia Danza**, given in Reggio Emilia in September 1991, Mario Pasi described the situation for dance, at that time, in the following way:

> "... the reality was contradictory and full of contrasts. On the one hand there was talk of a dance 'boom', an ever-growing interest on the behalf of public, promotions and productions, while on the other, the first clear signs of disintergration in the opera houses, where the traditional companies operate, were beginning to appear." (Pasi, 1991, p 49)

While the situation of Italian dance companies at that time was rather disastrous this did not mean that dance events did not take place. Most of the major international companies, both Classical and Modern, visited Italy from the '50's onwards: Undoubtedly the most important summer festivals - Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, Nervi and Spoleto - played a vital role in bringing these companies to the attention of the Italian public. (For a more complete picture see Rossi, L'influenza delle Grandi Compagnie Straniere e dei Festival. In Italia Danza, catalogue of the Reggio Emilia Festival 1991, p. 17).

Such was the situation in general in Italy when in the autumn of 1979 the critics tell us that Carolyn Carlson, with Larrio Ekson and Jorma Uotinen "triumphed " in a work, Trio, at the Teatro Nazionale di Milano. (Bentivoglio, 1985, p. 146). Trio can be seen as an introduction to what would become a fruitful relationship between Carlson and Italy.

A biographical profile of Carolyn Carlson.

At this point it is opportune to consider the artistic background and experiences of this dancer/choreographer at a key moment, just before a decisive move in her life and career.

Carolyn Carlson was born in Oakland, California on 7th. March 1943. Her ancestors were of Finnish origin and she still has close ties with the city of Helsinki, as the R.A.I. video shows. She started her early dance training with Claire-Lauche Porter of the San Francisco Ballet and at the University of Utah. Certainly her formative years coincide with a period of great social upheaval and unrest among American youth. The main influences at that time can be summarised here as:

- a great political awareness among students
- the sense of a youth generation overthrowing the values of a previous generation
- the sex revolution and the birth of feminism
- the rise of a drug culture
- an increasing awareness of and interest in Oriental cultures and ideologies.

An interesting personal account of a student living those experiences can be found in Sara Davidson's book Loose Change which clearly identifies the social and cultural climate to which Carlson was exposed as she is very much part of what was later to be called "the '60's generation".

> Carlson often seems to be a flower child who grew up managing to preserve the ideals of her generation ... Both her work and her personality stem from the Woodstock generation.
> (Robertson, November 1983, p. 32)

The Period with Nikolais 1965 -1971.

After her graduation Carlson decided to join the Nikolais school. She descibes her meeting with Nikolais in the following way:

> Whoosh ... my whole life just went blupp ... This was it... He put everything into perspective. I knew that was the way.
> (Carolyn Carlson in an interview with Allen Robertson, November, 1983).

Given Nikolais' company structure there is very little written about the individual dancers. While encouraging the artistic development of each of his dancers in a teaching situation, Nikolais does not encourage 'personalities' in his pieces.

The first mention of Carlson by critics comes in a review in Dance Magazine , February 1968:

> Alwin Nikolais' current company is especially fine and in young Carolyn Carlson it has a featured dancer ready for the challenge of solos.
> (Hering, 1968, p. 86)

In 1968 the Nikolais company was invited to participate in the International Dance Festival in Paris. Carlson was given the 'Best Dancer' award.

In September 1969, in a review in Dance Magazine the company is referred to as follows: Alwin Nikolais Dance Theatre (with Carolyn Carlson) City Centre Theatre Dec. 2 - 7 1969.

> Miss Carlson is clearly Nikolais' new "star" ... she injects a delicate lyricism which contrasts pleasantly with the more hearty style of most of the dancers.
> (Hering, Dance Magazine, Feb. 1970. p. 83)

Similarly on tour the reviewers are quick to single Carlson out for special attention. Her "soft suppleness" is referred to by one reviewer on a performance in Paris (Christout, 1971), while another refers to her as a "soloist of real quality" (Percival, July 1971). At the same performance Hall defines her dancing in a solo as "elegant and very strange: her long limbs moved through complex rhythms with perfect style and control". (Hall, Daily Telegraph, 28 April 1971)

Besides receiving recognition as a dancer during those years in the Nikolais company, Carlson was also taking her first steps as a choreographer. This author found references to four pieces choreographed by her in the period 1967 - 71. See: Anderson, 1967; Anderson, 1968, p. 68; Marks, 1969, p. 76; Mason, 1971, p. 86. What begins to emerge from these very short clippings is the picture of a dancer in the Nikolais' style who also likes to experiment with choreography in a context where

> Everyone doesn't have to become a great choreographer but everyone takes composition to find out what movement is all about.
> (Carolyn Carlson in Bloggs, 1970, p. 19)

As a grounding this is quite different from what would be offered to a dancer in a classical company or even a modern dance company where the formidable presence of a founder does little to encourage the choreographic abilities of the dancers within the company context. Carlson was able to try out early ideas while still part of the company and was encouraged to do so. For the moment Carlson's style seems to be rooted in the Nikolais philosophy of "humourous parody and hidden thoughts" (Christout, July 1971).

The early European experience (1971 – 80).

Carolyn Carlson's period in Europe, before being based in Venice, falls into two parts: 1971 – 74 and 1974 – 80. The year 1974 has been chosen as a watershed as it was in that year that she began a closer relationship with the Paris Opéra.

The early part is poorly documented. However, Koegler, Robertson and Hutera and various programme notes refer to a period with the Compagnie Anne Béranger for whom she danced and choregraphed "at various places, Avignon, Hamburg, Milan, Bourdeaux." (Koegler, 1977, p. 84). The programme notes also say that it was at this time Carlson met Larrio Ekson: It was to prove to be a fruitful encounter as Carlson and Ekson have since danced together on numerous occasions. In his interview, Giorgio Rossi, a former dancer with Carlson during her period in Venice, referred to a year's teaching by Carlson at La Mudra – Bejàrt's Brussels-based school and short spells at the London Contemporary Dance School during the early '70s. This is confirmed by the various programme notes.

The first major event to be covered by reviewers, however, was a solo performed at the Paris Opera House on 24th. May 1973. This was a full evening's programme dedicated to the composer Varèse. It was organised by the artistic director Marius Constant to promote a composer who was "for a long time neglected or misunderstood" (Percival, August 1973). In his review of the evening John Percival has this to say about Carlson's contribution

> The following solo Densitè 21,5, was for most people the high spot of the evening ... Carolyn Carlson performed the tiny flickering movements largely on one spot, which she had created for herself.
> (Percival, August 1973, p. 26).

It was Rolf Liebermann, the newly appointed administrator to the Opéra who had invited Carlson to create a work for the Opéra Ballet. She declined but offered to do a solo, a proposal which Liebermann accepted. The result was Densitè 21,5 which received very favourable critical reviews and must have entered the Opéra repertoire because in 1983 a reviewer notes

> Carolyn Carlson's solo Densitè 21,5 ... is trivial although Pruvost danced it well.
> (Percival, August 1983, p.27).

After this Liebermann took the relationship one step further and asked Carlson to stay and form a group. She agreed and the position of **danseuse étoile-chorégraphe** was created especially for her. The Opéra provided Carlson with the facilities and the independence to make new works while building up a small experimental company called **Group de Recherche Théatrales de**

l'Opéra de Paris.(GRTOP).

> The genius of Liebermann was that he left us alone ... we set up a studio (in the Rotunda in the basement) completely independent. I only answered to Liebermann and he set us apart so we weren't in the union or anything like that. I could do what I wanted. (Carlson interview with Robertson, 1983, p.32).

This one-to-one relationship would later be repeated with Italo Gomez at La Fenice.

In these circumstances Carlson ignored the hostile reactions of the Corps du Ballet and after public auditions assembled a group of four women and five men in March 1974. With this group she began her work of improvisation and soon produced the first in a series of works. Sablier was premiered on 30th. April 1974 before a young audience admitted at prices well below the normal Opéra charges (Editorial, Dance and Dancers, August 1974).

The writer goes on to talk about "impressions in various moods (author's italics), sometimes comic and sometimes poetic" and also attributed the lighting and projections to Carlson's earlier association with Nikolais. Another work was premiered the same evening, a duet for Carlson and Larrio Ekson, entitled Il Y'A Juste un Instant (mus. Barre Phillips).

The second part of Carlson's early European experience covers the period of her close collaboration with Liebermann and the GRTOP. It is not the aim of this paper to look at those years in great detail. However, they offer scope for further research and in particular it would be interesting to follow the careers of the various dancers and choreographers, now builing up a strong reputation for themselves, who began with Carlson or were part of her group at some stage: Dominique Petite, Dominique Bagouet and Caroline Maracadè, for example. Here only brief reference is made to the main works produced and the critics reaction to them.

On November 13th. 1974, the Ballet of the Paris Opéra premiered Tristan with choreography by Glen Tetley and music by Hans Werner Henze. The lead roles were danced by Rudolf Nureyev and Carolyn Carlson. This 'remarkable' event was the brain-child of Liebermann and received much critical approval. See: Goodwin, Jan. 1975, p. 27; Christout, Jan. 1975, p. 28; Percival, Jan. 1975, p.29; Pitt, Jan. 1975, p.104.

After this Carlson's work was mainly with the GRTOP group. Sablier Prison, had premiered on April 30th. 1974. There followed L'Or des Fous (mus. G. Arrigo), Les Fous D'Or (mus. Igor Wakhevitch) and X Land. Little seems to have been written about these pieces.

On February 4th. 1976 she premiered Wind, Water, Sand an opera in 37 acts with music by John Surman and Barre Philips. By now some critics considered that great resources were being 'poured' into experimental work and so expectatios of this new piece were running high. Many were disappointed. One critic stated clearly

> Disappointment, total for some, partial for others, but a disappointment ... the spectator is ... begged to dream rather than to understand.
> (Christout, August 1976, p. 26).

The criticism of "wasted resources" is one which will plague much of Carlson's work with the GRTOP, but despite these rumblings the "exceptional gestural quality" of Carlson is recognised.

A triptych followed: This and That were presented bt the Opéra at the Théatre du la Ville in February 1977 followed by The Other at the Opéra itself on April 19th. 1977. Compared to previous works, which used diverse visual and sound effects, this was seen as a starker work "based mainly on plastic movements" (Christout, 1977). In this piece Jorma Uotinen's name appears for the first time. In the same way as the artistic partnership with Ekson is proving a long one, so Uotinen has appeared with Carlson on many occasions since then.

This was followed by The Beginning ... and the End premiered at the Opéra on October 6th. 1977. The music was once again by Igor Wakhevitch and Carlson was seen as "abandoning herself with entire freedom to her poetic inspiration" (Christout, January 1978, p. 35).

In 1978 Carlson showed the extent of her interest in Zen when she choreographed The Year of the Horse. This is a philosophy which still guides her life and principles, to the extent that she always considers the now to be the most important part of life and her work.

> Zen is for me simply a philosophy of art and life - not as a source of psycho-analysis but as a source of inspiration.
> (Carlson in Bentivoglio, 2/86, p. 35).

In his interview Giorgio Rossi has said how important he thinks Carlson was to the development of modern/post-modern dance in France at that time. Certainly she brought a whole new style to an audience which had only had glimpses of Cunningham and Nikolais. But unlike those giants who passed through Carlson remained and was given a place of prestige in which to work and develop new talents. With these young people she did not impose a set technique but she developed their own personalities through the improvisation techiques so loved by her teacher Nikolais and Hanya Holm before him. (See Bentivoglio, 1982, p.34; Garske, 1986, p.24). Dominique Bagouet and Caroline Marcadè, both invited to the American Dance Festival 1983, began with Carlson's Paris

company. An edition of Dance Theatre Journal, which is dedicated to 'Dance in France', pays its respects to Carlson and her impact on the French dance scene besides dedicating a whole article to Dominique Bagouet. (Louppe, (Vol. 7, No. 1, Summer 1989),

Teatro Danza Contemporanea La Fenice di Carolyn Carlson: 1980 - 84. The Italian Experience

By 1979, when Carlson appeared in Trio in Milan, the more hostile voices about her stay at the Paris Opéra seemed to be holding sway. At this time Liebermann left the Opéra, maybe Carlson saw this as the right moment to move to something else,

> The Parisian experience was extremely positive but after a few years I felt the need to move, to change ... my work ... was closely connected to my collaboration with Rolf Liebermann. When he left the Opéra, so did I.
> (Carolyn Carlson in Bentivoglio, Feb. 1982 pp. 34 - 35).

About this time Carlson was approached by Italo Gomez, then assisant director of Teatro La Scala in Milan, and asked to repeat her experience of setting up an experimental group, this time in Italy. Before terms could be finalised, Italo Gomez was appointed artistic director to Teatro La Fenice in Venice. As has been stated above, the ballet and dance scene in Italy at this time was in a state of flux. In the case of La Fenice the permanent corps du ballet based at the Opera house had been disbanded in 1979, The time, place and conditions seemed to be just right for a choreographer of Carlson's statue to start an experimental group at La Fenice.

The Contract

The conditions under which Carlson moved to Venice were as follows:

> 1. Miss Carolyn Carlson is hereby appointed to the Teatro La Fenice as choreographer, ballerina - étoile and teacher, should workshops take place, under the following conditions:
>
> to dance art Teatro La Fenice and in all other performances in Italy and abroad organised by the Teatro ...
>
> 6. Miss Carlson must guarantee her exclusive commitment to Teatro La Fenice. Miss Carlson reserves the right to exercise her exercise her artistic activities outside the right to exercise her artistic activities outside the terms of this contract only with the authorisation of the management.
> (Clauses 1 and 6 of the original contract between Carolyn Carlson and Teatro La Fenice. See Appendix No.1).

Besides the initial contract there were six subsequent contracts for each year and/or production. This was at Carlson's request as she preferred a renewable annual contract such as she had had with GRTOF.

Choosing the group

> In most cases my choices occur by instict. I feel a certain person functions or will function and usually I am never wrong.
> (Carlson in Bentivoglio, Feb. 1982, p. 35).

During his interview Giorgio Rossi, one of the original dancers with Carlson's Compagnia Teatrodanza alla Fenice, descibes how he was chosen to become part of this company. Despite his relative inexperience he was chosen, along with five other dancers, from a group of over one hundred people who had taken part in the workshop in Como in 1980. As can be seen from the interview the experience of all these six dancers was relatively limited at that time and they were all quite young. Referring to this audition Carlson said

> During the auditions in Como, he (Rossi) stood there in front of me. I was immediately aware of his energy of his scenic presence ... Whether or not he is able to raise his leg high, or to jump well, is a problem which does not concern me.
> (Bentivoglio, 1982, p. 35).

Carlson can be seen to be fulfilling her first requirement: to establish a group of young, relatively inexperienced dancers willing to start an experimental company in the name of La Fenice.

Carlson's work methods

Giorgio Rossi says that Carlson uses improvisation above all in the early stages of a work's development - as a form of training for her dancers. She uses it, continues Rossi, as a way of getting to know the body and controlling it following the concepts of time, space, form, rhythm and motion of the German Expressionist tradition. However, for Carlson the person the individual, is the most important element to be developed. The dancer is a dancer/actor who must transform him/herself into fire, wind, water, good, bad, grotesque, and so on. As Rossi points out, the work of Nikolais is purely formal so that the dancers were each part of a geometrical form. The shift in emphasis with Carlson is away from formal, impersonal geometry to a personal, individual interpretation while still creating geometrical forms between the dancers.
(Interview with Giorgio Rossi. See Appendix No.2).

While Carlson has refuted the idea of a Carlson technique, she acknowledges a Carlson style. "My personal interpretation of the relationship between space and time, between motion and energy". (Bentivoglio, 1982, p.34).
In her relationship to music she has referred to it as "a subsequent problem". She likes to work closely with a composer for a continuous exchange of ideas. She feels unable to compose choreography on ready-made music and likes the music to adapt to the dance. (Bentivoglio, 1982, p.35).

The works

Carlson's annual contract with La Fenice foresaw the production of a new work each year which was to be shown in Venice and then taken on tour, in Italy and abroad, under the name of Teatro Danza Contemporanea della Fenice di Carolyn Carlson.

This arrangement was particularly suitable to Carlson's small company which was extremely mobile and adaptable since the needs for scenery, sound and costumes were relatively small. Then the fact that the group was on an annual or limited contract meant that it was outside the usual union conditions. As a result working hours were infinitely more flexible and probably much longer and the dancers did not constitute a financial burden on the theatre in those periods when they were not working directly on a production. As a result the company was a great financial success, covering its own production costs each year - unheard of by the traditional opera/ballet companies which are estimated to cover 15% of their total costs. From the point of view of the dancers, however, whatever sacrifices were needed were amply compensated for by the opportunity offered to study and perform with a teacher of this caliber, especially if it is considered that on average the opera ballet companies in Italy give 15 - 20 performances a year compared to the estimated 250 in England or France (Vittorio Doglio in Italia Danza, Sept. 1991).

During her time at La Fenice Carlson produced three works with the company and one solo work:

UNDICI ONDE (ELEVEN WAVES)
UNDERWOOD
L'ORSO E LA LUNA later re-entitled CHALK WORK
SOLO (dedicated to Anna Béranger)

UNDICI ONDE

> Italo Gomez left the room. Carolyn pulled out a sheet of paper, opened it and said, 'Here, this is Undici Onde'. She showed us a scheme with 11 waves. 11 Ying and Yang opposities and we started

> work immediately on the piece. This was the beginning of my two years with Carolyn Carlson. (Giorgio Rossi. See Appendix No.2).

These few words hold the key to many aspects of Carlson and her work. It contains, for example, two of her main sources of inspiration: nature and Zen philosophy. It also shows her work method of giving the dancers ideas and inspiration to improvise from. She had not arrived with a set plan or sequences to be taught. Answering the question of whether Carlson came to rehearsals with her pieces mapped out or with just an idea Rossi replied, "she comes with sensations. She doodles and makes small sketches which she brings to rehearsals.".

The importance which Carlson gives to these sketches and her poems can be seen from the fact that they are included in almost all her programme notes. During the Mixer video she reiterated how important poetry and sketching are to her and a source of inspiration.

Undici onde premiered at the Malibran Theatre in Venice on February 8th. 1981 to wide critical acclaim. One critic likened the interest and enthusiasm surrounding this event to the Stravinski first nights during the '50s (Alberto Testa in La Repubblica, Tuesday February 10th. 1981). The round table, mentioned above in connection with the problems of sources, entitled Ballet and Contemporary Dance in Italy Today was in itself a new and original initiative.

Interest was running high because this was the first time that an experimental dance group had been set up within the "hallowed" walls of a state opera house and was working completely independently and without the bureacratic constraints which are so typical of large opera houses in Italy and probably throughout the world. Carlson had established a new and alternative way of working and was to show her first piece, the result of four months work, with a group of young and almost inexperienced Italian dancers.

The critics were also unanimous in their praise for a piece which they saw as a homage to Venice, a fact which Carlson herself confirmed

> Take Unidci Onde ... clearly it was inspired by the atmosphere of Venice, by the poetry of this city. I composed a piece on Venice and for Venice,. And this happened almost without my knowing it. (Carlson in Bentivoglio, February 1982, p. 34).

Other influences were seen as the Zen philosophy and Carlson' autobiographical poems and, in terms of form and style, he teacher Nikolais. One critic, however, commented on an absence o Robert Wilson's influence, which had been more clearly present i Trio (Airoldi, Feb. 10th. 1981). The music, too, by René Aubr

and Jean Schwarz, was seen as appropriate and all the new dancers were praised, given their limited experience, while Carlson, Ekson and Uotinen were commended for their "fluid and flexible lines" (Testa, Feb. 10th. 1981).

After the premiere and nine other performances at the Malibran Theatre, Undici Onde toured Italy and France with great success. When asked about the tour Rossi said that looking back he realises how heavy it must have been for Carlson as they changed cities almost every night and gave a total of sixty performances in ninety days. The theatres where Undici Onde was shown were all important ones, the work was not shown on the alternative circuit, and usually played to a full and appreciative house.

These were heady days. A little one suspects like the "honeymoon" period of a newly elected American president. A new place to live, a new country to get to know, a new culture to absorb, a new group of dancers to work with, in this unique city, built on the sea, free from cars, traffic and urban chaos. Carlson herself describes how pleased she was to be in Venice

> In Venice everything appears easy and possible even raising children.
> (Carlson in Bentivoglio, 1982, p. 34)

Carlson's son Aleksi was born on 16th November 1981.

UNDERWOOD

Carlson's second piece for her Venetian group was premiered on May 30th. 1982 after the first night had been delayed for several days by a strike. To the critics present the inspiration for this piece had moved away from

> the sea and water, from that last shore before the mysterious and threatening oceans of the subconscious.
> (Bruna, April 1982).

Now attention was on "Old America on the one hand and the different ages of Man on the other" (Bruna, 1982). The piece seemed to be inspired by the wide open spaces of the Old West, but also the daily lives of the people who lived there and the imaginary worlds inhabited by children.

Once again the interpretation of Carlson, Ekson and the dancers was highly praised while the music by René Aubry was considered a little 'repetitive' by some (Pasi, 1st. April 1982) and 'pleasant' by others (Bruna. 1st. April, 1982). The influence of Robert Wilson, in the repetition of everyday guestures, was clearly seen.

From November 10 - 13 1983, Carlson and her Fenice group were present at the B.A.M. "Next Wave" Festival. This was their U.S.

debut. The piece they chose to show was Underwood. This was unusual because it was a revival of the work which had been shown in 1982. In general Carlson's works are never revived. She keeps no repertoire and has said on many occasions that works are born and die in a certain time and that it is useless to try and preserve them when the people, the mood, the sensations, which gave them life, change.

> I don't like to keep a repertoire. My pieces live and die with the time they were made and the people who perform them.
> (Carlson in Robertson, Nov. 1983, p. 31).

L'ORSO E LA LUNA later **CHALK WORK**

> She (Carlson) changes continually. She is constantly working on a piece ... the piece never dies because it is always changing and is kept alive by all these changes.
> (Giorgio Rossi, Appendix No. 2).

As stipulated in her contract Carlson produced her third work for La Fenice on April 21st. 1983. The title was L'Orso e La Luna (The Bear and The Moon). The themes were once again the life cycle and childhood. In Undici Onde she portrayed life as water - its never-ending motion similar to life which keeps on repeating and renewing itself. In Underwood life is seen as being more 'rooted' in the earth and in the past, in origins and heritage, in a search "for harmony, for the stable and the solid" (programme notes) and people's life cycles are seen as changing and "running off on childhood fantasies" (programme notes). In L'Orso e La Luna a big white teddy bear is the symbol of childhood and the moon of our desires. At first the work, which was over two hours long, met with mixed critical acclaim. By the time it premiered in Milan, at the end of May, the piece had changed substantially. It was now entitled Chalk Work and had been reduced to one hour twenty minutes without an interval.

This was just a more drastic version of what always happened to Carlson's work. In the interview Rossi describes how Carlson is continually changing. A work is never 'fixed', it is always being modified. Something, a movement, a gesture, the music, which seemed to work the day before is now no longer acceptable and is substituted. Carlson herself has always referred to her pieces as "work-in-progress". They must be adaptable, responsive to shifts in mood and circumstances. She, herself, needs constant renewal and new input, so often the dancers alternate, are used for one piece and later recalled for another. In Venice, however, the nucleus of the original six dancers remained more-or-less unaltered during her time there, as can be seen from the programme notes. (Appendix No. 3).

Chalk Work was seen in Milan on May 31st. 1983 in its new form. Critics appreciated the fact that the work had been "tightened up" but one critic still saw it as being "too dense" and perhaps still in need of certain changes (Pasi, Corriere della Sera, June 2nd. 1983). The work was seen as a metaphor for the mother/child relationship, an investigation into life's cycles, the immutability of which is questioned in this work.

> How awful and hysterical the world is ... how difficult it is to be a woman.
> (Pasi, Corriere della Sera, June 2nd 1983).

Whatever reservations the critics may have had, they were confined to the work. The dancing of Carlson, Ekson and the group was once again highly praised and in particular Malou Airaudo, a former dancer with Pina Bausch's company.

Chalk Work was the last work which Carlson made for the Teatro Danza Contemporanea La Fenice di Carolyn Carlson. Already in 1983 there were some doubts as to the availability of funds for her experimental group to continue. In 1983 she would appear with a solo called Solo, which would later be entitled Blue Lady, and dedicated to Anne Béranger but her permanence at Venice ended in 1984.

It is interesting to speculate as to why Carlson left Venice. Perhaps the very things which had first attracted her to this unique city were later to influence her in a different, maybe more negative, way. The Venetians know this syndrome well and acknowledge it. This strange and beautiful city which attracts so many because it has no cars, and is completely isolated, finishes by disillusioning them and making them feel victims of their own isolation.

In the video made for **Mixer** (R.A.I. 1989) Carlson speaks about her relationship with Venice. She says "Venice digs into my deepest secrets" and also that "the closed courtyards and narrow lanes sometimes made me feel a prisoner of my desires" (Carlson, video **Mixer**, 1989). Whatever the reasons this cycle, too, had come to an end. Carlson's farewell to La Fenice took the form of a solo piece called Solo and dedicated to Anne Béranger who had been the first, after Nikolais, to encourage her choreographic talents. Béranger had died just a few months previously.

This study of a certain period of Carlson's artistic life, the years 1980 - 84, give some clues as to the qualities and personality of this "sort of distant cousin of Isadora Duncan" (Michel, 1986), who

> Quite purely and simply expresses her life in terms of dance and it is precisely in this manner that her inspiration finds constant renewal.
> (Michel, 7/8, 1986, p. 84).

Attention is now turned to the legacy which she left behind when she left Italy.

Carlson's Italian legacy: SOSTA PALMIZI

When Carlson moved away from Venice she left behind a valuable legacy for Italian dance - a group of dancers who had studied, experimented and performed with her for nearly four years. Finding themselves 'alone', nearly the whole group (only Luisa Casiraghi decided on a solo career straight away) wanted to try for an artistic future together and so Michele Abbondanza, Francesca Bertolli, Roberto Castello, Roberto Cocconi, Raffaella Giordano and Giorgio Rossi founded **Sosta Palmizi.**

The first work to be choreographed collectively by the group was Il Cortile (mus. Auturo Annecchio, 1985). Although the influence of Carlson is apparent in its appeal to personal experience and memories, the work has a decidedly Southern European flavour. The wide open spaces of the American praires (Underwood, Steppe) are replaced by the enclosed and dusty area of a courtyard, typical symbol of Italian, or more generally, Mediterranean life. This first work was an immediate success with press and public alike and won prizes at Narni (Best First Work) and Ubu (as a Teatrodanza work).

It also toured widely in Italy, on the alternative theatre circuit, and abroad for example as part of the 1987 Dance Umbrella Festival in England. This was followed in 1986 by a second work produced collectively, Tufo (mus. Andrea Lesmo and Luca Colarelli). The inspiration for this piece was the work of the Japanese film director Kurosawa. After these experiences as a group, the various members decided to attempt solo careers while still keeping the name Sosta Palmizi. See Appendix No. 4 for a list of these works)

In November 1990 Sosta Palmizi, together with the groups Vera Stasi and Arbalete, changed into a Center for Choreographic Productions, a unique experiment in Italy.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to quantify the impact of Carolyn Carlson on the Italian dance scene and, in keeping with the title of this conference, to distinguish between American dance and the American dancer. However it can be said that the artistic environment was shaken by her presence and that above all her impact is as a mentor and teacher for a whole generation of young dancers and choreographers and here we can see the heritage and influence of the Nikolais - Holm - Wigman tradition. It is probably true to say that Gomez chose a dancer, who happened to be American, for her personal charisma and poetic dancing, but it can be added that the legacy of teaching methods and professionalism she has left has much more in common with a certain tradition of American dancing.

The Return to Paris. Théatre de la Ville 1984 -

The focus of this paper is Carlson's period at La Fenice, Venice, so the following is just a brief summary of her works since then.

After Venice Carlson spoke of taking time off to dedicate to her husband (the composer and musician René Aubry, accompanist of much of Carlson's work) and her son. Soon, however, she had re-established her ties with Paris and in an interview in 1986 implied that Europe is now her home base.

> RG: Do you have a feeling that you might be based in Paris in the future?
> CC: Probably in Europe somewhere. I don't know. But surely in Europe
> (Garske, 1986, p. 30).

From Théatre de la Ville she started work on Solo. It was expanded and developed and in May 1985 premiered as Blue Lady at La Fenice. Later this work toured Europe, the American BAM Next Wave Festival in Autumn 1985 and the 13th. International Dance Festival in Istanbul, June 1985. This is a work which Carlson has contiued to offer and it was seen in Milan, Italy, in December 1989.

In May 1986, Wood, Light, Stone premiered at Theatre de la Ville, the title showing once again her attachment to nature as a theme. In 1987 Carlson was invited by the Dutch National Ballet artistic director, Rudi van Dantzig, to choreograph for his company. This was her first piece for a clasical company that was not trained in her improvisational method of working and was not considered generally one of her more successful works. See van Schaik, 1988, p. 22.

In her most theatrical work to date, Dark, (mus Joachim Kuhn, 1988) Carlson deals with the more obscure side to religious fanaticism and the eteral conflict between Good and Evil. Certain critics seem uncertain as to how to approach this more theatrical work which Rossi defines as a clear development in her style; a phase where Carlson dances less frequently, where she creates atmospheres to communicate certain fears, worries and anxieties.

On April 20th. 1990, Steppe premiered at Théatre de la Ville (mus. René Aubry, video clips, Marlène Ionesco). In this work the themes of childhood, memory and journeys through our imagination return.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1	Original contracts between Carolyn Carlson and Teatro La Fenice, Venice, Italy.
Appendix 2	Tape-script of interview with Giorgio Rossi
Appendix 3	Photocopies of the title pages of various programmes
Appendix 4	A list of the main works of **Sosta Palmizi**
Appendix 5	A selected biographical outline of Carolyn Carlson A selected choreochronicle of Carolyn Carlson

APPENDIX 1: EXTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL CONTRACTS BETWEEN CAROLYN CARLSON AND TEATRO LA FENICE, VENICE, ITALY

The following are extracts of the contracts between Carolyn Carlson and the Teatro La Fenice, Venice, Italy, during the period 1980 - 84. It is clear that for reasons of discretion the full terms of the contracts are not disclosed here, only the status of Carlson and the dates for each contract are noted.

Contract 1: Dated 21st. October 1980 - 30th. April 1981

This was the main contract which served as a model for following ones.

Clause 1: Miss Carolyn Carlson is taken on by Teatro La Fenice as choreographer, ballerina - étoile and teacher - should any workshops take place - to dance in all the programmes arranged by the Theatre both in Italy and abroad.

Clause 6: Miss Carlson guarantees to work exclusively for Teatro La Fenice. Miss Carlson reserves the right to exercise other artistic activities outside the scope of the present contract with the authorisation of the Theatre's management.

Clause 8: Miss Carlson is ogliged to participate in the performances agreed by herself and Teatro La Fenice.

Contract 2: June - July 1981

A contract for Undici Onde as prima ballerina/choreographer. Director - Larrio Ekson.

Contract 3: January - July 1982

A contract for choreographer/ballerina - étoile. No name specified for the work.

Contract 4: July - December 1982

Contract for a new touring programme for Undici Onde.

Contract 5: February - December 1983

A contract for workshops. A new work (as yet untitled) and a solo work.

Also mentioned is a contract for the televising of Underwood by R.A.I. television

Contract 6: January - April 1984

A contract for Chalk Work in Venice and on tour.

Contract 7: Up to mid-May 1984

A contract for Solo.

APPENDIX 2: TAPE-SCRIPT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH GIORGIO ROSSI

The following is the tape-scipt of part of an interview which took place on Saturday April 15th. 1989 between Giorgio Rossi, an original member of Carolyn Carlson's company Teatro Danza Contemporanea La Fenice, and this author. The original tapes, which were in Italian, have been translated by the author and also refer to the development of the Italian group **Sosta Palmizi** but this material is not included here.

AT: Could you begin by telling us of your own background and training before joining Carlson's company?

GR: I stopped school at the age of sixteen and from 16/17 studied mime in Milan with **Quelli di Grok** and theatre in Switzerland. In 1978 I went to Paris to study mime at the Conservatoire National des Arts du Mime et du Arque where I also followed courses in Commedia dell'Arte with Carlo Boso, classical ballet with Andry Glegoski and modern dance with Joseph Russillo. In 1979 I followed a workshop organised by "autumo Musicale" in Como with Lindsay Kemp. The following year I attended another workshop organised by "Autumo Musicale" in Como this time held by Carolyn Carlson.

AT: And it was after this workshop that you joined her company. How was that?

GR: Well first, there was a workshop held by Jorma Uotinen at which about one hundred people attended, followed by an audition. From this thirty-five people continued a workshop of eight days with Larrio Ekson, twenty were then chosen to follow a workshop for two weeks with Carlson. All this was in the form of a workshop for which we paid. Nothing was said at this point about Carolyn Carlson choosing people to form a company.

However at the end of the two weeks Carlson asked six of us to think about joining the company.

AT: Who were these six?

GR: Luisa Casiraghi
Francesca Bertoli
Caterina Sagna
Raffaella Giordano
Roberto Castello
Giorgio Rossi

AT: In what terms did Carlson ask you to join the company?

GR: She said: I'll be working in Italy, probably in Venice and I'd like you to work with me on a piece. Work should begin in September.

It was in July 1980 when she asked us to think about it. Then there was total silence for two months.
We six kept up contract but heard nothing more. I returned to Paris and was on the point of signing a contract as "stageure" with Russillo when on October 23rd. a telegram arrived asking for my immediate presence in Venice.

We arrived at La Fenice expecting to have another twenty days stage with Carolyn. When she arrived with Jorma and Larrio we were overcome to see them again. Italo Gomez came into the room. He told us it was a trial period and that Carolyn still had to verify certain things. But if at the end of this period she was satisfied we would be kept on.

Italo Gomez went out of the room. Carolyn brought out a piece of paper opened it and said: Here is Uudici Onde. She showed us a scheme with eleven waves and eleven waves and eleven ying yang opposites. That was the beginning of two and a half years of work with her.

AT: What was the age and background of the other dancers?

GR: a) Luisa Casiraghi (26) came from a jazz background but had also studied some Graham and Cunningham.

b) Francesca Bertoli (22) had a classical training but had also worked in experimental theatre with La Gaia Scienza.

c) Caterina Sagna (19) is the daughter of Anna Sagna who runs the **Bella Hutter** school in Turin. The school which invited Mary Wigman while on tour in Italy.

d) Raffaella Giordano (19) had studied classical ballet as a child and was in love with the whole theatrical environment - her grandmother had danced with the Ballets Russes - she had been studying dance , mime and theatre for just a year before this audition. She had incredible presence, in fact, the following year she went to dance with Pina Bausch's company for six months. Pina Bausch saw her and asked her to dance with her company which she did for a while.

e) Roberto Castello (20) had studied a lot of music. At the end of his scholarship studies he saw a work of Carlson's and decided that that was what he wanted to do, so he started to take dance lessons.

f) Giorgio Rossi (20).

So the majority of the people Carlson chose were really amateurs.

AT: Did Carlson already have a programme of work laid down? Was the music ready or did she just have an idea?

GR: She had the sensations. She had some sketches ready. She doesn't write her choreography down. In fact it lives, dies and evolves in time.

AT: Would you like to describe Carlson's methods? Is her work based on improvisation?

GR: Improvisation is only a part of it. We improvise as a form of training. Above all at the beginning at the beginning improvisation was used as a way into Nikolais' technique, which is used by Carolyn, and comes directly, I believe, from German Expressionism, and is based on the qualities of time, space, form, rhythm and motion - that movement continues.

GR: The real differences between Carlson and Nikolais is that he is formal and workd with spatial ideas. People are a means. While for Carolyn, the person is important; the dancing actor. So that each one of us isn't a point in a geometrical form, even if we create geometrical forms, but is a live interpreter who transforms him/herself into fire, water, wind, good, bad, grotesque...

AT: Do you think that Carlson's background lead her to embrace the Zen philosophy?

GR: Yes. I think Carolyn is a "messanger" partly without knowing it. She works a lot with intuition - totally with intuition which sometimes leads her to a fall-off in tension in her works. So that you ask yourself why after a really strong section this happens. In my opinion one explanation could be she does things because she <u>feels</u> that it should be like that.

AT: Does she revise her works?

GR: Yes all the time. She is continually changing the dancers ... the length ... is always working on a piece. It never dies because she is constantly changing it. She does this because she is always changing her mind. A thing which seems to work one day is rejected completely the next and must be changed. Even on tour and in the case of <u>L'Orso e La Luna</u> even the title changed, a year later it was to become <u>Chalk Work</u> ... she becomes drained, stale and needs a new stimulus - for this reason she is always changing the company and the work .. Carolyn is always like this!

AT: Going back to <u>Undici Onde</u> where did you tour with this with this piece?

GR: All over Italy and two weeks in Paris. All in big theatres with stages measuring 12m. x 10m. The tour lasted February, March and April with about sixty performances in ninety days.

AT: What were your contracts for this?

GR: They were all limited contracts. For example the first contract was from September to the end of February. Then mid-February we signed a contract for April and May when it was clear that there was enough work and so on. In January 1982 the contract was longer - for six months - until June then two months interval followed by a five month contract - this was for Underwood. So each contract was for a limited period, not automatically renewable and in fact this was my case. After Underwood my contract was not renewed.

AT: What are Carlson's starting points - sensations, evocations, sentiments?

GR: All of these but above all precise images and sensations about people or situations

AT: Finally Giorgio what is the relationship between Carlson and her audience?

GR: Carlson has always enjoyed wide public acclaim, above all in France, even for those works which did not receive such good reviews in the Press. She tries to trigger a mechanism in the memory of each person so that his/her imagination is stimulated.

AT: Thank you once again.

The above represents in edited form, about a third of the taped material. During the rest of the interview Giorgio Rossi talks about Bagni Nettuno which was a piece choreographed and danced by Caterina Sagna and Roberto Castello (1983). It was the result of Carlson's encouragement to her dancers to try choreographing works themselves. Rossi then goes on to describe the formation of the group **Sosta Palmizi.**

APPENDIX 3: PHOTOCOPIES OF THE TITLE PAGE OF VARIOUS PROGRAMMES.

Author's Note: For technical reasons it is impossible to include the photocopies here.

APPENDIX 4: A LIST OF THE MAIN WORKS OF SOSTA PALMIZI

Il Cortile: mus. Auturo Annecchio, 1985. This first work of Sosta Palmizi gave a tota of 128 performances in Italy and abroad. Italy 74, Belgium 12, Spain 3, Germany 8, Switzerland 4, Austria 3, France 3, Holland 13, Great Britain 4, America 2, Portugal 2.

Tufo: mus. Andrea Lesmo and Luca Colarelli, 1986. Gave a total of 69 performances. Italy 35, Belgium 2, Germany 9, Switzerland 1, Austria 4, France 3, Finland 2, Norway 4, Holland 3, Mexico 6.

Ssstt...: chor. Raffaella Giordano, no music, 1987. Gave a total of 17 performances. Italy 15, Switzerland 2.

La Danza della Rabbia: chor. Roberto Castelli, 1988. Gave a total of 17 performances. Italy 26, Germany 2.

Morgana: chor. Roberto Cocconi, 1988. Gave a total of 8 performances. Italy 7, France 1.

Perduti una Notte: chor. Sosta Palmizi, mus. collage chosen by Daniele Bertotto, 1989. Gave a total of 47 performances. Italy 36, France 1, Germany 4, Spain 2, Portugal 4.

Rapsodia per una Stalla: chor. Giorgio Rossi, mus. Hungarian and Yugoslavian folk music, 1990. Gave a total of 42 performances. Italy 34, Switzerland 2, Canada 4, USA 2.

APPENDIX 5: CAROLYN CARLSON: A SELECTED BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE. A SELECTED CHOREOCHRONICLE

On 7th. March 1943 Carolyn Carlson was born in Oakland California. She began her dance studies with Claire-Luche Porter at the San Francisco Ballet and after at the University of Utah.

1966 Carlson graduates from the University of Utah
She joins Nikolais' company

1968 Carlson wins 'Best Dancer' award at the International Dance Festival in Paris

1969 September: Carlson named solo dancer for Nikolais company

1971 Carlson leaves Nikolais company and joins the Anne Béranger Company in France as soloist and choreographer

1972 Presents Rituel pour un rève port at the Avignone Festival.

1973 24th. May: A solo Densitè 21,5 (mus. Varèse) premieres at L'Opéra in Paris

1974 Appointed as 'Danseuse étoile choréographe' at the Paris Opéra, a title specially coined for her

Various works with the Paris Opéra:
L'Or des fous (mus. G. Arrigo)
Les Fous d'Or (mus. Wakhevitch)
Sablier prison (mus. various and John Surman)
Il y'a juste un instant (mus. Barre Phillips)
X Land (mus. Barre Phillips, John Surman)

13 November creates leading female role in Tetley's Tristan with Ruodlf Nureyev at the Paris Opéra.

1975 Appointed artistic director of the GRTOP (Group de Recherche Théatrales dell'Opéra du Paris) by Rolf Liebermann.

Various works with this group:

1976 4th. Febuary: Wind, Water, Sand, (mus. John Surman and Barre Phillips)

1977 Febuary: This, That (mus. Igor Wakhevitch). Théatre de la Ville, Paris
April: The Other. Paris Opéra
October: The Beginning ... and the End (mus. Wakhevitch)

1978 Carlson's Zen period: The Year of the Horse (mus. unknown).

1979 A solo Writings in the Wall (mus. John Surman)
October Trio (mus. John Surman, Barre Phillips, Herve Bourde) in Milan

1980 Carlson moves to Venice, invited by Italo Gomez, where she founds the Teatrodanza Contemporaneo La Fenice at the La Fenice theatre

1981 8th. Febuary: Unidici Onde (mus. René Aubry and Jean Schwarz).
16th November: Carlson's son Aleski is born

1982 30 May: Underwood, (mus. René Aubry)

1983 21 April: L'Orso et la Luna retitled -
31 May: Chalk Work (mus. Wakhevitch, H. J. Rodelius & J. Surman)
10 - 13 November: 3rd. edition of BAM 'Next Wave' festival. Carlson present with Italian group in Underwood.
Underwood presented at Avignon Festival

1984 Carolyn Carlson leaves Venice and returns to Paris

1985 Solo Blue Lady (mus. René Aubry)
Blue Lady at BAM Festival
Blue Lady at 13th. International Istanbul Festival

1986 May: Wood, Light and Stone (mus René Aubry)

1987 Carlson choreographs Shamrock (mus. Gabriel Yared) for Dutch National Ballet
Carlson choreographs A Time Exposure (mus. J. Kuhn)

1988 Dark (mus. Joachim Kuhn)
RAI video: Danza, un personaggio una città.

1989 Improvisations (mus. Michel Portal)

1990 20th. April: Steppe. (mus. René Aubry)

1991 Cornerstone (mus. John Surman).

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ELEANOR KING IN JAPAN: DANCE BRIDGING EAST-WEST

ANDREA MANTELL-SEIDEL

In her unpublished memoirs, Transformations II, Eleanor King, pioneer American modern dancer and soloist with the original Humphrey-Weidman Dance Company, wrote, "when leaving Charles and Doris in 1935 to pursue my goal of a complete Theater Dance, I did not dream it would take so long to find the ideal at last in the achievement of Noh theater with its abstract dance of essences and simplification" (King, Transformations, p. 340). It wasn't until the summer of 1958 that King first traveled to Japan to observe and study Noh theater and other forms of Japanese dance and art. King found Noh theater to be perfect in sight, sound, gesture, and symbol. She wrote that "the Eastern world knows something beyond our frantic restlessness; the Orient knows that the beginning and the end of motion is stillness. At the heart of movement is the secret of repose" (King, p. 341).

King's affinity for Japanese culture was cultivated during her years in Seattle during the late 1930's and '40's when she came into contact with many Asian peoples and saw Kabuki theater for the first time. In 1952, King moved to Fayetteville, Arkansas to accept a full-time teaching position at the University of Arkansas where she further developed her interest in Asian dance drama. At the University, she had opportunities to collaborate with poets, composers, and other artists and to utilize the outstanding new facilities at the Fine Arts Center. Such opportunities motivated King in her fifth year at the university to undertake the challenging production of three dance plays in 1955. These plays were the beginning of the program she later called "Theater of the Imagination." Up to this point in her career, King had explored a wide range of material including folk dance themes, pure dance, and complex works to symphonic, choral, and electronic music. She was now most intrigued by the potential of creating movement to poetry and the human voice alone, of marrying vocal sound and motion.

In Japan, much of the dance is based on song and text accompanied by samisen, flute, and drum. King also was interested in the range of thematic material encompassed within a single Noh play, sometimes spanning the cycle of life from childhood to old age. In February of 1957 in Arkansas, she choreographed Hagamoro, a dance play based on a Noh text by Seami and translated by Arthur Waley. At this time, King had never seen a Noh play and did not realize that Noh is far more abstracted and compressed in time and space than Kabuki. As she wrote in her memoir, "I overextended the eight small pages of the text to 50 minutes in length, and I Kabuki-ized what should have been symbolic, understated, and abstract. . .Hagamoro, overlong and difficult, fell flat on its face . . . The audience was baffled . . . So in attempting Hagamoro, I floundered with the literal reading of the lines and equally erroneous use of

make-up."

King's dissatisfaction with the end result of staging Hagamoro prompted her to visit Japan the following summer to discover how the Japanese had solved the problems. May Tsutsumoto, a Japanese Nihon Buyo dancer and member of her Seattle repertory company, provided King with letters of introduction to distinguished Japanese dancers and critics. Borrowing money from the bank, she departed in June of 1958 to spend the summer abroad. Upon her arrival, the English newspaper headlined "S.S. President Wilson Arrives in Yokohama. Eleanor King, American dancer, to Visit." When King's boat docked in Yokohama, she gave three press interviews before debarking and had dinner with seven newsmen the next day.

Sumio Kambayashi, deputy director in charge of cultural programs, arranged a reception in her honor by the Tokyo American Cultural Center and National Association of Japan Artists (NAJA). At the reception, Madame Seiko Tanaka, President of the National Association, gave King a gift of an outline of the history of Japanese dance. This gift was to herald King's extensive observations and research of Japanese dance for the next three decades. Her research culminated in an as-yet unpublished manuscript and collection of pen and ink sketches entitled, The Way of Japanese Dance. The opening reception for King generated many invitations for her to teach, lecture, and perform throughout Japan that summer.

The NAJA invited her to appear at Hibiya Hall on July 13 on an All Japan Artists Summer Festival program to help promote the establishment of the National Theater. The Festival featured over 40 Japanese troupes in performances of modern dance, classical ballet, and traditional Japanese dance. King hadn't come to Japan prepared to dance so she did not bring costumes or music, with the exception of a painted leotard for Transformations (1951), a musicless dance based on the evolution of life forms. She consented, however, to perform Transformations and one other musicless dance, "Air," from the suite, Four Visions (1952). The other four dances in the suite include "Earth," "Fire," and "Water." Madame Tanaka offered to take King to a silk supply house to purchase fabric for a costume for "Air." Revelling in the glorious fabrics, she selected a sheer lavender silk to create a long,flowing tunic for the dance.

King danced at the sold-out, 2660-seat Hibiya Hall not to silence but rather to the accompaniment of numerous cameras clicking away. Tanaka introduced her as an unexpected guest since her name was not listed in the program. In the opening of the ten minute long Transformations, she stood balanced on one leg with a single red spot focused on her flickering hand. Evoking the fiery birth of a primal life form, the movement progressed to bird, animal, and then upright man. The audience broke out into thunderous applause before the end of the dance. In "Air," she began in a kneeling position and very slowly ascended to standing in one spot. In

fluid, slow motion, the dance explored the various qualities of air-- moving lightly through still air and swirling rapidly through wind-born air. At times, the dancer became like the air itself. King wrote, "Air, which is everywhere, could not be defined at all until I limited myself to one spot."

At the close of the performance, she received what she described as "a funeral size wreath of flowers onstage." The Tokyo Shimbun (Evening Sun) described King's performance as "brilliant" (July 14, 1958). The paper, in reference to the animal images and primal life forms evoked in Transformations headlined the next day:

> The Ardent Performance Won Much Applause--Successful Summer Dance Festival.
> . . . The audience became quiet in breathless suspense by her firey performance, dancing with unrestrained elan like an animal god (Leabhart, p. 183).

Tatsuno Nagata, prominent critic for the Onegaku Shimbum wrote:

> Now visiting Japan, she is the greatest figure among American modern dancers ever to visit the Tokyo American Cultural Center. She is an intellectual dancer, choreographer, and before anything else, an artist (July 27, 1958).

As a result of the exhuberant reviews, Kambayashi proposed that King dance solo with one of the orchestras in Tokyo. However, unlike Isadora Duncan, King had not choreographed a solo to symphonic music and had to decline his offer. Instead, Kambayashi arranged numerous lectures, workshops, and performances at the Osaka and Kyoto branches of the American Cultural Center. By August 29, King had given four lectures and a 5-day workshop in Tokyo, a 3-day workshop in Osaka, and a 2-day workshop in Kyoto. In Kyoto, one of her hosts commented that no American dancer had ever received so much news space as King had.

Perhaps, it was her sensitivity and affinity to the Japanese aesthetic that elicited the overwhelmingly positive response from both audience and critics. Long before she was exposed to Japanese culture, King shared much in common with Asian culture and philosophy. By nature, she was refined, polite, and reserved. In social interactions, she cultivated and enjoyed formal rituals. She loved nature and, in her art, largely pursued that which was natural, harmonious, and balanced. She eschewed extravagent displays of the ego and physical virtuosity for its own sake. In her memoirs, she wrote:

> In the world of nature and world of art, life can discern two paths of development: toward complexity and toward simplification. By temperament and choice, I chose the latter where the form is simple but the overtones inexhaustibly rich.

The two works premiered in Japan, "Air" and "Transformations," embodied an aesthetic of simplicity, naturalness, and purity of form. Her ability to sustain the character of a piece and her incorporation of theme of elemental and animal life were aesthetic values held in high regard by the Japanese. In Transformations, tranquil movements are punctuated by strong, dynamic gestures. This alternation of "hard and soft" forms occurs in much of Japanese dance.

A reviewer from the Ongaku Shimbun in writing about the July 13 performance commented on Ms. King's refined and delicate nature:

> As a special appearance, Miss Eleanor King, American modern dancer presented two dances without music. It was an unexpected treat . . .her dance lacked somewhat newness in choreographical ideas, although we could easily enjoy it as a dance of purity and of intelligence. Japanese dancer, I thought, would be able to learn alot from her dancing. This female dancer, born in 1906, has refined and delicate sensitivity which most Americans do not have. (Leabhart, p. 185).

The critic from the Naigai Times (July 14, 1958) acknowledged her affinity to Japanese art:

> She showed us quiet and fluent movements giving skillfully full play to her slender yet impressive body. We could see through her intelligence and her deep understanding of pantomime and Japanese traditional Noh play which she has been studying (Leabhart, p. 184).

The critic from the Music Times (July 27, 1958) recognized her essential connection to the spirit and credo of the early moderns:

> . . . . She loves old Greece so very much. Consequently she devotes personality and spirit of Isadora Duncan. In fact, I was able to see this point by her performance on the summer dancing festival at Hibiya Hall when she danced "Air" and "Transformations." In those dances, it was evident she was making Duncan's natural rhythm her ideal. Of course, her technique is very natural; however, on top of that, the flashes of intellect which is Duncan's touch is also contained in her technique.

The Tokyo Asaki Shimbun (July 19, 1958) wrote:

> There was a special performance by Miss Eleanor King, an Amrican modern dancer now visiting Japan. With her free and vigorous movements of the well-trained body, she revealed a phase of present American dance (Leabhart, p. 185).

King felt that the Japanese received her with such extraordinary

response, in part, because she had come to Japan on her own, without the assistance of a Rockefeller or Fulbright. She was there to learn from them, to study their art and culture. She recalled fondly that Kambayashi had said to her that the traveler coming from some other place, from the unknown, comes from God. Dancers especially are considered sacred.

King's first exposure to Japan had been all euphoria. Treated as a "goddess" of the dance, she was bewitched by the intoxicating taste of life in a great dance culture where dance is central to the two dominant religions, Shintoism and Buddhism. In her memoir, Transformations II, she wrote:

> There is such great virtue in Japanese dance--the distillation of the spiritual essence of a concept, emotion, or mood; the impersonality of dance transcending the ego; the allusiveness instead of direct statement; and the interchangeability of age and sex roles. In Japan, the dancer is judged not by the force of her personality nor by her prodigious technique, but by how well she sustains the character of the piece or the themes of elemental deities, animal gods, or the wonder of the natural world. The dancer is not so much subject as indirect object--an idea to reflect upon the beauty of passing forms.

Japan was a balm to King's soul, pleasing her aesthetically, spiritually, and visually.

King's second visit in June of 1960, however, brought her feet to the ground. This time, she spent eight months on a Fulbright grant to research Japanese dance. After some length of time in the congested, smog-ridden city of Tokyo, King felt constrained by Japanese city life. The dense population and the homogeneous society made King yearn for the wide, open spaces of the American West and the freedom and diversity of American culture. The lingering feudal attitude towards women was particularly discomforting to her. She felt that Japanese men were uncomfortable with her independent, self-sufficient nature.

Japanese dance, however, continued to enthrall her. King studied Nihon Buyo with Fujima Fujiko, a National Living Treasure of Japan, as well as Kabuki, Kagura shrine dances, folk dance, Bugaku court dance, and Noh. In exchange, she continued to present programs throughout Japan. In September and October of 1960, she performed dances from her repertory at the Japan-American Centennial Celebration and in the Niigata Television studio. The dances included "Lonesome Train Blues" from American Folksuite (1946), To the West (1943), Northwest Spirit Dance (1945), and Roads to Hell (1941) among other works.

As she was focused on absorbing as much Japanese art and culture

as possible, King did not incorporate her experiences into original choreographic form until after her second study visit in 1960. Instead, in February of 1959, after her first visit, she presented a number of adaptations and variations of several Japanese dances. Her first program, a benefit for an International Exchange of Students at the University of Arkansas, was entitled "Images Japanese." The program included a stately Kabuki solo with fan, the "Seven Benevolences," taught to her by Madame Fujiko, and "Taburazaka," a folk dance with bamboo poles and fans taught to her in Kyoto by Saka Bura. King restaged this dance several decades later in Santa Fe, New Mexico. I had the opportunity to perform "Tabarazaka" in a concert at the Santa Fe Armory for the Arts in 1976 and can recall the depth and clarity with which King taught the work as well as the vitality of the folk form.

On February 28, 1963 at the Arkansas Fine Arts Theater, she premiered Salutation, her first Asian-inspired choreography after visiting Japan. On the same "Theater of the Imagination" program, she also premiered Haniwa for 23 dancers, a folk dance drama based on the origin myths and legends surrounding the excavated clay figures from the Yayoi period, 400 A.D. in Japan. For Haniwa, King had commissioned an original score from the Japanese composer Kan Ishii before leaving Tokyo in 1961. She felt that this part-Japanese and part-Western "Theater of the Imagination" program had reached a new high point choreographically.

Although Salutation exhibits the strong influence of the Orient, King reiterated frequently that there is "nothing specifically Japanese about the dance." She explained that the movement was derived not so much from Japanese dance as from the sustained flow of Tai Chi Chuan. King was introduced to Tai Chi at International House in Japan and was entranced by the meditative quality and alternation of yin-yang--the soft-hard, masculine-feminine dualities. The opening phrase of the dance, a greeting to the universe, developed from Tai Chi's first phrase. The movement dynamics alternate from strong, masculine, turned out steps called Odori in Japan and large jumps to introverted, turned-in delicate gestures. A section on the floor evokes Krishna or the Bodhisattva listening to heavenly music. Salutation is set to a score entitled "Koke No Niwa" (moss garden) by the composer Alan Hovhannes. Hovhannes wrote the score for harp, English horn, clarinet, and percussion after being similarly inspired by a visit to the Zen temples of Kyoto in 1958.

Although King premiered Salutation as a duet, the dance was primarily performed in later years as a solo. The stately, abstract work pays homage to the reverential spirit of the East and distills the Asian qualities of slowness, harmony, and meditativeness (yugen) characteristic of Noh dance drama. The work exhibits the articulation and delicacy of Oriental hand movements with its incorporation of flexible, curving fingers, mudra-like gestures, and flat palms. Like in Japanese dance, there is an underlying complexity within the apparent simplicity of this poetic and symbolic dance.

In February of 1967, King sailed from San Francisco to Japan on the S. S. President Wilson for her third visit. This time, she spent seven months on a second Fulbright to complete her research for The Way of Japanese Dance. Kambayashi enthused over King's chapter. He thought King's style and point of view were "delightful" and the book "only one of its kind" (King, p. 327).

Her base for observing the ritual dances was not in Tokyo but in Kyoto where she found the heart of old Japan. Kyoto's 1000 temples provided glimpses of the tranquil grandeur of an ancient past. She studied and took classes regularly with Yoshimaro Hanayagi, met Ashihara, author of a book on Kabuki dance; saw performances by Umemoto, Kyoto's famous classical dance master; and taught a 3-day workshop at Nara Women's University where she showed tapes and slides of Haniwa.

Hanayagi, who often accompanied King on sightseeing excursions and taught her about Japanese art and culture, asked King to do new choreography for his students. Still eager to absorb as much Japanese culture as possible, King was not motivated to choreograph anything new. Instead, she offered to teach them Synthesis: The Well-Tempered Dancer, a work-in-progress. The dance, for three dancers, premiered at the International Cultural Festival of Kyoto. The choreography, sketched out in Fayetteville several years earlier, consists of a series of disciplines that combines eastern and western modes of movement. Set to the first ten preludes and fugues of Bach's "Well-Tempered Clavier," the work is structured on open and closed forms for single parts of the body, the body as a whole, and for groups of bodies. Salutation also appeared on the same program. The U.S. premiere of Synthesis for eight dancers occured in November of 1967 at the University of Arkansas.

In May of 1970, a group of touring Japanese dancers, members of the National Association of Dance Artists of Japan, shared a program with King at the Fine Arts Center. King performed Salutation as a duet with Izuno, a classical and modern Japanese dancer, who danced the yang role opposite King's yin. Other King works on the program included Miracles, (1959) The Temptation of St. Anthony (1969) and Ritual Figures from Helleas (1955). The Japanese portion of the program began with choreography by Michio Ito dating from 1920. Later that year, King's friend Sumio Kambayashi wrote her from Tokyo: "The Japanese dancers visiting America all admired Salutation for its more Japanese feeling than they can express in creative dance terms or as the Japanese soul at more profound levels than we can express through the modern dance idiom. In The Temptation of St. Anthony, we were delighted with its parallels to our Kabuki dance theater with its centaurs, heavenly and infernal creatures and strange objects coming down from heaven" (King, Transformations, p. 331).

For the next two decades of her life, King continued to present her Japanese-inspired work and developed a slide lecture program she called "Toward the New Noh." In this program, she hoped to not only stimulate interest in Non but also to "awaken poets and

dancers to the possibilities of using Western myths and legends in a similar disciplined form" (King, p. 340). Additionally, she hoped to persuade dancers and actors of the virtues of the mask and the satisfaction of blending elements of music, dance, and poetry so that state of aesthetic awareness called Yugen may be achieved in our own theater (King, p. 340).

Although King did not return to Japan after 1967, she maintained contact with many of her new friends and colleagues, some of whom visited her during U.S. tours. Eleanor King's deep affection for Japanese art and culture remained with her until her death in February of 1991. In her adobe casita in Santa Fe during the '70's and '80's, she entertained guests with her modified version of the Japanese tea ceremony. She was never more delighted than when she would receive a gift of green tea or dine at her favorite Japanese restaurant. King's years in Japan had indelibly changed her life and art. For her and the Japanese artists and audiences with whom she came into contact, an eternal bridge uniting east and west was erected.

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AMERICAN DANCE ABROAD: A VIEW FROM YUGOSLAVIA

Nadežda Mosusova, Belgrade

Between the two World Wars Yugoslavia was hardly familiar with the American dance position. The American ballet itself, at that time still in its infancy, was almost unknown to the Yugoslav public. Likewise, the artistic achievements of modern dance performed by Ruth Saint-Denis and Ted Shawn and somewhat later by Martha Graham, were unrecorded in the Balkan Peninsula regions.

At those times the European ballet had largely been recognized by the well informed part of the Yugoslav audience with a ballet stage of their own which could not be said of the extent of time preceding the World War I or the 19th century period, in so far as the East Slavs inhabiting the south of Europe and other peoples of the region were concerned.

For instance, Ballets Russes, as it is known, never made a tour of the Balkans. The southernmost geographical point they had reached in Eastern Europe was Budapest (Hungary) where Ballets Russes appeared in quite a number of productions during the 1912/1913 season, the capital of Hungary having somewhat earlier hosted Anna Pavlova and her troupe[1]) and in 1899 eighteen principal dancers from the Maryinski.

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1)
Anna Pavlova and Tamara Karsavina visited Yugoslavia and Bulgaria after the World War I.

It may also be interesting to note that of the few dancers straying in the southeast parts of Europe during the last and at the beginning of this century some came from another continent: Augusta Maywood, who danced in Bucharest (Rumania) in her own ballet entitled "Golden Girl", as well as Maud Allan who made her appearance in Belgrade (Serbia) with the sensational "Vision of Salome". The latter in some way heralded the beginning of a new dancing art in the small Serbian Kingdom.

In 1910 a school was opened in Belgrade of "rhythmical and plastic movements" (the word "dance" was being avoided) - in fact the first school of modern dance in the Balkans. Its founder/teacher, a young Serbian lady Maga Magazinović (1882-1968), studied at the Duncan School in Berlin - Grünewald. Her instructors included Max Reinhardt, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze and Mary Wigman. Maga performed after the fashion of Isadora and was also interested in adapting for stage the national dances of the Balkans - a very rich heritage. This concept of hers was subsequently developed by the Russian emigres in Yugoslavia and beyond its frontiers.

Between the Wars the Russians dominated the theatrical, operatic and, in particular, the ballet scenes in the area. Some of them came from Ballets Russes and they also successfully mounted ballets from Diaghilev's repertoire on the Yugoslav scene. 2) In any case, Yugoslavia was predestinated for classical ballet, and modern dance was pushed aside, although Maga Magazinović brought up a pupil, Ana Maletić (1904-1989) who worked in Zagreb. Little did it add to the cause that in the twenties and thirties Laban's and Jooss's troupes and the Saharov couple made a tour of Yugoslavia. Also, a new, up to date force came to Belgrade - Smiljana Mandukić (1908) who had studied in Vienna at the Akademie für darstellende Kunst at Gertrud Bodenwieser. But in vain. People came to Smiljana's studio to practise gymnastics, not to learn the modern dance.

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2) See N. Mosusova, The Heritage of the Ballets Russes in Yugoslavia between the Two World Wars, Proceedings, Society of Dance History Scholars Eleventh Annual Conference, North Carolina School of the Arts, Winston - Salem, 1988.

In the sphere of dancing the post-war years were marked by the domination of the Soviet Ballet School in East and Southeast Europe, especially in Hungary and Bulgaria. The repertoire in Yugoslavia also leaned upon "Romeo and Juliet" by Prokofyev, "Gayane" by Hachaturyan, "The Fountain of Bahschisaray" by Asafyev and from among the classical ballets on "Giselle" and "Swan Lake".

Numerous dancing stars from the USSR made guest performances in Yugoslavia. When our land and the rest of the "behind the iron curtain countries" opened up to receive the ballet, dance companies and individual dancers of the West, it also meant an orientation towards other styles in ballet. There also followed visits to Western countries by ballet troupes from Eastern states. The Belgrade Ballet of the National Theatre was the first to represent the Yugoslav Ballet at the Edinburgh Festival in 1951 and was somewhat later followed by the Zagreb Ballet which made a tour of England.

Soon, Yugoslavia hosted the tour of a group of supreme dancers of the Paris Opera - Janine Charrat and others (1954). Much publicity was also given to Margot Fonteyn and Michael Somes who danced in the same year in "Swan Lake" to be immediately succeeded by Svetlana Beryosova and John Field in the identical roles.

The theatres were sold out at the time and in 1956 the Yugoslav audience, having already seen the most outstanding dancers, was given an opportunity to make comparisons and to judge rightly the performing standards of the American Ballet Theatre, the first American ballet company to visit Yugoslavia. The audience was strongly impressed by Nora Kay (as Giselle) and other dancers like John Kriza, Lupe Serano, Erik Brühn. They were followed by Hosé Limon's company in 1957 and Jerom Robbins Ballets USA in 1959. With Limon our authorities got acquainted with a completely new style of dancing which led to new experiences in the next decade.

Namely, the sixties have marked a break-through into Yugoslavia of both the European and extra-European avant-garde. Not only did it occur as a consequence of Yugoslavia becoming open towards the rest of the world, but also was a result of an overall rise and expansion of the world avant-garde in the fields of musical, theatrical and particularly of dancing achievements.

As a consequence of this open-mindedness a string of festivals began to crop up all over the European cities, Yugoslavia being no exception, assembling the best domestic and foreign forces at theatrical, operatic and ballet performances and concerts.

Among these festivals, a very significant cultural institution was established in Zagreb in 1961 - the Musical Biennale. On its second happening in 1963 the Biennale started the realization of its very rich programmes, incorporating as a main attraction for the occasion the appearance of Igor Stravinsky with his work "The Flood" performed by the Opera of Hamburg. The Santa Fe Opera appeared in Belgrade with Stravinsky's "Persephone" and Vera Zorina in the title-role. At that time, other than by such celebrities, the attention of the Zagreb Biennale audience was captured by Ann Halprin and her Dancers Workshop Company performing the "Five-legged Stool" and "The Face". It was rather out of curiosity than with approval that Halprin's Workshop was received by the Yugoslav audience.

The spectators, already puzzled with Hosé Limon's work, experienced the main shock when Martha Graham and her company appeared on the principal stages of Belgrade and Zagreb in autumn 1962. The goddess of modern dance was taken very seriously and was admitted into the classical shrines of the National Theatres. Whereas Halprin's "Stool" had been labelled by a distinguished Belgrade critic as "atrocious exhibitionism", Martha Graham's performing made the experts ponder profoundly over the ways and future of modern dance regardless of the fact that her formula left no remarkable trace in the domestic productions (except for some private studios of modern dance), and had almost no appeal to the audience.

Nevertheless, the appreciation of the technical perfection and consistence underlying the performance concept of Graham's plays such as "Klitemnestra" or "Night Journey" has not fallen to take place.[3] However, another component of such dance achievements which could have added to bringing them closer to the public - the music - had rather hindered than raised attention and affinity although people "were able to accept in the theatre music that would have baffled or even offended them in the concert hall".[4] On the contrary, thanks also to the music, Jerom Robbins won over the admiration of his audience as did Hosé Limon, however to a lesser degree.[5]

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3) See Milica Zajceva, A Perfect Culture of Movements, Guest Performance of American Ballet Ensemble in Belgrade, Borba, September 19, 1962.

4) Talking about Petrushka in Richard Shead, Ballets Russes, London, 1989, p.47.

5) Ballet critics of Belgrade mostly appreciated the choreography of Vivaldi's Concerto Grosso, D-minor (M.Zajceva, Perfect Harmony of Dance and Music, Mladost, December 17, 1957).

Martha Graham, for example, used to commission music from the leading composers, mainly American. The question is whether that music always met the requirements of symphonic ballet i.e. of modern choreodrama, expected by the people consummating dance performance. A general point, not to be disregarded concerning the dance music of nowadays.[6] Let us recall that the inspiring music by Luciano Berio, an exceptional background and equally important factor in the "Face" by Halprin, alleviated the impact of the negative response to the choreographies by the quoted Belgrade critic[7] and the major part of the Zagreb Biennale audience.

That these two aspects - dance and music - should be taken together also testifies the case of a beautiful evening with Margot Fonteyn and Rudolf Nureyev. Having enjoyed their brilliant dance in "Paradise Lost" mounted by Roland Petit and supported (or not?) by the music of Marius Constant in the Paris Opera season 1968/69, the audience kept applauding frenetically to the dancers and hissed the composer (with whom Roland Petit usually worked!).

Unity of dance and music also intrigues Yugoslav composers who have committed themselves to contribute to the modern art of dance, regardless of the fact that modern dance "wants" to free itself from music. Even when achieving the goal of artistic unity of that kind our composers still do not stand much of a chance to see their works performed in modern techniques, because of Yugoslav choreographers and dancers' main orientation towards the classical ballet training. In this sense even the abstract classics of George Balanchine, who appeared with New York City Ballet at the Dubrovnik Summer Festival (1965) did not much move the spirits of dance in Yugoslavia. The experts and the audience enjoyed to a greater extent the visits in 1966 of the Royal Ballet from London, the ensemble of the Hungarian State Opera from Budapest and Ballet of the Kiev Opera who performed in Yugoslavia with enormous success.

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6) This question was newly raised by Jacques Prodromides, President of the French Composers' Association to the indifferent participants of the International Symposium "Aspects of Dance", sponsored by UNESCO in Belgrade 1990.

7) Stana Djurić-Klajn, from Absurdity to True Art (where "Stool" is absurdity and "Face" is true art), Politika, Belgrade, May 14, 1963, p.12.

The authorities of the cultural life establishment finally realized that modern dance should belong not to the musical avant-garde (the Zagreb Music Biennale did not have many opportunities to host big opera houses or ballet companies from abroad after the early seventies) but to the new trends of the theatre. So, by the end of the sixties in the cities of Yugoslavia, particularly in its capital, guest performances of modern dance were being included in the contemporary theatrical flows, in theatrical festivals, drama festivities, monodrama and pantomimes symposia.8)

When in 1967 an international Yugoslav manifestation entitled "New Theatrical Tendencies" was established in Belgrade, the American "Living Theater" found logically its befitting and honorary place at this first Belgrade International Theatrical Festival - BITEF. Side by side, Kathakali Dance Theatre performed. Dance returned where it belonged - to drama, to theatre, or more specifically, dance now also officially belonged to the theatre of the absurd.

After the half-traditional but very impressive exoticism and the black archetypes of Alvin Ailey had been presented to the Yugoslav audience, Dance Theater Alwin Nikolais made a tour of this country with a lavish programme. Its appearance at the 1968 BITEF convinced the experts and perhaps the audience of Yugoslavia too, that theatre in the world does not include the verbal drama alone.9) The modern dance which had no regular basis in our country was hardly understood as a component of modern theatre. But the idea started to work.

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8)
By the way, it was made a habit in the post-war Germany to put modern dance groups or companies under the same roof with the drama theatres (Schauspielhauser), the classical ballet being an adherent of the Opera Houses.

9)
See James Roose-Evans, Experimental Theatre (From Stanislavski to Peter Brook), London, 1984, Chapter 11, The Contribution of the Modern Dance - Martha Graham and Alwin Nikolais, p.91.

Nikolais' company danced to the music, sounds or noise, organized by their leader, using extravagant costumes and fantastic properties after the Bauhaus fashion. Everything could be summed up in one sentence: "Nikolais invites us to marvel rather than feel." And the audience marvelled "Imago" and other "theatre pieces"[10] of Nikolais as well as the parallel guest performances in Yugoslavia of Paul Taylor's Dance Company.

It was proved at the sixth BITEF (1972) whose superstar was Merce Cunningham with his company and the composers John Cage (a former enfant terrible of the Zagreb Biennale) and Gordon Mumma, that dance is the leading art of the twentieth century. Even if Cunningham had not received the Award of BITEF and other recognitions, he had fair reasons to be pleased, since his latest piece "Rerun" had its night in Belgrade, within the closing evening performances. Immediately after his first performance - "Events" - the theatre critics and jury members assessed Cunningham's appearance in Belgrade as a first-rate theatrical event.
As had been predicted by the jury, "Events" gave rise to polarization of opinions; the same happened to "Living Theatre" at the first BITEF (1967).

The Belgrade leading TV director Arsenije Jovanović in charge of the TV production of "Rerun", said after "Events" that he could not see the reasons accounting for the disappointment of those spectators who were shocked by the performance. "If they want the ballet they are accustomed to, let them visit the National Theatre. Otherwise, I am proud to see that art also keeps pace in maintaining the same levels which the modern science has attained. I wish such a jump could occur in the word-theatre, too!"[11] Subsequently, everything was focused on the next "jump" - "Rerun", on the music by Gordon Mumma, the sets by Jasper Johns and the lighting by Richard Nelson - the final number of the third evening of Cunningham's performances preceded by "Rainforest" and "Signals".

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10)
Selma Jeanne Cohen, Next Week, Swan Lake, Reflections on Dance and Dancers, Middletown, Connecticut, 1986, p. 116.

11)
From BITEF Bulletin, No. 5, 1972.

The excitement was all the greater as Cunningham performed the "Rerun" introducing cameras on the stage for the first time in Belgrade. Altogether it was a novelty - not only for the audience but also for the other American guests, the members of the Free Street Theater from Chicago, who, being on their first visit to Belgrade and Europe had an opportunity of seeing Cunningham and his collaborators for the first time in the Balkans. The local actors also admired the performance, one of them stating that he wished he had had technical equipment like that of Cunningham's: "I would make music - said the actor - that is more logical and perceptual!" This has been another direct reaction to modern dance music (how can one conceive Mumma's electronic modification through cybersonic circuits?),12) or to modern music in general.

After a certain dancing lull experienced at the end of the seventies, the avatars of post-modernism appeared in the BITEF skies: Lindsey Camp Company, Pina Bausch who won the BITEF Award for her "Blaubart" by Bela Bartok, the Nederlands Dans Theater and the New Ballet Rambert with "Cruel Garden". Martha Graham appeared again in Yugoslavia, this time at the Dubrovnik Summer Festival, with some older choreographies of hers.

The eighties have brought in Yugoslavia several American female directors of dance companies, multimedia persons, choreographers/dancers who are also composers like Nikolais and even singers, and at the same time strong personalities like Graham. So in 1984 BITEF was honoured by the visit of Molissa Fenley and Dancers with "Hemispheres". In 1988 Carolyn Carlson's performances took place with "Dark" as a main dance piece and, apart from BITEF, Nancy Karp and Dancers also at the Zagreb EUROKAZ. Finally, the Belgrade Theatrical Festival (BITEF 1990) was crowned with the appearance of Meredith Monk. It was said that because of Miss Monk's presence the last festivities were subtitled Theatre and Paratheatre.13) Were the organizers right? Or should they have named it post-avant-garde?

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12)
See Gordon Mumma, The New Grove.

13)
Marija Kovač, Music and Its Double, BITEF 90 - One of Possible Views on Music in Theatre and Paratheatre, Zvuk No. 5/1990, pp. 81-87.

In the end, we ask ourselves: Have they of all others encouraged now modern dance in Yugoslavia? Has for instance, the example of Miss Carlson's work in her experimental school attached to the Paris Opera influenced our ballet authorities? The answer is no. Yet, the new style of dance is beginning to appear timidly on the small scenes of the National Theatres in our country, but in general modern dance is still a private job of the minority as is obviously the destiny of modern art and music - to be recognized by few.

Anyway, big American dance companies as Graham's or Cunningham's together with large American theatre companies making guest performances in Yugoslavia, encouraged the new theatrical trends in our land, which has for the last thirty years been open to guests of all kinds and to various cultural exchanges, all supported by the cultural policies of the wise people who strive to create a new and free world of art in spite of all terrestrial and cosmic evils. What will the new fin-de-siècle of the nineties bring to us?

The bibliographic sources consulted are Yugoslav critiques from the newspapers (in that respect I owe my special thanks to Mrs. M. Zajceva for making her reviews available to me), programmes, bulletins, etc., the Dance Magazine issue devoted to Martha Graham, July 1991 as well as the personal experiences and the following books:

1. James Roose-Evans, Experimental Theatre (From Stanislavski to Peter Brook), London, 1984

2. Selma Jeanne Cohen, Next Week, Swan Lake, Reflections on Dance and Dancers, Middletown, Conn., 1986

3. Connie Kreemer, Further Steps, Fifteen Choreographers on Modern Dance, New York, 1987

4. Rose Lee Goldberg, Performance Art, From Futurism to the Present, London, 1988

5. Deborah Jowitt, Time and the Dancing Image, Berkley and Los Angeles, 1989

6. Fernau Hall, The Beauty of Ballet, Forewords by Dame Margot Fonteyn and Eva Evdokimova, London, 1989

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THE CANADIAN MODERN DANCE IDENTITY IN DIALECTIC WITH AMERICAN INFLUENCE

Iris Garland

Twenty-six years ago I emigrated from the U.S. to introduce modern dance at Simon Fraser, a new university in British Columbia, Canada. During this process it never occurred to me that I was to become part of a larger phenomenon that encouraged an American orientation to an art form in a foreign country. I had the notion that Art with a capital "A" is not defined by national boundaries, but deserves to be known, experienced, and disseminated as widely as possible.

Canada was a British colony, and not until 1931 under the Statute of Westminster did it gain full political autonomy.[1] Many would say Canadian identity is closely related to Britain because of the parliamentary system and the long standing colonial status.[2] On the other hand, the physical proximity of the United States, the flow of population, and media saturation from the South casts a long shadow which some see as a more powerful source of identification. Robin Matthews points out:

> **...the part of the Canadian psyche that sees itself as American uses a very Canadian reading of what American is. That part of the psyche forms, moreover, part of a set of Canadian dialectical tensions that have been in unique formation over several hundred years.[3]**

Abraham Rotstein states that without "a historical moment of actual creation", Canada lacks a vision to differentiate itself in terms of its culture.[4] Historian W.L. Morton makes the following distinction:

> **the meaning of American society is the performance of a mission while the meaning of Canada's society is the working out of a destiny.[5]**

Having said all this, the early roots of modern dance in Canada seem less influenced by geographical proximity or political affiliation than by immigration patterns. The German Modern Dance (Ausdruckstanz) disciples of Mary Wigman and the Laban Schools in Europe emigrated to Canada and taught in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Edmonton as early as the 1930's. These teachers included Elizabeth Leese, Ruth Sorel, Yone Kvietys, and Bianca Rogge.

The tentative beginnings of a modern dance company were started by Ruth Sorel, who appeared in 1949 at the second Canadian Ballet Festival in Toronto.[6] Notable exceptions to this strong German influence were Mary Cussans who had been trained at Denishawn and taught at McGill University in Montreal in the 1930's. Thelma Wagner, an American, who studied with Hanya Holm and at Bennington followed Cussans in 1938 and remained there until 1967.[7] Iro Tembeck says recitals of the McGill Modern Dance Club in the 1930's "seemed to reflect the same aesthetic slant as that of the American modern dance."[8]

However, the more prevalent emphasis was German which is understandable considering the immigration patterns of the time. Europeans were emigrating to Canada in greater numbers to escape the turmoil caused by the eruption of World War II. American dancers and teachers, on the other hand, did not emigrate to Canada in significant numbers until the latter 1960's during the Vietnam War.

This paper discusses three conduits of this influence: first, Canadians who studied in the United States returning to teach and choreograph in Canada; second, the immigration of American dancers and choreographers; and third, the development of university and college dance programs. In my overview of this influence I have not included the entire spectrum of individual contributions, nor have I dealt with the various American dance companies that have performed in Canada. I have chosen to highlight significant influences that took root in Canada and led to progressive growth. I will briefly reflect on the current modern dance scene, placing American influence into context of Canadian dance in general.

The major American modern dance influences occurred in the middle to late 60's and early 70's. This coincided with the influx of American immigrants during the Vietnam War, and the beginning of government support for modern dance. This was a rather chicken and egg situation; the government responding to a burgeoning growth in dance, and the proliferation of dance companies due to funding opportunities available for the first time. Although it might be specious to equate 'draft resistance' to the Vietnam War with the increase in American modern dance influence in Canada, it is a fact that Canada became more attractive for those Americans with alternative 'lifestyles' and political consciousness, which included artists of all disciplines, including modern dance.

Canadian dancers: American training:

Not all U.S. influence was imported directly by American immigrants or visiting American dance companies. Canadian dancers, after study in the United States, returned to apply their new information.

Norbert Vesak, a ballet trained dancer in Vancouver, went to study at Jacob's Pillow, where he was strongly influenced by Ted Shawn , Norman Walker, and Pauline Koner. He performed at the first Modern Dance Festival in 1963 in Toronto which included German influenced dancers Yone Kvietys, Bianca Rogge, Ruth Lau, Biroute Nagys, and Freda Crisp.[9] Vesak founded the Western Dance Theater in Vancouver in 1970 using his amalgam of established modern dance styles. In 1971 Vesak created a significant work for the Royal Winnipeg Ballet titled, "The Ecstasy of Rita Joe," based on the play by Canadian playwright, George Ryga. The scenario described the assimilation of a Canadian native Indian girl into urban life with tragic results. Vesak's influence in Vancouver spawned dancers and choreographers who contributed to the growth of dance in the community (Prism Dance Theatre, Main Dance Projects), and he engaged Albert Reid, from the Merce Cunningham School to teach a workshop in the late 60's. Reid has returned regularly to Vancouver under the sponsorship of former Vesak dancer, Gisa Cole. Subsequently, Vesak left Canada to successfully pursue his career in the United States as a choreographer for regional ballet companies.and the Metropolitan Opera Ballet.

Perhaps the most significant American influence on modern dance in Canada has been the Martha Graham technique. Patricia Beatty, a Canadian whose American dance studies include: Bennington College and five years with the Pearl Lang Dance Company, returned to Toronto in 1966. She was joined soon after by David Earle, a Canadian, who had danced with Martha Graham and Jose Limon; and American born Peter Randazzo, a former member of the Martha Graham Company. They formed the Toronto Dance Theatre in 1968, and although searching for their own choreographic voices, espoused the Graham technique as their means for training dancers. The Company established a school which became a mecca for modern dance training in Toronto.[10] This was the most potent example of an institutional affiliation with an American dance technique. Eventually, the school became established as a professional training school for modern dancers with a two year Program including composition.

Initially, choreography of the three founders of the Toronto Dance Theatre (known as T.D.T.) was recognizably Graham influenced,[11] but became less so as the Company evolved. Canadian resident choreographer Christoper House, a former student of the School, has developed a style that bears little resemblance to the Graham roots of the T.D.T., and T.D.T. trained Canadian dancer, Peggy Baker, had a long tenure with the Lar Lubovitch Dance Company in New York before returning to Canada recently to pursue a solo career and free lance teaching.

Linda Rabin, a Montrealer, returned to her native city after graduating from Julliard and teaching abroad in Israel and for the Rambert Ballet in London.. She established a professional school "Les Ateliers de Danse Moderne de Montreal" in the late '70's which emphasized a Limon based technique. Rabin also taught Graham technique and incorporated body therapy techniques of Alexander, Irene Dowd, and Elaine Summers. Although Quebeckers claim they owe little to American influence in their 'new dance aesthetic', most of the professional dancers in Montreal have had considerable exposure to the Limon and Graham techniques through Rabin's professional dance classes and other sources.

Vancouver dancer, Linda Rubin, attended Jacob's Pillow, studied at the Graham School in N.Y. in the late '60's, and subsequently with Anna Halprin. In the early '70's she returned to Vancouver and established "Synergy" which became known for workshops and classes in 'alternative movement styles'. At Synergy Contact Improvisation was introduced to Vancouver by American guest teachers such as Steve Paxton and Nita Little. Contact Improvisation developed a following in major centres across Canada, and elements of Contact Improvisation have infiltrated into many choreographers' work in all parts of the country. 'Contact' was especially transplantable due to the open and egalitarian nature of its philosophy and aesthetic.[12] There was opportunity to contribute to its continual evolution by those who practiced it. There is a regional emphasis in the history of contact improvisation which meshes well with the regional diversity of Canada.

American Immigrants : Canadian Modern Dance

A curious phenomenon of the American influence in Canada has a rather indirect origin. Two American professional ballet dancers, Rachel Browne and Peter Boneham have made unique contributions in the founding of the first two Canadian modern dance companies to establish a solid funding base.

Rachel Browne, emigrated to Canada in 1957 to dance with the Royal Winnipeg Ballet. Browne founded the Winnipeg Contemporary Dancers in 1964, after studying Graham, Limon, and Cunningham techniques in New York during the summers. The Winnipeg Contemporary Dancers claims the distinction of being the oldest established modern dance company in Canada., Browne's choreography tends to be romantic and lyrical, and her vision was a repertory company which included American imported choreography (e.g. Fred Matthews, Dan Wagoner, Cliff Keuter, and Lynn Taylor Corbett).

Peter Boneham, an American ballet dancer came to Canada to dance with Les Grand Ballet Canadiens in Montreal in the middle 1960's. He was soon attracted to the work of Jean Renaud, a French Canadian dance pioneer who in the 1940's was part of a communal experimental group called the "Automatistes" comprised of visual artists and two other dance pioneers, Franciose Riopelle, and Franciose Sullivan. The 'Automatistes' were influenced by the French Surrealists, and wrote their own manifesto 'Refus Global' (Global Denial).[13] Renaud, as artistic director, and Boneham formed 'Le Groupe de la Place Royale' in 1966, with a strong multi-disciplinary experimental approach. . Renaud had studied briefly in New York with Hanya Holm and Mary Anthony, and her style owed much to her interest in the abstract expressionism of visual artists in Quebec and her time spent living in Paris during which she worked with Merce Cunningham. In terms of American influence on 'Le Groupe', she states:

> **The tradition was coming out of the States. If you looked at the Toronto Dance Theatre, the technique was really coming through Martha Graham, and they were following something that was already shaped. I was taking a little bit of Merce Cunningham, a little of Hanya Holm.[14]**

'Le Groupe' has launched the careers of other notable American expatriates, such as Maria Formolo and Michael Montanaro, whose careers in dance as choreographers were forged in Canada. Formolo, originally from Chicago and a graduate in Visual Arts, left 'Le Groupe' in the mid-70's to pioneer the formation of a new dance company, 'Regina Modern Dance Works', in Saskatchewan in conjunction with Marianne Livant, also of American origin. Influenced by the rural culture and socialist ideas fermenting in Saskatchewan, Formolo has explored native, environmental, and cross-cultural issues in her work long before these issues were 'au courant'.

Montanaro came to Canada originally to dance for Le Grand Ballet Canadiens from the Hartford Conservatory in Conn. where he studied theatre and dance. After his experience in 'Le Groupe' working with voice, text, visual artists, and composers, he formed his own Company in Montreal in the early '80's, the Michael Montanaro Dance Company. His work is an outgrowth of the multi-disciplinary focus engendered by 'Le Groupe'.

A pattern emerges that this particular group of Americans were more influenced by their Canadian experiences in their artisic development as choreographers than by their American backgrounds.

Danny Grossman, a long time member of the Paul Taylor Dance Company, initially came to Canada to work with the Toronto Dance Theatre in 1973, and created his own company, The Danny Grossman Dance Company in 1975. Grossman has his own distinct style (ironic humour, social comment, and gender politics) which seems to have been rooted in his American background.

Dena Davida, a New Yorker, came to Montreal in the middle 70's to teach Laban and Nikolai technique to Entre-Six Dance Company,[15] and stayed to form Catpoto, a women's contact improvisation collective. She spearheaded the "Tangente" Performing Series which is an artist-run space that promotes "danse actuelle" (new dance experimentation).[16] Davida was also a co-founder of the prestigious 'Festival International de Nouvelle Danse' in 1982 which has become an annual event in Montreal, showcasing post-modern dance companies from Canada , the U.S., Europe, and Japan.

American Influence in Canadian Universities

When I arrived in Canada in 1965, dance major programs in the universities were non-existent. Dance was taught, if at all, in Physical Education or Theatre Departments, and many of the teachers had a British Laban based educational dance approach.

York University in Ontario included Dance as an equal partner with the other Arts when they established a new Fine and Performing Arts School in 1970. This was the first Dance Major Program in Canada. Grant Strate, a Canadian choreographer and former charter member of the National Ballet of Canada, was the founding Chairman of the York Dance Department. He received a law degree from the University of Alberta and studied modern dance with former Wigman dancer, Laine Mets Kriik,[17] before he was recruited and introduced to ballet by Celia Franca, artistic director of the National Ballet of Canada.

Strate consulted with Martha Hill of Julliard when designing the York Dance Program. He had spent five months teaching at Julliard in 1963, and had respect for the professional training that dancers received there.[18]

Strate started the York Program with equal emphasis in ballet and modern dance. There was not a history of training dancers in a university setting in Canada, and many dance professionals were skeptical of the idea, if not hostile. The American modern dancers had developed techniques that, if not totally codified, had been honed and taught successfully as a progressive method of training dancers (e.g. Graham, Humphrey/Limon, Nikolais, Cunningham), and Americans had the tradition of training dancers in university programs. Ahuva Anbary, a graduate of Julliard who had been teaching at Interlochen in Michigan, was hired to teach Graham technique. Cunningham and Limon techniques were introduced later.

The Program at Simon Fraser University evolved gradually from a non-credit dance workshop program, to a dance minor, and finally a dance major. I gravitated to the Nikolais technique because it had a unified and concurrent method of teaching technique, improvisation, and composition. Phyllis Lamhut and Gladys Bailin were strong influences as visiting teachers during the 70's. Improvisation as a stimulus to creativity had appeal to the counter-culture which was a strong element at Simon Fraser and in Vancouver in the late '60's

and early '70's. In 1976 Santa Aloi, an American dancer formerly with the Gus Solomons Jr. Dance Company, was hired as the Program expanded.

Currently, there are six university dance degree programs in Canada.[19] Grant MacEwan College in Edmonton, Alberta offers a two year concentrated dance training program, and was founded by American born, Charlene Tarver, a Hanya Holm exponent. Brian Webb, a Canadian dancer, spent several years training in Erick Hawkins technique in New York in the 70's, and returned to teach at Grant MacEwan and form the Brian Webb Dance Company.

York University and Simon Fraser University dance programs were more directly influenced by American artists and visiting dance companies than the other university programs. This is perhaps because they developed earlier. As the Canadian dance profession evolved, the necessity for hiring Americans lessened and became more difficult, due to protective hiring practices.

By the middle '70's a nationalistic backlash to the American influx into Canadian Universities began to take form. A typical example of the rhetoric is this quote by Ian Lumsden:

> **The most characteristic feature of Canadian universities in recent years has been their Americanization. Among its most pernicious effect has been the "professionalization" of formerly humanistic disciplines. Canadian students are now increasingly taught by faculty whose academic standing is measured by their "professional reputation" rather than by their intellectual abilities.[20]**

The rapid expansion of Canadian universities in the '60's had necessitated the hiring of foreigners, a high proportion being American. Nationalists claimed that once ensconsed in their positions Americans used the 'old boy network' to hire colleagues from their former institutions in the States, rather than Canadians who were becoming increasingly qualified. During my first fifteen years at Simon Fraser, I engaged American guest companies and teachers because I believed the quality of work was superior to the fledgling dance occuring in Canada at the time. This practice, even for a limited time, exemplifies issues raised by Canadian nationalists such as Susan Crean:

> **Canadian art is treated as foreign art, acceptable only if it can be reconciled with the prevailing standards of other countries.[21]**

Current trends: Transformation

There was an iconoclastic, dada-like, movement in Toronto in the 70's centered around '15 Dance Lab', founded by Canadians Lawrence and Miriam Adams, former dancers with the National Ballet of Canada.

> **A typical evening might include a jazz solo, a pessimistic statement about alienation, a video experiment and a duet by Miriam on the theme of yoghurt.[22]**

This radical Toronto dance counter-culture had a small but vocal nationalistic element that resented the access to government funding allowed to newly arrived American choreographpers. The group published *Spill*, a dance newspaper in the late 70's, where Peter Dudar directed some derogatory barbs toward American expatriates in Canada:

> **The following are general instructions on how to form a New York style avant-garde dance group. First of all, it's best to be born in the States. For, unlike Americans arriving here, a Canadian has absolutely no rights, privileges, or access to government funding. In Canada, however, you can feel free to lift American ideas indiscriminately since their style is not yet firmly entrenched here.**
> **...Charlotte (Hildebrand) is the typical case of the American with insufficient talent to make it back home who comes to Canada where the derivations in her work aren't immediately recognizable by most.[23]**

This attitude was rarely expressed in the dance community which, on the whole, was welcoming to newcomers and open to American influences. However, such sentiments mirrored a nationalistic element in the general population that was resentful of the sudden influx of American immigrants into Canada in the late 60's and early 70's.

Most Canadian dancers and choreographers have spent time studying and imbibing the work of their contemporaries in the U.S. How this translates into the dance aesthetic of their creative work is a moot point.

As Karen Jamieson, who danced with Nikolais and spent four years studying in New York, states:

> **Nikolais was a very powerful influence on me, even though I was pushing against some of it. But you need those figures who loom**

> large in your development. A lot of his work, his ideas, his approaches, permeate mine. It's like threads running through my own work, but it's not overt at all....There was also some curious and not completely clear sense of nationalism New York gave me,... a knowledge that I didn't want to be absorbed by that culture.[24]

The different emphasis of dance regionally in Canada distinguishes its development historically from the United States where New York was the fount from which most creative innovations flowed. In Canada one speaks of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver in terms of different dance aesthetics with a friendly competitive edge as to where the creative sparks are generating the most excitement.

During the '80's, Montreal has indisputably produced the most distinctive and internationally recognized style of dance.[25] French Canadian culture with its long history of repression of the arts by the Catholic regime of Duplessis until 1960, pressure for political separateness from English Canada, and the resulting tensions created a hothouse for a vibrant cultural life, and has forged an artistic identity clearly defined from that of English Canada. Their dance is described in terms of 'Quebec dance' or 'Montreal dance' with 'Canadian' mentioned as an afterthought, or not at all. This attitude may be attributed to the political unrest fermenting as to whether Quebec will remain a part of Canada or become a separate political entity.

The work of Eduoard Lock, Paul-Andre Fortier, and Ginette Laurin, traces roots not to American influence of established techniques, but to the inventions of a new vocabulary. They were influenced by Martine Epoque, founder of Nouvelle Aire Dance Company, and their previous backgrounds in film, literature, and gymnastics, respectively.[26] The Montreal style is noted for its physical risks, vitality, strong emotionality, quirky gestures, theatricality, shock imagery, occasional violence, and political issues in gender relations. [27] Its aesthetic is closer to the 'new dance' in Europe than to the United States. However, intellectual ideas in both American and European post-modernism have been a factor in French Canadian artistic growth. Of course, the exploration of new vocabularies of movement has been a hallmark of modern dance since Isadora Duncan.

Many in Canada would say that American modern dance has lost its supremacy as the 'cutting edge'. There is much interest in the resurgence of European dance theatre, particularly, Pina Bausch and

the French and Belgian choreographers (e.g. Jean-Claude Gallotta, Anne Teresa De Keersmaeker). Oriental martial arts, and Japanese 'Butoh' are also creative inspirations for Canadian choreographers. Increasingly, the success of Montreal dance has given the modern dancers in Canada inspiration from their own sources rather than the need to find it abroad.

American dance influences in Canada have been a form of fertilizer, and although we are part of what the Canadian writer Marshall McLuhan called the 'global village' with pressures to homogenize, perhaps Northrop Frye's assessement fits the dance:

> **Culture has something vegetable about it, something that increasingly needs to grow from roots, something that demands a small region and a restricted locale."[28]**

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[1]Crean, S.and M. Rioux. *Two Nations.* Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., Publishers. 1983. p. 26.

[2]Matthews, Robin. *Canadian Identity.* Ottawa: Steel Rail Publishing. 1988. p. 2

[3] Ibid. p. 3.

[4]Rotstein, Abraham."Binding Prometheus" in *Close the 49th Parallel, etc.: The Americanization of Canada.* Ian Lumsden (ed.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. p.219.

[5]Crean and Rioux. p. 25.

[6]Wyman, Max. *Dance Canada. An Illustrated History.* Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre. 1989. pp. 58-60.

[7]Tembeck, Iro. "Early Modern Montreal: 1929-1970. *Dance Connection* Feb./Mar.1991.

[8]Ibid. p. 30.

[9]Wyman, Max. p. 125.

[10]Jackson, Graham. "Graham Training Settles in Canada". *Dance in Canada* Summer 1977.

[11]Jackson, Graham. "Martha's Web: Ten Years With Toronto Dance Theatre." *Dance in Canada* Winter 1978-79.

[12]Novack, Cynthia J. *Sharing the Dance: Contact Improvisation and American Culture* The University of Wisconsin Press. 1990.

[13]Wyman, Max. pp. 61-62.

[14]as cited by Mike Anderson. "Groupe Portrait". *Dance Connection* June/July/August 1991.

[15]Howe-Beck, Linda. "Anniversary: The End of the Affair?". *Dance Connection* June/July/August 1991.

[16]Libman, Carol. "Making It Happen In Montreal: Tangente's Dena Davida." *Dance in Canada* Spring. 1984.

[17]Aaron, Susan. "Roots No. 1: Laine Mets Kriik." *Spill* No. 2. Dec. 1976.

[18] Personal conversation with Grant Strate. June, 1991.

[19]Flynn, Anne."Dance Degree Programs in Canada". *Dance Connection* Feb/Mar. 1991.

[20]Lumsden, Ian. "Imperialism and Canadian Intellectuals". *Close the 49th Parallel, etc.: The Americanization of Canada* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1970. p. 329.

[21] Crean, Susan M. *Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture?* Don Mills, Ont.: General Publishing Company Limited. 1976. p. 14

[22]Wyman, Max. Ibid. p. 189.

[23]Dudar, Peter. "Various Ways in Which Charlotte Hildebrand and Le Groupe de la Place Royale (and etc.) Reflect the Diseased State of Canadian Dance." *Spill* No. 8. 1977.

[24]cited in Peter Ryan. "Karen Rimmer Knits Her Choreography Into A Seamless Pattern." *Interface* Feb. 1982.(Rimmer has since changed her name to Jamieson.).

[25]Littler, William. "Canada's Dance Packs Its Cultural Luggage." *The New York Times.* Sept. 9, 1990.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Citron, Paula. "The Well-choreographed Montreal Dance Explosion". *Performing Arts.* Summer 1982.

[28]as cited by William Littler. Ibid.

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Biography: Iris Garland

Iris Garland is Professor of Dance in the School for the Contemporary Arts at Simon Fraser University, in Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada. She founded the Dance Program at Simon Fraser in 1965, and is active as an independent choreographer. She is a past Chairman of Dance in Canada Association (1978-79), and received the Distinguished Service Award from Dance in Canada Association in 1985. She has received three Canada Council short-term grants, and is a certified Laban Movement Analyst.

Nijinska's Theatre Choréographique Nijinska: The 1925 Tour of English Resort Towns

Laurie Kaden

On 3 August 1925, a small ballet ensemble directed by the Russian dancer and choreographer Bronislava Nijinska embarked upon a tour of resort towns in England. Called the Theatre Choréographique Nijinska, the company performed Nijinska's ballets and appeared at seventeen venues before disbanding nearly seven weeks later on 19 September. This company was the first of four Nijinska organized and directed during her lifetime.

Although much has been written about Nijinska's artistic work, little was known about this company prior to the 1986 exhibition "Bronislava Nijinska: A Dancer's Legacy" shown in both New York City and San Francisco. Various items within the exhibit which referred to the resort tour provided the initial impetus for this research throughout England. While the catalogue by Nancy Van Norman Baer prepared in conjunction with the Nijinska exhibit contained valuable information about the tour,[1] material for this study was gleaned primarily from newspapers of those provincial towns which the company visited or from the presses of nearby towns. Remarkably, the tour went unnoticed in British national publications, including The Dancing Times, which often carried resort-land reports, and in the choreographic chronology of Nijinska's posthumously published Early Memoirs,[2] which omits reference to this particular company.

Some sources tangential to dance history contain scattered references to the company and tour. For example, Arnold Haskell and P.J.S. Richardson's Who's Who in Dancing 1932 lists one of Nijinska's dancers as taking part in "La Nijinska's Ballet in her tour round England, 1925."[3] In De Basil's Ballets Russes, author Katherine Sorley Walker mentions a ballet included in the company's repertoire and later restaged which had been "sketched out in Margate, England [the first performance venue] in 1925."[4] Also, two catalogues make reference to associations between Nijinska's company and Russian visual artist and theatrical designer Alexandra Exter, who designed

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[1] Bronislava Nijinska: A Dancer's Legacy (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986)

[2] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981)

[3] (London: The Dancing Times. 1932): 123.

[4] (London: Hutchinson, 1982): 5.

the company's costumes.[5] Beyond these scattered sources, little more had been recorded.

Bronislava Nijinska's early life and career may be described as both rich and diverse. Her classical ballet training first led to a career with the Imperial Theatres ballet company in St. Petersburg. She later became a member of Serge Diaghilev's company, participating in his first presentations of Russian ballet in western Europe. After the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, Nijinska also taught and choreographed, first at her school in Kiev which she called Ecole de Mouvement, and later during the years Diaghilev engaged her to create ballets for his company--late 1921 through early 1925.

Prior to the reconstruction of Le Train Bleu (1924), Nijinska's artistic reputation had rested upon two dance masterpieces--Les Noces (1923) and Les Biches (1924). During her tenure with the Ballets Russes, Nijinska's ballets utilized pure movement based upon a libretto, but Diaghilev disliked the plotless, abstract ballets which she became increasingly interested in creating. While she was chief choreographer for the Ballets Russes, Diaghilev was giving choreographic assignments to Serge Lifar, previously one of Nijinska's pupils from her Kiev school, now a new recruit to the Ballets Russes,[6] and to George Balanchine, who had joined the company in late 1924. Threatened by these situations, Nijinska and her second husband Nicolas Singaevsky, also a company member, left the Ballets Russes in January 1925 and traveled to France where Nijinska had been offered by its director Jacques Rouché the position of guest ballet mistress and choreographer for the ballet company of the Paris Opéra.[7] There she began to work on the choreography for the opera La Naissance de la Lyre and to teach at her own studio.

Nijinska initially contacted music publisher Gabriel Astruc to seek financial backing through a private patron for the company she wanted to form. When Astruc voiced doubt concerning Nijinska's probable success at financing her company in this manner, Nijinska signed a contract on 26 June 1925 with Donald Arthur of Star Attractions, the London[8] agency which would sponsor and promote the company she would form. The contract she signed stipulated that the tour begin "on or about August 4th and . . . continue until October the 24th," or about eleven and a half weeks. A further

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[5] Alexandra Exter: Marionettes Created in 1926 (New York: Leonard Hutton Galleries, 1975); Artist of the Theatre: Alexandra Exter (New York: New York Public Library, 1974).

[6] Serge L. Grigoriev, The Diaghilev Ballet 1909-1929 (Baltimore: Penguin, 1960): 205.

[7] Baer, 49.

[8] The address of Donald Arthur's Star Attractions was 188, Piccadilly, London, S.W.1, Telephone 7989 Gerrard. Kelly's Directory for London (1924, 1925, and 1926 eds.) does not verify that Star Attractions operated from this address.

stipulation included that Nijinska receive one-third of the gross receipts either during or after each performance.[9]

She hired and assembled the company's nine dancers--her husband, (who also acted as stage manager for the company while on tour), Eugene Lapitzky, Serge Unger, brothers Jan and Czeslaw Hoyer, Helene Wojcikowska, Lubov Soumarokova, Joyce Berry, and Doris Sonn[10]--who were to begin rehearsals in early July. A thread of artistry common to all the dancers was their previous work with Nijinska. All were of either Russian or Polish descent and had been Ballets Russes members with the exception of the company's two English dancers, Berry and Sonn, who had developed professional careers outside of that company's aegis but who had studied with Nijinska in Paris. Helene Wojcikowska, the married name of Elena Antonova, had trained in St. Petersburg, while Lubov Soumarokova had studied in Moscow. Both had joined the Ballets Russes in 1915. All five men dancers had been Nijinska's pupils at the Ecole de Mouvement.

Significance lies in the name Nijinska gave her company. Like other Russian dancers such as her brother Vaslav, Anna Pavlova, and Lydia Kyasht, who had also at one time formed their own companies, Nijinska used her own name within the company title in order to gain some amount of personal and artistic recognition and also to draw on her name's already familar reputation in Britain. But unlike titles such as "Saison Nijinsky" (her brother's unsuccessful, London-based company of 1914), "Anna Pavlova and Company," and "Lydia Kyasht 'A La Russe,'" which emphasized the artist, "Theatre Choréographique Nijinska" emphasized the art. The word "Theatre" (without accents) is English; "Choréographique," a mixture of English and French. Together, the words lent a sense of French exoticism while at the same time remained fully understandable to English audiences as "choreographic theater." Stated as such, the company's emphasis clearly was to show Nijinska's choreography in a theatrical environment as an entity supported equally by costumes and music.

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9 Contractual agreement between Donald Arthur and Bronislava Nijinska, 26 June 1925, Nijinska Archives (Baer, 49).

10 Baer cites an additional male dancer, Casella Poldowsky, as a member of the company. These were in fact the names of two composers (Alfredo Casella (1883-1947), Italian composer and pianist, and Lady Dean Paul Poldowsky (1880-1932), Polish composer. Also, Doris Sonn replaced Ballets Russes dancer Lydia Krassovska shortly before the tour began. Newspaper advertisements announcing Krassovska's appearance with the company are found in the Bournemouth Daily Echo, 4 Aug 1925, 5, the Bournemouth Graphic, 31 July 1925, 7, the Bournemouth Guardian and Hants and Dorset Advertiser, 1 Aug 1925, 3, Southern Guardian and Dorset and Hants Advertiser, 1 Aug 1925, 3, and Swanage and Wareham Guardian, 1 Aug 1925, 3. These same advertisements also announced the appearance of Stanislaw Zmarzlik with the company, a dancer apparently engaged by Nijinska for the company who, for unidentified reasons, did not participate in the tour.

The company was rarely publicized in newspaper advertisements by its correct name, however, and Nijinska was improperly labeled as "Premier Danseuse of the Imperial Opera House, St. Petersburg,"[11] "Premier Danseuse de Ballets Russe,"[12] and "Premier Ballerina from the Imperial Opera House, Moscow."[13] This advertising plainly reflected an attempt to capitalize upon Nijinska's former associations with noted Russian ballet companies, even though she had resigned her Imperial Theatres and Ballets Russes associations in 1911 and early 1925 respectively, and she had never been an artist of the Imperial Opera House in Moscow. Also, titles such as "Nijinska Russian Ballet,"[14] "the famous Russian Ballet,"[15] the "Great Russian Ballet, including La Nijinkska [sic],"[16] "the rage of London, the Russian Ballet, Nijinska,"[17] the "Theatre Choréographic 'Nijinski' [sic] Russian Ballet,"[18] the "World Famous La Nijinska Russian Ballet, Including Principals of the Diaghileff Ballet,"[19] and "Stars from the London Coliseum, Diaghileff Ballet and full Company"[20] exaggerated, often erroneously, the associations between Nijinska's company and the well-known Ballets Russes. Nijinska's troupe--neither "the rage of London" nor "world-famous," lacked an established reputation. It was arguable that the seven dancers who had worked with the Ballets Russes had been "principals" or "stars." As announced, Nijinska's company was to have come "directly from the Coliseum" to give selections from a "series of their London successes."[21] While five dancers--Soumarokova, Lapitzky, Unger, and the Hoyer brothers--had just completed a Ballets Russes season at the London Coliseum on 1 August and had indeed come "directly from the Coliseum," five, including Nijinska, were not involved with this company in any capacity at that time. Furthermore, the company had had no "London successes," as it had never given performances there as a group.

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11 Program, Winter Gardens Theatre, Hoylake. Nijinska's certificate of resignation from the Imperial Theatres stated that she had no right to the title Artist of the Imperial Theatres (Anatole Chujoy and P.W. Manchester, comp. and ed., The Dance Encyclopedia [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967]: 669.

12 Liverpool Echo, 13 Aug 1925, 1.

13 Program, Queen's Hall, Minehead.

14 Scarborough Evening News and Daily Post, 26 Aug 1925, 1.

15 Weston Mercury and Somersetshire Herald, 8 Aug 1925, 5.

16 Hoylake and Meols Free Press, 11 Aug 1925, 1.

17 Weston-super-Mare Gazette, 8 Aug 1925, 4.

18 Bexhill-on-Sea Observer, 29 Aug 1925, 1.

19 Margate Day by Day, 3 Aug 1925, 13.

20 Sidmouth Herald and Directory, 5 Sept 1925, 2.

21 Bournemouth Times and Directory, 1 Aug 1925, 5.

Nijinska's company embarked upon a tour of seaside resorts, many small and exclusive, some large and fashionable, located primarily along England's southern coast and West Country. Two were inland spa towns--Malvern and Harrogate--and several were resorts near England's industrial centers, such as the working-class resort of Margate, which drew "day-trippers" from London; New Brighton, which attracted holidaymakers from the Liverpool area; and Scarborough, which drew those from the Yorkshire region in the Industrial North. The seventeen resorts ranged widely in population. Bournemouth, located in the southern county of Hampshire, boasted a population of 91,000 while Selsey was a town of 2,300.[22] Through her appearances at these resorts, Nijinska brought dance directly to that segment of society with which she had earlier demonstrated such fascination in her choreography for Les Biches and Le Train Bleu.

The venues at which the company appeared varied considerably. Fully-equipped theatres, such as the Tower Theatre in New Brighton (which seated up to 2,000) and the Royal Hall in Harrogate, adequately met the company's performance needs with generous stage and seating areas, balconies, and plush box seats. "Winter Gardens," or large, iron-and-glass exhibition halls filled with exotic plants, ferns, palm trees, and indoor fountains, provided little more than limited stage areas, temporary seating which often stretched out into the open air, and poor lighting, rendering them inadequate venues for dance. Within those Winter Garden-styled buildings located near the sea, for instance, it was virtually impossible to hear anything but crashing waves at high tide. Small, flat-floor halls and auditoriums with cramped, raked stages, little or no wing space, and pulley-operated draw curtains described the majority of venues at which the company appeared. The tiny Drill Hall in Lyme Regis, for example, seated only 180. Generally, these halls were located in the geographically-remote portions of the English provinces, where large theatrical facilities were not required.

The repertoire of Nijinska's company consisted of six ballets and four divertissements. Due to the small size of the company, each dancer was required to dance a minimum of four rôles. Nijinska choreographed The Sports and Touring Ballet Revue, (to music by Poulenc), Le Guignol Humoresque (Joseph Lanner), The Savage Jazz (Igor Stravinsky), and On The Road (Leighton Lucas) purposely for the summer tour while two other ballets--A Night on a Bare Mountain (Modest Mussorgsky) and Holy Etudes (J.S. Bach) were elaborations of her earlier choreography.[23] The divertissements included The Musical Snuff Box, a restaged solo which Nijinska performed on pointe to a composition by Anatol Liadov; the Trepak

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22 Based upon 1921 British census.

23 Baer, 50.

from The Sleeping Princess, a restaging of Nijinska's "Three Ivans" dance of 1921; the Mazurka from Fokine's Les Sylphides performed as a duet by two of the women dancers; and a variation on the Polovetsian Dances from the opera Prince Igor, a character number Nijinsky had choreographed for Nijinska and several male dancers in 1914. The Baer catalogue is the most definitive study of these ballets and includes excellent descriptions of the dances and also depictions of Alexandra Exter's costumes.

The company opened in Margate on August Bank Holiday, the first Monday in August and the main holiday of the year.[24] Traveling also with the group were Arthur Russell, an entertainer who filled the entr'actes with light entertainment, and who also acted as manager for Star Attractions while on tour, Nijinska's manager Mr. Zenon, who had worked in the same capacity for her brother's 1914 company, and conductor/pianist W.J.C. Hekker. After three days in Margate, the troupe traveled southwest to the seaside resort of Bournemouth, where it gave two matinees. After the conclusion of the second performance on 8 August, several company members were ordered to leave Britain by Monday, 10 August, as their British work permits had expired. This illegality jeopardized the continuation of the tour.

An article in the London Morning Post described the problem:

> . . . five of the male members of the Diaghileff Russian Ballet . . . were ordered to report in London on Saturday evening for immediate deportation. . . .
>
> From inquiries made in Bournemouth last night it appears that after the performance [by the Ballets Russes] at the [London] Coliseum a difference of opinion arose between Madame Leginska [sic: Nijinska], one of the leading dancers of the company, and Diaghileff, with the result that they decided to part company. Madame Leginska took some of the company with her on a provincial tour. M. Diaghileff, who was to take the rest of the company to Barcelona,[25] made representations to the Home Office, on the ground that permits for the company were issued in his name. Madame Leginska opposed the representations, with the

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[24] Felicity Stafford and Nigel Yates, Kentish Sources IX: The Later Kentish Seaside (1840-1974) (Gloucester: Allen Sutton for Kent Archives Office, 1985): 18.

[25] The Ballets Russes had given a season in Barcelona beginning in April 1925. Diaghilev did not take the company to Barcelona at the time mentioned here but dismissed the dancers until October 1925, when they reconvened in Paris for rehearsals to prepare for the London Coliseum season opening later that month (Richard Buckle, Diaghilev [London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979]: 459.

> aid of her theatrical agent, but was unsuccessful.
>
> The result of the dispute is that the five men of Madame Leginska's company have been compelled to leave the country under the Aliens' Act. . . . [26]

Other reports, such as that in the Birmingham Gazette, recorded that action was taken "with regard to a certain dancer of the Nijinska ballet,"[27] while several other articles specified that "four men pupils and one woman," excluding Nijinska and Singaevsky, received orders to leave the country.[28] In this case, these would have included the five Ballets Russes members, as they had set out on the provincial tour without extensions on their Ballets Russes work permits.

Details regarding exactly how the Home Office received information about these dancers are unclear. The Birmingham Mail and numerous other newspapers which reported the event divulged that "the police state[d] that they have received no information in regard to the matter."[29] Home Office records confirmed this information.[30] Although Diaghilev and Serge Lifar had departed London before the conclusion of the Coliseum season and had embarked upon a journey through France and Italy,[31] it is unlikely that Diaghilev, angered by Nijinska's action, could have been completely exonerated from the matter.

Evidence was also inconclusive as to how the company negotiated the solution to the work permit problem. However those affected by the deportation order received a five week extension by the Home Office to continue their tour through the British provinces, as reported by the

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26 12 Aug 1925, 12.

27 12 Aug 1925, 1.

28 Bristol Times and Mirror, 13 Aug 1925, 11, Bath and Wilts Chronicle and Herald, 13 Aug 1925, 6, the London Daily Graphic, 13 Aug 1925, 4, the Bristol Evening Times and Echo, 13 Aug 1925, 11, the Hull Eastern Morning News, 13 Aug 1925, 4, the London Daily Chronicle, 12 Aug 1925, 3, the Hull Evening News, 13 Aug 1925, 5, and the Weston-super-Mare Gazette, 15 Aug 1925, 1.

29 12 Aug 1925, 2. See also the Nottingham Guardian, 12 Aug 1925, 6; North Mail, 12 Aug 1925, 1; Newcastle Weekly Chronicle, 15 Aug 1925, 11; Birmingham Post, 12 Aug 1925, 7; Northern Echo, 12 Aug 1925, 5; the London Daily News, 12 Aug 1925, 5; the London Daily Graphic, 12 Aug 1925, 2; the London Morning Post, 12 Aug 1925, 12; Yorkshire Evening News, 12 Aug 1925, 5; Nottingham Journal, 12 Aug 1925, 1.

30 " . . . a search of our records has failed to reveal any reference to the incident in August 1925 when several members of the company were directed to leave the United Kingdom on the expiration of their work permits. . . . [and] the Department of Employment . . . does not hold papers on work permits issued in the 1920's" (C.W. Shaw of the Home Office to Laurie Kaden, 25 January 1988).

31 Buckle, 457-459.

Liverpool Post and Mercury on 13 August.[32] The extension did not grant the time necessary to complete the planned itinerary and the tour, reduced in time by more than a month, required restructurization. Where the company had formerly arranged to spend several days giving performances, it now planned flying visits and one-night-stands. An appearance in Cardiff, Wales was abandoned entirely.

While the dancers amended their permit problems with the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour in London, the four performances prepared for the Palace Theatre in Weston-super-Mare were cancelled, prompting a sensation in that resort. Local newspapers, such as the Weston Mercury and Somersetshire Herald, covered the event in sensational detail:

> . . . this week Weston has had publicity in practically every paper in the land and all arising out of the simple word
>
> CANCELLED!
>
> which was pasted across posters announcing the appearance at the Palace Theatre, Weston-super-Mare, of the 'Russian Ballet, direct from the London Coliseum,' on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. . . . The Ballet is said to have been organized by the world-famous Nijinsky, of whose *bone-fides* there can be no doubt; it had been negotiating a tour of the leading seaside and health resorts . . .[33]

News of the incident even reached as far as Russia. An article in a Soviet newspaper supplied a somewhat biased account of the problem, stating that "the expelled men committed no crime . . . [and] have become the first victims of these restrictive [employment] measures. . . .[34]

The troupe settled the problem by 12 August and the full company journeyed to the town of Malvern in Worcester county the following day. There, patrons were publicly reassured of the troupe's appearances. After the company's three performances in Malvern, they traveled to the Cheshire resort of New Brighton, where their appearances at the Tower Theatre coincided with the premiere of Lydia Kyasht's company which was appearing at the nearby Royal Court Theatre. Following its four performances there, Nijinska's troupe crossed the Wirral Pennisula to the small resort of Hoylake,

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32 8.

33 15 Aug 1925, 8.

34 "Vysylka russkikh artistov iz Anglii," trans. Louis A. Pedrotti. Unidentified newspaper, [n.d.], Nijinska Archives.

where the Hoylake and West Kirby Advertiser announced that the "Company Will Positively Appear."[35]

On Sunday, 23 August, the company proceeded northeast to Yorkshire county, where it gave performances at the seaside resort of Whitby, a popular fishing village, and the fashionable inland resort of Harrogate. There, at one of two performances at the Royal Hall, the Theatre Choréographique Nijinska was accompanied by the Harrogate Orchestra and shared the stage with Robert Easton, a bass-baritone singer, and "The Act Beautiful," which featured "'Lillie,' a pure white Arabian Mare, and English Setter Dogs, in an Artistic Posing Novelty."[36] From Harrogate, the company journeyed northeast to Scarborough, where it gave a single matinee performance. As in New Brighton, the company's performances again coincided with performances by Kyasht's troupe at the nearby, more plush Grand Opera House.

From Scarborough, the company traveled two days to reach Bexhill-on-Sea by Tuesday, 1 September, where it gave two performances. During this week, the company gave a series of performances in Eastbourne, Selsey, and Lyme Regis. Wending its way westward, they performed in Minehead in Somerset county, where soprano Dorothy Bateman was added to the program,[37] and in the Devon resorts of Teignmouth and Sidmouth. During the final week of the tour, the company spent three days each in the Cornish resorts of Penzance and Newquay, where the tour concluded.

Newspaper accounts recorded that the company drew large audiences[38] and was well-received, "fully [earning] generous measure[s] of applause."[39] Joyce Berry, today at 90 years old the only living member of the company, who currently lives in England, remembers that the company was not big enough to draw audiences. She conjectures that Nijinska undertook the tour because "she probably thought it would help her career, and she was probably disappointed in the tour because they [the performance venues] turned out to be small towns and funny little places to dance in."[40]

Berry also recalls several details concerning the day-to-day operations of the company:

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35 14 Aug 1925, 1.

36 Program, 27 Aug 1925, Royal Hall, Harrogate.

37 Newspaper advertisements including Bateman's name as a performer with the company are found in the West Somerset Free Press, the Minehead Advertiser and Visitor's List, and the Sidmouth Herald and Directory. Bateman was listed in the Queen's Hall program, Minehead, and in a program from an unidentified venue.

38 Eastbourne Chronicle, 5 Sept 1925, 2; Wallasey and Wirral Chronicle, 22 Aug 1925, 4.

39 Eastbourne Chronicle, 5 Sept 1925, 2.

40 Personal interview, 24 January 1988.

> We were paid about five pounds per week. Out of this money, we [the dancers] were responsible for paying for our room and board, and when we pulled into a town we were responsible for finding our own digs [accommodations]. Sometimes it was midnight by the time we found a room. Nijinska grumbled about the tour, and the dancers grumbled about the tour, but we ignored the bad things about it because we were working with Nijinska.[41]

The company traveled by train, and, according to Berry, Mr. Zenon probably paid the company's fare.[42] Sundays, when holiday tourist turnover was greatest, were always travel days.

After the completion of the summer tour on 19 September, the dancers scattered and Nijinska returned to Paris with her husband. However, two additional performances in Paris that year--the first in October, the second in December--brought the company together again.[43] Although these were the final performances by the group, most of the dancers went on to work with Nijinska in her companies which existed in the late 1920's and 1930's.

The Theatre Choréographique Nijinska tour occupied a brief yet significant chapter in Nijinska's career. Newspaper accounts, usually more descriptive than discriminative, generally recorded positive criticism, suggesting that the company which brought modern ballet to English resort towns was popular. In the end, however, the scope of the company's operation and its rigorous touring schedule proved to be less successful than Nijinska evidently had anticipated. Thereafter she transferred her headquarters to the Continent from where she eventually operated her other companies.

Little acknowledged beyond those regions in Britain where it appeared, the company's direct influence upon dance history in that country was minimal and should be viewed from that frame of reference. Yet the Theatre Choréographique Nijinska was recognizably an important artistic milestone in this prolific artist's career within that art form to which she continued to devote her life.

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41 Personal interview, 4 June 1988.

42 Ibid.

43 Baer, 49.

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INNOCENCE ABROAD; THE 1965 STOCKHOLM PREMIERE OF ANNA HALPRIN'S "PARADES AND CHANGES."

by Janice Ross

In the last week of August 1965, a group of San Francisco dancers arrived at the Stockholm City Theater in Stockholm, Sweden. They were innocents abroad and, like the characters in Mark Twain's novel by the same title,[1] these performers were about to become the catalysts of a culture shock.

The shock was to run two ways. Not only were Swedish audiences about to be exposed to the 45-year-old Ann Halprin and her Dancers's Workshop's radical form of dance theater, but Halprin and her dancers were unprepared for the approbation and adulation that greeted their September 5, 6 & 7 performances - a response dramatically different from what they had encountered in America.

The memory of Sweden's acceptance would acquire a special poignancy two years later when the Dancers Workshop would finally bring "Parades and Changes" to New York's Hunter College. Those performances happened under the threat of closure because the New York police were prepared to issue a warrant for Halprin's arrest due to the dance's segments of nudity.

Halprin's only other tour abroad had been two years earlier when her "Five-Legged Stool" evoked hollering and screaming from the Italian audience in Rome. One man stood up and wondered aloud "For THIS Columbus discovered America?"[2] For Halprin this proved a sharp awakening to what she called "the power of the audience."[3] As a result in her Stockholm premiere she was careful to include the audience, fashioning an opening sequence where dancers entered through the aisles carrying bouquets of lighted flashlights in the

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[1] Mark Twain, "The Innocents Abroad," (1869, reprinted Signet, 1966).

[2] Anna Halprin, Interview with Janice Ross, July 11, 1990, Woodside, CA. Transcript.

[3] Ibid.

darkened theater. She also fashioned a closing episode where the dancers returned with the flashlights passing them to people on the aisles who passed them onto others until the entire theatre was filled with traveling points of light. As always with Halprin the focus was as much on HOW it was to be experienced as the DESIGN of the piece.

It was with this Italian response still strong in her mind that Halprin set about creating "Parades and Changes" for the Stockholm premiere. Although she and her dancers gave two in-progress showings of the dance, in Fresno and San Francisco, the Spring preceding the premiere, she conceived the entire work, and particularly its section of repeated undressing and dressing, with Stockholm, and what she imagined to be its liberal attitude toward nudity, firmly in mind.

As an American abroad Halprin was, like Twain's travellers, inventing and discovering America - the America in herself, the America in her art. By virtue of performing abroad, those qualities of "Parades and Changes" that might have seemed merely typical counterculture posturing suddenly took on the aura of an American STYLE. But this was NOT so for a nation like the United States which was already steeped in the social climate of rebellion and disenfranchisement of the 1960's. Nudity, slaps at the faces of authority, decomposing order, and pleasure in the enterprise of being young, were hallmarks of this decade of cultural revolution in America. They were also stylistic markers in Halprin's "Parades and Changes." Although at this moment it seemed to take a foreign audience to recognize that most clearly.

"A Hippie is someone whose life is theater," Abbie Hoffman said in Chicago in 1967.[4] "We were being very real," Anna Halprin said recently speaking of her work of this same period. "We were constantly trying to put ourselves into situations where we could not predict the outcome, where we had to respond in a spontaneous way to what was real." One called it life being like art, the other art being like life.

This process was intensified for Halprin with the creation of "Parades and Changes," for not only did it raise a number of provocative questions about the balance between nature and culture and the naive and the sophisticated - issues that historically many Americans have encountered when they venture abroad, but with this work she unequivocally located herself as an American Avant-garde artist, a renegade performer of a newly "real" theatre. "Parades and Changes broke every convention and barrier because I considered

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[4] Todd Gitlin, "The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage," (Bantam: 1967), p. 235.

conventions barriers," Halprin said of this work.[5]

Encapsulated in Halprin's Stockholm premiere was the classic cultural encounter of the New Barbarians with the Old World - the same voyage of internal discovery that Twain and his travellers had made 100 years earlier. Only in this instance the Old World was more at home than abroad, embodied for Halprin in the tradition-embracing standards of her American audiences.

Just as Twain's book was an attempt to find out who we are as Americans, so too did Halprin's Swedish appearance give her a new forum for discovering herself as an American choreographer. The Swedish audiences reacted more to WHAT she was doing than had many American viewers and critics who only seemed to see what she WASN'T doing.

The performers in Sweden were members of the Dancers Workshop of San Francisco, a group Halprin founded in 1955 in the midst of San Francisco's working class Western Addition neighborhood. The name workshop is in fact a key to Halprin's working process in this piece, for it is a literal translation of Bauhaus, the influential architectural school of Walter Gropius. Halprin adopted Gropius's credo of Form Follows Function as her own after she and her husband, architect Lawrence Halprin, spent time with Gropius at Harvard in the early 1940's.

Halprin worked with her collaborators on "Parades and Changes" very like a creative team of Bauhaus colleagues. Morton Subotnik created the score, Patrick Hickey the lighting, Jo Lander the costumes and staging, Charles Ross the scenic environment and Halprin the choreography. The dancers also contributed substantially and all of these individuals discussed collectively how the final product for Sweden should look. For Halprin the choice to work this way was an aesthetic decision, but against the background of 1960's social activism in the United States it looked far more political at home.

The legendary importance of "Parades and Changes" to the American dance avant-garde hardly prepares one for the fact that it was only four adults - Halprin, dancers Jani Novak and A.A. Leath and the charismatic actor John Graham, as well as five adolescents - 18 year-old Kim Hahn, Halprin's two daughters Daria, 17, Rana, 14, and a pair of veterans from Halprin's children's dance co-op, 14 year-old Paul and 16 year-old Larry Goldsmith, who came along to help unload props, who constituted the entire cast.

The dance itself stands as a sort of physical Rashoman - everyone who was in it remembers a different dance and no one can say with certainty, least of all Halprin, who has been part of EVERY version, what opening night or the subsequent two evenings actually

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[5] Anna Halprin, Interview with author, December 1991. Kentfield, Ca.

looked like. The reasons for this are many - not the least of which is structural. Halprin was working at the time with certain contained aleatoric techniques, although she wouldn't call them that, procedures that ritualized spontaneity. "There was no chance in "Parades and Changes," Morton Subotnik said. "Everything was done by choice, but there was a freedom in choice." [6]

Each element of the dance - lighting, sound score, props and choreography - was divided into six discrete units that could be combined in a variety of orders or relationships. For the choreography the sections were 1.) Stomping (which the dancers did wearing oversized unisex clothes and heavy men's shoes. 2.) unrolling sheets of plastic down the isles, exploring them with flashlights and dragging them up onstage to drape over a scaffold and play as an instrument. 3.) talking in the audience 4.) Dressing up from rows of props laid out for each dancer in a line on the floor and the most celebrated section of all 5.) A slow ritual of undressing and dressing repeated three times, each with a different focus. The dancers took off their clothes a fourth time and this time they did not get dressed again but instead walked over to begin 6.) the paper tearing section.

The result was that it was not so much the individual performer but the process of watching theater being made in response to a changing stage environment that one watched. "We weren't using our emotions," John Graham recalled of the Stockholm performances, "Instead we were looking at them."[7] "It was a ceremony of trust," Halprin said, referring to the section of nudity. "It was as if each one of us were saying "here I am, look at me and see who I am. Trust me."[8]

For the three Stockholm performances Halprin stood backstage 20 minutes before each performance and shuffled index cards containing the names of the dance's six sections. The lighting designer and Folke Rabe, a Swedish musician who took Subotnik's place for the Stockholm performances, each shuffled their own six cards. These cards were then posted and the dancers quickly memorized the evening's new order. The correspondences between all three elements of the dance were thus set for the evening. Subotnik had in fact initiated this concept of "scoring" all facets of the event, borrowing a method of musical scoring he had pioneered a few years

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[6] Morton Subotnik, Interview with the author, January 29, 1992, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[7] John Graham, Interview with the author, August 21, 1991, Auburn, Ca.

[8] Halprin, Interview Dec. 1991, Kentfield, CA.

earlier at the Tape Music Center in San Francisco.[9]

The actual look of "Parades and Changes" from moment-to-moment during those September evenings is all but impossible to reconstruct. However it's real raison d'etre - a setting up of certain structures to allow for spontaneously vital, what Halprin called the "unarmored" moments, IS timelessly retrievable. Each of the six sections was designed as a set of instructions containing parameters rather than the specifics of stage behavior.

For example, in the undressing section the dancers were instructed to undress in a smooth, slow uninflected manner, stacking their clothes neatly in front of them as they disrobed. They were to stand in a line facing the audience, and each performer was to establish and maintain eye contact with a member of the audience as he began to remove his clothes. "We wanted there to be an extraordinarily smooth rhythm throughout the line," Lander recalled, "So that your eye was constantly going to objects, seeing the bodies as interesting shapes rather than only men and women."[10] Hahn however recalled that on opening night at least one man persisted in seeing it the other way - he sat squarely in the front row flourishing a pair of binoculars.[11]

In the paper tearing section the focus was on the process of tearing, a functional action that in turn created the dancers' movements. Halprin's intent was for the dancers to focus on being aware (and appreciative she said) of the variety of movements that followed the task.

So the dancers' actions in each section were the CONSEQUENCE of making onstage choices within the limits defined by OFFSTAGE parameters. It was like a democracy with a good government.

A climate of investigation carried through to the first week in Stockholm as the adults in Halprin's group spent much of that time prior to opening, embroiled in intense debates. They argued the fine points of how they could best use the unique features of this Swedish theater as a design element in the performance, and also how they might manage transitions between the six non-ordered sections of the dance. These discussions often turned into enthusiastic shouting matches as Halprin, Ross, Lander, Hickey and Rabe and occasionally a dancer or two, wrangled over the form of the work they were about to premiere.

Hahn, who left to start college at Oberlin immediately after the three Stockholm performances, remembers these "discussions" as

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[9] Subotnik interview.

[10] Jo Lander, Interview August 14, 1991, San Francisco, CA.

[11] Kim Hahn Interview with author, Jan. 30, 1992, Marin, CA.

being so acrimonious at times that Hickey or Halprin's husband, would suddenly announce he was taking the "kids" out for lunch or a walk, in order to get them away.

These 11th hour confrontations were not the result of a lack of planning but rather they were an integral aspect of the pre-performance process Halprin had built into "Parades and Changes." In part a neo-formalist work, "Parades and Changes" was a dance about formally framing task performance, relationships between the performers, props and the environment of the theater, as the actual stuff of performance. The dance was an assemblage of several of Halprin's key devices for "getting real" and for making art out of this stripped-down approach to theater. "Being an artist for me is allowing yourself to be open to unexpected outcomes, about removing the armor from your movement and yourself. And I find that very connected to life, " Halprin said. "Otherwise it's as if you are trying to control what's uncontrollable," "But process is the center, not the performance," she cautioned. This was a dictum her students Yvonne Rainer and Trisha Brown were to turn around.

Halprin was in distinguished company that Fall. Under the direction of Carl Albert Anderson, The Stockholm Festival was aggressively embracing the new. This 18- day blitz of music, dance, theatre, opera, vocal recitals and film showings throughout the capital city also saw performances of Peter Weiss's "The Murder of Marat," Dario Fo's "Isabella," and Yvonne Rainer and Bob Morris's "Tape Music" as well as more traditional operatic and symphonic music fare.

The Swedes seemed primed to openly observe Halprin. Bengt Hager's notes for the festival program equate Halprin's work with Happenings, but with a difference. Noting that she "aims high in her art," Hager quotes another Swedish critic, Jan Bark, of having said of Halprin "She desires not only to go beyond the limits of her spectators reactions, but she seeks a new level of experience, a new instrument with which to observe everyday life."[12] In Sweden the implication was that life was the subject rather than a veiled critique of society.

"The fact that Halprin and her dancers use improvisation doesn't mean they can do whatever they like," Ryman, one critic wrote. "You have the same freedom when you cross the street. It can take 10 or 20 steps to cross it, but you can't just throw yourself up on a car that is passing."

It was really the common viewer rather than the sophisticated theater-goer that Halprin derived the most pleasure from affecting. Her favorite fan letter from Sweden came from Sven Kyberg, a Swedish farmer from Sourtbacken Rimbe who chanced to see the Swedish Television version of "Parades and Changes" that was broadcast December 16, 1965. "The dance impressed me very deeply,

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[12] Stockholms Festspel Program, 1965, p. 83.

he wrote her in Swedish. "At first I was very skeptical because a lot of modern art seems to me to be much too egocentric and without humanity or humility. But In the taking off of clothes and the rolling out of paper... I saw the naked human animal slowly and unafraid and shy and clean just like one of my own newborn cattle or lambs approaching, going near and near, something unknown... I felt cleansed and washed and shaken."[13]

It was an effect that would resonate for Swedish dance and theater for a significant time. "One of the most remarkable events in contemporary American art,"[14] said Bengt Haeger, the curator of the Stockholm Dance Museum, "Ann Halprin's performance is 90 concentrated minutes of pure theater,"[15] wrote Madeline Kats, the dance critic of Stockholm's and Scandinavia's largest daily newspaper at the time, "Expressen."

Even the leading dissenting voice, that of Bengt Jahnsson, the drama critic of the liberal "Dagens Nyheter," saw clearly what Halprin was doing, his objection was primarily that she should be doing something else. "I found the undressing scenes to be indifferent and impotent, lacking all eroticism," He wrote of the opening night (which of course was just what Halprin had intended). "Her theater lacks the freedom of Dada - the result is artistic camp,"[16] he went on to say in a review that shared more with the American than other Swedish responses to Halprin's work.

For Halprin however, it was the memories of the Swedes' warm reception to her evolving ideas, that she carried away. They would feed her as an artist for years to come.

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[13] Letter from Sven Kyberg to Ann Halprin, Dec. 17, 1965. Halprin Personal Archives.

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"THE IMPACT OF THE 'CUNNINGHAM-CONCEPT"
(The function of music within contemporary dance performance in Denmark)

Inger Damsholt

Throughout history dance and music has been combined within performances all over the world. Whether a social diversion, a recreational activity, a vehicle of secular or religious expression or a reflection of aesthetic values, we recognize this alliance as a popular practice. Considering the western tradition of dance as a theater art, the conjunction of music and dance stands out as a convention surviving a number of centuries. Thus the works of Pierre Beauchamps, John Weaver, Jules Perrot, Mikhail Fokine, Georgi Balanchivadze and many others have taught a western audience that dance is combined with music. Although the relationship between the two arts has varied considerably from one ballet to another, just as genres and styles have changed, the fact that a dance performance included some kind of musical accompaniment was taken for granted.

The artistic validity of the assumption that dance must be combined with music was challenged with the appearance of 'silent' dance performances. Thus the pioneers of modern dance such as Martha Graham and Doris Humphrey set a few of their early works in silence (silence meaning 'no-music'). Eager to establish dance as an independent art expressing human condition, they discarded musical accompaniment in favor of 'the natural rhythm and phrasing of breathing'. Nevertheless, without exception the two choreographers soon returned to the use of musical accompaniment for dance. No later than 1933 the American critic John Martin states:"There may be a straggling few who want to dance forever and a day without any music, but they are only a few if they still exist"[1] Whether or not the short-lived revolt which produced such famous works as "Water Study" of 1928, had failed to convince the public of this sensational emancipation of dance, the conjunction of music and dance proved to be a resistant convention. In 1959, on the subject of music for dance, Doris Humphrey writes:"[Dance] is not an independent art; it is truly female, needing a sympathetic mate, but not a master, in music...The ideal relationship is like a happy marriage in which two individuals go hand in hand, but are not identical twins"[2]

Although Martin and Humphrey might have agreed that the dance which is performed in conjunction with music is much more satisfactory than that which is not, the choreographic stragglers seemed to multiply. Throughout our century many dances have been performed in the tradition of the early modern dance, without musical accompaniment. However, on the proscenium stage, the presence of silence frequently manifests itself as a musical choice rather than a succeeded act of emancipation. The sound produced by the movements of the dancing bodies such as breath, steps or falls of bodies come to function as aural accompaniment closely related to the movements of the dancers. Thus the works of Merce Cunningham came to challenge the traditional concept even further. Introducing the idea of the non-relationship, he insisted that dance and music could operate as autonomous entities. Describing his own works in 1970 he says: "The non-reference of the movement is extended into a relationship with music. It is essentially a non-relationship. The dance is not performed to the music. For the dances that we present, the music is composed and performed as a separate identity in itself. It happens to take place at the same time as the dance. The two co-exist, as sight and sound do in our daily lives. And with that the dance

is not dependent upon the music. This does not mean I would prefer to dance in silen because it would strike me as daily life without sound. I accept sound as one of the sensc areas along with sight, the visual sense."[3]

The impact of the non-relationship of music and dance, which is what I refer to as t 'Cunningham-concept', came to manifest itself in different ways. Most importantly it call into question the function of musical accompaniment in a dance performance. Introduci the idea of a non-relationship, Cunningham revealed a certain reluctance towards the art his predecessors. Without discarding the resistant convention of performing dance conjunction with music, he insinuated that the non-relationship would leave out t traditional function of music in a dance performance. Thus to Cunningham any relati between music and dance seemed to be a question of cultural conventions which could abandoned.

Needless to say the 'Cunningham-concept' had its effect as a provocation; is a nc relationship possible at all? The 'Cunningham-concept' has forced us to reconsider a define the functional relationship of dance to music. As a breakneck attempt to define t possible reasons for making use of musical accompaniment, in a dance performance, operate with three major ideas; Music as **a stimulus generating movement, an audit conductor**, and **a co-existing medium of communication.** I should like to stress the fact th I am not trying to categorize different genres or styles, nor do I try to list every idea th choreographers ever might have had. With the three ideas I have tried to represent sor of the most common interpretations of this complex area, which I believe are deep intertwined. Only through a more or less successful thought process are they separated.

A stimulus generating movement

One of the most conspicuous ideas that we encounter throughout history is the assumpti that music functions as a generator or motivator of movement. Contemporary neurologis seem to agree that music moves us, thus the idea is that the musical experience includes kinesthetic sensation and manifestations of kinetic responses. For the dancer on stage th means that musical accompaniment might enhance his enterprise. (Needless to say th function of music is recognized in the practice of other activities requiring physic endurance such as marching or doing aerobics) However it is important to note that th music for dance as a theater art, moves the audience as well as the dancers. Thus in th theater music might be a useful bridge connecting the dancer and the spectator, assisting th kinesthetic communication between the two. The idea is that the spectator comes experience the dance as an extension of his own kinetic response.

The concept of music as a stimulus generating movement leads me to the art Isadora Duncan. According to her own account she seems to have employed music generate kinetic as well as emotional response. Thus Duncans audience watched her 'expre her reactions to the music. Although contemporary choreographers seldom rely on t powers of music to the improvisational extent that Duncan seems to have done, music often thought of as a choreographic motivator. In this respect music comes to function as source of inspiration to the choreographer, indicating movement of certain rhythmic pattern dynamic qualities and generating emotional or intellectual response. Obviously the sour of inspiration need not coincide with the music chosen as accompaniment in the theater,

any at all is preferred. Nevertheless many choreographers set out to choreograph a piece of music, interpret its 'meaning', visualize its formal aspects etc.

An audible conductor

A conductor keeps his musicians together by beating the pulse of the music with his hands. In a dance performance music might function as the unquestioned authority in terms of timing. Although music as a conductor seems to be deeply intertwined with the idea of music generating movement I prefer to distinguish between the two . Thus the quality of kinetic response generated in the body of the dancer when hearing the music, might differ radically from that of the movements he is performing. In short this seems to be what choreographers refer to as "working against the music". However the music might still be conducting the pulse, or give cues in order to bring about certain changes e.g. "when you hear this high note you run to the center and do this". Eventually it might be compared to the role of the choreographer in rehearsal, counting out loud, yelling "And go...and stop" etc.

A co-existing medium of communication

As the two ideas that I have just presented primarily encompass the function of music to the dancer and choreographer, this idea is mostly concerned with the experience of the audience. I have already mentioned how music moves the audience as well as the dancer, it generates kinetic response. A choreographer might find that a movement fails to externalize the full degree of intensity within, thus sound is employed to reinforce movement. In this way dynamic qualities, rhythmic patterns or formal aspects of dance might be communicated aurally (simultaneous with the dance) whether it is transferred via an intellectual understanding or kinesthetic sensation. On top of this music is thought to be able to signify certain moods, emphasize personal characteristics of people being portrayed, indicate geographical or even meteorological references etc. Thus a narrative content or dramatic development might be conveyed by the music as well as the dance, for instance through the use of leitmotifs. This function of music seems to be connected with a vast range of conventions established throughout the history of music. Whether based on neurological or educational phenomena in terms of discourse I shall refrain from discussing at this point. Nevertheless as a musicologist one can only regret the lack of research being done in terms of musical semiotics.

Within the last ten years dance scholars have been discussing the idea of non-referential 'pure' movements and 'pure' sounds. Still more and more people agree that even Cunninghams dances can be recognized as a signifying practice, just as the music of John Cage never eliminates the power of sound to signify. However the idea of the non-relationship of music to dance seems to remain unexamined. Does the non-relationship survive? Although the outspoken 'Cunningham-concept' might prevent his audience from formulating their interpretations of the conjunction it seems to me that there is no such thing as a non-relationship. In other words a lack of intended relationship does not result in a non-

relationship because dancing can never be experienced completely detached from it surroundings. I should like to demonstrate how the works of Cunningham succumb to some of the music-dance relationships that I have just described.

Although Cunningham might discard the function of music as choreographic motivator we might argue that music proceeds to generate kinetic response within the dancer as well as the audience. The dancers might very well be trained to close their ears, they might claim that they do not hear the music at all. Still I would argue that the act of ignoring the music is an act performed in relation to the music, a suppression of generated kinetic response similar to the act of working against the music. As regards the kinesthetic communication with the audience, the dancing might very well be experienced as an extension of their own impulse to move when hearing the music. Perhaps this phenomenon leads us to an explanation of Cunningham's benevolent acceptance of sound.

Cunningham might claim that he discarded the function of music as an audible conductor, however in the case of the works in which the same choreography is performed to the same music, his dancers might have begun to relate their timing of the dance with the timing of the music. In any circumstance the idea of music as a co-existing medium of communication certainly seems to fit the art of Merce Cunningham. Although any similarities between the rhythmic or dynamic qualities or formal aspects of music and dance might occur coincidentally this will be recognized by the audience. In many cases the music and dance are often both characteristically fragmented due to the common use of aleatoric compositional techniques. In this respect it is important to note that the work of Cunningham is closely associated with and thus related to the music of John Cage. A happy marriage indeed! Together the two of them employed a new aesthetic and not a turn-over of all conventions.

Considering the function of music in contemporary Danish dance performance it is important to note that modern dance did not take root until the early 1970's. Thus within the last twenty years a Danish audience has been confronted with a vast amount of genres and styles and their inherent dance-music relationships. In most cases Danish companies are centered around American or American trained dancers, whose backgrounds vary in terms of technical training. In the early 1980's when the Swedish born Nanna Nilson arrived from New York, the Danish audience was confronted with the 'Cunningham-concept'. Since 19 she has been choreographing for an all Danish ensemble now bearing the English title "Nanna Nilsons New Now Dancers". Adopting the idea of the non-relationship she has declared: "I prefer to work without music, I don't care to choreograph a certain piece of music because it restricts the physical process...But I like to have an audible stimulation when I watch something. Have you ever tried to turn down the volume when you watch and then turn on the radio? It creates an extremely surprising effect, a completely new dimension that exceeds anything I could ever imagine."[4]

Whether influenced by Cunningham, Nilson or other Cunningham 'descendants', the idea of the non-relationship has found its way to many danish choreographers over the years. Considering the danish dance scene by and large, it seems that the aleatory process of combining music and dance which leads to an arbitrary product has been encompassed along with other compositional methods. However, as an overall characteristic of contemporary dance in Denmark, one might say that it tends to conform to a traditional theatrical form of expression rather than a celebration of capriciousness. Most companies want to communicate quite specific stories and musical accompaniment is employed in order

support the transference of these. Thus the works of one of our most popular choreographers the Danish born Anette Abildgaard most of all remind me of the great psychological dramas of Martha Graham or Doris Humphrey. Intensely concerned with the myth as an expression of human condition, she creates large-scale performances, adopting her stories from the Nordic mythology or medieval folk songs. Considering the nature of her works, the impact of the 'Cunningham-concept' seems rather modest. Describing her approach to the use of music she states: "It might happen that I make the choreography before I get the music from the composer, but then I usually change it when I hear the music. There has to be an organic connection between the dance and the music and what I want it to express...At least for now, I feel that there are some universal rules that I should follow...however Merce Cunningham has given us the freedom to play with these, and not let the dance follow the music in every moment."[5]

Having just described the contemporary dance scene of my own country in a somewhat condescending fashion, I should like to add that my attitude springs from mere frustration. In my opinion the most interesting accomplishment of the 'Cunningham-concept' has been the examination of music-dance relationships performed by choreographers in other parts of the world. Thus some of the contemporary French as well as American dance works contains a vast amount of self-knowledge as regards their use of musical accompaniment. While being performed in conjunction with music a work such as "Haole", choreographed by Douglas Dunn, proceeds to comment on its own relationships of music to dance by unmasking cultural conventions, questioning 'universal laws' or even neurological phenomena. I regret to say that I have not yet encountered this self-reflective tendency in Denmark.

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THE IMPORT(ance) OF FRAGMENTATION:
A moment in Swedish dance history seen as both a tradgedy and a romance

Lena Hammergren

The main issue of my paper is that there are different stories to tell about the same historical events, and that there are important implications in choosing which story to tell.

My study of American influence on Swedish contemporary dance is taking its point of departure from a choreographical device that I call fragmentation. In my text I argue that the import of this device is one way in which Swedish dance has adopted an American identity. In addition, this compositional form can be used as a mirror image of a fragmented Swedish dance community.

The use of fragmentation in Swedish choreography is, in my opinion, partly a result of Merce Cunningham's performances in Sweden and of Swedish dancers' and choreographers' training at the Cunningham school in New York. The fragmented dance community has however a more complex development to trace.

Cunningham in Sweden

I will start by giving a short background to the Cunningham influence. He visited Stockholm for the first time in 1958 and performed together with Carolyn Brown, John Cage and David Tudor. He returned with his company in 1964, 1966 and 1991. During this time he also lectured at several Swedish dance academies, and staged *Summerspace* for the Cullberg company.

Readings of the articles and reviews concerning his performances in Stockholm reveal an appraisal of his works and

theories, but in several cases the appreciation seems to be rather superficial. Some of the critics had a difficult time accepting the 'noise' instead of a more conventionally composed music. In 1958 one critic found the music almost laughable and terrible to listen to. Having been tormented by the brutal noise, he went home after the performance feeling sick.[1] Ten years later this attitude was demonstrated again, but in a more refined tone, linking the rough treatment of the audiences' nerves and ears with a feeling of having experienced a touching but devastating performance.[2] There was also a tendency among the critics to reject works in which more happening-like events took place, and where one could sense a stress of the visual milieu instead of the more appreciated 'pure' dancing.[3] Most critics preferred Cunningham's performances given at the Royal Opera rather than in the exhibition hall at the Museum of Modern Art, since, as one of them put it, a proper stage gives his work a theatricality which fits well in with his classical ballet oriented style and allows the movements to be seen from the right angles.[4]

The reviews were to a high degree devoted to explaining Cunningham's theories, with more or less his own words, rather than to the critics' personal interpretations and evaluations of the dances. Cunningham was, however, treated with respect and described as one of the foremost avant-garde choreographers of our time, with a highly appreciated knowledge of classical ballet.

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1 Stål, Sven, "En dansprofet från landet i väster" (A dancing prophet from the country in the west), *L.T.*, October 15:th, 1958.

2 Pallesen, Henning, "Skönheten och oljudet" (The beauty and the noise), *Aftonbladet*, November 1:st, 1966.

3 Ståhle, Anna Greta, "Cunninghams gästspel" (Cunningham's guest performance), *Dagens Nyheter*, November 3:rd, 1966.

4 Ståhle, Anna Greta, "Tyngd, våldsamhet, lätthet och humor hos Cunningham" (Strenght, violence, lightness, and humour by Cunningham), *Dagens Nyheter*, November 1:st, 1966.

This is also how we have continued regarding Cunningham, which was very obvious during the special performance in 1991 in Stockholm, when the Dance Museum arranged an adjacent Cunningham conference. The often occurring agreeing noddings, comments and facial expressions exclaiming "yes, that is the core of dancing and composing" which came and went as currents within the sea of listeners during the conference, further support the reading of Swedish dance being at large influenced by Cunningham (however negligible as conventional data the described body language might be).

It did still take some time after the performances in the 50's and 60's before we could see this strong interest in Cunningham among dancers and choreographers. It dates back to the early 1980's when a large percentage of the grants from the Carina Ari Foundation at the Dance Museum were given to students who wanted to travel to New York in order to study the technique at the Cunningham school. From the mid 80's the Cunningham influence can be seen also among the younger choreographers.

Fragmentation versus unity

My own interest in studying this influence closer began some years ago when I suddenly got an awareness of the total effect of Cunningham choreography on Swedish non-institutional dance, since this is the area where the influence is apparent. This happened while I was watching a performance by a young Finnish dancer and choreographer, living and working mostly in Sweden, whose name is Kenneth Kvarnström. His works seemed so different to what I had seen during the last five years, but it took a while before I could pin-point the differences. I found out that it had to do with his use of unison and synchronic

movements, with a linear development of the compositional structure, where the dance had a very clear beginning and ending. Most other dances were fragmentary in their compositional form and one rarely saw two or more dancers perform the same movements simoultaneously side by side. Looking closer to the matter, I discovered that Kvarnström had a different background as a dancer than the majority of his fellow choreographers, who had studied the Cunningham technique. Kvarnström started his career with copying jazz and show dance steps from a Finnish magazine for teen-agers, and later on went to a school in Sweden where ballet technique and jazz dance were being taught.

I asked myself how this had come about - the fact that fragmentation as a choreographical device washed over most of Sweden's non-institutional choreography? How was it that we all had gotten so used to one form of composing that almost everything else seemed unnatural? Why didn't choreographers work with more varied compositional forms? With these questions in mind, I started investigating events, discussions, the cultural policy etc. which on the surface had little, if anything, to do with the compositional forms of the dances.

Politics turning into formalism

At first I examined the situation during the late 70's. It was a time when the dance companies were few, the working conditions and the economical situation worse than today. The dances were often narrative with a social or political commentary, or they were folkloric dances. The major part of the audiences were schoolchildren, since non-institutional dance was easier to finance if the educational system could be involved in the distribution of performances. The character of the

audiences was of course also a logic result of the artists' outspoken aims, stressing dance as a means for commenting the world we live in, an attitude of critical thinking which fitted well in with the goals of the Swedish educational program. In addition, the cultural policy at that time stressed the need to broaden audience categories, i.e. to enhance the interest in dance outside of the already existing 'elite'.

This situation lingered on until in the very late 70's and early 80's when Margaretha Åsberg, a former dancer at the Royal Opera Ballet and student at Julliard School in New York, completely changed the scene with performance-like events on a barge in the Stockholm harbour. In 1979 she also started a company of her own, at this time consisting to a large extent of amateurs, and her choreographical credo could most adequately be placed within the postmodern genre. Several of today's choreographers originally started performing with her company and they were the ones to take on the fragmented compositional forms, although in a more Cunningham-like fashion than Åsberg. They rejected Åsberg's interest for interweaving different objects as independent elements in the dances and started choreographing out from the ideals of 'pure' dancing, using techniqually advanced dancers in their works. As an interesting peripheral remark, we can notice that Swedish contemporary dance twisted the chronology of genres or styles around. The postmodernist dance, as represented by Åsberg, actually appeared before the one we could call modernist (I use the terminology in this context with the same purport as David Levin adopts in his essay from 1990 on postmodernism in dance).[5]

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[5] Levin, David, "Postmodernism in Dance: Dance, Discourse, Democracy", in Postmodernism - *Philosophy and the Arts*, ed. H.J. Silverman, London 1990, pp. 207-233.

Due to the fact that Åsberg was an experienced choreographer and excellent performer, not to mention that she was highly regarded because of her earlier connections with the Royal Opera Ballet, these new tendencies started getting more and more attention. She was also fortunate to have, what I label as, a twentieth century Théophile Gautier of her own, Horace Engdahl, an intelligent Swedish young critic with a background in litterature studies and with a solid interest in the French post-structuralists. His reviews and articles on dance attracted a devoted minority at first, but in a short time he became the dance critic of Sweden. In addition to writing in a beautiful and poetic style he had one peculiarity that set him apart from most other critics of the time. His interest was not in evaluating dances and dancers, but in being there where the dancing took place, and offering his abilities as a writer in order to create a poetic piece of art itself. Being there also meant that Engdahl wrote reviews on almost all the dances which were performed during the 80's. Their specific forms seemed to be an ideal starting point for this Barthes et al. influenced critic. In this tradition dance is looked upon as a 'language', as a system of signs each forming, as Engdahl once wrote, a link in a suspended chain of already fixed meanings where a 'true' expression demands deviations or detours in order to be understood.[6] Some of these diverging paths were of course the use of a fragmented composition, and a 'Rainerian' NO to harmonious unity and linear development.

Engdahl's writing style led, as I have mentioned, to a critisism were judgment was out, but it was not non-existing within the dance community and this led to a dilemma. The majority of the critisism readers, including the dance practitioners themselves,

[6] Engdahl, Horace, "Margaretha Åsbergs Fragment av en kub" (Margaretha Åsberg's Fragments of a cube), in *Kris*, 17/18, 1981, p. 62.

were not fully aware of the radical changes in writing dance critisism that Engdahl brought about. The result was that his reviews were read as if most of them did include a positive evaluation of the dances, and this helped elevating the status of the new choreographers and companies.

So far, this moment in Swedish dance history can be perceived as a joyous and prosperous meeting between the foreign compositional influence and the Swedish dance artists. The positive development can be stated on several levels.

- The choreographers and dancers presented an increasingly high amount of dances outside of the institutions.
- Their dances were written about in a seemingly positive manner in news-papers and magazines, where contemporary modern dance earlier on had had almost no room of its own.
- One of the dance critics was highly appreciated even outside of the dance community, which helped elevating the status of dance within the arts to a level it had not reached before.

A happy ending?

But what happened underneath this romantic, happy surface? Was it a truly solid state of positive events? No it was not. This was definitely revealed in 1987 in a provocative article, directed towards the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs (KUR).[7] The author Susanne Valentin, a choreographer known for her experimental works, interest in the borderland between the arts but also in dance history, criticized the prevailing situation concerning KUR's economical aid to the free dance companies. (In Sweden we usually avoid the term modern dance, which for us connotes American or Central European dance.

[7] Valentin, Susanne, "Ensidighetens tyranni" (The tyranny of one-sidedness), *Entré*, no. 3, 1987, pp. 8-9.

Instead we use 'free dance' to suggest both freedom from traditional dance techniques and from any bond to an institution.) Valentin drew up the contours of a dance community, ruled by a narrow-minded prince (KUR) who in his turn was supported by a Machiavelli-like critic (Engdahl) with eyes only for dances which displayed forms and not stories. With these limitations, Valentin could see no future for dances with a dramatic structure, for historical dances, folkdances or other forms of 'popular' dancing, and as a result no means for an artist to truly communicate with the world in which he or she lives.

This proved to be, not only a personal view from one neglected artist refusing to accept the cultural policy, but a true statement concerning many dance companies. An investigation of KUR's policy through the years revealed an important change around the mid 80's. From 1974, when dance companies started receiving government subsidy from KUR, there were some companies among them who worked only in a folkloric tradition. But suddenly discussions concerning artistic development, creativity, professional status etc. arose. These issues, probably coloured by the awareness of the growing interest in the choreographers who worked in the postmodern genre, did certainly affect and change KUR's policy. It resulted in reducing or even cutting out the financial support to the folkloric companies. They were not considered creative enough, since their aims were to 'conserve' a tradition rather than to break away from one and explore new artistic forms. It was also a fact that the members of these companies had a higher regular income than the other ones,[8] due to their habit of taking on jobs as e.g. dancing instructors and lecturers, instead of just

8 *Nytt statsbidrag till fria teater-, dans- och musikgrupper* , rapport från Statens Kulturråd (New government subsidy to non-institutionalized theatre, dance and music companies, report from the National Council for Cultural Affairs), 1979.

relying on unemployment benefit. In this way they did not maintain their rights as professional dancers, which I think helped marking them as amateurs in the eyes of KUR, and probably also among those fellow dancers who had learned to struggle for their status along the lines which where drawn by the state. The folkloric companies continued to work, but now within a very limited economical situation, and the gap in between amateurs and professionals, creative reformers and traditionalists grew increasingly bigger.

KUR wanted to support experiment and artistic renewal, and they lacked the ability to apply this terminology to the kind of artistic work expressed by the folkloric companies. This became a signal to all the new dance companies and choreographers beginning to form, and helped creating an almost symbiotic relationship between the new dance generation and the goals of the cultural policy. To be able to work meant working, however free and experimentally, within the constraints given by those in power. It is not difficult to understand that after a few years this policy limited the scope of dance styles and of experiment. The generous attitude towards the new dance slowly started to disintegrate when everything looked the same, the audience never grew, and the artistic developmental force altogether seemed to have disappeared. The dance community found itself divided into separate sections with almost no communication between those who where considered true artist and those merely as good craftsmen.

Today this unfruitful situation is slowly starting to dissolve, but with big difficulties. The fragmentation of the dance community into non-communicating 'cells' destroyed for a period of time an athmosphere of mutual understanding and of sharing different dance experiences, out of which new kinds of

experimental work with e.g. a mixture of serious and popular dancing could grow.

Two perspectives on history

A more or less common, I am temted to say axiomatic, belief in Sweden is that our 'choreographical horizon' has widened because of the Cunningham influence, and that it has enriched our familiarity with and appreciation of different compositional forms. It has, most of everything, helped us to accept a dance genre where form is content rather than mediates content. This is, what I would call, the 'official' dance history, which I by no means would say is untrue. But on the other hand, as I have shown, this specific development has also prevented some of the tendencies from the late 60's and 70's to blossom, since it has helped creating a very singular minded cultural policy concerning the dance and its possibilities to grow as a multifaceted body of movement. So, the acceptance and appreciation of the new compositional form helped diminishing variety instead of enhancing it.

In conclusion it means that in 'describing' a specific period of Swedish dance history I have used two different approaches in trying to interpret and evaluate some events which occured during the 1970's and 1980's. One view emphasizes the seemingly successful events and personalities. The other approach involves turning towards the less succesful events, acknowledging them as an antipole to the accepted and by this nature impossible to separate from their counterpart. This in itself offers an interesting situation for the researcher. There are always 'winners and loosers', and the task at hand is deciding to what degree one should reconzile and harmonize the ambiguity of history. As I see it, we live simoultaneously with a romantic

happy ending and a tragedy - which, conventionally seen, would be an interpretative dichotomy. How can we evaluate and judge such Janus-like events in history and how do we keep their ambigous character alive while we are struggling to make the history into a coherency of events?

In this particular case the choice of only one of these different approaches in telling the history has important implications. Choreographers working in the Cunningham tradition do still fight for their non-narrative dances being taken seriously by a larger audience, and their fight involves a continuation of economical support. For these artists it is of vital importance that the cultural policy continues along the lines of the 1980's and that the development hitherto should not be considered as having had negative results. On the other hand, the neglected artists would certainly applaud the history being told from their point of view and thereby possibly achieving a radical shift of the cultural policy. In accepting the two-sidedness of these particular events, and juxtaposing them, one might hope for a temporarily crisis within KUR, bringing them through a terapeutical process out of which at least consciously ambigous decisions could be made in the future.

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MOVING BODIES, MOVING SOULS:

TRISHA BROWN COMPANY IN STOCKHOLM, 1989

June Vail
Bowdoin College

INTRODUCTION

When Trisha Brown Company visited Stockholm in November 1989, the Swedish critics responded with journalistic shrugs. The morning after opening night one dance writer for a major daily paper remarked she would probably not cover the performance. She explained that the program had seemed "a big deception . . . empty . . . commercialistic . . . meaningless . . . gymnastic." "What's the point?" she asked. "The dances seem only for themselves, to be beautiful. What's the difference between that and Swan Lake?" In particular, the first piece on the program, *Newark*, brought up for her "sad associations of the 1930's — a fascist way of looking at the body as a decorative element." In a word, the dances were "superficial."[1]

Her observations surprised and intrigued me. As a student choreographer and later as a teacher I had felt liberated by the compositional methods Trisha Brown and others had evolved in the 1960's during the Judson Church era. As a critic I had admired her evolving choreographic investigations for nearly twenty years. My astonishment at the negative response to Brown's work by this Swedish critic illuminated cultural differences I had sensed during that fall in Stockholm while I researched Swedish contemporary dance and dance criticism. Our conversation shed light on divergent assumptions about the nature and function of dance I had already inferred from articles and reviews, performances and, especially, numerous engaging interviews with Swedish choreographers, performers, teachers, producers, and writers. It crystallized conceptions of the two essential elements in twentieth century American and European dance: bodies and souls.

TRISHA BROWN IN SWEDEN — 1979, 1984, 1989

Trisha Brown Company's four day Stockholm visit was part of a series of performances by foreign and Swedish groups, called Danshöst (Dance Autumn), to inaugurate a long-awaited theater for dance. The company offered two programs. The first consisted of *Newark* (1987), *Opal Loop* (1980), and *Astral Convertible* (1989). The second program began with *Set and Reset* (1983), followed by *Glacial Decoy* (1979), and ended, again, with *Astral Covertible.*

Trisha Brown did not perform in 1989 — in fact, she did not even accompany her dancers to Sweden. In contrast to earlier visits to Stockholm in 1979 and 1984, when Brown had appeared, the published reviews characterize the performances as soulless. They cite a "fossilized choreographic approach which exposes its own limitations,"[2] "an even, cool, monotonous, predictable tone,"[3] "gymnastic, unisex dance,"[4] "the uniform character of the dancers, and their sleep-walkers' confidence,"[5] "an. . .antiseptic beauty which cannot move the viewer,"[6] "gimmicks of light and set,"[7] rigid structures, chilly inaccessibility and "dry lifeless perfectionism."[8]

"Soulless," as conveyed in the 1989 reviews, can be understood in Swedish as in English as a lack of heart, mind, spirit or depth of feeling: that is, it implies something missing from the spiritual part of human beings, often in a moral aspect, as opposed to the physical part.

The Stockholm reviews from 1979 and 1984, in contrast, tended to be receptive to the informal yet rigorous spirit of Brown's dances, such as *Line Up* (1976) and *Set and Re-Set* (1983). The two 1979 reviews (headlined "1960's as Classic"[9] and "Dances Direct from the Body"[10]) appreciate the dances' playfulness, humor, "spontaneous, natural movement,"[11] simplicity, delicate beauty, "slightly dilapidated Seventies humanism,"[12] communal feeling, and concern for the audience — "both through provocation and thoughtfulness."[13] Although they refer occasionally to a "boring, ceaseless pulse"; moments where there is "no structure — nothing happens"; the soullessness of expressionless faces; and a suspicion that some of the dances seemed to demonstrate "theory for its own sake,"[14] the reviews welcome the unpretentious performance in an appropriately intimate, informal space at Kilen, in Kulturhuset.

The two reviews published in 1984 are even more positive ("Dance with intense presence"[15] and "Warm-ups in Paradise"[16]). The performances were presented in a gallery of the Modern Art Museum, a setting which directly linked Brown's dances to postmodernism in art. The reviews emphasize the demand Brown's choreography makes for "presence" — both from the performers and the audience. They reflect on the mutuality between dancers and their simultaneous ability to establish individuality. They remark on the quality of simplicity, and the postmodern feel of the choreography and music: "Warm-ups in Paradise" specifically relates *Set and Reset* to postmodern theory.

In contrast, the 1989 reviews do not mention humor, irony, exuberance, sensuality, mutuality, individual interpretations or complexity of choreographic organization. At least ten identifiable factors may contribute to the differences in critical perceptions.

1. Each review was written by a different critic.

2. Trisha Brown's absence from the stage (and from the city) in 1989 robbed audiences of the pleasure of seeing the choreographer herself in action.

3. It is possible the third generation company did not communicate the "presence" of previous performers.

4. Much of the repertory had been taught to new dancers by rehearsal mistress Dianne Madden and not by Trisha Brown. Some suggest this caused an inevitable loss of nuance.

5. Importantly, the latest dances *were* "different." The 1989 Stockholm tour featured *Newark* and *Astral Convertible*'s monumental style. Brown's choreographic focus changed after *Set and Reset*. ". . .The dancing [in the recent work] is much more kinesthetic, outgoing, flamboyant," Brown explained in 1987.[17] She has described *Astral Convertible's* "cold shiny look,"[18] and explained that the "gestures are in the slamming-the-fist-on-the-table category."[19] (*Astral Convertible* was considerably changed — to *Astral Converted 50*" — a year later. By Brown's own estimate, it was not yet fully realized in 1989.) She had nick-named *Lateral Pass*, *Newark*, and *Astral Convertible* "the valiant dances"[20] — emphasizing strength and risks, weight, static shapes, and purity of line.

6. In this regard, the performers' "look" became more important. According to a former company member, dancers' contracts now prescribe permissible weight levels and hair styles.

7. Weight training became more common, and dancers' bodies developed more massive shoulders and necks, and extraordinary muscle definition.

8. Body configurations were accentuated by shiny, tight unitards, in contrast with earlier costumes — casual practice clothes, drapey satin or semi-transparent silk.

9. In the interval between 1984 and 1989 Swedish audiences had become familiar with forms of dance/theater from Germany, France, and Japan.

10. The public had also been exposed to a decade of American and British films and music videos on cable TV. This may have changed tastes and confirmed the dance audience's impressions of mindless commercialism in American entertainment. Some American films — such as *Blade Runner*, *Terminator II*, and *Free Jack* — might even seem to justify alarm over a potential (American) "fascist" future where souls are routinely separated from robotic bodies, and science is pursued for its own sake, without awareness of social, environmental consequences.

THE EIGHTIES

Surrounding these specific variables are cultural and historical assumptions linked to longstanding Swedish dance and theater traditions. In Sweden the term *fridans* denotes modern dance: dance freed from codified technique and the tyranny of the official, state academy. The Eighties saw an unprecedented expansion of *fridans* in Sweden. Visits by foreign companies and travel by independent Swedish artists to international festivals put choreographers and audiences in contact with diverse influences.

While the Seventies had been characterized by politically committed dances (represented primarily by the Cullberg Ballet), the early Eighties were slightly influenced by more conceptual, structural approaches introduced by dancers who studied in the U.S. That period saw increased government support for dance, enabling the consolidation of some independent *fridans* companies and establishment of fixed venues (for example, for Margareta Åsberg's Pyramiderna and Eva Lundqvist's Vindhäxor). After 1985 more expressionist, theatrical modes of dance theater (typified in works by Per Jonsson, Kenneth Kvarnström, and Tigergruppen) became more common. A turning point for dance was the 1984 visit by Pina Bausch's Tanzteater Wuppertal.

A former dance critic for *Dagens Nyheter* (Sweden's largest morning paper), Horace Engdahl, cites Pina Bausch's appearance in Stockholm as having had the greatest impact of any visiting dance company because it achieved direct, intense connection with the audience. "You really felt as if you knew those people," he said.[21]

By 1989, many *fridans* performances emphasized dialogue between performers and audience. Collaborations between choreographers, visual artists and theater directors produced successful dance/drama hybrids. Guest performances by Susanne Linke, various French dance companies and Japanese butoh groups, including Carlotta Ikeda and Sankai Juku, relegitimized an expressionist tradition that had been repudiated since the end of World War II. In the fall 1989 issue of *Nutida Dans*, dance critic Gunilla Jensen described current trends:

> It's nice that the American dominance of free-flowing structural form is on the point of breaking down and instead one can see several tendencies toward the complex associative narrative form like Pina Bausch's and Butoh. . . unfortunately dramatic narrative dance has had to stay in the background, for example with the Cullberg . . . I think it's needed.[22]

Quite apart from foreign influences, however, in Sweden the links between dance and theater have been historically strong, with a psychological realist tradition that dates

from Strindberg through Ingmar Bergman. Successful drama of the 1980's — typified by the O'Neill-esque plays of Lars Norén (dubbed the "yuppie generation's bard") — revolves around the conflicts between private psychological, emotional needs and social conventions. A former Swedish member of Trisha Brown Company from 1983-88, Irène Hultman comments:

> In Sweden, dancers have the same rules as actors. There is really not much difference between what the dance and the theater portray . . . I find in Swedish dance . . . it's most often the psychology you encounter.[23]

Underscoring this point, Nina Lundborg, another Swedish dancer with Trisha Brown Company, in the 70's, relates:

> Theater is dramatic and therefore people look for drama in dance, too. . .in Sweden we look for the emotions on stage, because we don't have that closeness or immediate response or talking [in everyday life] . . . It's like the arts should fulfill what we miss, instead of reflecting what we are . . . For example, Swedes go to see Fellini films and love them. In the film you can really laugh at it and enjoy it when they smear spaghetti on the wall. But if somebody acts like in a Fellini film, it's just not accepted![24]

Although the relationship between the arts and behavioral norms is often more complicated than this, the headlines of the reviews of Trisha Brown's '89 performances do seem to indicate some *undesirable* dance traits: "Uniform and monotonous," "Trisha Brown recalls another world," "Perfectionism elevated to law," ". . . and logged it into the computer."

The reviews shared perceptions of monotony, hyper-precision, and remoteness. Dance reviews in Stockholm's daily press were rarely unanimous in 1989 — their style, focus and critical assessments clearly differentiated them. But in *this* case the critics (who share academic backgrounds in the humanities — literature, criticism, language, philosophy, and drama) agreed, for almost identical reasons, that the Trisha Brown Company had delivered lackluster performances.

Their collective appraisal can be attributed to a coherent set of aesthetic principles governing the performing arts, which assume connections between art, artists, and the cultural/ political — even moral/existential — climate. The American term "pure dance," common since Merce Cunningham's choreographic revolution against expressionism in the 1940's, seems as suspect a category as "pure science" in *Terminator II*.

Thus, the reviews condemn scenic gimmicks; acrobatics; dry, lifeless, muscular athletic bodies; uniform, unisex dancers; and lack of emotional communication among dancers or with the audience. However, they recognize and appreciate moments of surprise, vitality and multi-media cleverness. They acknowledge the dancers' "swinging, elegant, nonchalant style," "uncommon flexibility and skill," and — in the case of *Set and Reset* — their "welcoming and outgoing energy."[25]

In fact, because of "its lightness that makes communication possible," "its healthily freed-up structure," its "smiles and witticisms," *Set and Reset* was the most admired dance on the 1989 program — especially in comparison with the newer works, *Newark* and *Astral Convertible*. Yet, when *Set and Reset* was first performed in Sweden at the Modern Museum in 1984, Nina Lundborg recalls

> hearing someone comment that, "Well, that was like a cocktail party". . . they missed the emotional element . . . To meet [people] at a cocktail party is not very common, and it's looked on as a not really true personal thing, a little bit fake or phoney . . .
>
> Coming to America for me was very exciting because everybody loves you and everything is wonderful. "Do that! — that's a great idea!" Whereas here when you present things in Sweden, the reaction is "I don't think that's possible," or "You can't do that." It's totally the opposite. So to come to America and meet this positiveness is really fantastic.
>
> But after a while a Swede or a European begins to feel it is a bit superficial . . . When you want to go deeper, there isn't very much there. I think that as a European one experiences that . . . So, I think it's projected onto [Americans] — for example, Trisha Brown when she comes here. "It's like a cocktail party" means "it didn't go deep". . . in terms of psychological relation between people, it's not very deep — or, it is deeper than deep, because they've gone past the psychological relationships, and they just sort of exist without conflict, really.[26]

The concepts of conflict and surface/depth are fundamental to understanding certain aesthetic and epistemological values underlying *fridans*.

THREE MODELS FOR DANCE IN SWEDEN: BODIES AND SOULS

Lilian Karina and Lena Sundberg's book *Fridans*, published in 1989, traces for the first time in Swedish the lineage of twentieth century Central European dance. According to this account, after the trauma of World War I the "new realists" or "verists" in Germany redefined art as a means of communicating not merely a personal vision, but a world view. They opposed mere self-expression and posited an alternative aesthetic,

> an art form that represents the thinking, emotional ego's relation to reality, created in the anti-capitalist, pacifist spirit of the post-WWI twenties: a new realist, concrete, narrative dance art characterized by engagement.[27]

This form of dance modernism, preferred by the author, envisages the choreographer as truth-seeker or witness, as distinct from a Romantic, intensely individual, genius consumed by

> the discovery of powers within one's own subconscious and their relation to the cosmos, as embodied in Mary Wigman's abstract, poetic, ritualistic, "reality-hostile" art.[28]

The moral responsibility of the artist and the social dimension of art become privileged above personal or cosmic expression. Sweden's modern dance tradition is directly linked to "new realist" approaches of Rudolph von Laban and Kurt Joos through Birgit Cullberg. Another renowned twentieth century choreographer, Birgit Åkesson, was originally a student of Mary Wigman. She later disavowed Wigman's expressive approach. Although abstract, her dances are not motivated by psychological, mystical states.

The three most common approaches to dance in Sweden include these two variants of modern dance and the classical ballet. These three categories provide the paradigms that inform most critical thinking and provide criteria for aesthetic taste and judgment.

The metaphorical relationship of body and soul differ in these three models, particularly between ballet and the modernist variants, which share a similar orientation. Ballet's technical training is based on assumptions about the independence of the body from inner states. Ballet training separates the dancer's personal reality from the body's technical skills, and makes irrelevant any connection between inner state and outer gesture. It is concerned with the presentation of an idealized human body in motion. Here the body is understood as a well-designed and precisely tooled machine, or an art object to be displayed to best advantage.

In Europe *fridans* struggled to free itself of the academic, aristocratic, authoritarian ballet tradition, conceiving instead body and soul as dialectical aspects of an organically whole person, merging choreographer and performer into a single expressive individual. In the modernist views, the body is material, exterior, and transitory: dialectically connected with the invisible, profound, eternal spirit. The body can be thought of as a hollow container for the soul, or an envelope that surrounds and protects it. Simultaneously the body is the instrument or conduit by which innermost thoughts and

cosmic vibrations are perceived and given form. Thus, bodies become agents for contacting the environment and enabling communication between isolated souls.[29]

According to writer Horace Engdahl, in the Swedish view the dancing body — a means of communication, and not an end in itself — must not be emphasized to narcissistic extremes, nor physical beauty idealized in macho male bodies or voluptuous female ones. The duality of male and female engenders dramatic tensions found lacking in Brown's "unisex," "asexual" works, where gender differences are sometimes explored in physical, but not psychological or social, terms. Glorified speed or power suggest culturally unacceptable levels of violence and aggression. Some French dance and recent performances by Sankai Juku, as well as Trisha Brown's choreography, have been characterized as more "fashion show" than dance because of an emphasis on sensuality and spectacle, dangerously similar to the ballet.[30]

Binary thinking conceives ballet and *fridans* as opposites. Consequently, alternative non-expressionist approaches, particularly ones which emphasize strength, speed and technical skill, tend to be lumped in the familiar category of ballet, and judged accordingly. For example, Trisha Brown's choreography can be considered "no different from Swan Lake" by a critic, as reported earlier. One review even suggests classical technique might be better suited to her choreographic purposes:

> [Trisha Brown] is very aware of form and loves geometric lineplay. But the free dance style she uses is less bound by form than classical ballet which approaches applied geometry and perhaps would suit her better.[31]

The tendency to pigeonhole Brown's work in familiar categories also suggests its characterization as abstract dance, within the *fridans* tradition, as opposed to the concrete, narrative, new realist variety. According to the book *Fridans* the important dichotomy

> is *not* a question of ballet or modern dance, but of concrete, narrative, reality-connected dance versus ritual abstract and symbolic dance [identified through Mary Wigman with fascism].[32]

So a non-narrative dance form like Brown's may be placed in this category, along with, for example, most Balanchine ballets, (seldom performed in Sweden, though Anthony Tudor's influence is strong). Dancing cannot avoid political overtones. On the one hand, Trisha Brown's choreography is associated with frivolous aristocratic spectacle and on the other, fascist manipulation, though Brown and her dancers describe their work as democratic and humanistic.

In 1989 it seemed (in accordance with Nina Lundborg's "Fellini hypothesis") that as the Swedish domestic and international political and economic situations became more uncertain, the arts tended toward creating a more "Swedish" or "European" aesthetic.[33] Definition sometimes begins with establishing what something is not: Swedish dance became *not* American — that is, not primarily physical and formal, but concrete, humanist, socially aware. An American might view it as "European" ("Teutonic"? "Nordic"?) in its recognition of a fundamentally tragic human condition — a vaguely fatalistic sense that things are inevitably off-balance, individuals are often vulnerable to unpredictable, historical forces beyond understanding or control. This perspective acknowledges that public and private life — and art — often involve irresolvable dilemmas, rather than solvable problems.[34]

AN AMERICAN MODEL FOR DANCE: BODYSOUL

In contrast, the American "can-do" myth asserts that life may have its problems, but problems have solutions, and solutions usually have predictable, or at least controllable, consequences. Trisha Brown's choreography cannot be generalized as "typically American," because it hardly represents most Americans' aesthetic or philosophical orientation. Yet, her formalist art embodies a brisk, "American," luck-and-pluck self-confidence.

The social, moral dimension of art has never been her focus: both problems and solutions are primarily aesthetic. When questioned by a French interviewer about her desire "to add a social meaning with your dancing on the roofs and along the walls . . . ," Trisha Brown replied, "I think that my work did demonstrate a regard for human relationships. And that's the only way I see social meaning expressed — then and now."[35]

In other words, her dances justify themselves, with no intended deeper or broader implications. Aesthetic form and social content cannot be separated, but one aspect may be emphasized or downplayed. To a Swedish sensibility, the emphasis on form could be construed as formalist play, self-indulgently or even dangerously ignorant of dance's inevitable social meanings and repercussions.

Brown has described her movement:

> [It] is . . . physical and abstract, based on mechanical use of the body. It has no emotional base or content . . . [the dances are] about physical energy. Surges, splashes, silences — all of those things are emotive, depending on the response system of the viewer . . . I feel through my psycho-kinetic system. The work is very human, very physical, very sensuous . . . I accept the inevitability of connotational spin-off. But I do not set up connotations. My orientation is very formal.[36]

As expressed here, the performers' souls and bodies are conceived as psycho-kinetic systems, as are the viewers. The dance event interweaves bodies and intentions, choreographic forms and cultural meanings to form complex, communicative systems. This epistemological model falls outside the parameters of the three critical paradigms most familiar to Swedish audiences, who tend metaphorically to conceive dances as shallow (emphasizing the body's physical display within choreographic structures) or deep (accentuating the soul — motivated by, and communicating, psychological or social concerns).

Instead, the relationship between body and soul implied in Brown's dances assumes an integrated "bodysoul," an interwoven entity of muscles, nerves, heart, mind, and spirit. The dancing body can be understood simply as the self in motion: simultaneously emotional, physical, intelligent. As Brown has explained,

> What makes performing rewarding is when all a person's person has arrived at the same moment. Feeling is present, physical skill, and luck. It evinces a very special kind of humanity in the dancers. They inhabit themselves and the dancing very fully, with all the levels of their person brought into play.[37]

In this way of thinking, psycho-kinetic integrity — and not a causal relation between feeling and action — makes dancing authentic, profoundly human, free. Dancers have expressed their experience of this kind of awareness in action. For example, Dianne Madden commented about the process of re-creating the 1977 *Line-Up*: ". . . our dancing became pure and powerful with a directness of action and a deepened sense of ourselves in motion."[38] And Irène Hultman has said that as a dancer: "There is a constant . . . knowledge about both your body and mind which are one. [The goal is] to get interaction in the work and to be more and more aware at every moment." [39]

Such continuous awareness may contribute to the effect of monotony lamented by critics accustomed to conflict and climax. One 1984 review remarked that *Glacial Decoy*, "lives its own life beyond existence's inevitable tragedies and crises, beyond all tension and extreme contrast."[40] This recalls Nina Lundborg's comment that *Set and Reset* may be called "deeper than deep . . . [the dancers are] past the psychological relationships, they just exist without conflict." Conflict between oppositional tendencies — such as body and soul, surface and depth — does not shape Brown's world view or motivate her choreography. In fact, Brown has commented that

> The minute there is tension there is attitude, a psychological overlay that I don't want in my work.[41]

> In *Set and Reset*, there is a motor going all the time. That basic eastern seamless ongoing momentum is still there . . . The full range of dynamics is active, but I

> don't think, "Now we're going to pour on the energy and drive to the ecstatic moment." The ecstasy is possible at any moment, rather than building toward a cathartic jubilation. But I also am not trying to keep climaxes out.[42]

Choreographic structures or scores, dances based on chance, mathematical formulas, or game plans eliminate the necessity for an "auteur" to control every decision, which broadens compositional possibilities and lessens the probability of cliché. "I make dance machines that take care of certain aspects of dance-making," she has said of her choreography. I see her role as a Rube Goldberg inventor, rigging on-the-spot, artfully elegant, playful, precise, complex home-made dance machines: solutions to imaginary problems. Like a foxy physicist she catapults energies in one direction or another, setting off chain reactions within, between, and among dancers, viewers and the theatrical environment. But this cannot satisfy viewers seeking deeper meanings in dance.

CONCLUSION: MOVING BODIES, MOVING SOULS

In that first conversation, the day after the 1989 performances, critic Margareta Sörenson maintained that

> Non-narrative dance must have something else — it can be pictorial sometimes, or expressive emotionally, or associative, like the dances of Margareta Åsberg which unite brain and heart. But here, I could find no exit signs, no purpose, no meaning. The stress is on gymnastic technique. I couldn't understand what was being said . . . It didn't tell me anything.[43]

Without deeper meanings, dances remain merely superficial.

In contrast, Brown dancer Randy Warshaw has also distinguished between real dance as opposed to decorative movement:

> A lot of dance techniques with decorative movements are precisely about the surface embellishment of movement on the body. We sometimes talk about . . . doing the movement or describing an action — because I can describe weight falling in my body and never really feel it falling. Or I can really do the action . . . Trisha's work is having a real experience of the movement. [44]

These viewpoints turn the ideas of shallow and deep, empty and full, decorative and real, inside out. The first perspective assesses meaning primarily in terms of communication, and decoration in terms of physical activity. The second conceives "real dancing" as psycho-kinetic activity, while decoration conveys something other than dancing itself.[45]

In 1989 the Trisha Brown performances and the Stockholm reviews illuminated two sets of assumptions about the nature of dance. Trisha Brown Company danced the here-and-now reality of moving bodies. But many Swedish viewers had turned toward performance that moves souls — connecting performers and audiences with realities dancing beyond the stage.

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NOTES

1. Interview with Magareta Sörenson, 16 November 1989.

2. Gunilla Jensen, "Jämntjockt, monotont," *Svenska Dagbladet* (19 November 1989). Note: All translations from Swedish to English are mine. I am responsible for inaccuracies or lack of style.

3. Gunilla Jensen, (19 November 1989).

4. Gunilla Jensen, "Trisha Brown påminner om en annan värld," *Svenska Dagbladet* (17 November 1989).

5. Gunilla Jensen (19 November 1989).

6. Gunilla Jensen (19 November 1989).

7. Susanna Roxman, ". . . och än slank det ner i datorn," *Aftonbladet* (22 November 1989).

8. Bodil Persson, "Perfektionism upphöjd till lag," *Dagens Nyheter* (17 November 1989).

9. Björn Bexelius, "1960-talet som Klassik," *Svenska Dagbladet* (10 May 1979).

10. Ann Marie Lindman, "Danser direkt ur kroppen," *Dagens Nyheter* (10 May 1979).

11. Ann Marie Lindman (10 May 1979).

12. Björn Bexelius (10 May 1979).

13. Björn Bexelius (10 May 1979).

14. Ann Marie Lindman (10 May 1979).

15. Margareta Sjögren, "Dans med stark närvaro," *Svenska Dagbladet* (15 June 1984).

16. Horace Engdahl, "Uppvärmning i paradiset," *Dagens Nyheter* (17 June 1984).

17. Marianne Goldberg, "Trisha Brown: All of the Person's Person Arriving," *The Drama Review* (MIT Press, Summer 1986), 160.

18. Joan Acocella, "Noodling," *7 Days* (March 29, 1989): p. B2.

19. Jennifer Dunning, "A Set to Upstage the Dancers," The New York *Times* (March 13, 1989): p C17.

20. Interview with Irène Hultman, 4 March 1991.

21. Interview with Horace Engdahl, 17 June 1991.

22. Gunilla Jensen, interview by Fia Frederikson and Bo Arenander, *Nutida Dans* (September 1989): 8.

23. Interview with Irène Hultman, 4 March 1991.

24. Interview with Nina Lundborg, 12 June 1991.

25. Bodil Persson (17 November 1989).

26. Interview with Nina Lundborg, 12 June 1991.

27. Lilian Karina and Lena Sundberg, *Fridans* (Kristianstad, Naturia Förlag, 1989), 32, 34.

28. Karina and Sundberg, 34.

29. For a detailled discussion of similar but not identical paradigms in twentieth century American dance, see Susan Foster, *Reading Dancing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

30. Interview with Horace Engdahl, 17 June 1991.

31. Susanna Roxman (22 November 1989).

32. Karina and Sunberg, 34.

33. This has been discussed in various articles, among which was one by Ola Larsmo, "Nils Holgersson - europé," *Dagens Nyheter* (4 January 1992).

34. A similar observation about European and American films was made by Eva av Geijerstam in "Europa har filmhjälterna," *Dagens Nyheter* (1 December 1990).

35. Lise Brunel, *Trisha Brown* (Paris: éDITIONS BOUGé, 1988), 72.

36. Marianne Goldberg, 160.

37. Marianne Goldberg, 170.

38. Dianne Madden, "Notes from the Assistant to the Choreographer," Trisha Brown Company flyer, January 1992.

39. Lise Brunel, 82.

40. Horace Engdahl (17 June 1984).

41. Lise Brunel, 75.

42. Marianne Goldberg, 164.

43. Interview with Margareta Sörenson, 16 November 1989.

44. Lise Brunel, 80.

45. For an overview of critical response by American critics to a related dance form, German Tanztheater, in 1985, see "What the Critics Say About Tanztheater" in *The Drama Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Summer 1986): 80-84, and related articles.

American Theatricality in Contemporary German Theater Dancing: John Neumeier and William Forsythe

Claudia Jeschke

Alongside the protagonists of Tanztheater, two American choreographers set significant trends in contemporary German theater dance. Neither John Neumeier nor William Forsythe work in the so-called "free dance scene" (a genuine American phenomenon imported to Germany during the mid seventies) nor do they explicitly use modern dance techniques. Both are considered ballet choreographers, and both are employed in state supported theaters.

When different cultures confront one another, they enter into a mode of mutual influence. The ensuing exchange of cultural information passes in two directions: from the guest culture to the host culture - and vice versa. Such routes of cultural influence play a part in my attempt to isolate and define the particular theatrical means of the two American choreographers, John Neumeier and William Forsythe, in comparison with their German contemporaries.

The thematic, dramaturgic, technical and choreographic differences among Neumeier's works, the works of William Forsythe and the works of their German colleagues can be seen in the ways they respectively treat dance historicism as well as historical accounts through dancing. As a vantage point, this issue offers a pragmatic approach to the phenomenon of interculturalism in terms of theme and dramaturgic treatment, and to dance materials, i.e. technical and choreographic means. Whereas historicism is not an innovative means for comparing either the German with the American (or the European with the American), its application to current theoretical and practical modalities in dance proves effective.

What do I mean by historicism? The term refers to the personal and artistic histories of the choreographers in question, as well as to those histories told through their medium - dance; it becomes in itself then the history of the medium, and of the aesthetic premises of its era.

History 1: the personal history

In Germany of the sixties, two male choreographers, Gerhard Bohner and Johann Kresnik, preceeded the female coterie of dancers and choreographers in the rank of Tanztheater innovators. Bohner invented collages that contemplate the ways in which the image of the body, body movement, music, speech and space interrelate and determine spatial and psychological perception. His disavowal of the German theater system at the beginning of the seventies was symptomatic of his generation's will toward democratization, and its contempt of a theatrical establishment dependent on box office returns.

Like his female colleague Pina Bausch, Johann Kresnik succeeded in pursuing democratic principles in the organizational structure of his company and in his associatively evolved choreographies. Kresnik invented stringent choreographic solutions

for political, social and historical ills. His central theme is coping with the power of norms and authority.

Women came to the fore of the second generation of Tanztheater, and they travelled a different route. Whereas their personal committment to their environment was no less intense than that of their male colleagues, they did not focus on social and political circumstances and their effect on people. More concerned with the artistic expression of their own emotional experiences as women, they produce realistic depictions of the often painful cohabitation of the sexes: the conditions and irritations of dealing with one another in a society marked by norms and obsessions are presented. Their outlook turns pragmatically to the effect of social trends - on women and men as well.

Pina Bausch - the first to attain an international reputation with the Wuppertaler Tanztheater - is concerned above all with the value of women as commodities. In her pieces, men and women are afraid of their own longing for love, confront one another with ambivalence and hostility, and wound each other. Bausch explores her own experiences and (childhood) memories in order to encourage her dancers to do the same. In rehearsals she questions the dancers, then isolates the movements with which her dancers respond, modifies them and links them together in an open structure, a collage, that eludes definite, generalized, neutral, objective, rational description and interpretation. Bausch visualizes her themes associatively from diverse viewpoints. In her productions, movement, speech, music, scenery develop an independent dynamic that she gladly accepts because they expand her sensory experience. Robbed of their standard (normal, normative) meaning, these means attain an independence in which they become surprising signs. The audience is thus given an opportunity to see the subject being presented from a new point of view.

History 2: history in dance/the history of dance

Like Pina Bausch, John Neumeier fashions his ballets around emotional processes. However, these processes delineate not so much the personal experiences and gender conflicts of the dancers in society; it is rather the inherent conflicts of the roles which the dancers portray on stage. Through his talent for movement invention, Neumeier's ballets become dramaturgical and choreographic games that integrate a multi-leveled view of his subjects. Seen from his psychological perspective, ideas, thoughts, situations and moods assume equal importance as authentic expressions of the human being relating to his/her environment. Although he frequently uses literary themes, Neumeier does not subjugate himself to the dictum of narrative structure and role development. Instead, he consolidates the scenic action by constructing a complex relationship between the dancers as persons, their capacities as dancers, the inner world of the portrayed figures, the particularities of the world outside that encompasses them, and the components of the plot. On yet another content level, Neumeier's ballets incorporate choreographic reflections on the uniqueness of dance and its historical and sociological development. Through his contemplative attitude toward the style and means of classic choreography, Neumeier's work sports an

adventuresome alertness in regard to the inherent possibilities of form and substance that enrich dance dramaturgy.

While John Neumeier attempts to alter the structural parameters of the ballet by means of dramaturgical and narrative polivalence and multiplicity, William Forsythe considers the parametal structures themselves; his is a reflection on the technical premises of the ballet: muscular perception, the function of internal joints, space. By quoting the constituent/ contributory components of the balletic code in order to consider them - through deconstruction - as theatrical means, Forsythe experiments with ballet as an artefact. He is ever on the lookout for surprising choreographic solutions, that, he believes, have a critical potential. Using surprise as an effect, he articulates in a dance language that has a contemporary flair (high tech), expressing nothing more (or less) than the dance itself.

As specified in Tanztheater, dance is personality and meaning oriented. It refutes traditional (social = dance) systems and develops an infra-structure not previously employed in dance: the montage, collage as a means of discovering the history of psychological, sociological and political conditions of the dancers as persons. Tanztheater's minimalization of dancing per se seems, however, today to have passed its peak. The emotional resources necessary to the archeological exploration of the psyche are exhausted. One feels, while viewing a retrospective of Pina Bausch's works, the presence of an historic phenomenon.

The works of Neumeier and Forsythe have developed differently. The classic-academic remains the identity of most of the works and has expanded as a method of reflecting socio- and psycho-historical conditions of the dance itself, as an art form with a definite tradition. The respective developments of Tanztheater and ballet over the last twenty years seem dialectic. Bausch and Neumeier, for example, shared an interest in psychological insight that overcame - at least to a certain degree - the formal boundaries that once isolated ballet from Tanztheater. Ballet, i.e. Neumeier, followed this current from the seventies until the mid eighties. Tanztheater advanced beyond: abandoning the area that had been defined by a traditional concept of dancing entirely, it sought "truth" in the bodies of the dancers themselves. After the mid-eighties, Forsythe's understanding of ballet took the initiative in questioning the validity of all systems or classifications employed up until then. Firstly, he applied the montage/collage technique of Tanztheater to his own pieces; although, in contrast to Bausch, he does not care much about meaning. Secondly, by emphasizing excessive body action he exposes the physical handicraft and formula of dancing - especially of ballet dancing. He has distanced himself (and the audience) not only from the content of scenic event - as Tanztheater did -, but also from the semantics of dance procedure itself.

History 3: the reception of the postmodern.

Both in theme and choreographic process, the dance phenomena in Germany described here, clearly manifest distinctive postmodern

elements[1]. As opposed to USA, the German postmodern discourse[2] does not, however, include concrete expositions on either theory or practice of the dance[3]. And, with the exception of Forsythe's basic approach, not even the dance practicians, theoreticians or critics in Germany refer explicitly to the postmodern discourse. The separation between theoretical analysis and practical execution traditionally endemic to German academic discourse, and the stance of an academic affirmation inherent in the German dance criticsm of the twentieth century, precondition the (negative) dialogue of the postmodern in dance as well as the postmodern dance. The reasons are primarily political. In contradistinction to Europe, the sixties in the USA were particularly active years: an era in which an iconoclasm unleashed an artistic avantgarde, that critically questioned the position of the arts in society. World War II however had starved the German arts' scene; the art establishment had, with the political defeat, collapsed. As a result, in the sixties there was still not yet a basis from which/against which a rebellion was possible. The reconstruction, the so-called German economic miracle, and the collateral attempt to establish international ties, found only loose, i.e. never entwined, correlation in the creative process or in the art scene itself (the dance included). Dance belonged and still belongs, in the traditional attitude of creators and recipients alike, to the art world - a world with only secondary implications for the "not art world" and vice versa. This has had consequences. In the past, the social critical aspects of Pina Bauschs work have not been adequately conceived, and, presently, the art- and culture-critical dimensions of Neumeier's and Forsythe's work are not being understood. (It is of particular interest in this context, that the themes of Bausch and Neumeier conform - within Sally Banes' terminological schema - to the category "metaphoric postmodern dance" and that in Germany, this phase, as opposed to the North American development continuum, precedes the more analytical stage, evident in Forsythe's approach. Conversely, "deconstruction" is the categorial concept applied to Forsythe's oeuvre, and is not considered as constituent of the "metaphoric" phase, as it is in the United States).

When postmodernism "goes beyond art"[4], it denotes the point at which those (social, political, economic and aesthetic) challanges and parametal breaches are to be perceived, with which the dance in Germany questions/confronts the art establishment. Bausch has done this and Neumeier does this, where they both - without explicit reference to theory - interrelate the everyday and art worlds: thematically and in the definition of movement. It is my opinion that Forsythe's art world provides the most succinct indication that the central objective of the postmodern, i.e. a transformed attitude to the various art forms and to theory, can be applied to the dance; that the relationship between theory and practice must be reconceived/re-odered, and that the recipients' (historicizing) enjoyment of the work of art is to be replaced by an (actualizing) enjoyment of the creative process. If it is assumed that the reception by German dance criticism, scholarship and public would consider Neumeier's and Forsythe's theatricality more as problematizing and less as aesthetic affirmative potential,

so could both Americans contribute to the postmodern discourse from a specifically European basis: they analytically approach ballet and other forms of the theater-dance tradition, which, to my knowledge, were not integrated into the primarily chronologically defined American strategy of denial. The (analytic/artistic) discourse with "modern" art in Germany, however, was, as I pointed out earlier, interrupted, due to political reasons. What seems to be possible in dance in Germany since the seventies is a metaphorical thematisation of the individual in the society and/or the
a-genealogical isolation and the application of analytic-postmodern methods, in particular to ballet. Ballet evokes (in Europe and in the USA) associations of beauty and asceticism, both traditional aspects of art concepts of the "old world". Neither Neumeier nor Forsythe seem to abandon this associative framework in their creations. Is this a sign of aesthetic affirmation, i.e. a simultaneous acceptance of a historicizing, consolidating art concept, which they, as artists working in Germany, subserviently accept? Does the fact that they "squander" their creative professionality in a rigid, uncompetitive or rather dialogue-stifling theater system render their work mediate, i.e. dated - despite direct, clear, immediate American postmodern approaches? The restrictive structures of the German theater system cannot be transgressed, because they are not even regarded as restrictive... Not even by Neumeier and Forsythe themselves, in fact to the contrary.

Up to the present time the discourse, regarding the creative process, which Bausch, Neumeier und Forsythe instigated, has had no impact other than a progressive aesthetisation of entertainment and didactics in the theater and their integration into the system. In order to facilitate (real) dialogue, it seems to me that in particular the German dance criticism and scholarship (and I include myself) is challanged to confront and consider that theme which is common to the choroegraphers in question: that is movement. Pina Bausch's formulation is: she is interested in that which moves human beings; Forsythe concentrates <u>expressis verbis</u> exclusively on the physical and structural aspects of dancing; it is my opinion that Neumeier creates a synthetic construct out of that which moves the human being and how he moves. My previous question as to what extent those cited are (pre-)occupied with aesthetic affirmation can be posed again in more dynamic terms: how is it to be achieved that the effected suggestion/ allusion in danced movement becomes an awareness of movement in dance and so that, in addition to the body, movement itself becomes an historical concern[5]. The deconstruction of the aesthetic has been initiated; the danger though of commodification is however in Germany still rampant.

1. I subsume in this term modernist and postmodernist developments - compare Levin, David Michael: "Postmodernism in Dance: Dance, Discourse, Democracy", in: Silverman, Hugh J.(ed.): <u>Postmodernism: Philosophy and the Arts</u>, New York, 1990, pp.207-233.

2. The main protagonists are Habermas, Sloterdijk, Burger i.a. and through secondary reception: the French thinkers Baudrillard, Foucault, Lyotard, as well as Lacan, Derrida, Barthes i.a.

3. Where a perception of the body is evident in the writings of the German postmodern philosophers, historians and authors, it is a literary modification of physical experience; as such they are not conceived as primarily dance phenomena. An exception is Kamper, Dietmar: "Vom Schweigen des Körpers", in: Kamper, Dietmar and Rittner, Volker (ed.): Zur Geschichte des Körpers, Munich/Vienna, 1976. There are however more frequent indications regarding the necessity of researching dance, because of its manifestation of extreme experiential and expressive physical modes.

4. Gitlin, Todd: "Life in the Postmodern World", in: Dialogue 4/1990, p.13

5. Since Foucault - such is the frequent formulation - history has a new theme: the body.

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U.S. BALLET AND MODERN DANCE IN THE CARIBBEAN: CUBA AND PUERTO RICO (1940-1980)

Alma Concepción

In 1975, after fifteen years of absence, Cuban Prima Ballerina Alicia Alonso returned to the United States to celebrate Ballet Theatre's 35th anniversary where she received a standing ovation. Time seemed suspended in a deeply moving encounter of uninterrupted understanding. In the "real" world, however, some protests reminded us that the dialogue between Cuba and the United States remained tense, if not itself totally suspended.

It is my intention in the present paper to explore the cultural interaction between the United States and the Caribbean by concentrating on two Hispanic Caribbean countries--Cuba and Puerto Rico--during the 20th century. I shall endeavor to place in a historical and social context the impact of American dance upon the development of musical-dance forms and styles in the region. Historically, dancers, choreographers and interpreters from the Hispanic Caribbean have long been influenced by American ballet companies, schools, and choreographers, as well as shaped by the experiences of modern dance events, aesthetics and figures such as Martha Graham, José Limón, Katherine Dunham and Alvin Ailey. Also, I intend to examine the relationship between ballet and modern dance within the context of the United States and Caribbean cultural exchange. In addition, I shall discuss the cultural background of the Caribbean as this background reflects the evolution of musical and dance forms.

*

Music and dance in the Caribbean lie deeply rooted in the soil of history. They constitute a central part of daily life: forces of cohesion and identity which have for centuries provided meaning to the collective imagination. The Dominican **merengue**, the Jamaican **reggae**, the Cuban **rumba**, or the Puerto Rican **plena**, all evidence the tremendous vitality and diversity present in a region where the encounter of various European and African heritages has given birth to remarkable music and dance forms.[1]

By the end of the 19th century most Spanish American countries had fought their wars of independence. The Antilles, however, still remained under Spanish rule, with their trade in tobacco, sugar and slaves. Yet by this time Cuba was doing considerably more business with the United States than with Spain. The trade of Puerto Rico was very small; the island had always been prized for its strategic more than for its commercial value. The end of the Spanish-American War (1898) marked the official entrance of the United States into Caribbean politics. American economic interests expanded and were the primary reasons for armed intervention in Haiti and Santo Domingo. Cuba

was transformed into a United States protectorate, while Puerto Rico became a colony. Over the course of nearly a century, the United States has maintained a unique and controversial relationship with both islands--a relationship which among other things--that has resulted in two of the largest Hispanic migrations to this country.[2]

At the turn of the century two main cultural currents coexisted in the Hispanic Caribbean: popular and upper class. Popular music and dances were shaped by the African musical and dance traditions and the religion of the slaves, who introduced syncopated rhythms and percussive instruments. These musical-dance forms have been basic to social cohesion and to the maintenance of tradition. Katherine Dunham, the American pioneer, notices this:

> ... the dance by and large has been an instrument of black survival under the most depressing economic and social circumstances, and continues to be so... with the history of black dance we also know much more about the enslaved and the enslavers, the psychology of colonialism, and the nature of those who have danced their way out of poverty and racial prejudice into the opera houses and concert halls of the world.[3]

The upper classes in Cuba and Puerto Rico, on the other hand, looked primarily towards Europe. Audiences and critics were musically sophisticated; great musicians and dancers often toured the islands. The bourgeoisie traveled and studied in Paris or Madrid. When in 1841 Fanny Elssler came to perform in Havana, she danced in one of the largest theaters in the world.[4] In the cities of Cuba and Puerto Rico the upper classes danced to Spanish melodies, soon transformed by processes of creolization. By the 1930s, Europe and the United States had firmly established themselves as the cultural centers for the upper classes, whose rather provincial moralistic views, handed down from Spain, still prevailed. Dancing, then, was welcome for high society celebrations, or as an amateur finishing touch for a young lady, but as a career it was unthought of. At the time, marriage was the sole career open to "nice girls."

Cuba is well known in New York, both for its popular music and dance forms, as well as for Alicia Alonso, the above mentioned Prima Ballerina, who in the late 1940s became one of America's most famous ballet stars. Alicia Alonso, born into an upper middle class family in Cuba, began to study ballet in Havana in 1931. Her father, a conservative army officer of Spanish ancestry, had, nevertheless, been educated in the United States. He attended a private school in Florida and veterinary school in Georgia, introducing into Cuba scientific breeding methods. When the army sent him to Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, he took his family with him. Alicia was still very young, but she recalled living later briefly in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and St. Louis, Missouri.[5] Fernando Alonso, her

future husband, who came from a socially prominent family, went to business school in North Carolina. His brother Alberto, who eventually became a demi-caractere dancer with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo and later choreographer for the Cuban ballet, also studied in private schools in the United States.

It was probably from the United States that "word spread among Cubans that ballet was good for athletes, that it strengthened the muscles."[6] Alicia met both Alberto and Fernando at Pro Arte in Havana, where they studied ballet. Because they came from an aristocratic and prestigious family these two young men were able to open up new possibilities for future male dancers, as they defied the deeply ingrained and negative social stereotypes associated with ballet. It is well known that Alicia and Fernando came to New York very young and succeeded in making dance their profession, against all odds. Alicia's spectacular rise to stardom and continuing relationship with Ballet Theatre until 1960, suddenly came to a stop when the United States declared a general trade and cultural embargo on Cuba. Alicia returned to her homeland to direct an impressive project subsidized by Fidel Castro's government: a national school and ballet company.

When Anna Kisselgoff reviewed the National Ballet of Cuba's debut in 1978, she wrote:

> The National Ballet is also a company shaped by the formative experience in the U.S. of its founders... It is naive to suggest that this Cuban company would, for political reasons, have looked to Soviet ballet as a model. Art is the result of those who create it and the National Ballet is the result of ballet as the Alonsos knew it... What the National Ballet has brought us is a return to the principles and even--when appropriate--the style of Michel Fokine... Even more important is Miss Alonso's adherence to Fokine's famous principles that every element of a production must be dramatically integral to the work itself. This commitment accounts for her fabulous staging of "Giselle," which owes something to Anton Dolin's first production of Ballet Theatre. If there is one lesson to be learned... it is the following: a ballet company dominated and molded by a superstar can also be a great ensemble company... It is in fact as an ensemble and not as a backdrop for a superstar that the National Ballet Company always comes across... Miss Alonso runs the company as if it were a great theatrical ensemble and the fact is extraordinary with respect to the way the principles are treated... The manner of dancing is adapted to the meaning of the work itself.[7]

Fokine certainly was one of Alicia Alonso's most inspiring models, and Ballet Theatre was where she had spent her nestling years. Yet, when reflecting on Alicia's determination to found a

company for Cuba--which precedes the Cuban revolution--it is no less important to take into account the fact that Alicia was dancing in the United States during some of the most important decades of American dance history. The contact with the creative processes of the times undoubtedly influenced her. In 1937, when she first arrived in the United States, she did not find flourishing ballet companies. On the contrary, she found a country barely coming out of the Great Depression, where artists everywhere expressed the tensions of the times. Dance was renouncing the established forms and creating new ones. Although Alicia was a classical dancer, she found that modern dancers were not alone in exploring a new dance form that would be expressive of America; ballet, through Balanchine, and following Lincoln Kirstein's intentions, was about to build an American classical form. Before entering Ballet Theatre, Alicia had been awarded a scholarship to the School of American Ballet, and she soon joined Ballet Caravan, "an experimental touring company and dance laboratory for American genre dancing, [which] grew out of both the school and the company."[8] Alicia's first roles were in Eugene Loring's Billy the Kid and City Portrait. Of Loring, she says:

> I believe Loring drew his inspiration from two sources: from one of his teachers, Michel Fokine, who had brought about a reform in the rigid restraints of academic classical ballet, and from Lincoln Kirstein, who had become convinced that his SAB would so train dancers that they would bring to classical dancing a distinctly American style, and that it could develop American choreographers who would create ballets that were American both in style and subject matter, using librettos he wrote for them.[9]

At Ballet Theatre, Alicia was partnered by some of the greatest classical dancers (Dolin, Youskevitch, Eglevsky), performed works by Massine, Tudor, Balanchine, and witnessed American choreographers build an American repertoire: Lew Christensen, Agnes de Mille, Jerome Robbins, among others. She recognized in Tudor the most important influence in her interpretation of **Giselle.**[10] The figure of Lucia Chase, a woman persistent in creating an American Ballet Company, provided perhaps a constant reminder to Alicia, that building a company for Cuba with a Cuban repertoire was a genuine possibility.

Whenever Ballet Theatre had a layoff, Alicia and Fernando invited the dancers to perform with them in Havana. In 1948, when the Ballet Alicia Alonso was established, more than half of the dancers were from Ballet Theatre, including Youskevitch and Melissa Hayden. Puerto Rican Ana García, who later returned to Puerto Rico to found Ballets de San Juan, also belonged. In 1955 Alicia gave Ballets de San Juan an accolade by dancing the role of Giselle with the Puerto Rican corps de ballet, under Fernando's direction.

New York in those days was also vaudeville, music halls, and

Broadway shows, in some of which Alicia had danced, like many dancers of the times, in order to make ends meet. It was the beginning of jazz also, with Ellington, Armstrong, and Goodman. The African-American big-band jazz stimulated the formation of Latin big bands that brought Caribbean musicians together. It was the relationship between jazz and Latin music that led to the creation of a New York Latin sound, and later to **salsa**, a uniquely New York phenomenon.[11] Meanwhile Cuba and Puerto Rico were experiencing deep economic crises. The 1950s witnessed the Batista regime in Cuba. On the other hand, Puerto Rico was attempting new policies of industrialization and modernization under the Muñoz era. Migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States was encouraged by the government, while the upper classes continued to view New York as its cultural capital.

In 1958 another Cuban dancer, Ramiro Guerra, founder of Conjunto Nacional de Danza Moderna de Cuba, returned home from his studies in New York. Years before, while still a law student in Havana, Ramiro had overcome the barriers of prejudice, and joined Pro Arte. He later studied with Nina Verchinina, who invited him to join Colonel de Basil's Ballet Russe's tour of South America. Despite his admiration for Antony Tudor, Michael Kidd and Jerome Robbins, Ramiro did not find in ballet the language he needed for creative work. He landed in New York with $5 in his pockets and no knowledge of English, but determined to study with Martha Graham. During those years he also took classes with Doris Humphrey, Charles Wiedman and Katherine Dunham. "In spite of everything," he told Roberto Pérez León in an interview, "it was a wise decision: I came into contact with the hardships of daily life, broadening greatly my artistic horizon..." In speaking about dance he says:

> We can't say that dance is "modern," but primary, born from an inevitable elementary impulse. The great teachers of modern dance, from Isadora Duncan to Martha Graham, have purified a technique and established a discipline that would channel the natural disposition of movement. This technique derives from the human body's natural condition, not overstepping any normal limitation, but using the eurhythmic capacity fully. It was very difficult to establish this new dance form in our country. It was not easy for audiences to understand it, especially when they preferred classical ballet, which already had a long and valuable tradition. [12]

Determined to use modern dance as a meaningful and legitimate expression in Cuba, Ramiro Guerra restored authenticity to the theatrical representation of Afro-Caribbean dances, which had until then been utilized in such a manner as to present a distorted view of the black tradition.

Says Guerra:

> There is something else in the dances of black people: a determination, an innate message intended to be exposed in a cultured fashion in order to be comprehended in all its integrity. When I say "cultured" I mean an artistic process not for a group, but for the masses... It meant training new dancers who did not see modern dance as a frivolous game, but as a responsible task with a social meaning.[13]

To the technique and theatricality learned from Martha Graham[14] and the meaning of dance in Katherine Dunham's African aesthetic, Ramiro added his preference for narration. Gestures from Cuban daily life, ancient literary myths such as those pertaining to Medea and Orpheus, Yoruba deities inspired by his readings--all these furnished substance to his choreographies. Cuban audiences felt able to identify themselves with the beauty and dignity of the black body, and modern dance was not perceived to be an alien expression. Danza Moderna became a first rate dance ensemble, internationally known, and school to many young modern and contemporary dance choreographers.

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The Cuban embargo of 1960 not only interrupted the United States-Cuban relations, but the cultural exchange between Puerto Rico and Cuba was also disrupted precisely at the height of the most productive cultural years for Puerto Rico.[15] Ballets de San Juan, the first dance company to be established in the island --which in 1955 had hosted Alicia Alonso as guest artist--built in the following decade an exciting and creative repertoire, in collaboration with Puerto Rican musicians, painters and writers. Like the Ballet Nacional de Cuba, Ballets de San Juan also staged the classics, but without a figure like Alicia Alonso or substantial governmental subsidy the result did not parallel the quality of the former's more creative repertoire.[16] The founders of this company, Ana García and her sister Gilda Navarra, had coincided with Alicia Alonso during the early days in New York. They had been admitted to the School of American Ballet in 1945. In 1946 Gilda left to study Spanish dance in Spain, where she became a professional dancer. She danced with Pilar López and José Greco, acquiring an impeccable style, which she translated later as a choreographer. She became the finest Spanish dance exponent in Puerto Rico. Ana continued her studies at SAB, and when Balanchine organized Ballet Society she was invited to perform with the company, where she remained when the New York City Ballet was founded. She later joined the Ballet Alicia Alonso in Havana for the Central and South American tours. In 1950 she and Gilda Navarra opened a ballet and Spanish dance school in San Juan, and in 1954 they founded Ballets de San Juan.

If the Cuban Ballet was modeled after Ballet Theatre, Ballets de San Juan continued to nurture links with the New York City Ballet dancers. Many soloists such as Melissa Hayden and Jacques d'Amboise were invited as guest artists, while the Puerto Rican choreographers were influenced by the Balanchine repertoire. For both the Ballet Nacional de Cuba and Ballets de San Juan, the importance of establishing a school first had been a fundamental lesson. The contact with great choreographers like Fokine and Balanchine had inspired reverence for discipline and inventiveness while the works of American choreographers had set a goal for the expression of national themes and vocabulary. Just as American dance in its early moments responded to the roots, experiences, anguishes and dreams of people in America, the Caribbean, in its shared experience of slavery and colonialism, found in the dance (collectively and politically) a means to search for and articulate its own identity. In the words of Jamaican artist and intellectual Rex Nettleford: "Cultural activity was understood as a critical aspect of the search for the underlying unities of Caribbean life that would forge the social cohesion necessary to a society torn within and from itself."[17] In speaking about style, form, and technical foundations, he adds: "Many works not directly related to Caribbean concerns were also created at the same time, but they were now being performed with a distinctive aesthetic."[18]

In the establishment of this distinctive aesthetic I would like to refer briefly to the work of Cubans Alberto Méndez and Eduardo Rivero and of Puerto Rican Gilda Navarra. These three choreographers are virtually unknown outside their countries, and yet their innovative contributions in the search for an authentic artistic expression deserve to be recognized.

When reflecting on the successes of the National Ballet of Cuba, critics devote insufficient importance to the imaginative vocabulary created by its main choreographer, Alberto Méndez. Often dismissed or criticized as "nothing new" in some American and European reviews, certain critics fail to take into account the originality inherent in expanding contemporary currents by integrating a vigorous and diverse cultural heritage. Méndez's work "El río y el bosque" (1973), based on Afro-Cuban myths, recreates the African world of religion and ritual through a classical vocabulary in which Méndez effectively combines sculptural elements, jumps, sinuous and angular movements achieving a valid (and impressive) theatrical and aesthetic result. This result, though, can only be judged on the basis of its own aesthetics. It is interesting to note that "El río y el bosque" was presented at the Alvin Ailey Dance Theatre Gala at City Center in May 1977. Ailey invited María Elena Llorente and Lázaro Carreño to perform it along with Méndez's earliest work "Plásmasis" (1970) after seeing the Ballet Nacional in Spain during its 1976 tour.[19]

Another important piece, "Tarde en la siesta," an evocative piece of the atmosphere in Havana at the turn of the century, might lend itself to be perceived as mere psychodrama. Critic

Fernau Hall, though, realized the authentic value of the work:

> It is very rare to see a ballet embodying poetic atmosphere, sense of period and evocation of contrasting moods and characters as clearly as "Tarde en la Siesta"... This ballet shows many affinities with two masterly works by Antony Tudor, "Jardin Aux Lilas" and "Pillar of Fire." Even though Méndez has never seen a Tudor ballet, possibly he has been helped by the fact that Alicia Alonso, director of the National Ballet of Cuba, once danced major roles in Tudor ballets...[20]

Whether or not Tudor's influence upon Alonso furnishes the key to this affinity, Méndez's insight and ability to sense the currents of his time, speak eloquently of his creativity in transforming the cultural echo of tradition.[21]

Of great significance, although less well known, is the work of Eduardo Rivero, a disciple of Ramiro Guerra whose presence as dancer and choreographer at the Conjunto de Danza Moderna de Cuba has greatly contributed to the development of the goals of the company. "Sulkari" (1980) is one of his most powerful pieces. Choreographed to a collection of Cuban Yoruba chants, it recreates African movement patterns in a sculptural, and at the same time sexual language. Its language responds to the same distinctive aesthetic other Caribbean artists, such as Rex Nettleford, had also been articulating. Nettleford, Director of the National Dance Theatre of Jamaica, invited Rivero to produce "Sulkari" for his company. In his book, Dance Jamaica, Nettelford comments: "The arched back, proud carriage, the hold of the back in a spiral twist above a firm pelvis, the flatfooted contact with the ground on bent knees, the acrobatic leaps of the men, the firmly flexed feet, the carriage of the arms set akimbo or held firmly behind the head with shoulder blades touching as in Yoruba agbadza, and the grand processional--all these African inspired elements--are critical to Caribbean dance aesthetics. They resolutely express exploration,celebration, affirmation."[22]

Guerra, Rivero and Méndez share a common language-- a language strikingly similar to that of the Alvin Ailey Dance Company-- which draws from many modern dance techniques, including early Graham (Méndez was also a Guerra's student). Each developed his own style while drawing from diverse traditions, which range from ballet to abstract movement and to Creole dances; a common language which is a synthesis of the multiplicity of the Caribbean experience, of the meeting ground of various worlds. But this fusion, or crossfertilization, results from intense study and discipline. Perhaps Graham's most enduring legacy resides not in her technique, but, as Nettleford envisions it, in her desire to be part of "the miracle that is a human being, motivated, disciplined, concentrated." [23]

The presence in New York of another great dancer and choreographer, José Limón, inspired many Latin American artists. When, in 1962, Gilda Navarra exchanged her Spanish dance shoes for the barefooted exercises of mime teacher Etienne Decroux, this perhaps corresponded to an underlying yearning for the modern dance vocabulary she had admired in Limón. Gilda Navarra's incredible sensibility and genius was reborn a few years later, when she founded Taller de Histriones (1971-1985). Although Taller de Histriones considered itself a mime company, the movement idiom it invented to communicate its collective visions was closer to modern dance than to classical mime. In Gilda Navarra one senses, as in Guerra, Rivero and Méndez, the relentless search for a distinct way of expression. Navarra's search, though, follows a different path. Her works incorporate apparently disparate elements: essences from Spanish dance movements, inspirations from modern dance models and mime training, images from literature, art and music. In the complex richness of her symbolic explorations one also encounters, as Limón himself put it, a "hard and long voyage of discovery into the inner self."[24] She never reproduced European or American models and remained persistently opposed to superfluous "improvisation," although her creative process was founded in collective workshop improvisation. She distanced herself from the easy and familiar. Her works, like Limón's, all dealt with man's essential tragedy and his struggle for human dignity. Gilda Navarra and Taller de Histriones occupied for more than a decade a prominent place on the Puerto Rican theatrical scene, voicing a new and authentic movement aesthetic which proclaimed cultural maturity and independence.[25]

In the quest of Caribbean societies to forge new worlds of experience, the dance stands out as an important language articulating and communicating an alternative self-perception. In this quest the relation with the United States both provided a model and constituted a tradition to break away from. In this encounter Cuba and Puerto Rico have found in the American connection, and perhaps because of its complex historical relationship, an inspiration to reinterpret their own cultural legacy.[26]

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NOTES

1. See Kenneth Bilby, "Music and Dance in the Caribbean," in Caribbean Contours, Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price, eds.. Baltimore, The John Hopkins Universtiy Press, 1985.

2. The Cuban Revolution dramatically severed political and cultural relations with the United States. Official interaction between the Cuban and New York music and dance scene ended in 1962, while the relationship with Puerto Rico--American citizenship having been granted since 1917--reflected in the New York area having the largest Puerto Rican population outside the Island. Cuban migration to Florida has continued to increase, also constituting the largest Cuban city outside of Havana.

3. Emery, Lynne Fauley, Black Dance: From 1619 to Today (Foreword by Katherine Dunham). Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Book Company, 1972, 1988.

4. Costonis, Maureen Needham, "Fanny Elssler in Havana," Proceedings, Society of Dance History Scholars. University of California, Riverside, 1991.

5.Siegel, Beatrice. Alicia Alonso: The Story of a Ballerina. New York: Frederick Warne, 1979.

6.Op cit., p. 17.

7. Kisselgoff, Anna. "Cuban Ballet Favors Fokine." The New York Times, Sunday, June 25, 1978.

8. Siegel, Op. cit., p. 39.

9. Alonso, Alicia, "Performing Giselle." American Ballet Theatre. Text by Charles Payne. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1977.

10. **Alicia Alonso: Giselle 1943-1978.** Record. EGREM, La Habana, XXXV Anniversary Alonso-Giselle.

11. Singer, Roberta. "Puerto Rican Music in New York City." New York Folklore, XIV: 3-4, (1988).

12. Pérez León, Roberto. Por los orígenes de la danza moderna en Cuba. Universidad de La Habana, 1986. Translation of this quotation and subsequent quotations from Roberto Pérez León's interviews are mine.

13. Op cit., p. 12.

14. Ramiro Guerra also acknowledges the decisive influence of viewing the Pekin Opera and the Kabuki theater from Japan. These spectacular experiences plunged him into an intense study of those traditions. In an interview with Roberto Pérez León

(Princeton, December 1991), he pointed out the important link in Ramiro's works between the choreographer, the light, scenery and costume designs. He always worked with Eduardo Roche, an integral designer, who, in addition, did research together with Ramiro.

15. At this time some 60,000 Cubans emigrated to Puerto Rico. The island being an American dependency, is subject to U.S. immigration laws and travelling restrictions.

16. The history of Ballets de San Juan has not been documented. Gilda Navarra has kept the most complete scrapbook of reviews, which can also be found in the newspapers and journals of those years. Dance Magazine published an article by Harold Underhill about the successes of Ballets de San Juan in 1960 ("Ballets de San Juan: Success Amid 'Serenidad'," August 1960). This interesting though problematic article might prove useful for a discussion of the relationship between dance and politics in the United States-Caribbean exchange.

17. Nettleford, Rex, Dance Jamaica: Cultural Definition and Artistic Discovery. New York: Grove Press, 1985, p. 35.

18. Op cit., p. 71. In studying the historical and social significance of dance in the Caribbean I find Nettleford's book an invaluable source. It would also be an interesting point of departure for a comparative study of dance and politics in the Caribbean.

19. See "Noticia." Cuba en el Ballet, VIII: 3, (septiembre-diciembre 1977), p. 45.

20. Hall, Fernau. "Rare Mixture of Moods in Cuban Work." Found in Alberto Méndez' Clippings at the Lincoln Center for Performing Arts Library in New York. The clipping does shows neither the name of the newspaper nor the date of publication.

21. In relation to the establishment of a distinctive Cuban aesthetic, it is important to mention the claim of the Ballet Nacional de Cuba to the creation of a Cuban School. This claim points to the distinctive technical and artistic elements which characterize their particular way of performing the classical vocabulary, elements which have been recognized by international critics, including Americans Ann Barzel and Walter Terry. These characteristics, though, are still undergoing a process, which has not been recorded permanently. For more detailed information, refer to Alonso, Alicia, Dialógos con la danza. (La Habana, Cuba: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1986); Cuba en el Ballet, "Impresiones sobre la escuela cubana de ballet", X:1 (enero-abril 1979), pp. 38-40; Cuba en el Ballet, "La Escuela Cubana de Ballet" (Ponencia presentada por los profesores y bailarines del Ballet Nacional de Cuba), VIII: 3, (setiembre-diciembre 1977); and Alonso Alicia, "Sobre la Escuela Cubana de

Ballet", Cuba en el Ballet, VII:1, (enero-abril 1976), pp. 5-9.

22. Op. cit., p. 160.

23. Nettleford quotes Graham from Selma Jeanne Cohen's Seven Statements of Belief, p. 187.

24. Limón José, "An American Accent," in Selma Jeanne Cohen, ed., The Modern Dance: Seven Statements of Belief, Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1965, 1975.

25. I cannot at this time go into further analysis of the artistic contribution of Gilda Navarra and her Taller de Histriones. It is an account sorely needed for the reconstruction of Caribbean movement aesthetics. For a full account of her work see Polimnia: Taller de Histriones (1971-1985), compiled and edited by Gilda Navarra and the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, San Juan, 1988.

26. I use the term "American" throughout this paper with hesitation due to the ongoing debate in various academic disciplines concerning its cultural and political legitimacy when referring to the United States alone.

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THE NORTHAMERICAN INFLUENCE ON THE CONTEMPORARY DANCE IN CHILE

Shana Habel-Moreno

Influence is defined as "the power to affect." It is a two-way process which involves not only that which has the power to affect, but the manner in which it is received, interpreted, and then acted (or not acted) upon. In Chile, as in all of Latin America, the U.S. has made its influence felt - for better or for worse - on the political, economic and cultural life of the people. This influence has been sought out and embraced by some, greeted with a certain skepticism by others, and has been openly rejected by still others. Nevertheless, some degree of influence exists at almost all levels of Chilean life, including the dance.

Before focusing on the nature of the influence which the U.S. modern dance has had in Chile, it is important to recognize that, historically, Chile has been a country where the European traditions have held sway and were sought out. Its modern dance tradition, likewise, is decidedly European having not only been flavored by but formed upon the theories and traditions of the German Expressionists. The theories of Laban, the visits of and contact with Kurt Jooss, the significant creative work of Ernst Uthoff in Chile, the technical and pedagogical tradition of Sigurd Leeder - these are the origins, the basis, of the modern dance tradition in Chile, a tradition which, indeed, was not born on native soil but rather transplanted from the shores of Europe.

The Chilean dance tradition is essentially a modern tradition. While, during the first decades of this century, the Chilean dance world counted with the classical teaching of several individuals (among them Jan Kawesky, a former member of Pavlova's company which toured Chile in 1917-1918), historically, they have never had a strong tradition of classical dance, a fact which may well have figured in their ready and open-armed acceptance of the German Expressionistic tradition. Figuring also in the ready acceptance which the Ballet Jooss, in particular, would receive several years later, was the work of European-trained Andrée Haas. 1928, the year of her return from Europe to Santiago, was a decisive year for the Chilean dance, marking the beginning of the "modern" dance in this South American country. Haas, after having completed studies in the Dalcroze method in both Geneva and Paris, was invited by the National Conservatory of Music of the University of Chile to teach a rhythm class. Her natural affinity for the dance soon translated itself into classes whose first-hand descriptions evoke Ducanesque images. Ms. Haas later returned to Europe completing advanced courses in Dalcroze as well as studying with Mary Wigman. Haas' teaching and that of her assistant, Elsa Martin, who had also studied with Wigman, prepared a core group of young dancers and set the stage, in part, for that which was to transpire within the Chilean dance.[1]

While the return of Andrée Haas to Santiago marked the beginning of the modern dance in Chile, it was the 1940 visit of the Ballet

Jooss which set in motion the unfolding of a modern dance tradition. This was without a doubt a critical and far-reaching visit. According to Lola Botka, a principal dancer with the Jooss Ballet and the Ballet Naciónal Chileno, and wife of Ernst Uthoff, the company received an overwhelmingly enthusiastic welcome in Chile, more so than in any other of the South American countries which they visited on tour. So warm was the welcome, that they extended their visit staying and giving performances for six weeks rather than for one, as planned. In 1941, when the company's South American tour ended in Venezuela and the company disbanded due to lack of funds, three of its members, Ernst Uthoff, Lola Botka, and Rudolf Prescht, returned to Chile, accepting an invitation extended to the company earlier by the Musical Extension of the University of Chile; there they took up positions in the newly formed school of dance. This pioneering venture included the founding of the Ballet Naciónal Chileno in 1945, a group which Uthoff directed and choreographed on for almost thirty years. Through these individuals, the tradition of the German Expressionists was transplanted and took root in Chile. They were joined (in the school) for a period of several years by fellow Jooss company member, Sigurd Leeder, whose teaching technique, based directly on the theories of Laban, has formed the last generations of Chilean dancers and continues as the basis of the modern technical formation in Chile.

Continuing in this Eurocentric tradition, Chile has received the French who, since the early eighties, have brought "their" modern dance to Chile where it has not only been entertained but embraced by the independent contemporary dance community. Visiting dance companies, dance workshops, dance video festivals, dance forums at the French Cultural Institute, and the availability of scholarships to study dance in France, have all served to deepen the roots of the French influence in the Santiago dance community. (In speaking of this French influence, one must also take into account the American dance presence in France, which presence is part and parcel of that French dance which has come to Chile.)

While the current generation of Chilean modern dancers and choreographers will most readily admit to the strength of the European influence (both past and present), the fact remains that trends and traditions in the American modern dance have indeed influenced those in Chile. Given the Chilean rootedness in German Expressionism and their tangible exposure to the French dance during the decade of the eighties, it is not surprising that the first reaction of some dance artists has been to question (or even to deny) the existence of any American influence whatsoever on the Chilean dance. Yet, "influence" can be subtle, even intangible, and often hidden in the maze of interrelationships which surface within the global modern dance community.

Nevertheless, in discovering the past and the present of the modern dance in Chile, it is clear that contact has been made with the American modern dance, and that this contact has left an impression. It is initially evident as one finds classes being

offered (although, at times, rather sporadically) in the "techniques" of Graham, Cunningham, Nikolais, and Limón. The fact that Northamerican dancers and companies have visited Chile, and that Chilean dancers and choreographers have gone to America and come back, points to the opportunities which have been had for exposure to and contact with the American modern dance scene and its traditions.

Perhaps the first opportunity for "close" contact with the American modern dance came in 1960 with the visit of the José Limón Dance Company to Santiago as part of the USIA touring program. Following tours of German Expressionists Dore Hoyer and Harald Kreutzberg in 1958 and 1959, respectively, the Limón Company became the first American modern dance company to tour in Chile. According to original programs, the "Ballet Moderno José Limón", as it was billed, presented at least two different programs with performances of works by Limón, Doris Humphrey, and Pauline Koner. Dance critic Hans Ehrmann refers to the critical impact made by the works of Limón, stating, "Of the nine works presented, the choreographies of Doris Humphrey, pioneer of the modern dance in the United States, only reached a point of historical interest. The importance of the performances was in the five works of Limón himself, being: 'The Moor's Pavane', 'The Traitor', 'Emperor Jones', 'There is a Time', and 'Missa Brevis'." Ehrmann further notes the significance of the visit of the Limón Company in summing up the 1960 dance season in Santiago (a season which counted with the visit of the London Festival Ballet, the Ballet of the Marques de Cuevas, and Margot Fonteyn). He writes, "The visit of José Limón and his company had special importance because, with the exception of Dore Hoyer, it is the only modern dance group which has visited us in many years."[2]

Thirty-one years later, in October, 1991, Carla Maxwell, director of the current Limón Company, visited Santiago at the request of the University of Chile to work with and to assess its resident dance company, the Ballet Naciónal Chileno. As a result of her visit and the contacts made, there is currently a project on the table to bring the Limón Company to Santiago - a project which would certainly leave a greater part of his legacy in Chile and increase the opportunity for intimate contact between American and Chilean professionals.[3]

After the coming of the Limón Company, there were no recorded or remembered performances by an American modern dance company until the visit of the Paul Taylor Company in 1965, and then again in 1969, both of which were under the auspice of the USIA touring program. The seventies was, however, a more eventful decade in terms of the number of American - and European - modern dance companies which visited and performed in Chile's capital city. In 1972, 1973, 1976, 1977 and 1979, Alwin Nikolais' company performed in the Teatro Municipal making more visits to Santiago than any other American company to date. Apparently, these performances were accompanied by master classes. Barbara Uribe, professor of dance and dance history at the University of Chile and former member of the Ballet Naciónal, remembers one particular class in

which Nikolais asked the participants to respond with movement to the sounds of different percussive instruments. Such an experience, according to Ms. Uribe, echoed the style of Mary Wigman, and struck a familiar chord within her as a dancer who was schooled in the theories of Laban and the German Expressionists. Interestingly, she also noted that Nikolais' multi-faceted works made a great impression on Chilean artists and professionals in disciplines other than the dance (i.e., visual arts, architecture), and actually created somewhat of an artistic furor in the wake of their performance in Santiago.

While Nikolais brought his dance to Chile, Chilean dancers also sought him out in New York. Independent Chilean choreographer, Vicky Larraín, worked with Nikolais in New York in the decade of the seventies, and, while I have not had the opportunity to see the earlier works, her most recent choreography - in celebration of the 500 year anniversary of Columbus' voyage - reflects an obvious Nikolaisesque influence in its use of bodies draped with fabric. In recognizing this influence, Ms. Larraín also put into perspective the financial state of the independent choreographer in Chile when she said that, "If we had had the money, we would have used jersey instead of blankets."

While the visits of Nikolais' company apparently dominated the seventies, the following professional companies also presented programs in the capital city: Larry Richardson and Dance Company, 1975; the Murray Louis Dance Company, 1976; Alvin Ailey, 1978; and Jennifer Muller and Works, 1979. The only performance of a major American modern dance company at the Teatro Municipal during the decade of the eighties was a second performance by the Alvin Ailey Company in 1981. Such a decline in the number of American touring companies in Chile reflects trends in USIA sponsored tours in general. Most recently, in 1991, the Momix Dance Theater performed in the Teatro Oriente in Santiago, a performance which, not surprisingly, was corporately sponsored.

Such performances, of course, provided exposure not only to the particular choreographer's idiom but also to trends in the American modern dance, and, as such, constitute a source of American influence on the Chilean dance community. With the availability of dance videos, further opportunities for visual exposure to "American dance" have made themselves available.

The visits of American modern dance teachers and choreographers have provided another source of American dance influence in Chile. Not surprisingly, however, such visits have been few and far between. While American choreographers have worked with the Ballet Naciónal Chileno and the Ballet de Santiago, the number of recognized American modern dance choreographers who have done so has been practically nil. Given the fact that there is no strong, strictly modern repertory company in Chile, this is understandable. Nevertheless, one can point to the 1961 visit of Pauline Koner, who, following the Limón Company tour of 1960, was invited by Uthoff to set her "Concertino" on the Ballet Naciónal Chileno - a

venture which was, apparently, successful and well-received. It is worth noting also the coming of American classical dancer/choreographer, Charles Dickson, who, although not a modern dance artist, had a significant effect on the Chilean modern dance. In 1965, Dickson set the "Nutcracker" on the Ballet Naciónal and, directly or indirectly, initiated a process in which the company made a shift from the style and theories of the modern German Expressionists - on which it had been founded - to that of the classical ballet. In fact, Joan Turner, former principal dancer with the Jooss Ballet and the Ballet Naciónal Chileno, co-founder of the Centro de Danza Espiral in Santiago, and master teacher of the Leeder technique, remarked that, in her estimation, the coming of Dickson and the subsequent shift of the Ballet Naciónal to the academic style was perhaps the most significant - although not altogether positive - Northamerican influence which has been had on the Chilean modern dance.[4]

While the decade of the eighties has been far and away the decade of the French in Chile, it has also counted with the teaching visits of Americans such as Susan Cashion, Terry Brewster, and, of course, most recently, Carla Maxwell. It also received the Brigham Young University's Dancer's Company on tour in 1988. In such instances, however, where time and audience are limited, one can only expect the influence of a particular teacher to be a function of the receptivity of the individual dancers and the degree to which they internalize the new information.

It is important to note also that it has not always been through an American that the American dance traditions have arrived Chile. For example, in 1988, a seminar in the Limón technique was taught by Catherine Beziex of the Angelin Preijocaj Company; French choreographer, Kilina Cremona, offered a seminar in Cunningham technique as did Chilean dancer, Marisol Hume, who - not surprisingly - studied the technique in France. Likewise, the Graham technique was introduced in Chile by Chilean dancers who, having been exposed to and/or trained in the technique abroad, returned to Chile to work and teach.

Given the fact that American touring companies have performed in Chile, and that American modern dance teachers, albeit few, have come, taught, and gone, it has been primarily in the comings and goings of Chilean dance professionals and their contact with and involvement in the American dance community that the U.S. modern dance tradition has been filtered down and felt in Chile. Such professionals are those who have been influenced and, as such, perpetuate the cycle by influencing others. Unlike touring companies or visiting teachers, these individuals have stayed, maintained contact with and made a commitment to the Chilean modern dance community. Very importantly, they are able to translate their exposure to U.S. dance in terms of their experience not only as individuals but also as Chileans, and, in this more meaningful form (whatever form it might take), pass it on.

While I do not pretend to make a definitive list of all the Chilean

modern dancers who have studied in the U.S., I would like to make reference to a sampling of individuals who, having been influenced by some aspect of the American modern dance tradition, have, in turn, influenced the contemporary dance in Chile. I should like to first mention choreographer Gaby Concha, who, in 1966, received a Fullbright to study dance in New york. She remained there until 1968, studying with Martha Graham, Alwin Nickolais, José Limón, Merce Cunningham and others. Upon her return to Chile, she began actively teaching and choreographing, working with the Ballet de Cámara of the University of Chile, the Ballet Naciónal Chileno, and, to date, with her own independent group. She was perhaps one of the first Chilean dancers to bring back something of Graham to Chile, choreographing in 1975 her first work for the Ballet Naciónal entitled "Homenaje a Martha Graham" ("Homage to Martha Graham"). Of her work, she wrote: "This work honors the Northamerican artist whose work since 1926 to date has had a great influence on the modern dance. Reference is made to the different periods of Martha's work, and the choreography uses her vocabulary to pay tribute to her artistic stature."[5]

It is interesting to note also that, according to Barbara Uribe, it was through Gaby Concha that Uruguayan dancer, Graciella Figueroa, a former member of the Twyla Tharp Company, was invited to Santiago in the early seventies to conduct a workshop.

In more recent years, Chilean dancer/choreographer Verónica Úrzua has taught Graham technique in Santiago. During the seventies, Verónica danced and studied professionally in Europe where she received training in the Graham and other techniques - often at the hands of American teachers. In 1984, she furthered her studies at the Graham Studios in New York where she not only studied technique but danced in the advanced student company as well. Teaching and working independently for the most part, and somewhat out of the mainstream, she is recognized by her peers as a competent teacher of the Graham technique. (Likewise, Chilean dancer, Susana Auad, has also studied Graham extensively at the Graham studios in New York and, during her stays in Chile, has offered classes in the Alexander technique.)

I have already made mention of choreographer/performer Vicky Larraín, whose work with Nikolais was never translated into her teaching his "technique." While not a technical presence in the Chilean dance community, she has nevertheless offered a creative "point of view" which point of view, according to Chilean choreographer Luis Eduardo Araneda, opened a new world to him as an initiate into the world of dance. This point of view was no doubt colored by her studies in New York and her participation in the American dance scene of the seventies.

While the "American" techniques of Graham and others have arrived in Chile through various individuals and in varying forms they have never caught on or held sway simply because they have not been taught consistently or methodically enough. In light of this, it is interesting to note the degree to which the American postmodern

dance influence has been assimilated into the Chilean dance community. The principal bearer of this influence and, in my estimation, a significant figure within the independent dance movement in Chile, is - and has been - Chilean dancer/choreographer, Carmen Beuchat. Schooled in the tradition of the German Expressionists, Carmen traveled to New York City in 1969 with the express intention of discovering the new and emerging postmodern dance form. Interestingly, according to Carmen, it was through the influence of another Chilean choreographer, Hernan Baldrich, that she made the decision to travel to New York. Hernan, the recipient of Guggenheim, Ford Foundation, and Harkness Foundation grants in the early to mid-sixties, was exposed to the early work of the Judson Church group, and, thus, to the beginnings of the postmodern movement. Enthused by what he had seen, he recounted his experience to Carmen, who traveled to the source and embraced the art form. In New York, Carmen met Trisha Brown and performed with her company from 1971 to 1974, touring extensively throughout the U.S. and Europe. Among other activities, she has worked closely with Barbara Dilly and is a founding member of Kei Takei's "Moving Earth."

Having resided in New York City for the past 25 years, Carmen has returned to Chile periodically to perform and conduct workshops in the postmodern idiom. In the late seventies, Carmen made her first return visit to Chile as a performer. In 1981, she conducted a workshop in the Department of Dance at the University of Chile. In 1985, she again returned to Santiago, invited to travel with the Rauschenberg Overseas Culture Interchange (ROCI), at which time she performed at the Catholic University and conducted a workshop at the Centro de Danza Espiral. In April 1991, she presented "Nuevas Estructuras" in the Museum of Fine Arts in Santiago, a program which had originally been performed in Wave Hill, New York. It is significant to note that the presentation in Santiago counted with the performance of three Chilean dancers, two of which traveled to New York in August 1991 to participate in the premiere performance of Ms. Beuchat's "Sequestered Cargo", an event sponsored by the Permanent Mission of Chile to the U.N.[6] Most recently, in January 1992, under the auspice of the Municipality of Santiago and the Chilean Ministry of the Exterior, Ms. Beuchat conducted a very successful month-long postmodern workshop in which dancers and non-dancers alike participated.

As a working dance artist, Carmen Beuchat has maintained active contact with the independent dance community in Chile. Her involvement in the early days of the postmodern movement mark her as a source of an American dance tradition, and as an influential figure in its diffusion in Chile.

While perhaps not a readily visible source of American influence, the participation of Chilean choreographers in the American Dance Festival constitutes a point of contact with the American dance scene, and sets a precedent for future interchange between Chilean dance artists and the Festival. In the past five years, four Chilean choreographers have been nominated by the Cultural Section

of the U.S. Embassy in Santiago to participate in the Festival: Octavio Meneses, Magaly Rivano, Verónica Úrzua and Nelson Avilés. During Festival director Charles Reinhart's most recent visit to Santiago in October 1991, several showings of contemporary Chilean choreography were arranged for his viewing. Whatever the net result of this particular visit might be, the important point is that some level of communication does exist between the Festival and the Chilean contemporary dance community, a fact which will hopefully bear more fruit in the near future.

While in the course of the paper thus far I have addressed the issue of influence, it is of great practical importance to touch also upon that of interchange. In November 1991, the Instituto Chileno-Norteamericano de Cultura, under the guidance of its cultural director, Rene Lara, created the Bi-National Committee for the Dance with the following goals in mind: to establish a space for the diffusion of American dance trends, both past and present; to foster a greater level of cultural interchange and understanding between U.S. and Chilean dance professionals; and to support the efforts and talent of young Chilean dance artists. The newly-formed committee is one of several cultural committees sponsored by the Institute, and is composed primarily (although not exclusively) of prominent figures in the Santiago dance community and well-known Chilean art critics. As a bi-national committee, its members also include a Northamerican dance professional and the Foreign Service National representative from the Cultural Section of the U.S. Embassy in Santiago. The committee further counts with the honorary membership of Charles Reinhart (ADF) and Michael Uthoff (Hartford Ballet).[7]

The Institute has, for many years, sponsored periodic activities - videos, lectures, forums - which have presented the American modern dance to a Chilean audience and pointed up the American dance tradition within the Chilean context. Without a doubt, the formation of the Bi-National Committee for the Dance is a potential source of many more such opportunities, including those which would allow Chilean and U.S. dance artists to come together. Needless to say, in generating opportunities for contact, communication and dialogue, both countries stand to benefit.

Before concluding, I would like to put the matter of American influence in Chile into a realistic perspective. When speaking of the American modern dance tradition, one must take into account the fact that it is a tradition born out of the diversity and uniqueness of the American experience. Likewise, one must also recognize that the Chilean and the American experiences are distinct, and that any input which comes from the United States will necessarily be interpreted in light of that which is uniquely Chilean.

The Chilean experience, as any national experience, is complex and its proper analysis well-beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that Chile is a land of earthquakes, poets, democracies and dictatorships. It has produced the likes of Nobel prize

winning poets Pablo Neruda and Gabriela Mistral, a source of justifiable national pride, and it has gained a certain stature for being one of the most developed and stable countries in South America. Nevertheless, it has experienced its share of turmoil. Most recently, from 1973 to 1989, the country was under the military dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet, a strongman known for his repressive and often bloody tactics. In the aftermath of the coup which put him in power, thousands of Chileans (and foreign residents) left or were forced to leave the country, among them important figures within the modern dance community.

In the natural upheaval occasioned by the coup, all sectors of Chilean society were shaken. Without a doubt, the dance was affected as the individual lives of those who danced were affected, and as the dance community was subjected to the same repression which blanketed the entire country and targeted opposition to the regime in any form and at any level. Given the repressive nature of the military regime and the typically liberal nature of the Chilean modern dance community, it is interesting to note that it was, in fact, during the period of the dictatorship (particularly in the early to mid-eighties) that the independent contemporary dance movement in Chile began to take form. (The term "independent" is used to differentiate it from that dance taking place within the establishment of the University.) That this movement went forward, given the profound lack of support of any kind, is a witness to the strength of the expressive urge and the creative inquietude of the Chilean dance artists. Choreographer Luis Eduardo Araneda summed it up when he said, "You see, we are a people who need to create."

Both input from without and activity from within served to nurture and push the independent dance movement forward. From within, the need to create was nurtured through interchange and experimentation. The particularly rich improvisational and experimental work of the collective group "Andanzas" (now directed by Nelson Avilés) served as a springboard for many independent dancers and choreographers in Santiago. The founding of the Centro de Danza Espiral in 1985 by Patricio Bunster and Joan Turner, upon their return from exile, further supported the growing independent dance movement providing not only instruction but a central meeting place for those dancers outside the University system. Furthermore, in 1984 Luz Marmentini organized the first annual Choreographic Encounter with the objectives of motivating choreographic creation and furthering choreographic development int Chile. To date, the seven encounters which have been held have offered young Chilean choreographers the often-hard-to-come-by opportunity to present works in a formal setting. In so doing, the encounters have given impetus and exposure to several young and talented choreographers, in particular, Luis Eduardo Araneda and Nury Gutez, both of which work actively with their own companies in Santiago. In 1987, another outlet opened up in direct response to a palpable creative inquietude; under the patronage of a communal cultural center (Centro Cultural Las Condes), young choreographers were chosen and invited to present their works in a formal theatrical setting

(Teatro Apoquindo). These choreographic encounters have, in the last 2 years, been incorporated into a fledgling arts festival.

From the outside, the independent dance movement was fed by Chilean dancers bringing information back from their studies abroad and by contact with foreign dance artists. Interestingly, the first decade of the military regime coincided with the golden years of U.S. government sponsored dance tours, and, as such, Chile received many of the major U.S. modern dance companies in its capital. while the companies came and went, they nonetheless, in the company of returning Chilean dancers, provided a bridge of contact with what was happening in the modern dance in America.

When one speaks of the American and Chilean experiences, and of the American influence in Chile, it is important to recognize that - on the part of many Chileans - there does exist an ambivalence towards that which is American. The "why" of such ambivalence is not a "black-and-white" issue. In part, it may be based on a perception of American influences as intrusive and not wholly relevant within the Chilean context. This is understandable given the United State's past political and economic involvement in the country, in particular, their role in the planning and the carrying out of the 1973 coup. Nonetheless, it does exist and is a factor in the way the American dance influence is perceived by some Chilean artists.

Chilean choreographer, Verónica Úrzua, clearly expressed such a sentiment of guarded acceptance stating that while she is open to that which is American, she is, at the same time, antagonistic. She makes pointed reference to the differences which do exist between the American and the Chilean - or Latin - experience. According to Ms. Úrzua, the Latin experience "will always sing of sorrow." She defines such an experience in terms of a strongly perceived Latin negativity, which negativity manifests itself in a dance which is wide, low and lateral. It must necessarily be this way," she says, simply because "one never knows the precise moment in which everything will begin to move; everything is liable to come apart." Here, of course, she makes reference to the earth tremors and quakes which Chile knows so well. Ms. Úrzua continues and speaks of the solution to a definition of the Chilean dance as being something which cannot be "imported" but rather as something which must come from within. In this vein, she touches upon the matter of an American dance influence in Chile stating, "We are a cultural satellite; we have had to isolate ourselves, for only in this isolation are we able to see ourselves just as we are... Nevertheless, we continue to search out that which is not convenient for us."[8]

While not all Chilean dance artists may agree with Ms. Úrzua's specific interpretation of the Chilean dance experience, there is, I believe, a need and a desire on their part to dance and to create within the context of their own national experience - an experience which, in its humanness, becomes universal. It is clear that the American dance tradition has made an impact on the Chilean dance community; however, the nature of this impact is, at best,

relative. Whatever its impact may be, a discussion of American dance influence in Chile is of little import in and of itself. One must keep in mind its real and most significant end, that is, to point up those connections which will remind us that when we dance, wherever we dance, we do become a part of that larger global family whose roots and branches span countries and continents. Traditions are our legacy and history unites us. The Chilean modern dance tradition is no exception; it - and its dancing protagonists - are very much a part of a larger history, a history that belongs to all who dance or have ever danced.

Chile is a country whose modern dance boasts a strong and worthy tradition, and whose present bodes well for the future of the art form. Perhaps in the not so distant future, American and Chilean dance artists will come to know each other in such a way that, instead of our exporting exclusively "techniques" and "dances", we can focus also on that interchange and mutual dialogue which will allow us - American and Chilean - to tap into those passions out of which traditions are born and re-affirmed.

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Notes

1. Haas, Andrée. "La Escuela de Danza del Instituto de Extension Musical.", Revista Musical Chilena (1945), pp. 19 - 26.

2. Ehrmann, Hans. "Temporada Internacional de Ballet, 1960", Revista Musical Chilena. (1960), pp. 53 - 55.

3. In considering the relationship between the Chilean dance and the Limón tradition, it is my feeling that there is a sort of familial tie between the two. While the relationship may not be readily obvious, there are points of historical interest which point to this tie:

Lucas Hoving, before coming to the U.S. in the 1940's, danced with the Ballet Jooss, and was a member of the company when it toured so successfully in Chile in 1940. Hoving returned to Chile in 1960 as a member of the José Limón Company. The expressionistic tradition which was established in Chile by fellow Jooss Company members was the same tradition which Hoving carried into his long association with the Limón Company. It is interesting to note also that Chilean dancer, José Gutierrez, danced with the Limón Company in its early period; in fact, he, as Hoving, was a member of the original 1956 cast of "The Emperor Jones". Likewise, Michael Uthoff, director of the Hartford Ballet and son of Chilean dance pioneers Ernst Uthoff and Lola Botka, also worked with the Limón Company. In a recent conversation with his mother, she made the comment that his choreographic work, "Ode to Limón", is perhaps his strongest work and a reflection of the profound effect which Limón had upon him.

4. With no pretensions of defining the stylistic evolution of the Ballet Naciónal Chileno (under the direction of Maritza Parada since 1986), it does seem, however, that they have begun to broaden their stylistic base. Recent work with Carla Maxwell and the 1990 performance of Luis Eduardo Araneda's contemporary work, "Ciudadela", are possible indicators of such a broadening.

5. Printed program of the 30th anniversary performance of the Ballet Naciónal Chileno.

6. The 3 Chilean dancers who performed in Ms. Beuchat's April 1991 presentation in the Museum of Fine Arts in Santiago were: Nelson Avilés, Paula Tapia and Nancy Vásquez. Both Paula and Nancy traveled to New York to perform "Sequestered Cargo."

7. Founding members of the Bi-National Committee for the Dance are as follows: Malucha Solari, Maritza Parada, Luz Lorca, Karen Connolly, Mario Bugueño, Shana Habel-Moreno, Luz Marmentini, Yolanda Montecinos, Hans Ehrmann, Susana Ponce de Leon, Alejandro Lara, Marcelo Sandoval and U.S. Embassy representative, Daniela Muller.

8. Interview with Verónica Úrzua, January 1992.

PEOPLE OF THE PEAR GARDEN GREET SOHO: CHINESE DANCERS MEET US MODERN DANCE THROUGH INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES PROGRAM OF AMERICAN DANCE FESTIVAL

by Claudia Gitelman

In 1986, Yang Meiqi, director of the Guangdong Dance Academy in Guangzhou (formerly Canton), came to the American Dance Festival to study modern dance as a participant in the ADF's International Choreographers Workshop. With her eyes opened to this unfamiliar art form, she and the ADF together hatched the idea of starting a modern dance department in her school back home.

Ms. Yang recruited professional dancers from companies throughout China. With support from the Asian Cultural Council, The Rockefeller Foundation and the United States Information Agency, ADF exposed them to a steady stream of American teachers, including Sarah Stackhouse, Ruby Shang, Douglas Nielsen, Lucas Hoving, Lynda Davis, David Hochoy and Chiang Ching. The dancers took classes in modern dance technique, improvisation and composition, and in modern dance history and theory. The goal was not to impose American dance upon Chinese bodies but to give the young dancers the tools with which to create a Chinese modern dance language based on their own traditions and culture.*

This paper describes a deliberate attempt to stimulate development of modern dance in China through the Institutional Linkages Program of the American Dance Festival.

The ADF/Guangdong story will continue in the fall of 1991, when U.S. choreographer and teacher Claudia Gitelman will travel to Guangzhou for a two-month teaching residency with the company.*

My method of study was direct observation as a participant in the project, plus the interviewing of 14 dancers in Guangdong Modern Dance Company. In informal individual discussions I questioned them about three subjects: First, the reasons each had elected to join the first modern dance unit in the Peoples' Republic; Second, the most important things each had learned from the American teachers; Third, their predictions about the future of modern dance in their country.

My summaries of the dancers' remarks are combined with my observations of them in class and in rehearsals, as well as during our extra-curricular contacts. Notwithstanding the subjectivity of my method, I believe I have reached some valid conclusions about the influence of the US experience, and about the current status of the project goals, "...to give the young dancers the tools with which to create a Chinese modern dance language based on their own traditions and culture."

I prepared myself for my China experience in a number of ways. First, I spoke with five of the US artist/teachers who had preceeded me. They provided a bewildering composite description of the dancers, "...they are very physical...they are

* American Dance Festival. Performance program, Guangdong Modern Dance Company. Durham, NC; July 18, 19 & 20. 1991.

naive...they are not diligent...they are open and warm... they are hard to motivate...they try hard to please...they are not confident...they are not used to strenuous work... their taste is very kitschy...they have a strong tradition... they are poorly educated...they have no concept of individuality." Despite what may seem like negative memories, all five Americans spoke glowingly about their experiences with the company and they expressed strong convictions about the goals of the project and its prospects for success.

I had a precious opportunity to meet the company myself. As a guest of ADF, I went to Durham for five days during a two-week residency of GMDC in July, 1991. I watched dancers take class with various ADF faculty, I attended part of their lighting rehearsal, and I saw the premiere performance of a program of works choreographed by present and former company members. I also prepared myself by reading some of the little I could find in English about Chinese cultural history.*

Once in China I worked with the dancers from 9:00 to 12:00 six mornings a week and from 2:00 to 5:00 three afternoons a week. The dancers worked another two, and sometimes three afternoons on repertory. Usually I divided the morning into a two hour technique class and an hour of theory consisting of improvisation, problem-solving, and talk. My three afternoons were given over to choreography, small experiments and studies first, and then larger projects. In the last two and one-half weeks of my stay, the theory hour and the afternoons became tightly-scheduled rehearsals of five group dances that had "taken off." Several extended solos were being worked on as well.

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Wang Xiaodong, a.k.a. Daniel, was my interpreter. A graduate of one of the best local universities, he taught at the Guangdong English Language Institute preparing Chinese for the Test of English for Foreign Learners. Daniel's own scores on the TO and on the US Graduate Record Exams would be the envy of any American parent. He is now in graduate school at the Universit of Texas. Daniel's age -- at 24 he is a contemporary of the dancers -- and his sociability, made my interviews with the dancers relaxed and exciting. On a catch-as-catch-can basis we

* The books of Adolphe C. Scott were especially useful and I am indebted to them for the information that Chinese theater people have been called "People of the Pear Garden" since an academy of dramatic arts was established in the emperor's pear garden during the T'and Dynasty, 8th to 10th centuries.

invited each dancer to lunch with us -- lunching with me was one of Daniel's responsibilities -- and I had no difficulty probing for information. Usually, the dancers offered quite a bit more than I cared to hear about the workings of the company.

Our meetings were not taped but I managed to get to the quiet of my room and summarize each interview just after it occured. My questions about the dancers' reasons for being where they are elicited "A Chorus Line" of stories. Each had made the decision to audition, and once accepted, each had rearranged her/his life with some difficulty and risk. As I present individual cases I will mention only a few of these stories, but the aggregate response to my first question is important in my conclusions.

Gu Wenhao, 23, had been in the Shanghai Dance Drama Theater where she had very little to do. It was always the same thing and she was very bored. She had seen a solo modern dance concert of an overseas Chinese visitor and had not understood it at all, but two dancers from GMDC gave a class in Shanghai, complimented her on her dancing, and convinced her to audition. The Shanghai authorities would not release her from her commitment to them, however, so she has not been able to set up official residence in Guangzhou. For two years she has been supporting herself while dancing, unable to earn the salary of the other dancers. The Shanghai authorities demand such a large sume of money to release her that there is no chance she could earn it in a lifetime. Negotiations are continuing. American teachers taught Wenhao everything she knows about modern dance. What she likes about it is that there is a possibility to change, to invent. In Chinese dance, she says, it is always the same. Wenhao thinks there is a future for modern dance, but that it will take a long time -- maybe decades. Maybe she will be old and no longer dancing. A few people can understand it, like people in the universities, but the problem is the government officials.

Huang Wencai, 20, was the youngest member of the original group when she joined at the age of 15. She came from the Shanxi Song and Dance Theater, which she had joined at 13. Wencai spoke of a golden period in Guangzhou -- the first two years -- when dedication was high and dancers were committed, often working in the studio until midnight. Wencai believes that in the last two years dancers have lost their devotion and have become more interested in the consumer society of Guangzhou. They come to class because they will be fined if they do not. It would be better for the company if it were in any other city than Guangzhou. Wencai is not entirely optimistic about the future of modern dance in China. While it was difficult to reach the present level of acceptance, it will be much more difficult to reach another level.

Li Peng, 25, is one of the two men remaining from the original contingent. He joined the group because he recognized it as a new direction and because it offered the possibility of change. All his understanding of modern dance has come from the American teachers. He also learned something from them about living, about how to live a decent life. Li Peng told me that a small circle of dancers in the company enjoy the favor of the director and they control decisions about what choreography will be given support and rehearsal time. Li Peng reported that he is not in that circle. He is also discouraged about an ankle injury for which he has been receiving daily therapy for over two months. He believes the future of modern dance is questionable because of government bureaucracy. Modern dance has not yet received official recognition and in order to gain funding and to spread to other academies it must have this recognition. It is important to teach modern dance to build an audience, but even offering classes required government recognition.

Liu Jai, 18, and **Zhu Kai**, 20, are a couple who have just been taken on as apprentices. They drew me aside in the first week and spoke earnestly about wanting strict correction because the want to improve and succeed as full company members. The pair had been in a Nanjing company that combined ballet and traditional Chinese dance. That company performed in Guangzhou and Liu Jai and Zhu Kai heard about the modern dance company and determined to try to get in. They arranged an audition and then sat on wooden benches in the train for two days to get to Guangzhou, walking right from the station into the audition. They were thrilled by their acceptance on trail, beginning the very day I started teaching. In another conversation Liu Jai told me that her father had been a dancer and he strongly urged her to try for the company because he thinks the future lies with this new form and with contact with the West. He reached his prime as a dancer just when the cultural revolution took hold and he lost the opportunity of putting his training and hard work to use. Although he is still active, directing a small municipal company, he is bitter about the loss of his own performing career, and he wants opportunity for his daughter and son-in-law.

Ma Shouze, 22, is the other male dancer remaining from the original contingent. He is from a city in the far north where he could look across the river into North Korea. He never crossed the river, however. Shouze was in a traditional Chines dance company, which de did not like. I could not get him to say why; he would giggle and repeat that he "didn't like." (Shouze studied English by himself and as our conversations were in this half-understood language, I learned less of his deeper thoughts that I learned from the others with Daniel's help.) Shouze had a special fondness for his first American teacher and in reply to questions about what important things he learned from the Americans, he would mention her and talk about the use of breath and about torso movement. His thoughts about the future of modern dance brought out ideas about the connections between modern dance and traditional Chinese dance.

Qiao Yang, 27, is the oldest member of the group and one of the originals. She is a strong and experienced performer, having danced in two other companies before joining GMDC. With Qin Liming she performs two duets in the present repertory, one was shown on the ADF program and the other taken to Paris where it won a competition. The most important thing Qiao Yang has learned from the American teachers is the use of tension and relaxation. I did not record her opinions about the future of modern dance. Qiao Yang battled two chronic injuries during my stay.

Qin Liming, 23, who is introduced as the lead dancer of the company, joined three months after its founding. He was trained in the prestigious People's Liberation Army Arts Academy and he danced in the Nanjing Frontier Song and Dance Company. Renouncing his army affiliation to join GMDC was a risky decision not taken lightly. During his previous affiliations Liming had had some exposure to modern dance. He explained that in the late 1970s and the 1980s as China began to look outward, several overseas Chinese artists visited his school and company for periods of up to a month. Liming admits he was too young to absorb much, but he considers these visitors and the videotapes they brought very important in planting ideas of a new dance form.* Liming is proud to be in the only modern dance unit in China and he believes that another important expression of modernism is going on quietly in the traditional Chinese dance companies. On a recent visit to Beijing he learned of a cadre of young choreographers, aged 25 to 35, who are applying what they learned studying Western videos and watching occasional visitors. Groupings, spatial patterns, and lighting effects are the elements Liming has noticed are changing. He chuckles with pleasure over this bending of traditional forms in a way that is acceptable to the government because it continues to use Chinese themes and music and continues to have positive, inspirational intent. Liming believes that this cadre of young choreographers working in traditional companies is ready for more change and that with leadership from the Guangdong company, which is able to study modern dance more intensely and to experiment more freely, they would be eager partners in the future of modern dance. Liming stressed the importance for him and for the company of the American teachers. In no other way could such comprehensive knowledge of training, theory, and choreography be imparted. He thinks the continuation of the visits is important. The dancers now know something about choreography but they still need someone to stand by, to guide and make suggestions. There are no teachers in China, he said, with the maturity and experience of the Americans.

* I had it from an older gentleman, long associated with the Beijing Dance Academy, that a similar flurry of visits from overseas Chinese, and from Chinese nationals who traveled to the West, had preceded the cultural revolution. My source told me that some photographs and articles circulated secretly during the cultural revolution, but there was no way to use the information at that time.

Qu Xiao, 25, has been in the modern dance project from the beginning. The major thing that impresses her about the American teachers is their devotion. That they actually appear for all their classes and involve themselves in the class, she finds remarkable. In another lunchtime conversation, Qu Xiao complaine about the long hours the dancers have to put in when foreign teachers come. She explained that the work of the company is much harder than the work of any other she knows, and especaially harder than of any other company in Guangzhou. Guangzhou, she explained, is a commercial city and most dancers are here to earn money; they are more interested in the opportunities for moonlighting than they are in their companies. Although Qu Xiao was critical of many in her company who are lazy and passive, she allowed that personal relations and cooperation here are better than in any other company she knows of.

Shen Wei, 23, comes from a family of artists. His father is a theater director and his mother works for an arts management firm. Shen Wei was raised by an aunt and uncle. The uncle is an actor and the only Chinese teacher Shen Wei ever encountered who has the same kind of devotion displayed by the American teachers. Shen Wei has been in the group for two years. As a youth he trained in Chinese classical theater and he worked intensely as a painter for two years. He told me he decided to try modern dance because it is related to modern painting. Moody, and a driven creator, Shen Wei has suffered two very great disappointments. Two works he choreographed for the company were refused performance by censors who must approve all art put before the public. In addition, Shen Wei was denied an exit visa to go to ADF with the company. He did not care to tell me why, but someone else told me that the authorities had a letter linking him to a dissident student involved in the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989. Shen Wei deplored the passivity of the other dancers in the company. He believes few of them are committed to dance, but are in Guangzhou on a personal quest. I did not record his opinion about the future of modern dance, but his obsessive drive to be part of that future is an indicator of his present position.

Su Ka, 26, is the oldest male dancer in the company. He had been in a song and dance company for two and one-half years and then he got himself attached to the acrobatic unit of a sports institute for two and one-half years. He auditioned for three companies in Guangzhou and when he was accepted in all three he chose the modern company because he wanted to learn more about Western art where there is more possibility for change. Chinese art, he explained, is always the same. The training is always the same; there is no possibility for doing anything different. The most important thing he learned from the Americans is that there are different ways to use the body, different ways to dance. Despite his desire to be in Guangzhou learning about Western art, Su Ka claims he wants to become a choreographer in China. The second dance he ever

choreographed earned the respect of the company and it was shown at ADF. He is reading a book about Chinese philosophy and he wants to apply ideas from China's 2,000-year-old culture to modern dance.

Yan Ying, 22, is unique among the women in the company in that she never studied Chinese dance. She was trained in ballet at the Shanghai Dance Academy and did very well, winning several prizes. However, she was discouraged because she felt her body type would not allow her to excel. (Yan Ying's body is beautifully proportioned without the exaggerated length of limbs and neck favored for ballerinas.) The Shanghai Academy offered to loan her to Guangdong Academy and she was accepted without an audition three months after the inauguration of the project. Shanghai now wants her back as a teacher of modern movement for ballet dancers. Yan Ying wants to stay with the modern unit but breaking her committment to Shanghai will be a costly affair. Yan Ying learned everything she knows about modern dnace from foreign teachers and she credits the Americans with showing her how to lead life as an artist. She is positive about the future of modern dance because she knows China is ready for change. The dance establishment does care what the outside world thinks of it and is sensitive to the accusation that Chinese dance is always the same. Choreographers, directors, and dancers are ready for change. Yan Ying's only reservation is about the youth of the Guangdong company members, herself included. She is not certain GMDC will be able to provide the mature leadership that will be required of it. As I found Yan Ying the most able dancer and choreographer of the company, I asked her one further question, "Do you think women choreographers have the same opportunity as men?" She answered that in China men and women have the same opportunity. However, everyone in China, herself included, knows that men are more clever that women. Nonetheless, women with extraordinary fortitude and strength can succeed like men.

Ying Xiaorong, 25, auditioned for this group because she believed it to be the best way to use her body and mind. One of the original company members, she has come to love modern dance. The most important thing she learned from the Americans is devotion. She is concerned for the future of the company because if it fails she would have to join another company, a prospect she does not relish. Her concern comes from uncertainty about government recognition and also because she sees that some members of the company are not serious.

Zhang Yen, 22, was also in the original group. She joined because it was new and she wanted to try. What she appreciates most about the American teachers is their ability to observe and analyze. Last summer she was very impressed by the variety in the ADF faculty concert. Each teacher produced something entirely different. She discussed one piece, a comedy with text, at length. Although she could not understand the words, she understood the succinctness of the humor and compared it

with Chinese humor, which, she says, is labored and takes so long to develop that nobody laughs. She loved the combination of ballet and break-dancing in the piece and even described its floor pattern.* Zhang Yen deplores the way Chinese dance becomes stereotyped. Folk dance is colorful, energetic, and varied, but when it gets onto the stage it is stereotyped. Zhang Yen is confident that modern dance can prosper in China. Appreciators are few in number, but there are some. The danger is that modern dance itself will become stereotyped.

Four dancers were not interviewed for this study. **Tan Wei**, 23, is a talented new apprentice. **Li Hanzhong**, 23, was out with a knee injury during my stay. **Zhang Yin Zhong**, 22, was in and out of the hospital because of a back problem. **Chen Yi Pan**, 22, another apprentice, missed six weeks of my stay because of a liver disorder.

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From what the dancers told me about their reasons for being in the company, and from what I saw of their way of life and use of leisure time, it seems clear that push and pull mechanisms are at work in bringing them together. All fled from situations they found boring, frustrating, and without prospect. The location of the company drew them as much as did the new dance experiment. Guangzhou is the most prosperous city in China, with living standards higher than elsewhere. Furthermore, Guangdong Province is a gateway to the West; Western ideas circulate there and it is often the route for getting out of China via Hong Kong.** What most dancers implied in their interviews and said clearly with their bodies each day in class is that they are thrilled to be working in a form that allows so much variety and discovery. And they are thrilling dancers. They delight in conquering difficult coordinations, devising new patterns, trying new qualities. The difference between the material they are able to work with and the material I saw in traditional Chinese dance performances and in performances of song and dance companies is enormous, and the dancers appreciate that difference.

The response to my question about the nature of the US teachers' impact leads to the unequivocal conclusion that their work

* The piece was "The Mozartist in Crisis," choreographed by James Sutton.

** Many dancers harbor the dream of getting to the US, and three men in the company have done so. The threat of emigration is a real one for the company. On the eve of the group's departure for ADF, Director Yang Meiqi, who is not a religious person, went to a Buddhist temple to make offerings and pray that the performances would succeed and that all the dancers would return to China.

has been central to the dancers' understanding of modern dance. For some Chinese dancers the US teachers provide models for living in the world of art. One dancer offered that he believes the visits must continue. However, some dancers complained openly that when American visitors come the dancers are required to work too hard. The administration, too, is ambivalent about the American guests. The company receives a growing number of requests for performances and the administration feels an urgent need for repertory about which it can be confident. Guest choreographers from Hong Kong, the US, Canada, United Kingdom, and Korea have been engaged. When official American teachers arrive, it interrupts this repertory-building activity. The Americans are sent expressly for the purpose of developing the creative work of the dancers. This can be a slow process. The administration would be much happier if the guests would set a piece and even perform with the company.

The dancers were guarded in their predictions for the future of modern dance in China. The issue of government recognition was mentioned repeatedly. I was told that cultural officials who make decisions about recognition will not be able to support the form if it is seen as too obscure for the masses, or worse, if it is seen as potentially critical of Chinese society and government. Another reason for the dancers' concern about the future is their distruct of each other. The good life of Guangzhou does beckon and there is dissatisfaction with salaries and working conditions. Cooperation among the dancers is not especially good; I saw two outbursts of real anger and accusation. Chronic injury and illness rate seems high, with many dancers in their mid-, and even early twenties struggling with back, knee, and ankle problems as well as with general health problems.

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The US project assumes that Chinese can combine careers as dancers and choreographers as is the case in the US. There are many situations militating against this possibility in China. First, dancers in China are usually fully-trained professional performers by the age of 16, and they are not socialized as infants or educated as children to experiment and innovate. Second, occupations in China are clearly catagorized; changing from dancer to choreographer has always required special training and certification not usually achieved before the performing career ends. Third, the early age at which training begins and its rigor means that dancers' active careers are pretty much over by their mid-twenties. Very rare is a dancer of 30, and far from entering a maturity of artistic fulfillment, most are worn down by routine.

In the US we are familiar with modern dance careers that enjoyed years of slow development, failure and recuperation, with gradual recognition and even the luxury of changing course if the artist pleased. The very young Chinese men and

women charged with creating modern dance in the Peoples' Republic have the daunting task of being responsive dancers and able choreographers almost instantly, and they must create and and educate an audience, and court government support in a do-or-die senario unknown to US artists even today. Perhaps the project described here is most characteristically American in daring to release individual creativity against such odds.

The dance vocabulary favored by the dancers is large, clear-edged and strong. In my first week with them I assumed that the movement style was an amalgam of US modern dance techniques. As I saw more dance in China and watched GMDC more closely, I realized that the dancers were adapting movement from their training in what has come to be called traditional Chinese dance. (The dancers are aware that the dance they have been trained in is not authentically Chinese, but has been informed by ballet training and spectacle since the 1920s.) The dancers are capable of unending variation and manipulation of their movement material. Some think divergently and the best of them are capable of originality. Their sense of spatial structure and time structure is mundane, but that, too, is becoming freer. There is a tendency to rely on visual imagery and this can be used well or poorly.

Modern dance is being created in China hastily, without the prolonged experimentation and cross-fertilization from which new forms have emerged in the West. The Chinese modern dance vocabulary will not have the elasticity and constant renewability of Western modern dance for a long time. It must find an identity and be officially recognized, and it will probably become stereotyped in the process and remain so until social conditions change to make China more free politically and more comfortable economically. Then individual artistic experimentation might be possible and society might be ready to tolerate innovation.

My experience in Guangzhou and the information I gathered lead me to observe that the US project may be naive in its understanding of the political and economic conditions motivating the dance community, and in its understanding of the age, preparedness and ability of the dancers. Nonetheless I conclude that modern dance is gaining a foothold in the Peoples' Republic, and largely because of the US project and the skill and dedication of the US artists who have implemented it. It is developing in a social context unknown to most Americans and its development must follow its own course. I left China with admiration for the young dancers, who, with countless reasons to dissuade them, do come to class most days to dance like gods and goddesses, and who are capable of originality and purpose and hope.

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SHALOM: HELLO OR GOODBYE TO ISRAELI MODERN DANCE AFTER THE AMERICAN INVASION?

Judith Brin Ingber

Israel is a complicated place to speak about and it makes sense that dance in Israel is also a complicated but fascinating topic. At the close of World War I, the Ottoman Empire fell and Turkish influence waned; the British ruled until Israel's independence in 1948. In those 31 years there was unprecedented immigration from Europe. The European immigrants who came to settle there were in large part idealists, with dancers amongst them. Today, I want to try to lay out what happened to those idealists and what was the effect of American dance on them and the Israeli dancers who developed as the country did.

Between the World Wars, and against remarkable odds, dancers in Eretz Israel (what the area has been called before Israeli independence) found ways to make dances and produce them. It is hard to imagine the conditions. For lack of funds, there are few photos from this period, but through interviews, and some recent books, I plan today to illuminate what happened.

The most famous dancer of the period between the World Wars was Gertrud Kraus. She had come from Vienna to settle in 1933. She once told me I she only had eggplants to eat for weeks in the 30s. Going up to perform in Haifa from her home in Tel Aviv during the British mandate meant crisscrossing unfriendly territory. "Often I would perform for the army, considering it my duty. On the way we had to hide in the bottom of army cars with tommy guns sticking out the window holes. Once, in particular, I remember going past the village of Zichron Ya'akov on the way north and I kept swaying back and forth in my seat. One of the soldiers asked me why and I said maybe a bullet would come from one side or maybe from the other and by moving I had more of a chance of missing it. We all laughed hard and suddenly there was a shot and the soldier next to me fell into my lap bleeding all over from his head. I took one of my costumes and wrapped his wound. Eventually we got out of danger, took the soldier to a hospital and then I went to perform, fear having filled my whole being."

Modern dancers were presented with several sets of problems unique to Israel. Lea Bergstein, also a modern dancer from Vienna settled in the Galilee and the following will set the stage, so to speak. Lea's audience was different than Kraus's for Lea lived and worked in the kibbutzim. She created both her solo and group dances and pageants there in the outdoors of the kibbutzim for and with those in her communal farming community. In the late 20s, in honor of the holiday of Passover Lea created a solo about Miriam, the triumphal Biblical figure known for leading the Jewish

women in a victory dance after crossing the Red Sea. Lea had been working in the kibbutz laundry and the bleaches were so strong that the palms of her hands were bleached much whiter than her suntanned arms. Despite her request for time off to prepare for her pageant and let her hands regain their color, the kibbutz needed her in the laundry. Her artistic life, time wise, had to be shared with the kibbutz.

In the 30s, the theatre dance in Eretz Israel was in the style of the European expressionist dance. By the middle 30s Gertrud Kraus not only ran the most prominent school in Tel Aviv, she had a company consisting mainly of dancers who also came from Europe (including Naomi Aleskovsky and Hilde Kesten). Kraus' co. became the official dance company of the Palestine Folk Opera from 1941-1947, a most unusual home for a modern company. The troupe also performed with the Philharmonic and with the national theatre, Habimah, as well.

Other modern dance figures active in the 30s and 40s all had an European outlook style-wise. Deborah Bertonoff from the prominent theatre family was sent to study under Vera Skoronel and Kurt Jooss in Europe. A pupil of Jutta Klampt's in Berlin was Rivka Sturman who went to Kibbutz Ein Harod and contributed to the development of Israeli folk dance. Elsa Dublon and Shulamit Bat Dori also had been trained by Laban; Tehilla Rossler was also impressively trained and creatively involved in her new country. Israel was probably the only place where the Ausdrucktanz mode of expressionism was maintained once the Nazis rose to power.

In Israel, Hebrew was being dusted off and revived for daily use after centuries of simply praying with it and there was a real fervor in all facets of the society to create a new culture. In dance, the reflection of the new culture can be seen more in the folk dance movement than the theatre dance; Gurit Kadman spearheaded the Israeli folk dance movement. It was so successful that the nation did return to being a dancing nation.

The creation of an Israeli spirit in the modern theatre dance was more nebulous though it was a goal. In general, the European avant-garde spirit aimed to be free from establishment systems and stylized techniques. The dancers' spirit fit entirely into the new society, which itself was purposefully anti-establishment. An outward example, even today, is that Israeli men resist ties and coats. The people were iconoclasts and so were the modern dancers.

Kraus traded the success and renown as an avant-garde European modern dancer in the capitals of Europe for pioneer life in Eretz Israel. This meant many things, but especially that she had no financial system for help, no wooden floors to work on, (Israeli buildings until today have floors made of a kind of marble tile). There were few properly rigged theatres, but there was a ready audience, many of whom had been bred in the theatres of Europe.

Ze'eva Cohen who studied with Kraus described to me in

a recent interview [4]. what her classes were like. Most likely this description was true for Gertrud's studio life whether it was the 30s or the 40s or the 50s when Ze'eva was her student. "She didn't train you technically...she relied on your natural ability to be already stretched, to be already turned out to have a natural rhythm ..So you did some exercises, but the idea was always to get the to the real stuff and the real stuff was improvising your heart out. The sources for improvisation were based on Laban principles. She succeeding in casting a kind of spell over you. Sometimes she would give us themes drawn from our Middle Eastern landscape and people, the way they moved; she made a conscious effort to link our movement to the place where we lived."

An altogether singular figure at this time was Yardena Cohen; she had been a mover her whole life and unlike Kraus or Kadman or Bergstein, she was not a transplant. Her Jewish family had lived in the Haifa area for six generations. Yardena's father thought she should be formally trained in dance, so he sent her to Europe. But she felt stifled and lonely and out of place in the Expressionist dance training, so she returned. In Israel, the nature of her work bridged the theatre dance and the kibbutz folk dance divisions, because she operated in both. And her work was always about the landscape she had grown up in, about the places she loved so well, the Biblical figures she seemed to intuitively know herself. She has inspired generations of dancers, audiences and thinkers, as well as kibbutzniks for whom she choreographed pageants and celebrations.

Ruth Eshel in her new book, "Dancing with the Dream" (Lirkod Em HaHalom), has written that the European expressionist dance began to sour as a system for the Israeli modern dancers about the time of Israel's independence. Eshel writes (this is my own translation) "Because of the war, mounting tension and the horrifying news from Europe (about the concentration camps) escapist operettas began replacing the budding experimental works of the twenties and thirties. In spite of the intensive creative dance activity, the revolutionary ideas of modern dance brought from Europe did not attain maturity... what had been avant-garde and modern in the 20s and 30s seemed anachronistic and passe in the 50s."[5].

Kraus tried to maintain her work by incorporating new ideas by having two different American choreographers work with her. Initially she hoped that Jerome Robbins would help her found the new Israel Ballet Company. He came to Israel for a variety of personal and professional reasons, probably not the least to leave behind some unpleasant dealings with the McCarthy investigations. He began rehearsing his six year old dance "Interplay", met with Israeli dance teachers to help assess their work and update their views, and assessed the dance scene for the American Fund for Israeli Institutes. In a letter to Judith Gottlieb he wrote, "The first problem is an old problem. Don't,

please don't look for and expect to see immediate results from your work....Everything moves so fast in Israel that I am sure you expect it to move as fast with the group. There is an impatience with the techniques and also, strangely enough, a prejudice. Israeli dance will emerge not so much because you consciously force it as it will emerge from the influence of the country and the way in which you wonderful people will dance it...I saw very little of an Israeli professional dance. Please don't take offense at what I am trying to say, but don't put a sign on a house that hasn't been built yet."[6].

Robbins became intrigued with the work of Sara Levi-Tanai and her new company Inbal Dance Theatre. This group captured his imagination because of their particular flavor and outlook embedded in the ancient Hebrew language, which sounded somehow antique coming from the dark skinned Yemenite Jews. They seemed like the original Biblical Jews, their aristocratic bearing and richness of culture tied to the desert landscape and the legends of their people. Their dance was remarkable and rich, their singing and drumming evocative of something authentic and yet exotic. Robbins decided not to work with Kraus. Inbal and Sara Levi Tanai captured his eye.

Sara Levi-Tanai, the young director was gifted in music and dance though she came from no dance studio. She was an original, and she also instinctively knew how to shape the traditional Jewish dance and music of the Yemenite Jews into theatrical presentations. Robbins deemed Sara Levi-Tanai's work remarkable enough to interest Sol Hurok for international touring. He also arranged that Anna Sokolow come in the summers to coach the company in developing some kind of stage technique without encroaching on its own movement style.

I would say it was Robbins who began the major changes in Israeli theatre dance. I also want to confess here that I am uncomfortable lumping together the divergent American dancers who came to Israel over the last 40 years including Martha Graham, Anna Sokolow, Jerome Robbins, Anna Halprin, Alvin Ailey, Donald MacKayle, Glen Tetley, Merce Cunningham, Alwin Nikolais, Meredith Monk and others all together simply under the rubric of American. We spend so much time avoiding stereotyping and generalizing, yet now I must shortcut all the differences and call them all American. In any case they caused a dramatic change.

After Robbins turned Kraus down, she turned to Talley Beatty. She had met him in 1950 when he toured Israel with his company. Now she invited him to come to Israel to choreograph for Kraus' company and to work with her. He did one piece, "Fire in the Hills". Fifteen years later he began to stage his dances including "Road of the Phoebe Snow" to Batsheva. But I am getting ahead of the story.

The change in Israeli dance was activated in part by the work of temporary visitors like Robbins, Beatty and Sokolow but also because of newcomers from America, notably Rina

Shaham and Rena Gluck.

These dancers like those before them had little or no financial backing, and little resources either. Ruth Eschel writes that "When one after the other of dancers from the U.S. landed in Israel...there were some expectations that they would translate the language of Graham's theatrical dance into a personal language of each one of them and together they would create an unique Israeli language of dance. This hope was not realized, perhaps because in this short time the new central figures of dance in Israel were actually artistic youngsters at the beginning of their own artistic development..."7.

They were, however, gutsy. Rena Gluck had stage equipment which she brought with her when she came to live in Israel. A highly gifted dancer of the Graham technique, she had choreographed in New York, married and at 21 moved to Israel. She performed her own work, touring extensively throughout Israel. "At that time in the kibbutzim they would latch tables together and put some kind of covering on the tables so that I could perform. I used the stage lights that I had brought and even imported more, eventually we even made a wooden floor. I would drive the car and travel with a trailer in back of me with the stage and the lights."

She also built a studio and began training a group of dancers who included Rina Shenfeld. Gluck told me she was able to arrange a scholarship for Shenfeld with Graham and the Juilliard school. Whomever Gluck sent to New York--and it was several--Graham took under her wing.

The Graham company made a tour of Israel in the 1955-56 season. It took the country by storm and the Israeli dance world was overwhelmed. Rena Gluck recalled that Israel "had never seen a company performing with that kind of totality of stage lighting, costumes, decor--it was a revelation to have a performance of such high caliber that was solidified around the choreography."

Ze'eva Cohen was advised to look into Rina Gluck's school. "She had the latest word on American modern dance and the Graham technique...we felt we had pretty much exhuasted the methods of Gertrud. So I shifted to Rina...Rina's pedagogical approach was so clear and orderly, not like Gertrud who screamed a lot and spoke several languages at once; she was like the Oracle talking. You had no idea what she was telling you, yet you understood her intent. With Rina I was very frustrated doing every day the same repetitive routine... Luckily very soon after she started with the school she started a company."

In fact, Stage for Dance or "Bimat Mahol" was a cooperative venture between Rina Shaham, Rena Gluck and a dancer from Gertrud's named Naomi Aleskovsky. They tried to pool their meager materials including Gluck's stage lights and floor. They did their own choreography and they also invited Anna Sokolow to stage her "Scriabin Poem," in 1959 which is how Ze'eva met Anna.

"For us what we felt was no attraction for anything European after World War Two. We wanted to know and understand who were the leading figures, and companies in dance. There was such a thirst for learning that we didn't worry about whether this was genuine Israeli or not. We just wanted to be current with what was happening in the art world. We were looking for excellence and possibilities..it wasn't a superficial running after America. .. We didn't want to look for something that seemed to have died, we wanted something that was alive and happening and that was American dance." [9].

Anna Sokolow decided she wanted to do more than coach Inbal and do occasional choreography so she decided to create her own company, the Lyric Theatre. The company's premiere performance was July 4, 1962. "Audiences," writes Larry Warren in his new biography of Sokolow, "as well as the critics were disturbed by Anna's stark, uncompromising theatrical ways. At the time, the younger members of the Israeli audience in particular were unused to such unmitigated emotional rawness on the stage. .. It was during the course of Sokolow's second more artistically productive year that the Baroness Bethsabee de Rothschild announced the formation of a new modern dance repertory company.

"The Baroness had for some time served on the board of the America Israel Foundation and she was also the principal benefactress for Martha Graham's dance company. After years of helping to support the artistic endeavors of others she decided to launch her own enterprise. In announcing her auditions, Rothschild offered potential company members advantages that up until this time had been unavailable, a full-time salary, and handsomely equipped facilities....Sokolow knew she was in no position to compete with the stability and glamour that the new company offered." [11].

Graham agreed to donate works for Bathsebee de Rothschild's company called Batsheva (Hebrew for the name Bathsebee). Graham had seen the caliber of the Israeli dancers there, many of whom came to be trained at the Graham studio and also at Juilliard. Besides Rena Gluck's work, Graham knew Hasia Levy-Agron, who had probably been Graham's first Israeli student. The War for Independence in 1948 interrupted Levy-Agron's American dance study. Later she started the dance program at the Rubin Academy of Music, provided countless intensive summer sessions of Graham technique, though she gave respect for Israel's premiere modern dancer, Kraus, giving Kraus a permanent place on the dance faculty. Today Levy-Agron has retired and Rena Gluck is Dean of Faculty of Dance and Head of School of Dance at the Rubin Academy of Music and Dance.

In 1963, Graham was pleased with Rena Gluck's teaching and her own performing and knew she could be the backbone of a company. Gluck's students were the nucleus

for the company. As well as the talented Rina Schenfeld, there were Moshe Efrati, Rahamim Ron, Ehud Ben David (who later married Linda Hodes, caretaker of the Graham repertory for the Bathseva Company), and many others.

The combination of talented dancers, the Rothschild backing, the Graham repertory and training made for unprecedented success and dance excitement in Israel. There was American influence certainly funneled through the company and this has been true until today. Rothschild's outlook and influence were extended when she began supporting a second company as well, the Bat Dor company, directed by the South African ballet dancer Jeannette Ordman. Though more ballet based, it too did what Batsheva did: It hired American choreographers to come in and stage works in a repertory setting. There has beem one professional school for the two companies which offered modern training in the Graham style run through Bat Dor with the teachers brought in from America as well, though there were Americans living in Israel who were also employed on a regular basis. Some would see this as American technique and choreography imposed from the outside.

I think those choreographers who came to work in Israel particularly with the Batsheva co. themselves were changed; Glen Tetley who created "Mythical Hunters" for the Batsheva Co. told me he came from Holland at Graham's invitation. He said he felt the dancers moved in the Graham technique in a different way than the Americans. "really flesh and blood angels when they did 'Diversion of Angels.'" He told me that Batsheva is hardly a second company of Graham. It's not just the "Jewishness of the company--I see that the confrontation of the European culture replanted back in the desert climate and that changes people and there is a harshness that exists where everything moves in a different way. One feels how precious is life in a desert situation and it seemed to me when I was thinking about 'Mythical Hunters' that it's an eat or be eaten, kill or be killed situation. I also felt a very definite rawness and energy and strength in the men and women..."13.

Bathsabee de Rothschild explained her intent in starting the company in the first program; she "established the Batsheva Dance Company to fill the gap... Without an endowed professional company, dancers had practically no opportunity to appear on stage, the best of them went abroad and the public depended for its entertainment in the field on the rare visits of foreign companies. The challenge was there: to sponsor a distinct, permanent unit of dance activity, to build a framework for the development of Israeli performers and Israeli choreographers.. .above all we benefited from he personal assistance of Martha Graham who gave an image of artistic standards to be achieved and allowed the company to perform some of her works."

In an interview with me at the Bat Dor studios on Oct. 16, 1973 she told me Graham made the company--she chose

the dancers, groomed and taught them about make-up as well as classes, rehearsed with them in her own works, she came here quite often. Graham did it all, not me. She took it on and it was a recognized success." The list of Graham works included "Diversion of Angels", "Cave of the Heart," "Embattled Garden," "Errand Into the Maze," "Herodiade" and a work she created specifically for the company in 1974 called "Dream." Some of the American choreographers who came and choreographed or restaged works included Donald MacKayle, Jerome Robbins, Jose Limon, Robert Cohan, Glen Tetley, Norman Walker, Talley Beatty, Anna Sokolow, John Butler, Gene Hill Sagan, Alvin Ailey, Pearl Lang, David Parsons, Marc Morris, Daniel Ezralow, Paul Taylor, and Doug Verone. Bat Dor used many of these same choreographers as well as others including Lar Lubavitch, Cliff Kueter, Laura Dean, and San Gogh.

Graham wasn't present in a daily way, so Americans were sent as directors with Graham as the artistic director. Rena Gluck mentioned that Bathsabee thought the Israeli dancers were very undisciplined; there was a feeling amongst some that Bathsebee thought of the Israelis as natives and there was patronizing going on. To counteract the "unruly" Israelis, each of the visiting directors, including Jane Dudley, Norman Walker, Bill Louther, Brian McDonald, and Paul Sanasardo brought in some of their own favorite American dancers.[12]

It was Sanasardo who gave an opportunity to Ze'eva Cohen, originally Israeli now of New York to come back to Batsheva to choreograph. Other company dancers who choreographed included Rena Gluck, Yakov Sharir, Oshra Elkayam-Ronen, Moshe Efrati and Rina Schefeld. The latter three each eventually left to found their own companies. Yakov Sharir initially left and founded "Kol V Demama" with Efrati, made up of deaf as well as hearing dancers. Rena Shenfeld's company is also prominent, along with Efrati's in Israel today. Other Israelis who choreographed for Batsheva included Mirali Sharon, Domi Reiter-Soffer, Igal Perry and Siki Kol. The most outstanding Israeli choreographer to work with Batsheva is probably Ohad Naharin, the company's present director.

I think if it was Bathsabee's intention to not only create a company to give work to the talented Israeli dancers, but to create choreographers than ultimately, she has succeeded. Her money provided for talented musicians, set designers, lighting and technical people and for dance teaching along with exposure to great repertory, mostly by Americans. Bathsebee's sensibilities and means gave dancers opportunities and most importantly, choreographic opportunity.

Ohad Naharin himself, felt entirely at home in the Graham environment of the Israeli company Batsheva. Of his own training he said that he didn't really start til he was older though he'd done folk dancing and gymnastics.

During the Yom Kippur War in 1973 when he was still a soldier, his mother, a dance teacher, called Batsheva and "needing males, they said they'd be willing to take me...I joined the company class and I had no idea really about the sequences but I'm naturally very supple and sitting on the floor was easy...I copied what I saw and I loved what they did; it was very challenging...three months later, Graham herself came to the company to set her piece "Dream." She gave me the part of Esau which was actually my choreographic debut. She just told me to go do a dance with a spear...Ehud Ben David helped me and I kept in mind her technique and I guess she liked it. Then she invited me to come to New York to join her company...

"It's very natural if you're in an isolated place and you taste something that comes from abroad that you want to go abroad and experience more. After all, you're never a foreigner as a dancer, you can always feel at home because there is no language barrier...

"About the financial aid we got, it wasn't just the money that brought the American influence. I don't think so. It was our own interest, too. There was no parallel in Europe to what was happening in America--there was no technique we could bring like Graham or Limon or Cunningham. Now in the 90s there's not really a center in that sense anymore. But then in the 60's and 70's the dance center was in America." 14.

I saw his work for the Batsheva Co., including "Tabula Rasa" in Boston while they were on tour last autumn. In the 2nd section, there is a constant stream of dancers entering the stage, doing a repetitive motion like a sort of infinite moan and despair which seemed particularly descriptive of certain aspects of Israeli life right now. Ohad said "absolutely," that that section for him somehow matched the intensity of living in Israel, but almost immediately he contradicted himself and said however, someone living in peaceful Switzerland could also feel inner torment and create a dance of intensity also.

That work is specific yet it is general. "The question if something is Israeli or not" Ruth Eshel raises in her book. She says that "the question that ought to have been asked is what happened to the ideas which were the real dowry of the European dancers." Eshel regrets in retrospect that the European trained dancers weren't able to give a sound base to the modern dance in Israel." I, however, see the original dancers of the 20s and 30s as heroic because with a minimum of funds they were able to achieve unconventional results and though American dance did arrive in a storm, it did not drench everything. Inbal in its own unique system kept going. And the kibbutz movement which had at first been home to the folk dance movement itself has developed. Now there are many kibbutz modern dance schools including the important work of Heda Oren and the Kibbutz Seminar with Noa Eshkol. There is also the Kibbutz Dance Co. directed by the indefatigable Yehudit Arnon, producing

dance of choreographers from America and Europe as well as dance by Israelis such as Nir Ben-Gal, Liat Dror, and Rami Be'er.

In fact the idea people who made it all begin are no less influential than Rothschild's massive contributions. Dance in the new state was first associated with folk dance, but the modern dance was developing along with the other arts. The dance has become a part of the society both symbolizing it from the outside and expressing it from the inside. There is a cheekiness, now famous in the sabra personality, that makes dynamic and determined dancers even if they have lacked finesse in technique. American dance did not take over but helped the Israelis; technique aside, there is a creativity and a fervor in Israel that goes along with a new country coming into its own. Israelis are willing to say something besides just physically dancing and they have much to say choreographically.

Metaphorically, Ohad himself is making a new path, a kind of "Errand into the Maze." It is as if he is taking Batsheva in hand in a different way than it was originally envisioned. He is doing some kind of bull dance himself, over the horns of the Graham technique. Perhaps he is holding onto those horns without being punctured, bringing forth dances which are powerful, marked by the Israeli life and yet universal enough to meet success on the road in Israel and beyond.

It is my opinion that the American influence aided Israel immeasurably, improving its technique in dance and adding to its possibilities and choices. It has helped Israeli dance to become a fuller participant in the general dance life of the world.

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Endnotes

1. Gertrud Kraus interview with author, Tel Aviv, 1973.

2. Lea Bergstein interview with author, Kibbutz Ramat Yohanon, 1972.

3. Gurit Kadman, "New Israeli Folkdance," p.7, plus interviews with author, Tel Aviv, 1972-1977.

4. Ze'eva Cohen interview with author, Boston, 10/13/91.

5.Ruth Eshel, LIRKOD EM HAHALOM, (Dancing with the Dream), [The Development of Artistic Dance in Israel 1920-1964], p. 42.

6. Jerome Robbins in letter to Judith Gottlieb, July, 1952.

7. op cit, p. 47.

8. Rena Gluck, interview with author, New York, 8/8/91.

9. Ze'eva Cohen, interview with author, Boston, 10/13/91.

10. Larry Warren, ANNA SOKOLOW, THE REBELLIOUS SPIRIT, Dance Horizons/Princeton Book Co., p.133.

11. Ibid, pg. 200-202.

12. Rena Gluck, interview with author, New York, 8/18/91.

13. Glen Tetley, interview with author, Jerusalem, 1973.

14. Ohad Naharin, interview with author, Boston, 10/13/91.

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"THE WILD DOE": AUGUSTA MAYWOOD IN PARIS, 1839-1840

Maureen Needham Costonis
Vanderbilt University

Augusta Maywood began her professional career at the age of twelve on December 30, 1837, at Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theater. The young girl had only two years' formal study with the former Paris Opera dancer Paul Hazard, but her successes were such that her family was encouraged to send her to Paris for lessons with the great Jean Coralli, known today as the creator of Giselle. Her Paris career opened shortly thereafter with a triumphant debut performance at the Paris Opera on November 11, 1839, and, a year later, ended abruptly in scandal when she eloped with her dancing partner named Charles Mabille.

Augusta Maywood was the first American ballerina to reverse the flow of French ballerinas inundating the United States, a trend that had begun in 1791 with Susanne Douvillier (also known as Mme. Placide), who was the earliest Paris Opera danseuse to perform on American shores. By the time that Augusta was born in New York City on 5 March 1825,[1] American stages were staffed by touring French dancers who grandly announced their origins as "From the Paris Opera" or, at least, the pedigree of their repertoire as emanating "From the Opera House, Paris."[2] American newspapers

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[1]Maywood's life has been the subject of several articles, including those by Hannah Marian Winter, "Augusta Maywood," Chronicles of American Dance (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948, pp. 119-138); Mary Grace Swift, Belles and Beaux on their Toes (New York: University Press of America, 1980), pp. 133-136; Parmenia Migel, The Ballerinas from the Court of Louis XIV to Pavlova (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), pp. 179-193. However, none of these have cited her birth date as attested to by her step-father in a letter to the editor, Philadelphia Saturday News, reprinted in the [New York] Spirit of the Times, 6 October 1838.

[2]As many as twenty French dancers made their Philadelphia debut in 1829 alone. Between 1792-1842, 81 out of 176 dancers who specialized in ballet in this city were of French origin. Likewise 110 out of 186 ballets offered during this period had originally been seen in Paris. Maureen Needham Costonis, "Ballet Comes to America, 1792-1842: French Contributions to the Establishment of Theatrical Dance in New Orleans and Philadelphia," ph.d.

were wont to print, and probably exaggerate, the excessive amount of money earned by French ballerinas who toured this country. Mr. Maywood, Augusta's step-father, was reputed to be a parsimonious, if not greedy, man, and he may have expected that his investment in her dancing lessons would be returned many-fold. In the spring of 1838, the thirteen year old girl, accompanied by her mother, sailed to Paris to study ballet, her departure hailed by crowds on wharfs and small craft. Although her step-father later arranged contracts for her and newspapers announced her imminent return to Philadelphia, Augusta never again stepped foot on American soil.[3]

Augusta had studied for only two years with Paul Hazard in Philadelphia, and the precocious child trained with the great Jean Coralli at the Paris Opera for even less time than that before her Paris Opera debut was announced. The writer in the Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris praised her teacher, because he was able to develop Augusta's "extraordinary disposition" for the dance, "making this student into one of the most original and most piquant dancers that one can imagine."[4] In her lessons with yet another teacher, Joseph Mazillier, she was noted as a high-spirited child who galvanized the other students and shocked them out of their complacency.

For her series of debuts, Augusta had to prepare three roles. After critics, such as Gautier, expressed the view that Mlle. Maywood would be a "fine acquisition for the Opera," her place was secure.[5] Augusta was entered on the payroll budget for December, 1839, and contracted for a generous annual sum of 3000 livres.[6] This was less than Lucile Grahn, the previous year's debutante, earned; however, Augusta's salary was more than all but one of the

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dissertation, New York University, 1989, pp. 258-88, plus also see chapter VIII.

[3]Ms. Letter from Mr. Maywood, 28 September 1842, in the Harvard Theater Collection.

[4]Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris, 14 November 1839, p. 469. The review is signed with the initials, Ch. M. All translations from the French in this article should be credited to the author, with the exception of the Gautier material.

[5]Theophile Gautier, Gautier on Dance (London: Dance Books, Ltd., 1986), p. 80.

[6]Folder Aj13.196, Paris Opera archives located at the Archives Nationales, does not contain her contract, although it has copies of standard forms utilized at that time. However, Aj13.308 ms. "Etat des Appointements des artistes de la Danse pendant le mois de December 1839" shows her name has been added to the budget.

nine other danseuses who could claim equal rank and greater seniority.[7]

For her debut performance at the Paris Opera, Augusta appeared in Le Diable boiteux, a ballet-pantomime in three acts with choreography by her teacher Coralli. Some of the papers played up the debut of this young foreigner born in what they considered to be the "barbaric" land of savages.[8] When Augusta entered, not one hand was raised to applaud her, although a "murmur of surprise ran through the house" when she was recognized as but a young girl.[9] No one, commented Gautier, appeared to "have been less overawed by such a formidable test. She faced the footlights and opera glasses that terrify the strongest hearts, with the calm of an experienced ballerina."[10] She was probably more nervous than he realized. One viewer observed that her ankles trembled at one point, and she almost lost her balance during a daring pose.[11]

However, when the allegro section of her dance began, then she proved her mettle. The critic for Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris described her as:

> A little person who is both graceful and lively, having nimble movements, a vigorous leg, strongly accented gestures, a piquant smile, sparkling eyes, a pretty face and scarcely 15 years of age, that is Mlle. Augusta. Imagine a dancer extravagantly swift, with prodigious leaps, the spring to cover the stage in three steps, performing entrechats combined with pirouettes such as one sees in [Jules] Perrot, the horizontal arabesque penchee associated a long time ago with [Antoine] Paul, an extraordinary verve, an unbelievable technique, a miraculous sense of balance, and you have an idea of the astonishment mixed with pleasure that was caused by the apparition of this foreign child on the scene a few days ago.[12]

Hippolyte Rolle, in the Galerie des Artistes Dramatiques de Paris, commented upon "this lively gazelle who bounded and coursed so." She came from New York to conquer Paris, he said, "armed with

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[7]Aj13.308, ms. "Etat des appointements."

[8][Paris] Le Corsaire, 11 November 1839; Gautier, On Dance, p. 80. See also: Galigrani, reported in Spirit, 19 October 1839.

[9]Porter's Spirit of the Times, 28 December 1839.

[10]Gautier, On Dance, p. 80.

[11]Spirit, 28 December 1839.

[12]Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris, 14 November 1839, p. 469.

intrepid entrechats and audacious ronds de jambes."[13] In L
Presse, Theophile Gautier expressed his amazement at this "infan
prodigy:"

> She covered that great stage from the backcloth to th
> prompter's box in two or three bounds, performing those almos
> horizontal vols penches for which Perrot was famous, and the
> began to gambol, revolve in the air, and perform tours d
> reins with a suppleness and strength worthy of Lawrence an
> Redish [two circus acrobats]. She was like a ball bouncing o
> a racquet. She has excellent elevation and attack, and he
> small legs, like those of a wild doe, made strides as long a
> those of Mlle. Taglioni.[14]

The critics appeared to be in awe of her technical accomplishment
and cool daring, almost forgetting how very young she was to b
making a Paris Opera debut. For example, one dwelt upon the
eccentric style of this little "wild doe" and "lively gazelle,"
which he claimed was characterized by extraordinary leaps and
acrobatic feats:

> Augusta bounds, whirls, wheels, springs, leaps, and glides ir
> all directions in the most novel and surprising manner,
> utterly setting at naught all received rules and conventional
> forms, but like a child of nature, trusting only to grace and
> original dictates. The graceful boldness of her steps, the
> peculiarity of her pirouettes, her double turns, and curious
> emjambees (vols penchees) and entrechats, fairly, to use a
> worn out expression, took the audience by surprise, and whc
> applauded her eccentricities to the very echo.[15]

All these sophisticated critics seem astonished by this "child of
Nature," who seemed almost to invent her own rules of dance. Over
and over again, the words "original," "eccentric," and
"astonishing" are applied to her dancing. It is striking, in my
opinion, that they compared her unconventional style to that of
wild animals, such as a "wild doe," or "lively gazelle" or talked
of the "steel legs of a jaguar," and "bright, wild face." All of
this imagery, of course, fits in with the notion that Augusta had
come from an uncivilized, barbaric land. A second theme, equally
dominant in the critics' remarks, declared her to be a prodigy
whose dancing evoked comparisons to that of the greatest male
dancers of the century. It is significant that, in describing
Augusta, critics eschewed the kinds of imagery commonly used to
describe female dancers of that time, who were invariably praised

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[13]Galerie des Artistes Dramatiques de Paris (Paris: Magazin Theatral, 1842) II, n.p. My thanks to my colleague Franklin Brooks for alerting me to this source.

[14]Gautier, On Dance, p. 80.

[15]Spirit, 28 December 1839.

for their "voluptuous" coquetry or "sylphlike" aestheticism.[16] Gautier noted "something brusque, unexpected and fantastic that sets her apart" from other dancers, and perhaps her extraordinary elevation combined with cool daring and great strength lay behind this insight.[17]

Augusta's second debut performance followed less than two weeks later. She was partnered by Charles Mabile when she appeared, again with Fanny Elssler, in La Tarentule, a two-act ballet-pantomime with choreography by Coralli (first given 24 June 1839).[18] Gautier had originally poked fun at her gauche "American taste" when she made her debut in an all-pink, spangled costume -- an outfit that, he claimed, would "delight a rope dancer." This time, however, he complained of her banal taste: "If the first costume was too barbaric, this was too civilized."[19]

On December 6, she "continued her debuts with a pas de deux in the first act" of Le Diable boiteux.[20] Augusta appeared in many ballets in which Fanny Elssler was the featured dancer; it is an indication of how quickly she progressed that, within only a few years, she was promoted to Elssler's understudy and first leading dancer at La Scala in Milan. Three days after this appearance, she danced again with Elssler in La Gypsy, a full-length ballet-pantomime with libretto by St. Georges and choreography by her other teacher, Mazillier (first given 28 January 1839).[21]

On New Year's Day, Augusta and Charles Mabille danced in an excerpt from the opera Gustaf III. The masked ball scene in the fifth act was often performed as a danced divertissement, and included various national dances such as the pas styrien, pas hongrois, pas des folies. Augusta's name was featured alongside two other pairs of well-known dancers, Louise Fitzjames with Hermine Blangy, and even alongside that of her teacher, Jean Coralli who partnered Sophie Dumilatre.[22]

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[16]Gautier, for example, employed the dichotomy of Christian vs. pagan to describe the two schools of ballet associated with Taglioni and Elssler. See: Theophile Gautier, On Dance, p. 53, and also his essay "Civilization and the Plastic Arts," p. 226 f., in The Works of Theophile Gautier, tr. and ed. F. C. de Sumichrast (New York: George D. Sproul, 1903), vol. 23.

[17]Gautier, On Dance, p. 79.

[18]F. Bonnaire, Revue de Paris (6) 1839, p. 351.

[19]Gautier, On Dance, p. 80.

[20]Corsaire, 6 December 1839.

[21]Revue de Paris, (14) 1840, p. 73.

[22]Corsaire, 1 January 1840.

Augusta was selected to appear in Fanny Elssler's fina benefit performance at the Paris Opera, just before Elssle departed for Augusta's native country and what was to become a two year tour of America. Augusta was twice featured in the cast list for Nina ou la Folle par Amour: once for a dance with Fanny Elssler, Roland, Nathalie Fitzjames, and Kolnberg; and again for a pas de trois with Antoine Mabile (Charles' older brother) and Nathalie Fitzjames, one of the most proficient and talented danseuses of the Opera. These and other assignments would suggest that August was capable of holding her own against competition fro dancers considerably older and more experienced than she, including her own teacher and ballet master of the opera.

Augusta received her first critical press notices in Le Corsaire on 20 March. The writer described her, incorrectly, as a young child of twelve years of age. She bounded upon the stage, he claimed, "in a manner totally picturesque, but not very choreographic." More positively, he noted that her "interesting leaps have had the merit of increasing the applause for the lively bolero" of the next dancer. Some months later, he commented on the absence of this "ravishing" dancer, this "pretty child" who had not danced for some time.[23]

It would seem that this publicity assisted her. By June 17, Augusta was back on stage and appeared for the first time in an opera, Ferdinand Cortes. She danced in a pas de trois with two of the best-known dancers at the opera, Hermine Blangy and Lucien Petipa. She danced in her second opera, Auber's La Muette de Portica, where she returned to Charles Mabille's arms in a pas de deux within the third act.

When the opera house opened after summer renovations, Augusta was given two more roles. She performed in Dauberval's La Fille mal gardee, in a trio with Sophie Dumilatre and Charles Mabille. In addition, Augusta was cast in Le Diable amoureux, the new ballet sensation of the fall season. She danced alongside Mmes. Alexis, Fitzjames, and Dumilatre, highly ranked dancers that would indicate the esteem in which the director must have held her. Her favorite dancing partner, Charles Mabille, was not listed as a leading dancer in that ballet. However, by that time, he had become more than simply her ballet cavalier, but instead made his bid to become her life partner.

Charles and Augusta made headlines across the Atlantic when they decided to elope after the ballet performance:

> The Fugitive Diablesse -- The papers lately gave an account of the extraordinary elopement of two members of the Royal Academy, who were arrested at Bologne by the telegraphic dispatch, whose wings are swifter, unfortunately, than those of love. The diable and diablesse in question, for they had

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[23]Corsaire, 15 May 1839.

> eloped after the ballet of the Diable Amoureux, were sent back to Paris; but, upon an inquiry into the affair, the mother of the diablesse gave way to the entreaties of the amorous diable and consented to their union.[24]

Charles de Boing purported to find the situation a tragic waste of Augusta's magnificent talents, squandered on a third-rate dancer:

> That poor little Augusta Maywood! she can no longer be engaged at the Opera; she had too much life in her and promised great things for the future; she has been forced to wed a little runt of a dancer, badly formed and morose, who will peddle her from city to city. O ballerinas! why will you always wed dancers?[25]

The administration moved swiftly: the ledger for the November accounts at the Paris Opera contained a brief notation on the front page. Both Charles and Augusta's names were struck from the payroll. Such was the end of Augusta's all too brief Paris Opera career.

A few questions remain about the abrupt termination of this phase of the young Augusta's career. Why did the young fifteen-year-old run away in this manner when she must have known that breaking their contracts would result in their dismissal? Perhaps she was truly enamored of Charles, although less than a few years later she abandoned him and allegedly left a letter confessing that she had transferred her affections to another. Perhaps she was dazzled by visions of wealth, for pere Mabille operated the famous public balls at the Jardins Mabille -- and yet this motive seems out of character for Augusta. She may have been ruthlessly ambitious insofar as her career was concerned, but she never seemed to choose any of her other lovers for their wealth.

In my opinion, she simply did not want to return home after she had just begun to taste fame. Europe beckoned, and she had already been forced to refuse one offer from Italy.[26] Furthermore, her relations with her step-father were characterized by life-long hostility and simmering resentments. Her one year engagement was drawing to a close. She needed to act quickly and in such a manner that her step-father could no longer control her life. She needed a way to prevent her mother from signing for the rest of her paychecks, as she had done for the previous ones. Only a legal marriage, it seems, would fit the bill.

Augusta, in the space of only one year, from November of 1839 to November of 1840, received more considerably more and

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[24]Spirit, 26 December 1840.

[25]Boigne, Memoires, p. 178.

[26]Spirit, 9 May 1840.

consistently better press notices than any other dancer at the Paris Opera (other than Fanny Elssler). Commentators on this phase of her career tended to differ in their perceptions of this extraordinary artist, depending upon from which side of the Atlantic they came. American newspaper critics considered her to be a highly refined exponent of elite forms of "French dancing," while Gautier and others in Paris preferred to dramatize her "savage" antecedents in the American wilderness. Americans took great patriotic pride in her dancing abilities, her prodigious marvels considered exemplars of American cultural attainment. French critics, on the other hand, were particularly patronizing and tended to dismiss Americans as uncivilized barbarians with Augusta dismissed as but a freak of Nature.

French and Americans differed, too, in their criticisms of the dancer, the former somewhat more concerned with matters of taste and the latter with questions of morality. Self-righteous pronouncements from the distant American shores were to haunt Augusta all her life. Some focused on her alleged ingratitude to her step-father, who was to die in an institution for the insane, and others clucked over a succession of lovers whom she took. The few unflattering remarks by French critics centered about her "poor taste" in costumes or overly athletic style of dance.

Both groups were scandalized by her strongly independent streak, which, in its worst aspect, saw her elope, then coolly abandon her husbands, lovers, baby daughter, and step-father. Viewed in its most favorable light, however, this aspect of her personality served her well as an artist. Later known as "the Queen of the Air," Augusta became both entrepreneur of her own ballet troupe and Italy's <u>prima ballerina e mimica assoluta</u>. She toured Italian opera-houses throughout most of the 44 years of her lengthy performing career, which ended with her as ballet-mistress for a Viennese theater.

On one thing all were agreed: observers on both sides of the ocean were unanimous that the little "wild doe," "this jaguar," the "lively gazelle", as French critics so endearingly termed her, was a prodigy unique in the annals of theatrical history. Her like had not been seen before at the Paris Opera, nor ever again after her dismissal.

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Maureen Needham Costonis

AMERICAN DANCE: INVASION OR INSPIRATION?

Stephanie Jordan

It might seem pompous and presumptuous to apply that hackneyed political notion of a 'special relationship' between Britain and the U.S. to the arena of modern and post-modern dance. However, I am proposing to argue here that Britain occupies an unusual mid-Atlantic, edge-of-Europe position in its relationship with American dance, just as it does in language and a variety of other cultural practices. I am also going to suggest how some developments in British dance were marginalised precisely because of the power of an American model.

Unusual relationship: it is significant that Britain absorbed the work of two of the most important figures in American modern dance into its dance tradition, Martha Graham and Merce Cunningham. I stress the word 'absorbed', because their ideas were integrated and moulded so that independent, personal British styles evolved, for instance, those of Christopher Bruce and Richard Alston. Furthermore, in comparison with many other European countries, the relationship between Britain and the U.S. was established early. In the latter half of the 60s, there was a flowering derived from the Graham model. Two major modern or what we often call contemporary dance companies were established, London Contemporary Dance Theatre and Ballet Rambert (which turned contemporary in 1966), also the London School of Contemporary Dance.

Of course, we already had a long-standing and important relationship between our ballet traditions, but my focus here is on modern (and post-modern) dance, which are the areas of most considerable American influence, and where the relationship has been most complex and perhaps most interesting.

But, to begin with, I will discuss some issues that are the background to this relationship with American tradition. First is the enormous power of personal choice and personal energy. One man, Robin Howard, bowled over by the work of Martha Graham, makes the decision to start up a modern dance tradition in Britain and decides to use her work as a model and to bring over an American Graham dancer Robert Cohan to direct the new LCDT (London Contemporary Dance Theatre). To him, Dame Ninette de Valois said during a recent tribute season, 'contemporary dance in England owes its existence.'[1] Then, from 1978, Val Bourne, as Director of Dance Umbrella, initiates a series of festivals and events that would introduce more recent American trends to Britain (as well as showcasing British work), post-Cunningham work that was not simply available but also chosen, selected according to personal judgement (for instance, the work of Douglas Dunn, David Gordon, Karole Armitage, Trisha Brown, Stephen Petronio).

Then, returning to the 60s, there is the broader cultural power of America in terms of the other arts, radical theatre, Happenings, literature and, most significantly in terms of our dance tradition in Britain, the supremacy of American visual arts at this time. Britain was the European country most rapidly and most deeply affected by post-war American art, ever since the abstract expressionist shows of the

50s, and the art schools of the 60s were committed to a dialogue with the American tradition. In my recent book Striding Out: Aspects of Contemporary and New Dance in Britain, I point out how ex-art-school students became an important creative force as early students at the new London School of Contemporary Dance in the late 60s and early 70s -- acquainted with American abstraction, also with Rauschenberg and Johns and, through them, with Cunningham and Cage.[2] Then there is the 'special relationship' too between America and Britain in the areas of pop art and popular culture -- pop music, graphic design, fashion and television -- areas of lively two-way influence.

Of paramount importance too was the presence of dance in the British education system, outside the LSCD with its professional emphasis. There was a steady infiltration of ideas from American modern dance -- I remember an enlightened physical education/dance teacher introducing Graham's film A Dancer's World (1957) at my school in the 60s (the USIA was promoting the film in Britain at the time). Flora Cushman, for instance, taught Graham work at Dartington College in Devon in the late 60s (not the first -- in the early 30s, there was Margaret Barr, an English woman who had studied with Graham in the late 20s), and Dorothy Madden taught Humphrey work at Dartington, at I. M. Marsh College in Liverpool. LCDT and the LSCD (London School of Contemporary Dance) built up a relationship with colleges and schools and, from the mid-70s, a group of colleges and polytechnics, noting the success of the American university model and by then eagerly embracing ideas from American modern dance, offered dance at degree level. With this strong educational base, I suggest that American ideas were quietly but deeply rooted, integrated within the British dance community.

My final comment on the background to the British relationship with American tradition is that, as much as we welcomed American modern dance, it, in turn, needed a relationship with London in these early years. New York City Ballet had similarly needed London recognition in 1950. Many would say that London then and into the 70s was the dance/theatre capital of Europe, although, I have to point out, there was no secure financial backing for this status. American companies needed to be seen in London. For some years, we were able to live off that position, the commitment established and largely nurtured by the deep professional ties that I have mentioned, until the financial problem eventually got the better of us. By 1979, the U.S. ambassador to Britain, the late Kingman Brewster, noting Britain's appalling lack of ability to pay for foreign art, was saying, 'If Europe was the forgotten continent' -- an interesting statement in itself -- 'Great Britain was the forgotten country.'[3]

But what was so seductive about American dance work and American ideas? Robin Howard, finding classical ballet predictable and remote from spiritual and emotional issues, recalls that Graham, in 1954, 'spoke to the mind as well as to the heart, and the body, and the spirit.... Every piece appealed to my intellect, and had an intellectual content. Above all, it had a wholeness.'[4] Certainly, that intellectual and/or emotional thrust in American dance continued to excite young audiences in the 60s when musicians, painters and writers and in Francis Mason's words 'the people who go to the Royal Court Theater and Joan

Littlewood's productions[5] clamoured to see the companies of Graham, Taylor and Cunningham. But, by this time, American modern dance had an impressive history and was proving itself wonderfully varied, individualistic, confident and energetic with new ideas. It also had a powerful support system, the institutional weight of schools attached to choreographers and their companies, rigorous methods of training, a university tradition, a growing band of writers proving the power of documentation in promoting an art form. How could we resist this?

Now, in a summary of American imports to Britain, I am going to list what we had seen *before* had any professional modern dance tradition of our own, and then speak of three main 'waves' of influence on the British dance community. By the end of the 60s, we had seen Graham's company, in 1954 (disastrous in terms of critical recognition), and in 1963, a success; Jose Limon and Dance Company in 1957, the Alvin Ailey and Paul Taylor companies in 1964, and the Merce Cunningham Dance Company in 1964 and 1966. There was also Charles Weidman in 1965, Daniel Nagrin in 1967 and Alwin Nikolais in 1969. In terms of post-Cunningham developments, we had seen Yvonne Rainer in 1965 and Twyla Tharp in 1967 (the latter brought over by Robin Howard).

Graham, who created the first wave of influence, we took to like ducks to water. Much of the LCDT repertoire was story-based and high on theatrical values, which probably provided a way in for a new contemporary dance audience in Britain. Yet there were also American guests at the LSCD from traditions other than Graham, from the Cunningham and Nikolais stables, for instance, and Meredith Monk incorporated 30 students in a performance of her Juice (1972). It is important that Howard, as well as having a passion for Graham's work wanted to cultivate variety, indeed opposition, experimental forms of dance.[6] Students who arrived already trained in another art form, saw that the Graham aesthetic was out of line, out of date, in terms of their own artistic interests.

Thus, there was the second wave of influence stemming from Cunningham, promoted for many years by Richard Alston as he sought the cool, unemotional opposite to a Graham-derived expressionism. As a student, Alston soon began to use Cunningham's principles in his choreography, but his understanding deepened when the ex-Cunningham dancer Nanette Hassall joined his dance group Strider in 1973 and introduced to it Cunningham technique classes. Alston was one of many dancers to make the pilgrimage to New York in the 70s, to study with Cunningham teachers there, as dancers had gone to study with Graham in the 60s. Meanwhile, a host of freelance New York-based Cunningham teachers/choreographers were in turn welcomed in Britain, through into the 80s, training dancers and, in some cases, affecting their vocabulary as choreographers. The master himself returned to teach intensive courses, the first at the Laban Centre (1980) and the second, the International Course for Choreographers and Composers at the University of Surrey (1981). A second generation took to his choreographic principles (including the then very young Michael Clark). We saw a second brief wave of chance-derived pieces.

By that time, Alston himself had developed a reputation as a Cunningham teacher but, following his own choreographic interests, his was Cunningham teaching with an *independent* bias, promoting an element of fall and recovery while also incorporating some distinctly balletic features. Other British teachers taught more like *him* than like the Americans. Other choreographers like Clark and Ashley Page came to know Cunningham more through Alston than they ever did directly. The British choreographers did not follow Cunningham's choreographic principles for long either. Alston, for instance, in his mature style, adheres much more closely to the organic, 'symphonic' principles of a Balanchine. The Cunningham work had taken deep root, and changed to suit the needs and personalities of British choreographers.

An interesting side-line is the link between Cunningham and ballet vocabularies which has been important in Britain. Alston's work proclaims that link: his early enthusiasm for ballet steps and rhythms led him directly to an appreciation of the Cunningham style. The link with ballet could also have contributed to Cunningham's acceptance amongst the older generation of British critics.

Alston is also connected with the third, post-Cunningham, wave of influence in Britain. As a student, he had read about Judson Dance Theatre and, barely graduated, he taught a choreography course based on what he had learnt by proxy (he had read dance articles in the Tulane Drama Review and Don McDonagh's The Rise and Fall and Rise of Modern Dance).[7] Then, in 1973, Strider formed an important connection with Mary Fulkerson, an American just arrived to head the dance at Dartington College. Fulkerson introduced the principles of release work and other approaches to movement that had originated from U.S. post-modern dance: moving the awareness inwards, extensive use of the floor, improvisation in performance, including contact improvisation, barely two years after its invention by Steve Paxton. Fulkerson invited a line of Americans to teach with her at Dartington, including Paxton himself, most of them sharing her interest in working from an image basis and in contact work. Strider was deeply affected by Fulkerson's work, as were the full-time students at the College. Then, from 1978, the work was shared through annual Dance at Dartington Festivals and occasional London workshops given by Fulkerson, Paxton, and Dartington alumnae.

But that we made the imported product our own is amply demonstrated by the differences between Americans and British in understanding of our modern dance. Of Second Stride, for instance, the 'coolness', 'gentleness', at worst 'coldness' and 'dryness', are what we would be more likely to think of as subtle understatement -- lack of facial contact between performers, dancers that do 'not pay... attention to each other',[8] in our terms, a deep physical listening. I mentioned earlier how the Cunningham vocabulary had been absorbed, given a new inflection, and situated within a different kind of form. However, what does remain most emphatically, which continues to link us with the U.S. and seems to separate us from the continent of Europe, is a line of modern dance work that celebrates a highly developed language of movement: technical movement exploring rhythm, phrasing, musical relations, spatial aspects, dance that keeps the abstract values of

dance prominent even as it might embrace subject matter. The work of Alston and Siobhan Davies, for instance, demonstrates this.

Now I turn to the underside of British modern dance, to a much quieter, less documented, less publicized movement during the 70s that had a very different relationship with American dance. It stems from the LSCD, from those early students who looked upon the Graham work as a strange imposition and out of line with the other new art of the time. It gathers energy during the 70s, asserting more and more strongly its independence from the U.S. in parallel with the growth of the independent dance movement in Britain, the proliferation of small groups outside the two established companies LCDT and Ballet Rambert.

Is this phenomenon surprising? Not when we realize that in some quarters there was a swing away from American theory and artefacts during the 70s, and instead a looking towards European theory and back to European art. The European voice had become strong again. Some work was politically urgent in a way that most imported American work seemed not to be. For instance, there were the political films of Jean-Luc Godard and Straub-Huillet, which grew alongside the European theory of Barthes, Lacan and Foucault and for which there was no obvious American equivalent,[9] also the work with amateur and Maoist groups by the British composer Cornelius Cardew. By contrast, the American work that we knew was considered romantic, expressive, as if pushing against the frontier, even dangerously individualistic.[10] Within politics, in 1973, Britain had confirmed its relationship to Europe with entry, however troubled, into the EEC.

In some art disciplines, there seems to have been a resentment of nothing short of American cultural imperialism. As early as 1966, the British painter Patrick Heron, in an article in Studio International, 'The Ascendancy of London in the Sixties', criticized the relentless propaganda emanating from New York, the 'intense artistic chauvinism which rages now.....the gutless obsequiousness to the Americans which prevails amongst so many British critics and art pundits generally'.[11] It is pertinent here to mention an interesting article in the American journal Artforum by Eva Cockcroft with the telling title 'Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War.'[12] Later, in the 70s, in avant-garde film, an area whose exponents, incidentally, were close to the new contemporary dance, the structural/materialist film-makers launched their campaign against American dominance. The formal direction of much European work was initiated *before* American influence, Malcolm LeGrice stresses in his book Abstract Film and Beyond, U.S. film-makers were isolationist in their attitudes and knew very little foreign work, and the body of American writing made the phenomenon of avant-garde film appear almost exclusively American.[13] Now, I have no evidence that anyone in Britain saw American dance as, to use the Cockcroft phrase, a 'weapon of the cold war.' In any case, American dance did not receive anything like the public or private promotional backing of the visual arts. Yet there was a shared concern about obsequiousness, the power of the American model as it continued to be promoted by British dance critics and administrators. That concern came from the dance underground.

I mentioned that the change of attitude stemmed from the LSCD in the early 70s, and probably without any self-consciousness at that time. Simply, students there were interested in performance art as it was then becoming called, the radical theatre movement, structural film, all areas that had developed strong British voices by that time. These students began to make dances reflecting these interests rather than any interest in dance about steps. A visiting tutor John Roche taught the new theatre techniques at the school. Dick Matchett, a dance administrator who worked for the Contemporary Dance Trust in the early 70s, suggested to me that at one point the LSCD, if encouraged, could have logically turned into a radical theatre school incorporating dance, such was the enthusiasm for this kind of work.'[14] Of course, we know that it did not do so.

This alternative strand of work and a growing self-consciousness about creating a British movement led to the New Dance of the late 70s. New Dance was the project of a group of dancers who called themselves the X6 Collective, after their working base X6 Dance Space in the London Docklands: Emilyn Claid, Maedee Dupres, Fergus Early, Jacky Lansley and Mary Prestidge, most of them ex-professional dancers from the large companies, who had met at the LSCD. Early and Lansley, for instance, were ex-Royal Ballet. Claid had danced with the National Ballet of Canada and later studied at the Graham School. At X6, which existed 1976-80, the Collective set up alternative classes and workshops and a programme of performances, and established the magazine New Dance (in 1977) which gave the title to their movement. X6 occupied a fulcrum position. It became the London centre specializing in alternative practice in dance, the radical end of the independent dance scene. It also offered something important for dancers who were by now questioning the need to look to foreign examples or to make the pilgrimage to the world capital of modern and post-modern dance, New York. These dancers were moved instead to build directly from their experience in Britain. In this respect, in New Dance magazine, New Year 1978, Early spoke of the uniqueness of this 'whole new community of dance activity':

> 'Looking back over dance history in this country, I can find only one other occasion when important innovations were made that were not in direct imitation of practices already current abroad, and this example is truly remote: John Weaver...
> The new activity....is not looking to foreign examples.'[15]

One can understand that the post-modern American work selected by Dance Umbrella might have looked like yet another imposed model, of a post-modern kind. The Dance Umbrella report on its 1978 festival rather gives this impression, the Umbrella aim: 'to expose the English dance scene itself to comparison and contrast with what is happening in New York, where contemporary dance has been established for a longer period of time.'

New Dance was most emphatically not the same as post-modern dance.'[16] It was a British term for a British movement. With 'liberation' as its one and only essential concept, New Dance was about an attitude rather than a kind of work, although that attitude certainly led to making work with a particular kind of subject matter. Here, there was no time for art

for the sake of art, dance about dancing. Claid, in her editorial in New Dance 3 declares that

> 'there is nothing new to be discovered in dance movement.... What is new is now and what is *happening* now.'[17]

In order for dance to be new, she continues, connections must be 'made consciously' with the social, financial and political context.

I must stress the social emphasis of New Dance: using the opportunity of performing in small spaces to get closer to audiences, involving audiences in question and answer sessions, even participating within the work itself. Workshops in which you discovered your own body, your own way of moving, embraced the non-trained as well as the specialist. X6 had hoped to become a community dance centre. It is significant that a community dance thrust did spring from their work, in the 80s. One can see that the whole ethos was anti-model, -imposition from the outside of any kind, and not simply anti- the American model. The political background is important: increasing conservatism and a growing disillusionment with the Labour movement during the 70s. There were others who, in similar collectives and cooperatives, sought in local and fragmented ways to work through alternatives to the traditional power structures around them. Fergus Early writes of New Dance as a process of

> 'personal physical, mental, and (for some) spiritual growth. The old 'slave' mentality of the professional dancer just doesn't wash with these ideas of self-realisation. People are not following foreign patterns, nor are they trying to break into elite systems, they are working increasingly in the way they need to work, and where they can. In the process dance is at last beginning to develop a relationship with the social realities of life today -- something it has conspicuously failed to do in the past.'[18]

New Dance also included work of an analytical, distancing bias. This was polemical work, including feminist content, questioning representations of women, and using conventional technical vocabulary to subvert it in some way. Ballet, for instance (because of the backgrounds of some of the X6 Collective), was subverted in ironic rereadings of Giselle and Swan Lake. Such work was theatrical, drawing on a range of materials, films, props, text, everyday activities, and sometimes including reflexive, verbal commentary on the piece itself. Episodic forms were favoured, a collage, or radical juxtaposition of different elements.

The dancemakers say that influences on this kind of work sprang from *European* radical theatre traditions (this, of course, does not mean that their work had nothing in common with American work).[19] Where New Dancers welcomed direct contact with American dance was in the areas of release work and contact improvisation. New Dance forged a link with Dartington. Significantly, again, these approaches were not seen as imposed models of how to produce work, or of how to dance, but in accordance with X6 philosophy, they emphasised freedom for self-development. Furthermore, the Americans who favoured these approaches shared the social concerns of New Dance. They favoured participatory, democratic, healing forms of dance activity.

Earlier, I said that New Dance was an underground movement. The early 'public' Dance Umbrella Festivals (from 1978) emphasised work of quite another kind, and it was these festivals that created a sort of paradigm for post-modern/New Dance. To the outside, New Dance was all about matching up to the American paradigm. British critics who had time for experimental work of any kind looked for qualities of movement and rigour in new movement styles rather than meaning -- the individuality of the vocabulary and way of moving taken to virtuoso extremes -- particularly impressive a high energy that was peculiarly American and peculiarly un-British. The imported American post-modern work promoted that kind of response (for example, the work of Sara Rudner, Karole Armitage, Molissa Fenley). A younger generation of critics, of which I was one, attended an inspiring criticism course led by Sally Banes and Deborah Jowitt, part of Dance Umbrella in 1981. We found ourselves analysing movement structures and movement dynamics, a further underlining of the abstract, 'modernist' response, the tendency to examine dance as a self-referential art form. Banes recently recalled to me her own position at that time -- 'we were just full of analytic post-modern dance'[20] (which is the 'modernist' phase of post-modern dance). The new British polemical/'narrative' dance was simply not seen as a regional voice worth nurturing on its own terms. Thus, although we welcomed U.S cultural nourishment and used it positively, that cultural power and the dominant attitude towards it had an important effect on the very different home product: in terms of the manner in which the home product was received, the spectacles through which it was viewed.

In retrospect, we can see 70s New Dance as a fascinating precursor to the more public and more central developments of the 80s. First, from the more theatrical work, there is the obvious connection with the highly theatrical strain of the new dance of the 80s (a continent-of-Europe as well as British strain). Then too, there is the more general awareness that politics are a part of dance, even if there has not always been an urgency to make these explicit to an audience. We must not forget too the role of New Dance magazine in introducing new critical frameworks to dance in Britain -- the Marxist-derived thinking (European rather than American theory) that has been the basis of feminist and cultural studies in the 70s and 80s.[21] That again is a language that was not understood by dance critics outside New Dance for some years. And, of course, the cultural shift away from America to Europe hit British dance in a much more public fashion during the 80s.

Nowadays, our strongest link with American tradition remains with the two large contemporary dance companies, because they are, ironically, in very British fashion, repertory companies. Alston at Rambert maintains strong links with Cunningham and with post-Cunningham work (introducing pieces by Trisha Brown, Lucinda Childs and David Gordon). Mark Morris is the American third of the American-British-continent of Europe triumvirate of choreographers now appointed to LCDT. Such Americans use the highly developed movement languages to which the mature generation of British choreographers is deeply attuned. However, I hear that the *newest* generation of choreographers looks now to Belgium and Holland (and to DV8 Physical Theatre) for its kindred spirits.[22] In terms of actual company exchange, Britain is largely an observer of the Euro-

American dance traffic: we literally cannot afford to play a major part in it.

We now hear Euro-statements to the effect that the U.S. is burnt out on dance. At the 1990 Philadelphia conference Internationalism in Dance, Guy Darmet of La Maison de la Danse said that 'the French do not believe that New York is the capital of dance any longer... American modern dance is seen as old-fashioned.' And likewise Bruno Verbergt, who commissions for Belgium's avant-garde Klapstuk Festival: 'The US does not seem to be bringing many new ideas to the field of contemporary work.'[23] With recession and the surge of European cultural nationalisms, are there now new paradigms for dance being set up, new international standards against which work will be measured? In visual arts, we hear of a new respect for small and regional voices, and an interest in reviewing the past that failed to fit into the mainstream, in the visual arts in Britain for instance, a reviewing of William Blake, or our later 'unfashionable' Realists, the pre-Raphaelites and Stanley Spencer. But will the ephemeral and relatively unmonied art of dance ever enjoy such a luxury? So far, it looks as if the power-base that was once American might simply set up somewhere else. As in other things, Britain may well maintain her strange mid-Atlantic position.

Notes

1. Pre-performance tribute during London Contemporary Dance Theatre season, April 9, 1991, The Place Theatre, London.

2. For background to the development of early British modern dance, see Stephanie Jordan's Striding Out: Aspects of Contemporary and New Dance (London: Dance Books, 1992), pp. .

3. Quoted by Howard Klein in 'American-European Cultural Exchange: A look at mechanisms, support and opportunities,' Proceedings of the Bellagio Conference on International Arts Exchange, Jan. 28 -31, 1985, p.18.

4. Quoted by Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp in London Contemporary Dance Theatre: the first 21 years (London: Dance Books, 1989), p. 14.

5. Francis Mason, 'London likes American dancers,' The New York Times, Dec. 27, 1964.

6. Robin Howard in interview with Stephanie Jordan, April 13, 1987.

7. For instance the article by Yvonne Rainer and interview with Anna Halprin in The Tulane Drama Review 10/2 (Winter, 1965); Don McDonagh, The Rise and Fall and Rise of Modern Dance (New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey, 1970).

8. Deborah Jowitt, 'Sinking into Green Fields,' The Village Voice, August 3, 1982.

9. Peter Wollen, 'The Two Avant-Gardes,' Studio International (November/December, 1975), p. 171.

10. See Malcolm LeGrice, Abstract Film and Beyond (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p.87; Peter Gidal, 'Theory and Definition of Structural/Materialist Film,' in Gidal, ed. Structural Film Anthology (London: British Film Institute, 1976), p. 20.

11. Patrick Heron, 'The ascendancy of London in the sixties,' Studio International (September, 1966), p. 280.

12. Eva Cockcroft, 'Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War,' Artforum 12/10 (June, 1974), pp. 39-41.

13. Malcolm LeGrice, Abstract Film and Beyond (London: Studio Vista, 1977), p. 88, 105, 124.

14. Dick Matchett in interview with Stephanie Jordan, April 6, 1988.

15. Fergus Early, 'A good year,' New Dance 5 (New Year, 1978), p. 3.

16. Early, 'Liberation Notes, Etc.', New Dance 40 (April-June, 1987), p. 10.

17. Emilyn Claid, New Dance 3 (Summer, 1987), p. 2.

18. Early, 'A good year', p. 3.

19. Emilyn Claid and Jacky Lansley in interview with Stephanie Jordan, March 20, 1989 and July 22, 1989 respectively. A contemporary criticism that X6 was merely a late version of New York's Judson Dance Theatre of the 60's is perhaps most important as an example of the unimaginative viewing of British work in terms of reiterating American innovations. The X6 Collective knew little at all about Judson. (Claid in interview, March 20, 1989. See also correspondence between Geoff Moore and the New Dance Collective, New Dance 7 (Summer, 1978), pp. 10-11.) But, more broadly, one cannot help spotting the real similarities in conceptual content and formal procedures between New Dance and much other western (European and American) radical theatre, performance and dance work of the time.

20. Sally Banes in conversation with the author, July 20, 1991.

21. See, for instance, Jacky Lansley, 'Women Dancing,' New Dance 6 (Spring, 1978), pp. 10-11; Anna Furse, 'Body Politics: 2. From outside in to inside out,' New Dance 17 (New Year, 1981), pp. 9-11; Rose English, 'Alas Alack: The Representation of the Ballerina,' New Dance 15 (Summer, 1980), pp. 18-19.

22. Val Bourne in interview with Stephanie Jordan, July 16, 1991.

23. International festivals: policies and priorities for the nineties' summary of the conference 'Internationalism in dance: past, present and future,' May 31-June 2, 1990, pp. 14-15.

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AMERICAN DELSARTEANS ABROAD

Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter

This is not a story of American dancers abroad, but rather of a body of theory and practice with both European and American sources--and of influences traveling across the Atlantic in both easterly and westerly directions. The Delsarte System was originally formulated in France, but even before its founder's death, it began to incorporate practical methodology contributed by his sole known American student. In the United States it continued to expand in the direction thus initiated and was then reintroduced into European circles by American practitioners or their writings. The American Delsarteans who who will be discussed in this paper are Steele Mackaye, who was not yet a "Delsartean" when he traveled to Paris and began the studies that would lead to his contribution; Henrietta and Edmund Russell, who attempted with little apparent success to establish Delsartism in society and artistic cirles in England; and Genevieve Stebbins, among others, whose writings crossed the ocean and contributed to the physical culture and expression movement in Europe.

Francois Delsarte (1811-1871) had no association with dance in his own work.[1] After Paris Conservatory training and some attempts to establish a lyric opera career, he devoted the rest of his life to developing general principles of art and a theoretical foundation and practical methodology for acting and vocal training. He taught through private classes and public lectures and regularly illustrated his principles in vocal recitals where he and his students performed. From 1839 to 1859, he was at the height of his powers and received great acclaim. During the 1860's, failing health curtailed his activities, but he still taught and performed on a limited basis.

Delsarte's lifelong goal was to discover and teach scientific principles of expression in the arts. While he is not known to have ever discussed the art of dance, he did devote a great deal of thought to gesture and expressive movement for the actor. Of the three agents of expression that he designated as primary--voice, gesture, and speech--he considered gesture to be "the direct agent of the heart. . . . the fit manifestation of feeling. . . . the revealer of thought and the commentator upon speech."[2] In a general statement under the heading, "On Distinction and Vulgarity of Motion," he wrote:

> Motion generally has its reaction; a projected body rebounds and it is this rebound which we call the reaction of the motion.
>
> Rebounding bodies are agreeable to the eye. Lack of elasticity in a body is disagreeable from the fact that lacking suppleness, it seems as if it must, in falling, be broken, flattened or injured; in a word, must lose something of the integrality of its form. . . . elasticity of dynamic motions is a prime necessity from the point of view of charm.[3]

It is doubtful that Delsarte himself devised any physical exercises to develop elasticity and physical expression, although a heated controversy arose over this question in the 1890's.

It was the noted American actor, dramatist, director, theatre inventor, and teacher, Steele Mackaye (1842-1894) who almost certainly contributed the physical methodology to Delsarte's aproach.[4] In October 1869, Mackaye began studying with Delsarte after having spent ten years in independent experimentation with expression, pantomime, gymnastics, and aesthetics.[5] Such preparation served him well in this new work and allowed him to make an addition to the Delsarte System that would be crucial in its subsequent developments.

Full mastery of Delsarte's approach to expression for the actor could require a very long time. Mackaye reportedly grasp the principles and the techniques so quickly that Delsarte invited him to assist in the classes. It was thus in France th Mackaye first taught the physical techniques that he had been working on for years--what he later termed Harmonic or Aestheti Gymnastics.

Sometime between February and July 1892, Mackaye wrote the following account of his work with Delsarte in 1869-70:

> Delsarte . . . taught a series of gestures which were very beautiful and expressive in character - but exceedingly intricate and difficult of imitation. Many of his pupils devoted years to their mastery, and yet failed to complete understand and obey their subtleties. I did this complete to the amazement of Mr. Delsarte in three months. I succeeded by the most diligent study in analyzing the motions according to a system which I invented myself - after analyzing the motions I discovered by close study th physical obstacles existing in my own organization to the realization of these motions in my own action. Before Delsarte and I parted, I had laid the foundation of my who system and philosophy of psychologic gymnastics of which Harmonic Gymnastics is a branch.[6]

Mackaye's contribution to Delsarte's classes was thus the application of his own methods to the teaching of Delsarte's techniques and principles. His central role in the development of Harmonic Gymnastics was disputed by some fellow American Delsarteans, most notably Reverend William R. Alger who claimed to have learned them from Delsarte's son Gustave after Delsarte death.[7] On the other side was Delsarte's daughter, Marie Gerardy, who insisted that her father had never taught any kind of gymnastics in his classes.[8] It is likely that Gustave did teach these physical exercises, but that he had learned them along with his father from Mackaye.

Because of the Franco-Prussian War, Mackaye and his family had to leave Paris in July 1870. By September 1870, he had returned to the United States and by July 1871, Delsarte had passed away. Mackaye's enthusiasm for his work with Delsarte v unwavering, however, and he spent the next several years lecturing on the Delsarte System and teaching it in a series o acting schools that he established. While he did not distingu his work from that of Delsarte in the 1870's and 1880's, it differed significantly in its emphasis on the physical trainin of the actor by means of Mackaye's Harmonic or Aesthetic Gymnastics. This new "American" Delsartism embodied the theor

of Delsarte and the practical methodology of Mackaye. By the 1880's it had spread to all sections of the United States and permeated physical culture circles as well as those of elocution, oratory, and theatre.

An important early center for the study of the Delsarte System in the United States was the Boston University School of Oratory founded in 1873 by an influential leader in oratory, Lewis B. Monroe (1825-1879).[9] Monroe had heard of the Delsarte System even before Mackaye's return to the United States and was instrumental in its introduction and promotion in this country. Monroe both studied with Mackaye himself and engaged him to teach and lecture at his school. Many of those who would subsequently be American Delsartean leaders first learned about it at the Boston School of Oratory. Two of the most prominent, Henrietta Russell and Genevieve Stebbins, spread the Delsarte doctrine abroad as well as in the United States.

Henrietta Russell (1849-1918; nee Knapp, subsequently Crane, Crane-Russell, Russell, and finally, Hovey) studied the Delsarte System at the Boston School of Oratory in the early 1870's and with Gustave Delsarte in Paris prior to his death in 1879.[10] During the 1880's, she became popular in the United States as a Delsartean pundit (teaching and lecturing at various locations), while at the same time going through two marriages and the birth of three children. Her second marriage, in 1885, was with a self-styled artist and poet named Edmund Russell who had originally come to her for instruction in the Delsarte System, and who, after their separation in 1889, tried to promote himself as the Delsartean expert. In the spring of 1886, the Russells left the United States to carry the Delsarte gospel to London. Three years later, their marriage dissolving, first Edmund and later Henrietta returned to the United States. According to Edmund, in statements that began to appear in the spring of 1889, he and his wife had been the toast of London, attracting interest and admiration from notable leaders in the arts, politics, and high society. The publicity of their alleged successes abroad would hopefully attract pupils and engagements at home. In A Delsartean Scrap-Book, published in several editions in 1890-91, articles featuring the Russells--particularly Edmund--were reprinted from a variety of journals, newspapers, and popular magazines from New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Milwaukee, and London.[11]

Extensive searches in London archives and libraries does not corroborate the exceptional renown and admiration claimed by Edmund. The Russells' first London presentation was given in late June 1886 at the studio of the artist Felix Moscheles. He had apparently heard one or both of them lecture in the United States and was eager to introduce them and the Delsarte System to his highly placed and artistic friends.[12] A news item appearing in both the Pall Mall Gazette (6-29-1886) and The Dramatic Review (7-3-1886) summarizes the history of the system and reports that a large audience enjoyed Edmund's "biography of his hero" and Henrietta's demonstration of Delsartean teaching methods. The writer comments on her "extraordinary gracefulness, as she showed how different feelings and emotions were expressed on the Delsartean principle, [which] caused her remarks to be interrupted by constant applause." He predicts that "The cult

seems certainly to have in it the elements of a London success."[13]

The mildly derisive tone escalates in a review of the Russells' July 31, 1886, matinee presentation at the Drury Lane Theatre:

> "Beautiful Edmund Russell" is among us, but Mr. Oscar Wilde has nothing to fear. It is only in the reflected light of Mrs. Russell that this gentleman appears attractive at all; he is a species of proprietary padding, and his share in . . . "Illustration of Expression and Harmony in Motion," . . . may be dismissed with that remark. Mrs. Russell is a much more serious person.

The reviewer comments that elocution is an art unknown in England and welcomes her efforts "to spread the idea that the use of the voice and limbs in the expression of the emotions is no more learned intuitively than is dancing or violin-playing."[14] This matinee was also reported (from a generally non-committal point of view) in the The Era and The Court Journal, with the comment in The Era that the audience was so small that the Drury Lane seemed an inappropriate location.[15] The presentation was reportedly repeated on a number of occasions during August 1886,[16] and stimulated a few articles in various publications.

From August 1886 to April 1888, there is no record of the Russells in the London press. Were they elsewhere, or inactive? Or, had the novelty worn thin? Edmund reported that they spent the summer of 1887 in Italy visiting and observing the work of notable opera and drama figures.[17]

The Russells briefly, and finally, received some journalistic attention in London during the spring of 1888. The occasions were two plays in which they appeared cast in the leading roles--apparently to demonstrate the value of the Delsarte System to dramatic expression. In a Monday, April 16 matinee performance, Henrietta played Phedre in Racine's play in English translation at the Princess Theatre. The following Friday, April 20, Edmund attempted the title role in Ion by Talfourd. In addition to one unflattering joint report of these productions, Henrietta received three and Edmund two reviews ranging from critical to mocking. Some representative comments:

> If what we saw and heard . . . is to be regarded as the outcome of the Delsartean method . . . we may express the hope that the English stage may long be spared its general adoption.[18]

> We understand that Mrs. Edmund Russell's object was to illustrate the Delsartean system . . . for expression she had better rely in the future on the power of her own eyes and features, and, in the matter of gesture, that she should give the Delsartean method a wide berth and depend more upon her natural grace of limb and pose.[19]

> There was much carefulness and painful attention to the work in hand made use of by Mr. Russell; but the pervading consciousness and hardly-hidden self-satisfaction of his

style marred his performance throughout.[20]

> [Ion was] tedious, enlivened though it was by Mr. Russell's calisthenic exertions. He seemed to forget that in demonstrating his master's theory, it was necessary to act and speak as well as to pose, and concentrated all his attention on the set of his scanty classical garments and the attitude of his statuesque limbs. . . . Efforts of this kind are . . . not calculated . . . to attract crowds of disciples to the Delsartean cult.[21]

Needless to say, no mention of these devasting reviews were made by either of the Russells to the American press.

The impact of the Russells in London seems to have been non-existent, despite their claims. In addition to searching for published items and reviews of their activities, I have gleaned a wide assortment of biographies, autobiographies, and other writings of the great folk who were reportedly so taken with the Delsarte canon. I have yet to find one mention of Delsarte or the Russells in this body of material. Edmund can be dismissed as a trivial opportunist who faded out of the main Delsarte scene within a few years after he and Henrietta parted company. Henrietta, however--now, Mrs. Richard Hovey, went on to become the most influential Delsartean to directly influence the development of American modern dance. She lived long enough into the twentieth century to have personal contact over a period of years with Ted Shawn, Ruth St. Denis, and the Denishawn dancers. Her perception of the Delsarte System was so broad that she could apply its principles to the work of serious artists as well as to the efforts of society ladies to walk, bow, or fall gracefully. Henrietta Hovey taught and lectured up to the time of her death in 1918.

There is no further record of notable American Delsarteans abroad--unless one wishes to consider Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis "Delsarteans." That is not an erroneous designation at the beginning of their careers, since both women were influenced by the system and realized many of its principles in their art. Ted Shawn was even more dedicated to the Delsarte System, having studied it initially with Mary Perry King and then with Henrietta Hovey, made exhaustive research into its literature, and written a major text on it.[22] European dance historians have joined their American colleagues in acknowledging the Delsartean influence on these three artists and through them to subsequent generations of modern dancers.[23]

What is less well known are the direct links between the literature of American Delsartism--with its emphasis on the fully developed exercise program based on Mackaye's Aesthetic Gymnastics--and developments in European physical culture and dance. While the full extent of American Delsartean influence in Europe is still under investigation, a few examples will suggest that it attracted the attention of some leading figures in physical culture and the arts.

In the early twentieth century, at least three works were published in Europe that were clearly based on the American Delsarte System. In 1911, Hade Kallmeyer, published Schonheit

und Gesundheit des Weibes durch Gymnastik (Beauty and Health of Women through Gymnastics)[24] and somewhat earlier, Kunstlerische Gymnastics (Artistic Gymnastics).[25] Both treatises are presented as explications of the "American system of Stebbins-Kallmeyer." In the 1911 volume, Kallmeyer claims to hold both American and English diplomas as a gymnastics teacher (title page), but there is no indication as to where these are from. She also notes that she has received permission from Stebbins to translate her work into German (p. 7), but one wonders if she had permission to list herself as co-author with Stebbins of this "American method." The 1911 publication includes discussion and exercises under the following headings: breathing, relaxation, and energizing (contraction of muscles); harmonic poise, oppositional movement, and successional movement; expression in gymnastics; and dance--all subjects that are covered in one or more of Stebbins' works.

A third publication drawing not only on Stebbins, but also on other American Delsartean writers is (in rough English translation) Expressive Man: Gestural Stage Training (1913) written in Russian by Prince Sergei Mikhailovich Volkonsky, director of the imperial Russian theatres 1899-1901.[26] Volkonsky was interested and active in various aspects of the arts--especially those of the theatre. In his forward, he writes that the work is not an explanation of Delsarte's theory, but rather a guide to its practice. His extensive bibliography has a section on Delsartean literature with 23 publications from 1874 to 1909. These include the nineteenth-century French publications of Abbe Delaumosne, Angelique Arnaud, and Alfred Giraudet; all four of Stebbins' works; twelve other American Delsartean books; and Hade Kallmeyer's Kunstlerische Gymnastik. The preponderance of American Delsartean literature, plus the Kallmeyer work, which is based on Stebbins, surely demonstrates that the Americans were considered the major source for Delsartean principles and training. And, in fact, the contents of Volkonsky's treatise reflects the American approach.

There are other indications that European interest in the Delsarte System was stimulated by American Delsartean writers. A Finnish gymnastics leader, Hilma Jalkanen (1889-1964), is cited as acknowledging the influence of American Delsartism on the development of her own approach to gymnastics. Dance historian Saga Ambegaokor has described how this influence came by way of Stebbins' publications and became an important element in Jalkanen's "New Gymnastics."[27]

There is the case of Ellen Tels (Ellen Knipper Rabeneck), a dancer originally from Russia, whose work drew on influences from Isadora Duncan and American Delsartism. A demonstration she presented in Paris in 1935 included an explanation of Delsarte's theory followed by a demonstration of typically American Delsartean exercises for relaxation, harmonic poise (placement), energizing (movements involving muscle contractions), oppositional movement, etc. Tels was assisted in this demonstration by a few of her students, including Mura Dehn.[28]

Finally, there are references to the pervasiveness of Delsartean influence in a 1926 Dutch history of contemporary European dance and dancers.[29] The author mentions the influence of Stebbins on gymnastics leaders such as Bess Mensendieck and Hade Kallmeyer, on dancers such as Gertrude Leistikow and Edith

von Schrenck (pp. 14-15), and general interest in the Delsarte System in Berlin (p. 33) and at the Dalcroze Institute at Hellerau (p. 40). Also mentioned is Claudia Issatchencko who collaborated in a school with Edith Von Schrenck and "adhered to ideals of classical gymnastics and Delsarte traditions." (p. 40).

The influence of American Delsarteans--and their writings--has been a significant influence on physical culture and dance on both sides of the Atlantic. Steele Mackaye, the first American to come into contact with the Delsarte System made a crucial contribution for its future importance in the development of modern dance. While his Aesthetic Gymnastics developed to their fullest extent in the United States, they were first introduced abroad in the classes of Delsarte himself. The Russells tried, but failed to establish the system in England. The greatest contribution of Henrietta was in the context of Denishawn many years later. That influence also traveled abroad as Ted Shawn's book on Delsarte became a major source for European as well as American dance historians. After the turn of the century, American Delsartean ideas and literature were spreading throughout Eastern and Central Europe, although there is still no indication of interest in England. France, also, has been amazingly disinterested in her native son and his ideas until the last few years when a few French enthusiasts have resurrected Delsarte and mounted a major exhibition in his honor.[30] As a final example of the American connection, almost all Delsartean archival material is in the United States--his own papers, in fact at Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge. So, much of the material for this important exhibition also traveled abroad--from the United States to France.

NOTES

[1]For information on Delsarte's life and theories, see: Angelique Arnaud, Francois Del Sarte; Ses decouvertes en esthetique, sa science, sa methods (Paris, 1882); M. L'Abbe Delaumosne, Pratique de L'art Oratoire de Delsarte (Paris: Joseph Albanel, Libraire, 1874); Alfred Giraudet, Mimique, Physionomie et Geste, Methode Pratique apres le systeme de F. Del Sarte (Paris: Ancienne Maison Quantin, 1895); The Delsarte System of Oratory, 4th ed. (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1893), which includes translations of Arnaud, Delaumosne, the writings of Delsarte himself, and others; Myra White Harang, "The Public Career of Francois Delsarte," M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge (1945).

[2]Quoted in Delsarte System of Oratory, p. 466.

[3]Ibid. p. 464.

[4]For Maykaye's biography, see Percy Mackaye, Epoch; The Life of Steele Mackaye, Genius of the Theatre, in Relation to His Time and Contemporaries 2 vols (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927).

[5]Percy Mackaye I, 91.

[6]Steele Mackaye undated letter to Mary Medberry Mackaye in Delsarte Archive, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Box 14, Folder 156.

[7]William R. Alger, "The Aesthetic Gymnastics of Delsarte," unpublished mss., Delsarte Archive, LSU, Box 9, Folder 121. Also published in Werner's Magazine 16 (Jan. 1894).

[8]E. Miriam Coyriere, "Mme. Gerardy's Visit to America," Werner's Voice Magazine 14 (April 1892): 103; "Delsartism in America," Werner's Voice Magazine 14 (March 1892):59-64.

[9]"Lewis Baxter Monroe," Werner's Voice Magazine 11 (Sept. 1889):169-170; Mary S. Thompson, "Reminiscences of Lewis B. Monroe," Werner's Voice Magazine 14 (Feb. 1892):38-39.

[10]Biographical information from the Henrietta Hovey materials in the Richard Hovey archive at Dartmouth College; and Allan Houston Macdonald, Richard Hovey, Man and Craftsman (n.p.: Duke University Press, 1957).

[11]Frederic Sanburn, comp. A Delsartean Scrap-book; Health, Personality, Beauty, House Decoration, etc. With Preface by Walter Crane. 11th ed. (New York: Lovell, Gestefeld, 1890).

[12]"The Spread of Delsarte," Werner's Voice Magazine 11 (May 1889):90-92.

[13]"Occasional Notes," Pall Mall Gazette XLIII, no. 6641; "East and West," Dramatic Review III(75):229.

[14]Pall Mall Gazette XLIV, no. 6670 (8-2-1886):3-4.

[15]The Era 48, no. 2498 (8-7-1886):11; Court Journal (8-7-1886):937.

[16]Dramatic Review IV, 83 (8-28-1886):46.

[17]"Spread of Delsartism," 91-92.

[18]"'Phedre' in Fun," The Era 50, 2587 (4-21-1888):8.

[19]Dramatic Review (4-28-1888):124.

[20]The Era 50, 2587 (4-21-1888):8.

[21]Dramatic Review (4-28-1888):134.

[22]Ted Shawn, Every Little Movement: A Book about Francois Delsarte (Pittsfield, MA: Eagle Printing Co., 1954).

[23]For example, Jacques Baril, La Danse Moderne (Paris, Editions Vigot, 1977), pp. 362-376; Paul Bourcier, Histoire de la danse en Occident (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1978), pp. 227-231; Odette Joyeux, Le XXe siecle de la danse (Paris: Hachette, 1981), pp. 45-63.

[24](Berlin: Kulturverlag-Schlachtensee). I am grateful to Nancy de Wilde for bringing this work to my attention.

[25](Berlin: Kulturverlag-Schlachtensee, date unknown). This volume is advertised in the back of the other and mentioned in various other literature.

[26](St. Petersburg: Izdanie Apollona).

[27]Saga Mirjam Ambegaokar, "Maggie Gripenberg: A Finnish Pioneer in Modern Dance," M.A. Thesis, University of California, Riverside (1985), pp. 133-135.

[28]"Le systeme du geste selon Francois Delsarte par Mme Tels," Archives Internationales de la Dance, Special number. 3rd year (11-1-1935):6-7; "La formation de la personnalite par Mme Mila Cirul," op.cit., 20-21.

[29]J. W. F. Werumeus Buning, Dansen en Danseressen (Amsterdan: Em. Queridos Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1926. I am grateful to Leoni Werlemann for bringing this book to my attention.

[30]Francois Delsarte, 1811-1871: Sources - Pensee. Catalogue of Exposition at the Museum of Toulon, France, March 21-May 14, 1991. Chateauvallon: Theatre National de la Danse et de l'Image, 1991.

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THE NEW YORK NEGRO BALLET IN GREAT BRITAIN

Dawn Lille Horwitz

In fall, 1957, the New York Negro Ballet undertook an extensive tour of Great Britain, dancing in England, Scotland and Wales. Their London season was canceled, as was a planned tour of the continent, but their performances throughout the English provinces represented a unique exposure for their audiences to what was then an equally unique phenomenon in the United States -- a company of black dancers, all classically trained, with the women dancing on point. This paper will deal with that tour and its relationship to the emergence and eventual demise of the company.

The New York Negro Ballet began as a small group of black dancers, all of whom found themselves studying with Maria Nevelska, a former member of the Bolshoi, who had a studio at #605 Carnegie Hall. The original group of six -- Ward Flemyng, Thelma Hill, Anthony Basse, Charles Neal, Betty Ann Thompson, Cleo Quitman -- would take regular classes six days a week and then find a studio in which they would rehearse on Sunday.

Ward Flemyng took charge of organizing their performances. Betty Ann Thompson recalls that a cousin of his owned a nightclub in upstate New York at which they performed. She isn't even sure they had a name at that time although she recalls Doris Humphrey coming in to critique them.[1] Cleo Quitman remembers a performance at Brandon House, probably in late 1954.[2] Originally Mme. Nevelska either created or reconstructed all the choreography for them. By May 1955, when they were known as Les Ballets Negres and performed at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, they had added two more dancers from Nevelska's classes, Michaelyn Jackson and Theodore Crum. The program for this "season" does not list any one individual as being in charge, nor does it list an artistic director.[3] The four pieces in the repertoire were Ballad #3, choreographed by Nevelska for 6 dancers to music by Chopin, Masquerade for 7 dancers, also by Nevelska to music by Khatchaturian, a long dramatic ballet, Barbara Allen, choreographed by Anthony Basse to music by Howard Warren, and a piece called Rompthru choreographed to Gershwin's music by Louis Johnson. It is unclear when Johnson started to work with the group but Quitman says that she personally paid him for this ballet which she remembers as being very "pretty."[4]

Walter Sorrell reviewed this program in Dance Magazine. Noting that the company was under the "leadership" of Nevelska he said that none of the dancers were mature enough and that it was "ill advised to present itself at this time."[5]

Although Sorrell also considered the performance amateurish at times, the inexperienced dancers were not. New York born Thelma Hill, who was just twenty, had originally studied at the

Metropolitan Opera, later danced with Alvin Ailey and was one of the founding members of the Clark Center. Betty Ann Thompson, also from New York, first studied at her local church with Sheldon Hoskins, a black teacher from Baltimore. She also trained under Oreste Sergievsky and attended Juilliard for two years studying with Tudor, Craske, Corvino and Limon. (She left to join the New York Negro Ballet.) Anthony Basse, from Cleveland, studied both ballet and modern dance at Karamu in that city. His interest in choreography and design emerged again many years later when he co-founded the second Ballet Trocadero and became Mara Karpova, its black rhinestone. Michaelyn Jackson was from Washington, D.C. where she had been trained at the Jones-Haywood School.[6] She also studied at the School of American Ballet with Oboukhoff and Vladimiroff. Charles "Bunky" Neal was from Detroit and it is possible that he studied ballet there with Nicholas Tsouklas. Theodore Crum, from California, at one time danced with the Hollywood Negro Ballet and probably studied at the San Francisco School of Ballet; he was an old friend of Ward Flemyng's and several dancers think their friendship began there.[7] Cleo Quitman studied ballet with Sofia Tsouklas, the wife of Nicholas, who taught Cecchetti technique, in her native Detroit. When she came to New York in 1954 at age 17, she went to study with Mattie Gabors and Alfredo Corvino at the Metropolitan Opera House. (SAB would not accept her mid-year.) Charles Neal suggested Mme. Nevelska to her. Quitman was later a guest artist with American Ballet Theatre (DeMille's Four Mary's) and the Joffrey Ballet (Loring's These Three).

Last, but far from least, was Ward (Edward) Flemyng.[8] Everyone agrees that it was his sophistication, his charm, and his ability to find people with money, to whom he would present an organized and coherent idea they then supported, that was the impetus behind the New York Negro Ballet. Born in Detroit, he studied with Nicholas Tsouklas and also at the San Francisco School of Ballet before coming to the Dunham School in New York on a scholarship. He studied with Sonia Woicikowska at Ballets Arts before going to Mme. Nevelska and had some modern and jazz training as well. He would later study in Europe and perform there widely.

Louis Johnson says that Flemyng had long dreamt of a Negro Ballet Company.[9] Described as being kind, generous, intelligent and "a fund raiser's dream,"[10] sometime in 1956, money in hand, he enlarged the company and brought in more choreographers. He was, in effect, a catalyst who coordinated the various elements while still managing to dance(although he was away frequently and others had to substitute for him at rehearsals).

The two key people recruited by Flemyng were Theodore Hancock and Lucy Thorndike. To date little is known about either. Hancock, called "Theo," was an artist, possibly in his forties at the time, who lived on East 82nd Street near the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The only description of him is that he stuttered. He had evidently inherited some money and it is possible that he

provided seed money and was the contact for Mrs. Thorndike,[11] who came from a wealthy Massachusetts family. She is remembered as a lovely lady, an old fashioned kind of patron who paid for everything and come to several studio rehearsals in New York They really served as the producers of the New York Negro Ballet. Hancock, whose name, address and telephone number was listed on mailings soliciting support for the company, was also involved in its daily business activities and is listed in all documents and programs as co-artistic director along with Flemyng, although his role was probably more that of administrator.

In a formal statement seemingly drawn up by a lawyer, he, Mrs. Thorndike (Mrs. Richard K. Thorndike), Flemyng and Alexander Piner (an accountant) are listed as Executive Directors of the company with Flemyng and Hancock further designated to implement their decisions. The artistic organization lists an Artistic Advisory Panel consisting of Bernard Johnson for costume and design, Joseph Rickard as resident choreographer, Benjamin Steinberg for music, Claudius Wilson as resident composer and Perry Watkins for design and stagecraft. The company staff consists of Flemyng as Maitre de Ballet en chef, Rickard as Maitre de Ballet, Thelma Hill as Regisseuse and Assistant to Flemyng and Charles Neal as Dancers Representative.[12]

A solicitation for funds represented the company as a corporation issuing debentures in sums of five hundred, one thousand and two thousand dollars which could be purchased at "six per cent interest per annum" and "redeemable within five years from October 1, 1956." The one page appeal ends with the following paragraph:

> The company exists and must have immediate financial help or we will lose this opportunity to show the world that out of these United States, in this exciting year of change, 1956, there can come a Negro Ballet expecting to be judged by the same standards as the great companies of the world -- one that will take its place not only in the history of the Dance, but in the history of a People.[13]

One of the ways in which Ward Flemyng quickly enlarged the company in 1956 was to invite the First Negro Classic Ballet (also known very briefly as the Hollywood Negro Ballet) and its director, Joseph Rickard, to come from Los Angeles and combine ranks. Rickard was of English-German background and had danced with the Ballet Russe. He had taught a classical ballet class at Music Town in Los Angeles where his students were predominantly black. From this came a few small concerts and in 1947 the First Negro Classic Ballet,[14] which seems to be the first time that black dancers performed on point in the United States. It has been speculated that it was Ted Crum (known as Theodore Duncan during the British tour) who brought Ward and Rickard together[15] and that the latter agreed to come because he was chronically short of money.[16]

Ironically, in the London publication Illustrated, an article entitled "Cinders In Sepia" and subheaded "Could there be a Negro Nijinsky? We may know, soon, when an all coloured classic ballet crosses that Atlantic" appeared on July 14, 1951. A two page spread of photographs of the Rickard company's production of Cinderella was shown. The accompanying text also mentioned Rickard's ballet Harlot's House which was to come to Britain in 1957. This group never made it to Europe, nor did Rickard, although a few of his dancers did come with the New York Negro Ballet: Guy Allison, Patricia Griffith, Carol Ann Wise and Graham Johnson. Bernice Johnson, who was a bit older than the rest and Rickard's "star" rehearsed in New York for a while but then returned to California.

The company rehearsed sporadically in New York with Thelma Hill serving as rehearsal director. She has been described as having a "mind like a trap" with a "dramatic and kinetic intensity to her dancing."[17] George Chaffee, the sophisticated and French influenced teacher, was the ballet master who gave a two hour company class every day at his studio, where they also rehearsed.

The new arrivals joined the eight dancers already mentioned. The other new recruits ultimately numbered twelve. Barbara Wright came from the Jones-Haywood School in Washington D.C., had studied at the School of American Ballet summers and finally came to New York to enroll there. She took classes with Nevelska eventually and thinks it was Michaelyn Jackson who brought her into the New York Negro Ballet. Helen Taitt was from British Guyana. She was the only black at the School of American Ballet when Louis Johnson arrived there. Remembered by many as a most proper lady, she is also described as being "old fashioned" and "Pavlova-like" in appearance.[18]

Eugene Sagan (later Gene Hill Sagan) studied with Michael Brigante in California and with Igor Schwezoff and William Dollar at the Ballet Theatre School. Then he went to Mme. Nevelska for the bulk of his training. (Thelma Hill, a good friend brought him there.) Dolores Brown started her training with Marion Cuyjet in Philadelphia. She also took class with Antony Tudor at the Ballet Guild in that city, studied with Lisan Kay and Vladimir Doukodousky at Ballet Arts, spent a year at the School of American Ballet and took class with George Chaffee. It was the latter who gave her name to Flemyng. Bernard Johnson joined so early that some think of him as part of the original group. From Detroit, he studied ballet there with Maryann Baylor, Nicholas and Sofia Tsouklas (who taught black students in a separate class)[19] and Gertrude Jorry, a British dancer. He came to New York in 1954 to study art and ended up taking class with Aubrey Hitchens and then Mme. Nevelska. Frances Jimenez was from Philadelphia where she trained with Marion Cuyjet and also took class with Antony Tudor at the Philadelphia Ballet Guild. Delores Brown, a friend, gave her name to Flemyng who went down and auditioned her. Sylvester Campbell, who danced as Sylvester Briscoe during the British tour, was trained in

Washington, D.C. and turned down a scholarship at the School of American Ballet because he lacked the funds for room and board. Barbara Wright, his cousin, gave his name to Flemyng. Candace Caldwell, from New York, is remembered as being very pretty and was noted for her "spirited attack."[20] She came in to replace Barbara Wright who had gotten into the Broadway show, Jamaica. Roland Fraser, "Rollie," later joined the ballet company in Cologne. Yvonne McDowell, born in New York, was fifteen when she came. She studied at the Ballet Theatre School and with George Chaffee. Remembered as a beautiful "powerhouse"[21] of a dancer she later studied at the Joffrey School and committed suicide at age twenty three. Georgia Collins, recalled as a sensuous dancer, was later associated with Alvin Ailey.

This group -- which included a large percentage of the black ballet dancers in the United States at the time, most of whom either knew or knew of each other -- settled down to rehearsing at George Chaffee's studio, or, sometimes, at Mme. Nevelska's. Ward Flemyng and Theo Hancock were busy trying to get backers; sometimes the group would rehearse for a couple of months and then disband for a brief period. George Chaffee gave a two hour company class, usually accompanied by Claudius Wilson, a composer and musician who had come from California with Rickard, prior to rehearsals, which were run mostly by Thelma Hill. At some point Janet Collins was hired as a "consultant." She came to a few rehearsals and Delores Brown remembers that she talked about "arms and motivation."[22]

It was not long before Rickard began to be unhappy with his role in the company. He was really second to Chaffee, a position he probably did not anticipate sharing; plus he came from a Ballet Russe background. As Delores Brown puts it, "Nobody knew who Joseph Rickard was and very honestly treated him like a local dance teacher from the sticks. He departed after that first summer."[23]

The company made only a few appearances before the British Isles. One was at the Seventh Annual Choreographers Night presented by The New York Ballet Club on May 19, 1957. Ten members of the group appeared in Louis Johnson's Folk Impressions to music by Morton Gould. Another time, aboard the S.S. Flandre, Delores Brown and Guy Allison danced the "Don Quichotte" pas de deux and Thelma Hill, Bernard Johnson and Theodore Crum performed excerpts from Raisin' Cane, choreographed by Graham Johnson to music composed by Claudius Wilson. The latter was the pianist and Thelma Hill sang.

When the New York Negro Ballet left for London in August 1957, there were twenty one dancers (in addition to Barbara Wright, Michaelyn Jackson elected to stay behind).

The company was brought to Great Britain by Peter Daubeny, a well known impresario who was later knighted. They spent their first four weeks in London where they rehearsed and took a daily class with Michel de Lutry. Born in France, this ballet master had studied with Egorova and had danced in Paris before joining the

International Ballet in London after the war. He later taught in Germany and Switzerland. Whether de Lutry was hired simply to bring an outside professional eye to the company or whether the exchange law required them to have at least one teacher from the country is not clear. Although Frances Jimenez feels he focused on the strongest dancers and made others insecure and resentful, Bernard Johnson cites him as a wonderful teacher who gave them an understanding of the force and strength needed for classical dancing. (He made the men do thirty two entrechats dix at the end of the class.) They worked on excerpts from Sleeping Beauty, Giselle and other classical ballets they had never done before. He did not go on tour with them, due to previous commitments, and Jack Carter replaced him. Carter had trained at Sadlers Wells and with Preobrajenska, had danced with the Original Ballet Russe, Ballet Rambert and The London Festival Ballet, and from 1965 to 1970 was the chief choreographer for the latter.

Through Mrs. Thorndike's generosity, this month in London, on full rehearsal salary, allowed the group to develop a working schedule, create a performing harmony and adjust to a foreign country. They had costumes and some new sets made. Funds were also provided for rehearsal clothes and point shoes. In connection with the latter, Frances Jimenez says:

> ... the English mentality was very much like the Americans during that time. ... we sent our shoe sizes and a cast of everyone's feet so that when we arrived there we could have our shoes made by Freed or whomever we wanted. ... They never made the first pair of shoes ... because they did not believe that black girls were dancing on point. That was just on the photograph, but it did not exist.[24]

The repertory they brought with them consisted of six works: Raisin' Cane, Folk Impressions, Waltze, Harlot's House, Mardi Gras and Theme and Rhapsody.

Raisin" Cane, the Graham Johnson piece with music written and played by Wilson, who was originally from New Orleans, was a three part story ballet. Act one takes place in a village outside of New Orleans after the croppers have cut the sugar cane. They elect Tom to go to the city to oversee the transaction of selling it. Act two is set in a nightclub in New Orleans where the innocent Tom is taken after his business is completed. It is the typical tale of the innocent country boy taken in by a cast of city characters, among them a certain Blossom, who takes his money. In Act three it is somehow returned back to the village. Johnson himself danced Tom, Yvonne McDowell was his village sweetheart, and Cleo Quitman, the seductive Blossom in a cast of eleven, which doubled up on some roles. Quitman's outstanding memory of this ballet is the wonderful costume Bernard Johnson designed for her, with its wide hat dripping feathers.

Folk Impressions, a piece by Louis Johnson to music by Morton Gould, had also been performed earlier by the company. In it "the choreographer [is] inspired by the composer's impressions of American folk themes and has created five different and symbolic movements."[25] "Proclamation" for a soloist (a preacher) and the company was followed by "Sermon" for eleven dancers. "A little bit of sin," also a solo, was next. Then came "Shortnin' Bread," a comic duet, "Protest" by the ensemble and a leader and finally "Jubilee" danced by all. It was basically an abstract work with new settings by Richard Lake, an English designer. Johnson, a product of the Jones-Haywood School in Washington was an outstanding dancer as well as a choreographer. He had studied at the School of American Ballet and with Dollar, Tudor and Craske and had danced in the New York City Ballet's production of Ballade (Robbins) prior to becoming involved with the group.

Waltze, subtitled "A Romantic Ballet," to music from the opera Madame Angot's Daughter by Alexander Charles Lecoq, was his second work on the program. This was a classical abstract ballet for twelve dancers, five of whom were danced by alternate casts. The four parts were a pas de six, for six women, a pas de trois for two women and a man, a pas de deux and an ensemble Finale.

Two of Joseph Rickard's ballets remained after he left: Harlot's House with music by Claudius Wilson and Theme and Rhapsody, which used music by Brahms. Harlot's House was based on the Oscar Wilde poem of the same name, which Wilson set to music and then showed to Rickard. It seems to have been one of Rickard's earlier creations, since it is mentioned in the London article of 1951.[26] The story, occurring at the turn of the century, has two strolling lovers stopping before a brothel, attracted by the music and sounds from within. The girl is torn between entering the house or remaining with her lover. The cast of thirteen also includes three children, a blind man, the Madam, a novice and the harlot and her boyfriend.

Theme and Rhapsody, subtitled "an abstract ballet in a neo-classical style" began with a theme for six which was followed by an all male pas de trois, after which came a second pas de trois for two women and a man, a pas de six for three couples, and, finally a Finale.

Mardi Gras, choreographed by Ernest Parham, a member of the Dunham company, had music by Les Baxter and was a carnival ballet for the entire company, which at least one members recalls as "classical ballet with overtones of primitive and Latin."[27] It included a Prologue with a bird as the symbol of Mardi Gras, a Quadrille, a Carnivale scene with a flirt, a Love Dance, and a Ritual by a leader, an ancestral figure and a group possessed.

One bona fide classical piece was added to the repertory in London: The Bluebird pas de deux from Sleeping Beauty, danced by Bernard Johnson and Delores Brown. Michel de Lutry set it on them.

(Johnson says Peter Daubeny personally paid him to do this.) Johnson had learned a version from Aubrey Hitchins earlier but he says that this new staging was the one where they were both birds and the female really danced. He adds that Brown taught him to partner while they were doing it. This was seen for the first time in Edinburgh, the third city on the tour.[28]

An article in the October issue of the British publication Dance and Dancers announced that Daubeny was presenting the company on a tour of the British provinces "prior to a London season and a continental tour." The author states that Negroes in ballet are not absurd, that they have a greater sense of natural rhythm and "there is no reason why it should not be disciplined into ballet form." Noting that the aim of the company is not to confine its work to classical dance, but to combine it with the Negro heritage, and that the two directors planned to recruit well known choreographers, composers and designers it says, "The New York Negro ballet amounts to a sincere attempt at establishing the Negro as an important contributor to the art of ballet as a whole."[29]

The British public had seen many black dancers going back to the mid-nineteenth century and William Henry Lane ("Juba"). In 1946 Berto Pasuka, who had been born in Jamaica, founded and choreographed for the Ballets Negres which toured Britain and Europe before folding in 1952. In spite of its name this company was not based on classical ballet and its repertory was rooted in African and West Indian myths. In 1952 Daubeny brought the Dunham company for a successful tour. But a classical company of black dancers was entirely new.

The tour that Peter Daubeny arranged began in Glasgow on September 8th. Through reviews, the group can then be followed to Newcastle, Edinburgh, Sheffield, Liverpool, Leeds and Cardiff. They spent one week in each city, with the seventh day reserved for travel, doing two performances an evening, at 5:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m., plus a matinee on Wednesdays. Although Manchester and Nottingham have been mentioned as being part of the tour, no record has been found of appearances there. The program in each city was the same; it consisted of the entire repertoire. The Bluebird pas de deux was performed in Edinburgh and Sheffield and there is no reason to assume that it was not repeated for the remainder of the tour, although it is sometimes not mentioned. The performers were accompanied by a full orchestra and for Raisin' Cane and Harlot's House by Claudius Wilson on the piano. Only Mardi Gras used recorded music.[30]

The reviews -- and there were always several in each city, plus a score of pre-performance photos -- are the only written indication of the audience and critical reaction. They were generally most enthusiastic, stressing the vitality, the energy, the excitement of this most" entertaining" and "exotic" company. Bernard Johnson's costumes were universally praised, the playing of the orchestra was considered mediocre and the performing of

Claudius Wilson was greatly appreciated -- his music less so. The classical offerings and technique were deemed successful and more than adequate but seemed to dim next to the rhythmic and sinuous movement seen in the ballets more closely linked to the black experience. In general it was the performers with their loose style and agility who were appreciated, rather than the choreography, and their talent in mime was observed by many.

In Glasgow one critic wrote:

> It is different, not only as American entertainment, but as ballet. The choreographic art ... seems to owe as much to the African ancestry of the dancers as to the European ballet tradition they had assimilated, and while the coalescence may not be complete, the result is something final.[32]

Another critic observed that they had mastered classical technique in detail "without being able to touch fine spun elegance and without a prima ballerina."[33]

In Newcastle they were described as "a superb company ... [whose] joyous offerings brought many curtain calls and bouquets." Admitting that the sight of "Negroes in classical ballet is disconcerting at first" the writer said the technical accomplishments caused this feeling to dissipate quickly although "it achieves its best work in the ballets which ... give full opportunity to the sensuous movements of the dancers."[33]

One critic in Edinburgh found the company exciting to see though lacking in technical perfection and at their best in "items more closely associated with their native traditions."[34] Another, while admiring their technical skill, deplored the lack of good choreography. One writer observed as much mime as ballet and a "slight woolliness in some of the classical items" but concluded, "If the New York Ballet Company's [sic] aim is to show that negro dancers can perform in classical ballet then the production ... last night proved that the experiment has achieved a large degree of success."[35]

The critics devoted more space to what they saw as typically "Negro" ballets: Mardi Gras, Raisin' Cane, Harlot's House and, to a lesser degree, Folk Impressions. The dancers mentioned most often were Delores Brown, Theodore Duncan, Cleo Quitman, Bernard Johnson, Thelma Hill and Yvonne McDowell.

Mardi Gras (Ernest Parham) closed the performance, and, judging by the critical reaction, this was a very wise decision. One review called it "sheer spectacular agility ... like a tribal dance from darkest Africa ... ."[36] Another "As brilliant a colour spectacle as I hope to see [it] gives the entire company full scope for their dash, verve and vitality, the men in particular ... ."[37] Everyone noted the exuberance and gaiety of this colorful work,

many attributing it to something particularly negro. Albert Mackie in Edinburgh observed that, although it resembled African ballet at times, it showed the discipline of the classic style. Following this same idea Robins Milar in Glasgow wrote:

> To their classical movements they united Negro activity with rhythms inspired by Les Baxter's music, much of it sheer Africa ... If all had been as brilliant they would be high up in the ballet league.[38]

Raisin' Cane (Graham Johnson) seems to have been the next favorite. Mackie was particularly impressed by Frances Jimenez, as the Lady of the Evening, a "lanky spider in black and yellow [who] is the sensation of this highly imaginative ballet."[39] Others noted the rhythm and flowing movements, the humor, the excellent miming, the "wit and grace of the slender Cleo Quitman"[40] as the siren Blossom. In Harlot's House (Joseph Rickard) mime as a principle feature was also noted. Both of these works dated back to the Hollywood Negro Ballet and had originally come to New York with the California group. Claudius Wilson's music for them was not generally liked, with one critic calling it "imitative, discordant and uninspired."[41]

The fourth of the so-called "southern" ballets, Louis Johnson's Folk Impressions, met with less overall enthusiasm with one critic saying the "dull patterns and static poses spoiled what might have been an interesting experiment,"[42] yet this work, which was probably more subtle and less like a Hollywood movie (to which some of the reviews favorably compared the company) also received much praise. A Newcastle critic found it most impressive of all, making a tremendous impact even without a story line.[43] The comic pas de deux, Shortnin Bread, was singled out and one writer observed that this work was the spiritual -- prayer, sin, forgiveness -- without which no negro ballet would be complete![44]

The two "classical" ballets, Waltz and Theme and Rhapsody received considerably less attention although the former was praised a bit more as a "pleasing" divertissement in yellow. Theme and Rhapsody was described as a well danced, neo classical ballet in blue.

Bluebird, the one "genuine" classical work on the program, was given attention in photographs, but little in print, leading one to wonder if perhaps unconsciously the critics and audiences did not wish to really accept the fact of a black dance company performing the classics. One Glasgow critic said they were "without the rigid purity and negative restraint we expect of classical ballet ... the jazz rhythms kept coming incongruously through" and added that "these apparent defects became virtues in the folk sequences."[45] Most revealing perhaps was the comment from an Edinburgh critic:

> Ably as these dancers can comport themselves in traditional classical ballet, it is a pity that they should waste their time on what is not really their element.[46]

He then goes on to discuss Raisin' Cane and Harlot's House. Peter Daubeny chose not to present the company in London, in spite of several announcements to the contrary at the beginning of the tour, nor did they go to Europe. Instead they spent an additional three weeks in London (possibly because the directors were seeking other presenters) and then returned to New York. To date there is no indication of what really prompted Daubeny to make this decision, since most of the press reviews were very good.

Bernard Johnson, in reflecting on it over thirty years later, feels that in 1957 laymen were simply not prepared to see a company of black ballet dancers, and that audiences (and, as the quotes above indicate, the critics) felt that Mardi Gras was the kind of piece they should be doing. Hence the popular audience did not come out and the box office was down despite the favorable reviews. He feels Daubeny's decision was a purely financial one, and there is no evidence to indicate otherwise. What might also have added to this appraisal, however, is the fact that the original group which had trained and danced together, was expanded rapidly and that prior to arriving in London they had not rehearsed for a month.[47]

When the company returned to New York several of its members did not. Cleo Quitman and Bernard Johnson put together a blues and African act with which they toured the continent for two years. Roland Fraser joined the Cologne Ballet, the first black dancer to do so. Sylvester Campbell started doing weekly shows for BBC television, danced with Anton Dolin's groups and spent twelve years with the Royal Netherlands Ballet, where he danced in all the classics. Gene Hill Sagan returned to the United States briefly and then performed in Paris, Copenhagen, and with several companies in Germany before spending ten years in Israel as a performer and choreographer. Frances Jimenez got into a show called "Harlem Heatwave" immediately after her return to New York. It opened in London where she studied for a while with Marie Rambert. She ended up with an agent in Milan and performed for several years throughout Italy as well as other countries. Ward Flemyng spent the bulk of his career after the New York Negro Ballet in Europe. He danced in ten different musicals in Germany, did a considerable amount of television work there (as well as in France, Belgium and Italy), performed in nightclubs in Paris and London and choreographed several shows including a Carmen Jones which toured Germany and Switzerland.

The company returned to New York in November of 1957 where they continued to take class and rehearse. Then one day they went to a rehearsal and were told the studio was not booked. The problem was money; more specifically their major patron, Lucy

Thorndike, died. At this point Graham Johnson and Carol Ann Wise returned to California and Frances Jimenez to Europe. This was roughly early 1958. About the same time the Foundation for American Dance, a tax exempt organization, sent out a large (17" x 22") two page mailing inviting individuals to be patrons of the New York Negro Ballet for sums ranging from $500 to $5,000. Theodore Hancock was listed as the sole director and Howard Squadron as the lawyer.[48]

Although Ward Flemyng's Curriculum Vitae from a later date lists performances at several colleges and at the White Barn Theatre in Connecticut[49] there is only one documented performance by the company in 1958. This was at the 92nd Street "Y" on June 22, and it was listed as Ballet Americana "formerly the New York Negro Ballet." The seventeen dancer group had as its core the former company members less those mentioned as remaining in Europe or going back there or to California, plus five new participants. Thelma Hill and Ward Flemyng are listed as artistic directors and dancers. The program included Divertissement choreographed by Louis Johnson to Lecoq's music (probably Waltze renamed), Mardi Gras, a Marvin Gordon work called The Strolling Players to 13th century music, the pas de deux from Don Quixote staged by Anatol Vilzak and Anthony Basse's Barbara Allen, first seen in 1955.

Doris Hering's review in the August issue of Dance Magazine praised the "landslide pioneering job" the company had done but found the repertory superficial and no group cohesion. She found Basse's work "the most ambitious effort" and Johnson's "charming," concluding that the company "danced with zest and high energy ... yet to be cast in the careful mould of ballet."[50]

On May 28, 1959, a group called coffee concerts presented "soloists of ballet americana" at St. Martins, on Lenox Avenue and 122nd Street. The seven dancers, Guy Allison, Anthony Basse, Delores Brown, Don Dorsey, Eugen Sagon [sic], Helen Taitt and Elizabeth Thompson danced in nine pieces, five choreographed by Basse, one by Ernest Parham, one by Helen Taitt, one by Eugene Sagan and one (a pas de deux from Sleeping Beauty) staged by Guy Allison. Elizabeth Thompson says that Basse was really the force behind Ballet Americana at this point. By 1960 the remaining group finally drifted apart.

Politically the United States was slowly making progress ir the area of civil rights during this period. The first Supreme Court decision against segregation in the public schools had beer made in 1954. Martin Luther King began his protests in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955, the same year Rosa Parks sat in the front of a bus. By 1957, with Dwight Eisenhower the new President, Althea Gibson won at Wimbledon and national troupe were sent in to enforce integration at the University of Alabama.

In dance Janet Collins first performed at the Metropolita Opera House in 1952, Raven Wilkenson became part of the Balle

Russe de Monte Carlo in 1955 (although the audience did not know she was black) and Arthur Mitchell was taken into the New York City Ballet in 1956. (Prior to that Arthur Bell had danced in Illuminations with the company and Talley Beatty and Betty Nichols had danced briefly with Ballet Society.) Add to this the few black ballet dancers with the Philadelphia Ballet Guild under Antony Tudor, and there is no more.

The "dream" became someone else's when Arthur Mitchell founded the Dance Theatre of Harlem in 1968. But the New York Negro Ballet came first and it must have been exciting to see them that fall of 1957 in Great Britain.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] Interview with Betty Ann Thompson, by Dawn Lille Horwitz, NYC, December 11, 1989

[2] Interview with Cleo Quitman, by Constance Valis Hill, NYC, November 2, 1989

[3] Joe Nash Black Dance Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

[4] Cleo Quitman

[5] Walter Sorrell, Dance Magazine, July 1955, p. 82

[6] Founded in 1940 by Doris Jones and Claire Haywood, this school still offers a strict classical curriculum.

[7] No definitive biographical material has been found on either of these men to date

[8] Several years later he changed the spelling of his last name to Fleming.

[9] Interview with Louis Johnson, by Dawn Lille Horwitz, NYC, June 19, 1990

[10] Interview with Delores Brown Abelson, by Dawn Lille Horwitz, NYC, October 17, 1989

[11] This suggestion came from Bernard Johnson in a telephone conversation July 1, 1991, reconfirming what Betty Ann Thompson suggested.

[12] Joe Nash Black Dance Collection

[13] Sidney Offer is listed as the corporation's attorney, Alexander Pinter its accountant, and Theodore Hancock as its president. Another flyer soliciting funds for a transcontinental American tour in the name of the Foundation for American Dance lists the company lawyer as Howard Squadron. Joe Nash Black Dance Collection.

[14] James Truitte, who was one of these students for about a year and a half, says he was not a great teacher. Contrary to what has been reported Truitte was not an advisor to the Hollywood Negro Ballet. Telephone conversation with James Truitte June 25, 1991.

[15] Betty Ann Thompson

[16] Cleo Quitman

[17] Delores Brown. The second description is from Selma Jeanne Cohen, Dance Magazine, April 1960, p.29

[18] Telephone interview with Barbara Wright by Dawn Lille Horwitz, July 8, 1991

[19] Bernard Johnson

[20] Selma Jeanne Cohen, op.cit., p. 29

[21] Interview with Sylvester Campbell by Dawn Lille Horwitz, Baltimore, MD, May 22, 1991

[22] Delores Brown

[23] Ibid.

[24] Interview with Frances (Franca) Jimenez by Dawn Lille Horwitz via telephone November 4,1990

[25] Program note,Kings Theatre, Glasgow. Schomburg Center.

[26] This information is stated in the Illustrated (London) article of July 14, 1951

[27] Bernard Johnson

[28] There is a telegram to Delores Brown from Theodore Hancock, sent to her in Edinburgh and wishing her luck in the ballet. Joe Nash Collection.

[29] "Negroes in Ballet," Dance and Dancers, October 1957, p. 9

[30] A review in a Liverpool newspaper (unnamed, unsigned and undated) gives this information by saying it spoiled the ballet. Joe Nash Collection.

[31] "REA," Evening Times, Glasgow, September 10, 1957

[32] Robins Milar, Scottish Daily Express (Glasgow), September 10, 1957

[33] The Northern Echo (Newcastle). September 17, 1957

[34] Edinburgh Evening News, September 24, 1957

[35] Unknown author, unknown newspaper, Edinburgh, September 24, 1957

[36] A.H., no newspaper, city or date

[37] The Scotsman, Edinburgh, September 24, 1957

[38] Robins Milar, op.cit.

[39] Albert Mackie, Scottish Daily Express, Edinburgh, September 24, 1957

[40] The Scotsman, September 24, 1957

[41] ADM, Edinburgh, nd.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Journal and North Mail, Newcastle, September 17, 1957

[44] Liverpool. No author, newspaper or date

[45] D McK, Glasgow. No newspaper or date

[46] "Our Ballet Critic," The Scotsman, Edinburgh, September 24, 1957

[47] Bernard Johnson

[48] Joe Nash Black Dance Collection

[49] Ibid.

[50] Doris Hering, "Ballet Americana," Dance Magazine, August 1958, p. 57

MIXED BLESSINGS: ISADORA DUNCAN'S LEGACY TO BRITISH EARLY MODERN DANCE[1]

JUNE LAYSON

Isadora Duncan (1887-1927) has an undisputed place in the history of dance. She is regarded as one of the founders of modern dance, the first alternative theatre dance genre to ballet. During her lifetime it was her passionate performances and extravagant lifestyle which attracted attention but it is her pioneering choreographic ideals and innovations that have ensured her pre-eminence in the evolution of dance as a theatre form.

It is perhaps unsurprising that Duncan's sporadic performances in her own country did not constitute a major identifiable input to the development of American modern dance other than in ideological terms. In Europe, however, where as an expatriate she spent most of her career, it could be expected that her influence was direct and widespread. There is, for example, evidence that Duncan inspired Maggie Gripenberg, one of the pioneers of modern dance in Finland[2]. Nevertheless it appears that Duncan's most immediate and lasting influence was in the UK where her performances and iconoclastic choreography inspired the development of a distinct British school of early modern dance.

The work of the major British early modern dance pioneers, Madge Atkinson (1885-1970), Ruby Ginner (1886-1978) and Margaret Morris (1891-1980), is outlined in an earlier paper by the author[3].

The focus of this paper is to identify those elements of Duncan's work which the British early modern dancers incorporated into their own styles, as well as those they disregarded, and to compare the growth of modern dance in the UK with its counterpart in central Europe. On the basis of this some proposals are made concerning the historical developments that occurred.

Duncan's choreographic innovations were rooted in an idiosyncratic mix of notions such as classicism, romanticism, naturalism and expressionism. In this respect although she is regarded as one of the great pioneers of modern dance she was not a modernist per se. Rather she was at a nascent stage of literally being born into modernism. She espoused 18th and 19th century ideas of classicism in her choice of music, although much of the subject matter and treatment of her choreography could be termed "neo-classical". Similarly, her adherence to romanticism, again in her use of music but particularly in her beliefs in the sanctity of the artist's creativity, refers back to pre-20th century concerns yet also acts as a precursor to the importance of individual expression within modernism.

Duncan's commitment to the twin notions of nature and naturalism is evident in her choice of choreographic material and her use of 'natural' bodily movement. While the natural world has long provided artists with thematic ideas Duncan also found resonance for these aspects of her work in the various "back to nature" movements which prevailed in Europe during the first quarter or so of

the 20th century.

Thus in her work Duncan provided the British early modern dancers with a wealth of new but related ideas.

Madge Atkinson's "Natural Movement" school took its starting point in the use of the body in a natural, unenforced manner. The technical basis of the work is akin to that of Duncan's in that it is "below the surface" and not immediately apparent. What is evident in a natural movement trained dancer is a lyrical and harmonious style sensitive to musical structure, one of Duncan's hallmarks.

Ruby Ginner founded "Revived Greek Dance" later known as "Classical Greek Dance". As Duncan had done Ginner located the mainsprings of her theories in the artefacts of ancient Greece. However, unlike Duncan, who abandoned her early intentions of reconstructing ancient Greek dance, Ginner developed a consistent style essentially Greek-based but transposed into a modern idiom.

Margaret Morris, who founded "Margaret Morris Movement" used fundamental Duncan ideas in developing a dance style which characteristically has a highly structured technique developed from Greek positions. The dance is closely allied to music and visual art and has its own aesthetic, anatomical and physiological constructs.

All the British early modern dancers based their work on Duncan's notions of the human body as being inherently beautiful, the rich source base and expressive potential of natural bodily movement, the adaptation of a Greek-derived tunic to allow freedom of movement, the use of 'serious' music for accompaniment and the commitment to an eclectic range of subject matter far beyond the traditional narratives of ballet.

Within Duncan's broad tenets the parameters of a general British early modern dance style can be discerned since Atkinson, Ginner and Morris responded to and developed those aspects with which they could readily identify. An adherence to "the classics" was a feature of the then British education system[4]. and also central to influential artists such as the Philhellenists and the Pre-Raphaelites. Furthermore, Duncan's re-affirmation of 'Nature' accorded well with prevailing British notions of the importance of the countryside (as evinced in the centrality of landscape in art) and the nostalgia for an idealised pastoral life in the face of early twentieth century technology.

However, collectively the British early modern dance pioneers did not respond in any major way to Duncan's lead by exploring contemporary social issues in their choreography. Similarly, they did not pursue the potential of dance as expression to any great extent. In addition, although the evidence is scant, it seems that a considered, British self-restraint rather than passionate personalised statements characterised their performances and those of their followers. It is evident that the particular personalities, attributes and interests of Atkinson, Ginner and Morris and the weight of British traditions and prevailing mores of the first quarter or so of the 20th century clearly and decisively shaped the nature and

development of their dance styles.

It is possible, therefore, to sustain the notion of a distinctive British early modern dance style with identifiable roots in Duncan's work but differing in many aspects both from Duncan and within itself.

Nevertheless, although the three British early modern dance pioneers choreographed and performed works of merit none of their theatre productions compared with those of Duncan in terms of significant innovations, critical acclaim, popular public success or box office receipts. Indeed the British trio's work in the theatre never assumed the over-riding importance for them as it did for Duncan. Their public performances were valid as theatre forms but at the same time were often akin to showcases and demonstrations. It was the development of their individual dance styles into coherent, codified wholes able to be taught in progressive stages that, from the early stages in the expansion of their work, assumed equal importance with their theatre concerns.

This close juxtaposing of the theatre and education is an interesting element in the links between Duncan and the British early modern dancers.

Duncan's firm belief in a dance-based education is evident in her speeches, writings and the establishment of her schools. Even so she chose, albeit reluctantly, to leave her pupils in the charge of her sister Elizabeth so that she could perform and secure the sizeable income that her educational commitments entailed. In so doing the opportunity was lost both to develop a highly structured system stemming from her methods (which could be published and used as the basis for training teachers thereby furthering the work) and to codify the Duncan technique. Of course, many elements of Duncan's work and teaching methods have survived. But these have been transmitted via her former pupils and, subsequently, successive generations, from their own education and theatre experiences rather than from a fully worked-out progressive education and training curriculum devised by Duncan herself.

In this respect Duncan sacrificed her schools and much else to her art, to her overwhelming need to choreograph and to perform. She pursued her destiny as a dance artist unremittingly and so became one of the most pioneering choreographers and consummate performers in twentieth century Western theatre dance.

In contrast Atkinson, Ginner and Morris gradually shifted the focus of their work away from the theatre to education. In their writings and contemporary sources the increasing importance of the development of their ideas into teachable styles is evident. Indeed as their work progressed more and more of their time was devoted to teaching. In particular the training of teachers, who on 'qualifying' would be able to promote the work in wider areas, was deemed a priority.

The reasons underlying the gradual shift to education-based early modern dance forms in Britain in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s are complex[5]. None of the British early modern dance forms seemed to have had the potential for

full financial success in the theatre. Possibly the advent of three rather than one distinct dance style militated against this and certainly there were elements of rivalry between the protagonists. Furthermore, no tradition of British professional dance companies existed at this time[6] although this problem had been recognised by those wishing to promote British ballet[7]. It is likely, too, that the successes of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes and the fact that British early modern dance was associated almost exclusively with women[8] were also contributing factors.

Nevertheless, it would be too simplistic to suggest that because the British early modern dance styles could not find a survival niche in the theatre context their founders exploited the education opportunities as an alternative. Atkinson, Ginner and Morris were all totally committed to the development of their work on a broad front. Less given to polemics than Duncan and evidently more practical, the three were gifted and inspirational teachers. They attracted a wide following and the development of the organisations which institutionalised their work has given them a unique place in the British dance scene[9].

A very different art scene prevailed at the same time on mainland Europe. Modernism developed apace in all its many and varied manifestations. Classicism and romanticism were swept aside in radical moves to embrace the present and to abandon the traditional. Populism replaced elitism, the artist as an individual claimed the right to a personal expression while works of art were regarded as autonomous without the necessity to rely on narrative or imposed structures.

Rudolf Laban (1879-1958), the fountainhead of central European modern dance, was a modernist in a manner not matched by Duncan. Whereas Duncan made most of her innovations at the beginning of her career in Europe and then repeated her successful choreographic and performance formula throughout the rest of her life, Laban, in true modernist vein, moved from one original breakthrough to the next. His pioneering developments in movement theory, in devising a notation system, his work in the theatre and with lay dancers, together with his later interests in the UK in education, industry and therapy, epitomise his modernism.

The works of Jooss (1901-1079) and Wigman (1886-1973), former pupils and later associates of Laban, were in marked contrast to the choreographic styles of the British early modern dancers. The lyricism and harmony of the latter was replaced by stark, expressive movement often highly dynamic and percussive. The Greek-derived tunics were deemed anachronistic and instead costumes often had futurist overtones and were made of modern materials. Masks also played an important part and the sound accompanist was created anew alongside the choreography rather than being adapted from existing scores.

Many central European dancers performed and taught in London during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Their work received limited acclaim as well as incomprehension and it also met with some hostility, possibly a residue from the 1914-1918 war. Certainly there was little or not rapport between the British and the central European schools of modern dance.

The seizing of political power in Germany by the National Socialist party in 1933 signalled the beginning of a rapid decline in central European modern dance and the dispersal of most of its advocates. Jooss accepted the offer to base his company at Dartington Hall in England and was soon in receipt of British government funding for country-wide tours. Despite such support in the late 1930s and the early war years Jooss' style of modern dance did not gain full acceptance. When Laban joined Jooss at Dartington in 1938 he innovated yet again. Laban's presence in the UK, together with co-workers such as Lisa Ullmann, acted as a boost to what was eventually termed "modern educational dance", the highly successful dance development in the British state education system.

By the end of the 1939-1945 war modern dance as a theatre form had disappeared in the UK, although paradoxically the organisations stemming from the British early modern dance pioneers and the offshoot of central European modern dance flourished in private and state education respectively. It was not until the mid-1960s, with the advent of London Contemporary Dance Theatre and the reformation of the then Ballet Rambert as a modern dance company, that the genre took root once more.

On the basis of this brief overview it is possible to make some considered, though cautious, proposals. It is suggested that if British early modern dance had adopted the more modern expressionist aspects of Duncan's work and/or had been influenced by central European modern dance then it is likely that a European form of modern dance would have survived the 1939-1945 war. The UK was the only European country with a recognisable school of early modern dance not to have been over-run by the Nazis. If a European modern dance form had come through the war years intact it is probable that it would have developed into a very potent and complementary force to American modern dance which, through its own protagonists, evolved along different although parallel lines.

Duncan had indeed bequeathed mixed blessings.

Notes

1. "Mixed Blessings" was presented at the conference in the form of a commentary on a visual presentation. All the slides shown were from materials in the possession of the author with the exception of three slides of Natural Movement (which were from the Natural Movement Archive in the National Resource Centre for Dance, University of Surrey, UK) and two of Classical Greek Dance (which were from the personal collection of Susan Mitchell-Smith, Chair ISTD Classical Greek Dance Association Branch). The paper forms part of a planned publication on British early modern dance.

2. Ambegaokar, Saga, Maggie Gripenberg (1881-1976): a Finnish Pioneer in Modern Dance in Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars 1987, pp 75-84.

3. Layson, June, Isadora Duncan: Her influences on the Development of British Early Modern Dance in Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars 1987,

pp 126-132. The bibliography includes references to these three dance styles which survive today in education and community contexts rather than in the theatre.

4. Greek and/or Latin was required for entrance to University.

5. Margaret Morris did sustain a theatre interest at the same time as developing other related aspects of her work. She formed the Celtic Ballet in 1947 and founded the Scottish National Ballet in 1960. The term "ballet" in the titles belies the modern dance basis of these companies' styles.

6. The London Music Halls, particularly the Alhambra and the Empire, had their own small dance "companies" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

7. This led to the forming of the Camargo Society in 1930.

8. Although both boys and girls were taught the British early modern dance styles only Margaret Morris actively involved adult men in her work.

9. Natural Movement and Revived Greek Dance/Classical Greek Dance became part of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing (ISTD) in 1925 and 1951 respectively. Margaret Morris Movement developed links with the Basic Physical Training movement as well as with the physiotherapy profession.

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Salome Unveiled:
Imperialism and the Dancing Body in England

Amy Koritz

Maud Allan, a Canadian born Californian who had launched her dancing career in Germany, far exceeded the popularity of other "barefoot" dancers who performed in England in the first decade of this century. She enjoyed an unprecedented run of over 250 performances at the Palace Theatre in 1908, due in large part to the notoriety of her depiction of Salome in a dance called "The Vision of Salome." Descriptions of this dance by critics and others, including Allan herself, reveal an interaction of racial and gender stereotyping that works to reinforce an imperialist ideology. This imperialist ideology in turn depended on a rhetoric that categorized as female those attributes that denoted the inferiority of England's colonized peoples. Imperialism, in other words, deployed a gendered rhetoric available in British culture to define the role and nature of women. The attributes of English, or more generally, of Western women, however, had to be distanced from those of both the "feminized" and the female native. A Western woman's represention of that fantasy of the Eastern woman--Salome--became, in these circumstances, an ideologically unstable event requiring the careful manipulation of available vocabularies in order to keep the overlapping and mutually reinforcing categories of Western woman and native clearly distinct.

Imperialism not only justified British aggression against non-Western peoples, but helped subdue dissatisfaction within England. As Eric Hobsbawm has written, imperialism "made good ideological cement" because it persuaded subaltern and potentially rebellious internal groups, such as women and the working class, to ignore their own interests in order to identify with the imperial state (70). Imperialism should be understood as an ideology of domination not only in its treatment of colonized peoples, but in its ability to engineer the silence, if not the support, of groups within the aggressor country whose interests run contrary to those of the imperial state. We should expect, therefore, to see imperialist racial stereotypes working in concert with gender stereotypes to resist contemporary challenges to women's traditional place.

Maud Allan's representation of an Oriental princess in "The Vision of Salome" positioned her within the ideologically charged discourses of female sexuality and imperialism. She was a middle class woman displaying her body on the public stage, and she was a white women representing a woman of a non-European race. Allan was an ambitious woman who wished to maintain her class and race privilege--despite the challenge her performance of Salome might have posed to both.

The interpretation of Allan's rendition of the "East" would be of great importance to her status and reputation. Several critics in effect helped prevent her from losing caste by distancing her dancing from the supposedly provocative dances of

the East. A critic writing in the Times Literary Supplement asserted that "authentic" Eastern dance would have been offensive to respectable British sensibilities. Particularly in the case of belly dancing, he explained, Eastern dance was "something lascivious and repulsively ugly." If Allan had been "authentic" she would have been dismissed as vulgar. On the other hand, however, the suggestion of Oriental sensuality and lurid sexuality implied by her subject matter attracted the large audience required to obtain celebrity and wealth. To achieve these, while retaining her social status, Allan had to both enact the East and distance herself from that enactment.

The publicity strategy of the manager of the Palace Theatre, Alfred Butt, suggests the power of the East as a sexual lure. The pamphlet he circulated just prior to Allan's debut uses Orientalist stereoypes of aggressive and dangerous--but inviting and available--female sexuality to attract its readers to the Palace. Here is the description of Allan as Salome:

> The desire that flames from her eyes and bursts in hot gusts from her scarlet mouth infect[s] the very air with the madness of passion. Swaying like a white witch, with yearning arms and hands that plead, Maud Allan is such a delicious embodiment of lust that she might win forgiveness for the sins of such wonderful flesh. As Herod catches fire, so Salome dances even as a Bacchante, twisting her body like a silver snake eager for its prey, panting with hot passion, the fire of her eyes scorching like a living furnace. (Qtd. in Truth)

Obviously, if this passage had accurately described what Allan was doing on stage, she could not have credibly staked any claim to social respectability. The existence of the pamphlet, however, encouraged critics to distinguish what they saw on stage from what they were led to expect, giving Allan the best of both worlds: a large audience attracted by the prospect of sexual titillation and an assurance of propriety from the critics. Thus, for example, the critic who warned his readers of the "lascivious and repulsively ugly" quality of Eastern dance, goes on to distinguish Allan's performance from its presumed original:

> Now it is obvious that this dancer could make no movement or posture that is not beautiful, and, in fact, her dancing as Salome, though Eastern in spirit through and through, is absolutely without the slightest suggestion of the vulgarities familiar to the tourists in Cairo or Tangier. ("The Drama: The New Dancer")

While "authentic" Eastern dance calls attention to the sexualized body of the dancer, making it "ugly," Allan's version is "Eastern" but "beautiful." It both alludes to the sexual and evades it. Allan's Salome dance expresses the "East" without its sensuous physicality, without, as another critic put it, regressing into the "mere provocative posturing of the body" from which the dance Allan performed supposedly evolved ("Miss Maud Allan's Salome Dance").

For these critics, "The Vision of Salome" translates the "East" into a "spirit" or essence. Her performance can thereby be abstracted from the explicit expression of sexuality assumed to characterize Eastern dance as practiced in Cairo or Tangiers, while at the same time the authority of her rendition can be maintained because of its accurate portrayal of the "spirit" of the East. This process serves two interrelated functions. First, it reaffirms the West's superiority, since it takes a Western woman to understand and represent the "essence" of the East. The Orient, as Edward Said notes, cannot represent itself. Secondly, it reaffirms the spiritual nature of woman, as posited by the still dominant separate spheres ideology. Gender and imperialist ideologies work hand in hand to 1) contain Western women within the realm of the spiritual, 2) affirm the West's superior knowledge of and thus rightful domination of the East, and 3) help constitute a Western (male) subject in opposition to both the Oriental and the Western woman.

Ashis Nandy, in his study of the psychology of colonialism, argues that gender and imperialist ideologies cannot be separated. Colonial ideology, he argues, depended upon the deployment of categories of descrimination already institutionalized in British culture, one of which was gender. The combination of Western gender stereotypes and colonialism, according to Nandy, "produced a cultural consensus in which political and socio-economic dominance symbolized the dominance of men and masculinity over women and femininity" (4). A Western woman performing the East is therefore in a complex ideological position. In order to retain the privileges of her ethnicity, she cannot allow herself to be identified with the colonial subject. At the same time, the colonial subject is already defined as "feminine" in relation to the "masculine" West. Allan can only manipulate the distinction between a "good" and a "bad" femininity in order to position herself on the positive side of a symbolic system that will deny her full subjecthood in any case.

The critics performed this function for Allan by repeatedly asserting the beauty and propriety of her dance, despite her admittedly scanty costume. Even critics who disliked her performance frequently helped solidify her respectability. Max Beerbohm, for example, wrote of the Salome dance that "I cannot imagine a more lady-like performance," and a scathing article by Chistopher St. John concludes by calling Allan "a very earnest young lady with a sincere conviction of her mission" who "dances like a revivalist preacher" (736). This is not to say that nobody found her dancing offensive--the Manchester Watch Committee refused to allow her to perform in their town--but theirs was a minority view. Moreover, Allan herself attempted to influence the public construction of her persona in an autobiography she wrote in 1908 to commemorate her 250th performance at the Palace Theatre. Two chapters of this book are of particular pertinence to my argument: the next to last chapter, entitled "A Word About Women," and the final chapter, "Salome."

Allan's chapter on women is devoted to explaining and justifying her opposition to women's suffrage. As an unmarried,

childless and self-supporting woman, Allan violated the dominant ideal of woman as mother and homemaker. Unlike her contemporary, Isadora Duncan, however, who critiqued the gender ideology she transgressed, Allan attempted to underplay her transgressions and to locate herself inside that ideology. Allan affirmed the spiritual nature of true womanhood and defined women's proper role as that of wife and mother. In opposing women's suffrage, she argued that women are overly emotional, indifferent to principles, easily swayed by personalities, and therefore unsuited to political life and action. This statement of faith in antisuffrage assumptions about women's nature and proper sphere can be read as an indication of what Allan felt she had to lose by allowing herself to be associated with feminism. Her career was dependent on the good will of powerful men--King Edward had recommended her to the Palace manager--and on women of the upper class. She was known, for example, to be friendly with the Asquiths, whose patronage added considerably to her wealth and whose sympathies were not with the suffragists (see Cherniavsky).

Allan's chapter on Salome treats the character as a naturally spiritual and innocent child, sharing qualities that Allan had used to characterize true womanhood. The narrative she tells of Salome and John the Baptist is one of spiritual awakening. The dance itself is not restricted to enacting Salome's performance for Herod, but includes a section depicting her anguish and regret over the death of the Baptist. Salome, who previously had been merely a child obeying her parents, is in the course of this section transformed into a woman by the spiritual power of John the Baptist's head. "Now," Allan explained, "instead of wanting to conquer, she wants to be conquered, craving the spiritual guidance of the man whose wraith is before her" (127). Whatever sexual threat the image of Salome may have represented, in Allan's narrative it is completely domesticated.

Allan's own professional interests were best served by eliciting, but then quieting, the anxieties that aggressive women provoked in her audience. As the militant suffrage movement gathered strength, the need to reconfirm the challenged ideology of women's passivity and inferiority also grew. Like the little boy in Freud tells of who attempted to gain mastery over his mother's departure by repeatedly staging the disappearance he feared, Maud Allan's Salome staged the threat posed to British society by demanding women, only to recontain it by her reaffirmation of female weakness and spirituality.

This reaffirmation, in combination with the critics' assertion of her dance's mastery of the spirit and essence of the East, also reinforced an imperialist ideology of ethnic superiority. To serve this function, however, Allan had to be read primarily as a Western woman whose real nature stood in sharp contrast to the nature of the Eastern woman she represented. As a "good" woman, Allan's relation to the dominant gender ideology would at the same time define her relation to an imperialist ideology that identified Oriental women with "bad" women.

Allan performed a dance that for many was associated with Oscar Wilde, who had a dozen years earlier been imprisoned for sexual transgressions, and whose Salome was often interpreted as a woman of unrestrained sexual passion and cruelty. Allan was nevertheless able to define herself as a "good" woman, in contrast to the cultural meaning of the figure she represented. This was possible not only because of the type of movement she employed to represent Eastern dancing, but because of a need on the part of her audiences to symbolically manage (the term is Mary Poovey's), through representation, their anxieties about female and native aggression. The reassertion of Western and male dominance encouraged by Allan's depiction of an Eastern woman soothed such anxieties. In doing so, it also contributed to the process that Werner Sollors has called "contrastive identification." The social construction of ethnicity, he argues, and thus of ideologies such as imperialism that depend upon a similar form of group identity, requires the exaggeration of differences and the erection of symbolic boundaries between groups. The public discourse surrounding Allan's Salome dance consistently distinguished her performance from that of a "bad" woman or an "authentic" Oriental, placing gender and imperialist ideologies in a mutually reinforcing relationship.

The cultural history of Allan's Salome dance reminds us forcefully that dance, like any other art, is a form of social practice and that as such it performs ideological work. Moreover, it should also remind us that ideologies within a society are not autonomous realms but interactive processes that reinforce and help constitute a hegemonic version of reality. To the extent, however, that the symbolic management of cultural anxieties about women and "Orientals" becomes necessary, it implies the existence of oppositional stances that contradict, challenge and undermine the hegemony of those ideologies of domination that Maud Allan was able to deploy to her own temporary advantage.

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15th Annual Conference

SOCIETY OF DANCE HISTORY SCHOLARS

University of California, Riverside

February 14-16, 1992

American Dance Abroad:
Influence of the United States Dance Experience Around the World



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Riverside, California

12 Noon-5:30 p.m.
Highlander Hall
Lobby
1150 University Ave.

SDHS Registration

12 Noon-5:30 p.m.
Highlander Hall 152

Book Display and Sales

1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.
Highlander Hall 200

Session 1A

COLD WARS, THAWS, AND CULTURAL AMBASSADORSHIP

1. *$410—Was That a Necessary Expense?*
   Naima Prevots, The American University, Washington, D.C.
2. *Daniel Nagrin's Path Abroad, 1967*
   Robyn Bissell, Independent Scholar, Temecula, California
3. *Evaluating the Glory Years: San Francisco Ballet's International Tours, 1957-1959*
   Debra Sowell, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
4. *The Real Shock: The Merce Cunningham Dance Company's World Tour, 1964*
   David Vaughan, Cunningham Dance Foundation, New York, New York

Panel Moderator: Judith Cobau, Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio
Panel Respondent: Alice Wexler, Independent Scholar, Riverside, California

1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.
Highlander Hall 130

Session 1B

THERE AND BACK AGAIN

1. *Imre Kiralfy's "Columbus: or the Discovery of America." From the Old World to the New World and Back*
   Barbara Barker, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota
2. *Recreational Israeli Dance and America: Almost Inseparable*
   Edy Greenblatt, Independent Scholar, Los Angeles, California
3. *Hula Hips and Smiling Lips: Americans Abroad at Home*
   Jane Desmond, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
4. *The Red Curtain: Balanchine in Russia*
   Nancy Reynolds, Independent Scholar, Brooklyn, New York

Panel Moderator: Jane Roberts, Russell Sage College, Troy, New York
Panel Respondent: Margaret Brose, University of California, Santa Cruz, California

Friday, February 14, 1992 (continued)

1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.
Highlander Hall 140

Session 1C

1. *What Is American Dance?*

Connie Kreemer, University of California, Santa Cruz, California

Assisted by: Maria Cheng, University of Minneapolis, Minnesota
Donald McKayle, University of California, Irvine, California
Debra Reed, University of California, Santa Cruz, California
Priscilla Regalado, Choreographer, San Francisco, California
Mel Wong, University of California, Santa Cruz, California

Panel Moderator: Sondra Lomax, University of Texas, Austin, Texas

Panel Respondent: Allegra Fuller Snyder, Professor Emerita, University of California, Los Angeles, California

3:15 p.m.-5:15 p.m.
Highlander Hall 200

Session 2A

INNOCENTS ABROAD? AMERICAN PRIMITIVES IN THE FOREIGN WORLD

1. *French Court Ballet and New World Ethnography*
Mark Franko, University of California, Santa Cruz, California

2. *The Role of America in the Jacobean Masque: Performed Ethnography and the Exploration of Self-Transformation in the English Renaissance*
Naomi Jackson, New York University, New York, New York

3. *Buddy Bradley Abroad: The Invisible Man of Broadway Brings Jazz Tap to London*
Constance Valis-Hill, State University of New York, Albany, New York

4. *The Moscow Charleston: Black Jazz Dancers in the Soviet Union*
Sally Banes, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Panel Moderator: Chrystelle Bond, Goucher College, Towson, Maryland
Panel Respondent: Peggy Phelan, New York University, New York, New York

3:15 p.m.-5:15 p.m.
Highlander Hall 140

Session 2B

THE EYE OF THE BEHOLDER

1. *Carolyn Carlson's Years at "Il Teatro La Fenice" Venice, Italy, 1980-1984*
   Ann Veronica Turnbull, Independent Scholar, Varese, Italy

2. *Eleanor King in Japan: Dance Bridging East-West*
   Andrea Mantell-Seidel, Florida International University and New World School of the Arts, Miami, Florida

3. *American Dance Abroad: A View from Yugoslavia*
   Nadezda Mosusova, Musicological Institute, Belgrade, Yugoslavia

4. *The Canadian Modern Dance Identity in Dialectic with American Influence*
   Iris Garland, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia

Panel Moderator: Mary-Jean Cowell, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri
Panel Respondent: Jane Desmond, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

3:15 p.m.-5:15 p.m.
Highlander Hall 130

Session 2C

DORIS HUMPHREY: FORMATIVE YEARS IN OAK PARK AND CHICAGO

Presented by the Doris Humphrey Society

1. *Introduction*
   Charles Woodford, Princeton Book Company, Pennington, New Jersey

2. *Life in Oak Park, 1895-1918*
   William Adelman, Professor Emeritus, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois

3. *Early Humphrey Dances for Children*
   Reconstruction by Eleanor King of *Grieg Concerto in A minor*
   Stephanie Clemens, Artistic Director, Momental

Panel Moderator: Christena L. Schlundt, University of California, Riverside, California
Panel Respondent: Selma Jeanne Cohen, *International Encyclopedia of Dance,* New York, New York

Friday, February 14, 1992 (continued)

5:30 p.m. Buses depart Highlander Hall for CMP

5:45 p.m.-7:30 p.m.
California Museum of Photography (CMP)
3824 Main Street

Gala Opening and Reception

On exhibit:

1. *New Moves: Collaboration between Dancers and Videographers*
   curated by Bob Harris
2. *Between Cinema and a Hard Place*
   site-specific installation by Gary Hill
3. *The Dance of Culture: Dance at World's Fairs*
   curated by Gianna Valenti from CMP Keystone-Mast Collection
4. *Barbara Morgan Photographs*
   CMP, Mr. and Mrs. David C. Rittenberg gift

7:30 p.m. Buses depart CMP for Dance Studio Theatre

8:00 p.m.
Dance Studio
Theatre (P.E. 102)
UCR Campus

A CELEBRATION OF THE NIJINSKA TRADITION

1. *"Le Train Bleu": Reconstruction and Work*
   Frank Ries, University of California, Santa Barbara, California
   Assisted by members of the Oakland Ballet
   Introduced by Erik Aschengreen
   University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark
2. *Nijinska's "Theatre Choreographique Nijinska": The 1925 Tour of English Resort Towns*
   Laurie Kaden, Dance Through Time, San Francisco, California
3. *Bronislava Nijinska and the Polish Ballet, 1937-1938: Missing Chapter of the Legacy*
   Lisa Arkin, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon

Panel Moderator: Elizabeth Aldrich, The Historical Dance Foundation, Inc., New York, New York

Panel Respondent: Lynn Garafola, Getty Center for Art and Humanities, Santa Monica, California

8:00 a.m.-5:30 p.m.
Plaza, University Theatre, UCR Campus
SDHS Registration

8:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.
Lobby, University Theatre, UCR Campus
Book Display and Sales

7:00 a.m.-7:45 a.m.
Holiday Inn Riverside, 1200 University Avenue
World Dance Alliance Meeting

7:45 a.m.-8:15 a.m.
Holiday Inn Riverside, 1200 University Avenue
SDHS Membership Meeting

8:45 a.m.-10:45 a.m.
Dance Studio
Theatre (P.E. 102)
UCR Campus

Session 3A

ADOPTING IDENTITIES, PART 1

1. *Innocence Abroad: The 1965 Stockholm Premiere of Anna Halprin's "Parades and Changes"*
   Janice Ross, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California
2. *The Function of Music Within Contemporary Dance Performance in Denmark. (The Impact of the "Cunningham-Concept")*
   Inger Damsholt, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark
3. *Sometimes It Works, Sometimes It Doesn't: Half a Century of American Influence on Swedish Dance*
   Erik Näslund, The Dance Museum, Stockholm, Sweden
4. *The Import(ance) of Fragmentation*
   Lena Hammergren, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

Panel Moderator: Angelika Gerbes, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Panel Respondent: Erik Aschengreen, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

8:45 a.m.-10:45 a.m.
Olmsted Hall 1208
UCR Campus

Session 3B

CHOREOGRAPHIC IMPORTS

1. *Moving Bodies, Moving Souls: Trisha Brown Company in Sweden, 1989*
   June Vail, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine
2. *American Theatricality in Contemporary German Theatre Dancing: John Neumeier and William Forsythe*
   Claudia Jeschke, Independant Scholar, Munich, Germany
3. *The American Dance Legacy in Portugal: Aesthetic Crossbreeding*
   Antonio Pinto Ribeiro, Independent Scholar, Lisbon, Portugal
4. *The Body So Disposed: American Modern in Canada*
   Evan Alderson, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia

Panel Moderator: Genevieve Oswald, World Dance Alliance, New York, New York
Panel Respondent: Julie Van Camp, California State University, Long Beach, California

8:45 a.m.-10:45 a.m.
University Theatre
UCR Campus

Session 3C

FROM NORTH TO SOUTH: U.S. DANCE IN LATIN AMERICA

1. *U.S. Ballet and Modern Dance in the Caribbean: Cuba and Puerto Rico (1940-1980)*
   Alma Concepción, Taller de Danza, Princeton, New Jersey
2. *The North American Influence on the Contemporary Dance in Chile*
   Shana Habel-Moreno, Santiago, Chile
3. *Indigenism and Tourism: American Influence on Staged Folklore in Haiti*
   Kate Ramsey, New York University, New York, New York

Panel Moderator: Elsie Dunin, University of California, Los Angeles, California
Panel Respondent: Nancy Ruyter, University of California, Irvine, California

10:45 a.m. Refreshments
Patio, Dance Studio Theatre
Plaza, University Theatre

11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.
Olmsted Hall 1208
UCR Campus

Session 4A

ADOPTING IDENTITIES, PART II

1. *People of the Pear Garden Greet Soho: China's Cultural Establishment Meets the Experiments of United States Modern Dance*
   Claudia Gitelman, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey
2. *Modern Dance as a Mission: Riita Vainio's Creation and Influence in the 60s*
   Tiina Suhonen, The Theatre Academy, Helsinki, Finland
3. *Shalom: Hello or Goodbye to Israeli Modern Dance After the American Influence?*
   Judith Brin Ingber, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Panel Moderator: Alice Helpern, Cunningham Foundation, New York, New York
Panel Respondent: Susan Manning, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.
Dance Studio
Theatre (P.E. 102)
UCR Campus

Session 4B

ALIEN ENCOUNTERS: EXOTICS AND THE STAGE

1. *"Les Indes Galantes" and other Noble Savages*
   Carol Marsh, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina
2. *Exotic Americans at the Paris Opera*
   Marian Smith, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
3. *"The Wild Doe": Augusta Maywood in Paris, 1839-1840*
   Maureen Costonis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

Panel Moderator: Susan Bindig, A Cappella Books and New York University, New York, New York

Panel Respondent: Judith Chazin-Bennahum, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico

11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.
University Theatre
UCR Campus

Session 4C

1. *Myths and Reality of Americans Abroad: A Visual Presentation*
   Allegra Fuller Snyder, Professor Emerita, University of California, Los Angeles, California

Panel Moderator and Respondent: Monica Moseley, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, New York

1:00 p.m.
University Theatre
Pick up pre-paid box lunches at University Theatre
Chairs and bench seating available in plazas

SDHS Box Lunch

Saturday, February 15, 1992 (continued)

2:00 p.m.
University Theatre
UCR Campus

Keynote Address

The Mobility of Form: Imagination and Cultural Rights in a Diasporic World

Arjun Appadurai, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

3:15 p.m.
Refreshments
Plaza, University Theatre

3:30 p.m.-5:30 p.m.
Olmsted Hall 1208
UCR Campus

Session 5A

AMBIVALENT RECEPTIONS

1. *American Dance: Invasion or Inspiration*
   Stephanie Jordan, Roehampton Institute, United Kingdom

2. *American Delsarteans Abroad*
   Nancy Ruyter, University of California, Irvine, California

3. *The New York Negro Ballet in Great Britain*
   Dawn Horwitz, City College, City University of New York, New York, New York

4. *Mixed Blessings: Isadora Duncan's Legacy to British Early Modern Dance*
   June Layson, University of Surrey, Guildford, Surrey, United Kingdom

Panel Moderator: George Dorris, *Dance Chronicle*, New York, New York
Panel Respondent: John Chapman, University of California, Santa Barbara, California

3:30 p.m.-5:30 p.m.
University Theatre
UCR Campus

Session 5B

Society of Dance History Scholars in joint session with Themes in Drama Conference

DANCING NATIONALISM: CASE STUDIES

1. *Wrapped Within the American Flag: Isadora Duncan and WWI*
   Ann Daly, University of North Texas, Austin, Texas
2. *Salome Unveiled: Nationalism and the Dancing Body in England*
   Amy Koritz, Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana
3. *Dance in the Third Reich*
   Susan Manning, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
4. *History Written on the Body: The German Theatre of Socialization and Desire*
   John Rouse, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana
5. *Epistemology as Performance After Thatcher*
   Janell Reinelt, California State University, Sacramento, California

Panel Moderator: George Haggerty, University of California, Riverside, California
Panel Respondent: Sue-Ellen Case, University of California, Riverside, California

5:45 p.m.-7:15 p.m.
University Club
UCR Campus

Joint Reception

Society of Dance History Scholars
with Themes in Drama and Choreographing History Conferences

7:15 p.m.
Buses depart University Club for Landis Auditorium

8:00 p.m.
Landis Auditorium
4800 Magnolia Ave.
Riverside
Community College

Oakland Ballet Performance

Ronn Guidi, Artistic Director

"Best of the Ballets Russes"
Choreography by Bronislava Nijinska

Les Noces (1923)
Music by Igor Stravinsky

Les Biches (1924)
Music by Francis Poulenc

Le Train Bleu (1924)
Libretto by Jean Cocteau
Music by Darius Milhaud

Following the performance, buses will return conferees to Holiday Inn Riverside

Sunday, February 16, 1992

7:30 a.m.-8:15 a.m. **World Dance Alliance Meeting**
Holiday Inn
Riverside

10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. **A Participatory Ritual**
Meet at Dance
Studio Theatre
(P.E. 102)

Commissioned from Choreographer Anna Halprin

Ray McNamara, and John Norton, Accompanists

8:00 p.m. **SDHS Board Meeting**
Highlander Hall 152

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